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Kei te mihi.
INTRODUCTION

This project draws its name from a whakataukī commonly spoken by renowned North Taranaki tauke describing concepts of not only resilience but rather active resistance - ‘He Waipuna Koropupū.’

He maunga Titōhea (A unique descriptor for the Taranaki mountain meaning improvised)
He waipuna koropupū (The pool of life)
Ahakoa tukitukia e te poaka (Although plundered by the Pig [A reference to the Crown])
E kore nei e mimiti (It will never cease)
Ka koropupū, ka koropupū (It will bubble forth)

This whakataukī, is often described as an instruction from the past and a message of hope for future generations; the strength to keep ‘bubbling on’ despite seemingly insurmountable assaults. It is this term ‘Waipuna Koropupū’ that highlights the critical components of past resistance and future potential, the concept of having the fluidity to adapt and the strength to sustain. This is a theme that continues to emerge in Taranaki, the notion of ‘resistance’ as opposed to ‘resilience’. Taranaki hapū and iwi have a demonstrated history of ‘resistance’ and this could be viewed as a strength about survival and how Taranaki whānau might actively strive towards healing and prosperity.

Suicide amongst Taranaki Māori young people in particular is on the rise and should be viewed as a clear and present danger to the well-being of the future collective. Whilst hapū and iwi have dedicated their time and energy over the past decades to the settlement of historical breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, their economic survival and the development of new iwi institutions, it is now time to examine and take stock of the quality of that survival on a whānau basis and to focus development beyond the larger groups economic security.
There is a connection between collective efforts and individual outcomes. When communities succeed in promoting their cultural heritage and securing control over their collective future, the positive effects can be seen across a variety of health and well-being measures. There is now a need to pay equal attention to the restoration of the cultural institutions that sustained and enabled Taranaki whānau to thrive for generations prior to colonisation. A rebuilding of the village mind-set, a regeneration of the collective structures and social fabrics that supported prosperity through cultural connection, identity and sense of purpose connected to people and place. The job of health institutions, whānau ora providers and government agencies is to enable this and to try not to get in the way of hapū and iwi revitalisation. This will however require a commitment to engage in a valid conversation in relation to Taranaki whānau wellbeing, a commitment to action and a commitment to take leadership by hapū and iwi. Until this commitment is actualised, strategies and activities attempting to address the issue of Taranaki Māori suicide will continue to be isolated and predominately mainstream health driven.

It is not the intention of this report to place the burden of dealing with and healing Māori suicide solely in the hands of whānau hapū and iwi. The findings detailed within this report clearly identify that the creative solutions required to address this issue should be centred from within a Māori worldview. It must be Māori led and not simply focussed on Māori suicide but instead the healing potential that the restoration of the collective may have on the wellbeing of the individual. This requires a reconstitution of the collective that is specifically focussed on reconnecting and embracing those whānau sitting on the fringes of our society that have been particularly impacted by historical trauma, colonisation and intergenerational trauma.
A literature review has been undertaken in two distinct phases: the first, at the time of proposal submission and the second to provide an overview of the critical and authored literature, agency resources and Action Plans supporting suicide prevention in the Taranaki community. In the first instance, key national health documents informed phase one, primarily: ‘The New Zealand Suicide Prevention Strategy 2006-2016’, ‘Te Whakauruora’ (Ihimaera & MacDonald 2009) and the ‘Key Messages, Waka Hourua Māori and Pasifika Suicide Prevention Research Symposium’(McClintoch,K., McClintock, R. & Sewell 2015). All concur, that suicide and suicidal behaviours are a major public health issue across New Zealand; with on average 500 people taking their lives annually and 2,500 admitted to hospital because of intentional self-harm. Secondly; that suicide is an ethnically disproportionate issue and suicide prevention is complex and challenging requiring a multi-faceted and diverse range of responses. Another key theme in the literature is the link between hauora and whānau ora. All acknowledge the importance of Māori concepts of health and whānau ora to address Māori disparities in the rates of suicidal behaviours. The use of culturally responsive frameworks to address suicide prevention issues can be found in ‘He Korowai Oranga, Kia piki to ora o te Taitamariki’ (the Māori-specific component of New Zealand Youth Suicide Prevention Strategy 2006-2016).

Relevant resources, publications and academic literature were sought to identify the current context and background to the ‘silence’ that surrounds whānau suicide in Taranaki. It was clear that whilst there is a growing body of work on this kaupapa, there is little to none based in the Taranaki rohe. Indigenous articles on healing and historical trauma (Walters et. al) have been invaluable in the framing of questions for the research team. An environmental scan also included a review of services available and resources from a whānau ‘user’ perspective to assess what is relevant to our population group. This includes: service agencies (their collateral), national websites (their collateral) and local
services. At a local level there are few resources or collaborative action that specifically relates to ‘whānau healing’ in relation to Māori suicide.

A new regional document entitled the ‘Taranaki Suicide Prevention and Postvention Action Plan 2015-2017’ has just been developed by the TDHB in collaboration with New Plymouth Injury Safe and stakeholders. Recently launched during Mental Health Awareness week 2015 it aims to reduce the rate of suicidal behaviour and its effects on the lives of people in Taranaki. The plan has seven goals that align to the NZ Suicide Prevention Strategy 2006-16.

1. Promote mental health and well-being, and prevent mental health problems.
2. Improve the care of people who are experiencing mental disorders associated with suicidal behaviour.
3. Improve the care of people who make non-fatal suicide attempts.
4. Reduce the means of suicide
5. Promote the safe reporting and portrayal of suicidal behaviour by the media.
6. Support families/whānau, friends and others affected by suicide or suicide attempt.
7. Expand the evidence about the rates, causes and effective interventions.

Under review, the plan reads as primarily for professionals, but calls for a whole of community approach. It was developed with health providers, social service, education and interest groups but was not widely consulted on in development or planned implementation. The resulting plan has a mainstream focus on the agencies working together on the ‘individual’ and does not offer a cultural viewpoint of the systemic issues or opportunities to engage with Māori communities or whānau, even though Māori suicide statistics were identified as higher than other ethnicities or groups. Furthermore, the Plan does not address whānau needs or provide a mechanism for engagement or change.
TRADITIONAL WORLDVIEW OF SUICIDE

Within Māori understandings of health and well-being, suicide may be considered an imbalance of wairua and whakapapa. Naera (2013) asserts it is not ‘entrenched in Tikanga Māori’ nor is it ‘normal’ for Māori. Whilst not being a tikanga or accepted as common practice, the little information about how our tūpuna reacted to suicide would indicate that neither was it treated negatively. Emery, Cookson-Cox and Raerino (2015), in fact, retell the mana enhancing Te Arawa narrative pertaining to their reknown tūpuna Te Matapihi o Rehua. In their abstract they clearly assert that “Contrary to contemporary views of the act of whakamate (suicide), traditional Māori tribal pedagogies have revealed that the death of an individual by suicide was not considered a shameful or cowardly act; rather it was viewed in its full context” (Online Abstract).

The significance around whakapapa disconnection are a reasonably common theme from the perspective of the ending of a whakapapa line. Researchers such as Lawson-Te Aho (2013) also see that ‘whakapapa frames suicide as a disconnection from the collective cultural identity’ (p.67) in terms of a risk factor leading to potential suicide. Lawson Te Aho (2015) also highlights that within Māori society suicide was often viewed as being attribute to breaches of tapū that impacted on the wellbeing of the collective, the death of a partner or a profound experience of whakamā.

Ihimaera & MacDonald (2009) refer to the term whakamomori as the emotions of a deep seated suffering that can build up and led to suicide. In doing so the document states that ‘whakamomori is an āhua tuku iho, nō mai rāno and it too has a whakapapa.’ (p.24). That whakapapa is then identified from Rangi and Papa to Tāne and Hineahuone and the beginning of humankind. A common understanding of that whakapapa is that their daughter Hinetītama was also taken by Tāne as a partner and when she came to realise this connection the narrative tells us that her overwhelming whakamomori lead her to Rarohēnga and her transformation as Hine-nui-te-pō. It is the role of Hine-nui-te-pō to then receive those that have passed into the spirit world.
In the report ‘He Hinatore ki te Ao Māori: A glimpse into the Māori world’ (2001) the concept of whakamā is referred to as follows, “In traditional times, whakamā has been known to contribute to suicide. Whakamā works on the individual because they are conscious of the feeling that is felt when they have transgressed the values of their community. The embarrassment or shame felt is an extremely powerful and emotional force.” (p.185) Suicide completed by widows on the death of their partners, particularly one of rank, is noted by Te Rangi Hiroa (Buck 1949) and Ngai Tahu leader Teone Tikao (1939). Tikao also states that “sometimes a father or mother would suicide (whaka-momori) if a favourite child died, or a child would do so on the death of a parent, but such instances were not common.” (p.151)

It could be deducted, from this, that Hinetītama felt a deep sense of whakamā. Whakamā is defined as “In traditional times, whakamā has been known to contribute to suicide. Whakamā works on the individual because they are conscious of the feeling that is felt when they have transgressed the values of their community. The embarrassment or shame felt is an extremely powerful and emotional force.” (Ministry of Justice 2001, p. 185).

Suicide completed by widows on the death of their husband particularly one of rank is noted by Ngai Tahu leader, scholar and politician Teone Tikao (1939) and Te Rangi Hiroa (1949). With regard to other relationships Tikao also states that “sometimes a father or mother would suicide (whaka-momori) if a favourite child died, or a child would do so on the death of a parent, but such instances were not common.” (p.151).

The colonial lens on suicide, as a moral taboo is very likely to have only arrived with early British settlers. However when Aotearoa was made a Crown Colony, in accordance with British law, death by one’s own hand was a criminal offence under common law. Since then we have used the term to ‘commit suicide.’ The punishment reflected the ecclesiastical domination prevalent at the time in English rule. Excommunication, public mutilation of corpses and ignominious burial for the act of mortal sin and forfeiture of property for the legal breach were the expected outcomes. Burial exclusion from traditional whānau and hapū urupā practices and reduced protocols of tangihanga practices have been evident seemingly only since post-colonial contact within iwi.
Te Aho–Lawson & Liu (2010) describe the traditional Māori conceptualisation, that individual well-being is sourced and tied to the well-being of the collective cultural identity. Therefore individual pain is inseparable from collective pain and the role of the collective becomes that of carrying individuals who are suffering. The state of kahupō or spiritual blindness is characterised by a loss of hope, meaning and purpose and an enduring sense of despair. It bears the symptoms of chronic disassociation or separation of the physical from the spiritual and vice versa. Community empowerment they assert is policy and practices that offer pathways from colonisation towards tino rangatiratanga, or indigenous self-determination. Whānau and whakapapa are two enduring concepts at the heart of this discourse. Whakapapa is the beating heart of Māori identity; it is what makes Māori unique (Te Aho –& Liu 2010).

The reviewed literature and presentations by indigenous academics Pihama, Lawson-Te Aho (2007), Clark (2007, 2011), Durie (2006, 2009) Coupe (2013), Naera (2013) all identified the challenges in mainstream models of care and for Māori the effects of suicide are shattering to whānau, hapū and iwi and felt for generations. Most would agree that suicide is not the result of one cause and there is no one silver bullet for healing or eliminating this in our whānau and communities. Lawson Te Aho and Liu (2010) assert that contemporary indigenous psychologists have developed an alternative frame for viewing suicide that not only shifts the focus from the individual-level to group-level explanations. This is not an issue for individuals but one of whānau opportunity.

Strengthening whānau response and capability has been a focus of many interventions and championed under the whānau ora movement (Durie, 2006, 2009), (Lawson-Te Aho 2013), (Russell 2013), (Naera 2013). As noted by Durie (2006):

"Māori endurance is about resilience in relation to time. Māori cultural endurance, like resilience, is having the capacity to respond to, cope with and persevere through adverse conditions and continuing to cope with subsequent difficulty." (p. 64)
This whānau ora or holistic approach is not new to kaupapa Māori providers that work in health and social service who uphold ‘the greatest resource is whānau’ (Russell 2013). The strengths of whānau and family connection as a protective factor against suicidal behaviour for those youth that perceive their families to be caring and supportive has been noted by Clark et al (2011). However, there is also an argument that it is not enough that whānau be caring and supportive, but they in turn must be supported by broader structures of hapū and iwi (Naera 2013; Lawson-Te Aho, 2010).

Lawson-Te Aho (2007, 2010) explains that Māori suicide prevention relies on contextualising the whānau, hapū, iwi experience within the concept of historical trauma and colonisation. She asserts the concept of historical trauma outlined by (Walters et al. 2011) acts to explain a large part of the inequality of suicide in New Zealand. Walters defines the concept as an event or set of events perpetrated on a group of people, who share a specific group identity, with genocidal or ethnical intent. She identifies Beautrais and Fergusson (2006) who also propose similar theories to those proposed in the USA, Canada and Australia (Hunter and Harvey, 2002). The first is that they are due to the inequalities in education, health, welfare and justice between Māori and non-Māori population in NZ. The second theory is due to the factors that uniquely apply to Māori and the experience of colonisation.

Lawson and Liu (2010) outline the intervention logic used in their paper 'Indigenous Suicide and Colonization' that relies on the restoration of culture at the group level as a response to the situation of Māori, the first peoples of New Zealand. Utilising whakapapa to strengthen cultural identity may be instrumental to the promotion of good mental health and positive psychological outcomes for Māori. Lalonde (2006) asserts the challenge for cultural resilience (and persons within communities of interest) is that cultures must change and yet if they are to survive the pressures of global society they must somehow remain the same. The quandary is to find procedural measures of preserving identity across time and through change.
Like ‘individual resilience’ a pre-condition of defining cultural resilience must be the establishment of a higher burden of risk on the community of interest. Lalonde also asserts that when communities succeed in promoting their cultural heritage and in securing control over their collective future, the positive effects reverberate across many measures of health and well-being. In his study on Personal Persistence and Cultural Resilience, he claims cultural resistance is not simply a situational success or failure, the association between community efforts and outcomes shows success are not random. Lavellee & Clearskey (2006) also argue there is a danger in uncritically adopting a concept that places the onus for well-being on the individual in a virtual vacuum. Ungar (2005) makes a passionate argument that in order to better understand resilience, it is vital that researchers pay attention to and understand the role of culture and context. Where these authors stress resilience within communities this research is grounded in notions of resistance as a critical conceptual positioning within Taranaki.
TARANAKI PROFILE

The population of the Taranaki Region has grown slowly over the past twenty-seven years, from 107,499 in 1986 to 109,700 in 2011 and 110,500 in 2013. It is the 10th largest region out of 16 with 2.6% of New Zealand’s population.

Using 2013 Census Data there are 18,150 Māori usually living in the Taranaki Region. This is an increase of 2,352 people, or 14.9 percent, since the 2006 Census. Its Māori population also ranks 10th in size out of the 16 regions in New Zealand. 3.0 percent of New Zealand’s Māori population usually live in Taranaki Region.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Māori population of Taranaki Region and New Zealand</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>2013 Census</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sex</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total people</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At census time, Māori identified with one or more of the following iwi in Taranaki.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2013 Census Data – Taranaki Iwi Affiliation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Te Atiawa Taranaki count</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngāti Maru Taranaki count</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngāti Mutunga Taranaki count</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngā Rauru count</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngā Ruahine count</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngāti Ruanui count</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngāti Tama Taranaki count</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taranaki count</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tangahoe count</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakakohi count</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


10 - TARANAKI PROFILE
To further provide regional context, a statistical review was undertaken to profile the health of Taranaki Māori and the scale of Māori suicide. 2013 Census data was used initially to profile the Māori population and to provide a deeper context to Whānau Ora Needs assessment (2012) and the Taranaki Māori Health Profile data (2007). It is acknowledged there are limitations with sourcing data as it reflects snapshots of individuals rather than a picture of Taranaki whānau health and well-being.

The TSB Community Trust Census 2013 Research Overview (2014) data shows Taranaki as a region is less multi-cultural than other parts of New Zealand with smaller proportions Pacific Island, Asian, MELAA and ‘Not Elsewhere Included’. Across the region 75.8% identify as New Zealand European and 15% as Māori (respectively compared 64.9% and 12.8% nationally). In South Taranaki around 20.3 per cent of the population was enumerated as Māori and 70.9% identified as New Zealand European.

Age structures also differ markedly by ethnic group. As elsewhere, the Taranaki Region’s Māori population is very youthful, and the European-origin population, relatively old—primarily because of the deep migration-driven bite over the young adult years. In 2013 the median age for the Region’s Māori population was 23.6 years (that is, one-half of the Māori population was aged less than 24 years), compared with 41.1 years for those of European origin. The Pacific Island population was even younger than Māori, with a median age of 17.8 years, and the Asian population somewhat older, with a median age of 29.2 years.
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taranaki REGION</th>
<th>0–14</th>
<th>15–39</th>
<th>40–64</th>
<th>65+</th>
<th>All ages</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>2011</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
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<td>76.8</td>
<td>86.8</td>
<td>93.3</td>
<td>81.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māori</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>15.7</td>
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<td>Pacific Peoples</td>
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<td>2.1</td>
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<th>40–64</th>
<th>65+</th>
<th>All ages</th>
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<td><strong>2016</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>70.9</td>
<td>74.8</td>
<td>85.4</td>
<td>91.8</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māori</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>16.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pacific Peoples</td>
<td>3.2</td>
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<td>1.9</td>
<td>3.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100.0</td>
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<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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<tr>
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<td>37,700</td>
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<th>Taranaki REGION</th>
<th>0–14</th>
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<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>68.8</td>
<td>73.3</td>
<td>84.1</td>
<td>90.6</td>
<td>78.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māori</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific Peoples</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number (1)</strong></td>
<td>28,500</td>
<td>34,100</td>
<td>36,400</td>
<td>23,500</td>
<td>122,400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics New Zealand, Subnational Ethnic Population Projections (2006 Base - 2009 Update) Tables 4e, 4m, 4p, 4a
(1) Underlying numbers reflect the multiple count enumeration methodology and their sum is somewhat greater than the total projection for the region. Projections not available for all ethnic groups for all regions.
INCOME SOURCE FOR MĀORI IN TARIANAKI

The dominant source of income for the Taranaki region, is Wages, Salaries, Commissions or Bonuses; however there are significant differences in level by ethnic group and district.

- The most notable differences are that European and those of ‘Other Ethnicity’ have the lowest proportions receiving income from Wages, Salaries, Commissions or Bonuses, and also of having No Income. They also share the highest proportions receiving income from Self-Employment or Business, Interest, Dividends, Rent, and Other Investments and New Zealand Superannuation or Veterans Pensions.

- The remaining ethnic groups have relatively high proportions earning Wages, Salaries, Commissions or Bonuses, ranging from 46.4 per cent of sources for Māori to just on 52.0 per cent for Pacific Islanders and MELAA.

- Māori and Pacific Islanders have the lowest proportions receiving income from Self-employment or Business and/or Interest, Dividends, Rent and Other Investments, while those of Asian and MELAA origin have quite high proportions, approaching those of European and Other Ethnicity.

- Unemployment Benefit, Sickness Benefit, and Domestic Purposes Benefit feature strongly for Māori and Pacific Islanders, as does Invalids Benefit for Māori.

The notable differences in income support by district and ethnic group is similar to the median income data, on the one hand it is generally higher by age for the Taranaki Region (and its TLAs than for Total New Zealand), and on the other, notably lower for those of Māori, Pacific Island and Asian origin than for European.
The Taranaki DHB Health Needs Assessment (2007) shows that Māori people have poorer health than the rest of the population dying on average eight years earlier than non-Māori, and experiencing age related health and disability issues at a younger age. Some of the significant health disparities include:

- Avoidable hospitalisation and deaths among Māori over 65 years were significantly higher than for non-Māori
- Hospitalisation and death rates for cardiovascular disease were significantly higher for Māori than non-Māori and higher in Taranaki than in New Zealand
- Death rates from lung cancer were three times higher for Māori than for non-Māori
- Māori had significantly higher rates of chronic obstructive pulmonary disease hospitalisation, 2 times higher for women and 3.5 times higher for men
- Māori diabetes hospitalisation rates were three times higher than for non-Māori
- Among Māori females the rate of renal failure in people with concurrent diabetes was 11 times higher and 15 times higher in Māori males, than their non-Māori counterparts
- Māori at age five years had significantly higher numbers of decayed, missing or filled teeth than their non-Māori counterparts
ETHNICITY AND SUICIDE

There is no doubt that suicide is an issue for Māori communities, health professionals, policy-makers and funders. All would agree that 'suicide is an ethnically disproportionate issue' (McClintoch et.al 2015). At a national level one in five people who die by suicide are Māori, with the highest levels of suicidal deaths occurring amongst males, aged between 40-44 years and are Māori. National statistics for 2012 (Ministry of Health, 2015) reveal:

- The Māori youth suicide rate was 2.8 times the non-Māori youth rate (48.0 per 100,000 Māori youths compared with 17.3 per 100,000 non-Māori youths).
- Over the 10 years from 2003 to 2012, Māori youth suicide rates have been at least 1.7 times the non-Māori youth suicide rates.
- There were 120 Māori and 429 non-Māori suicide deaths.
- Māori had an age-standardised suicide rate of 17.8 per 100,000 Māori, compared with the non-Māori rate of 10.6 per 100,000 non-Māori. There were 30 suicide deaths among Pacific people and 23 among Asian people.
- Over the 10 years from 2003 to 2012, Māori suicide rates have been at least 1.2 times non-Māori suicide rates.

The Ministry of Health's Suicide Facts Report (2012) revealed that between 2008 and 2012, Taranaki had an average of 13.4 suicides per 100,000 population compared to a national average of 11.6 per 100,000. At the time of the research the Coroner’s Office had provided information based on suicides in Taranaki from July 2007 to May 2015. The data presented in the 2014/15 year remains provisional as many cases are still active. Between July 2007 and May 2015 there were 127 suicides in Taranaki, an average of 15.8 suicides per annum. The two highest years were 2009/10 with 20, followed by the 11 months in the 2014/15 with 19. Of the 127 suicides:
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- 13 were female which means that 90% of the completed suicides in Taranaki are male
- The highest number of suicides fall in the 25-44 year age band (39% of total)
- By district, New Plymouth has a slighter higher proportion of the completed suicides, than does Stratford and South Taranaki.
- Māori represent 19% of all suicides in the eight year period

Data on suicide attempts has been informed by Taranaki police data, which records the number of suicide attempts that officers are called out to. However, there are limitations to this data with differences in coding, noting the severity of attempts and a lack of gender or ethnicity markers. Taranaki data on self-harm has also been explored with 78.3 intentional self-harm hospitalisations per 100,000 population, which is higher than the national average of 71.0 (Ministry of Health 2015). When disaggregated by gender, there were 99.7 occurrences per 100,000 of the female population. This translates into 370 people being admitted to hospital out of a total 809 people presenting with self-harm acts between 2012-2015. Of those who self-harmed and were admitted, Māori were over-represented as 21% of the total, so too were women who were two thirds of the group.
MENTAL HEALTH

The Taranaki health profile has proved challenging with data collection in the region, with most sourced from the DHB (and support agencies). Limited local data associated with Mental Health has also been reviewed given the strong linkages with depression and suicide. To furnish a greater picture of this notion, it has been challenging with local evidence limited to that collected at the Taranaki DHB in their ‘Te Puna Waiora Admissions Survey’ (2013). This report provided a two month ‘snapshot’ of a small sample group but found that:

1. Māori are over-represented by 250% in the ‘existing’ service user group; but 300% less likely to be represented as a ‘new service user’ group. The conclusion drawn from the authors of the report was that Māori ‘present’ at a later stage of a mental illness with higher acuity and therefore have worse recovery outcomes and longer term involvement with Mental Health services.

2. Fewer than 1/3 of Māori admitted had the support of a local GP prior to their admission (increasing the chance of referral via Police, ED or Crisis team- indicating a higher level of acuity).

3. Māori patients were more likely than non-Māori to identify whānau as a support- yet they were 50% less likely to call whānau for help.

These statistics appear to be supported by literature that illustrates indigenous youth in New Zealand do not have equitable access to appropriate healthcare or equitable health outcomes compared to non-indigenous youth. In their study of over 2000 Māori students, Clark et al (2011) state that given these health concerns, access to appropriate healthcare is essential yet almost 50% of Māori youth could not access the care they had required during the last year. They also state ‘individual characteristics, particularly psychiatric disorders play a significant role in the origins of suicide and suicide attempts’ (Beuatrais cited in Clark et al. 2011, p.25).
SUICIDE AND DEPRIVATION

In 2012, the national suicide rate was highest among those who resided in deprivation quintile 4 and lowest in quintile 1 (14.0 per 100,000 quintile 4 population compared with 6.6 per 100,000 quintile 1 population). Suicide rates in both quintile 1 and 2 were significantly lower than suicide rates for those residing in quintiles 3–5 (Ministry of Health, 2015).

Table 5: NZ Percent of suicides by deprivation quintile and life-stage age group, 2012 (Ministry of Health 2012)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Life-stage age group</th>
<th>Percent of suicide deaths by deprivation quintile</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 (least deprived)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;15</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15–24</td>
<td>7.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>25–44</td>
<td>11.4</td>
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<td>45–64</td>
<td>14.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: New Zealand Mortality Collection

In Taranaki:

- Around 43% of the Taranaki population live in NZDEP2013 Decile 6, 7, 8 compared to 30% nationally.
- Māori are over-represented in the lowest decile, with 32% living in the top 20% most deprived areas, compared to 14% of non-Māori.
- In contrast, 7% of Māori live in the 20% of the most affluent areas compared to 16.3% of non-Māori.
For Taranaki Māori this relative health burden of ‘living in poverty’ presents another layer of risk for whānau, hapū and iwi. The suicide rate was 14.6 per 100,000 population in rural areas and 12.0 per 100,000 population in urban areas. Rural/urban data for Taranaki has not been able to be sought at this stage.
CULTURE AND HERITAGE

There is little doubt that the developmental pathways of Taranaki Māori could have escaped the influence of what Durie terms ‘the Diaspora’ (Durie, 2011, p.40) from the time of our tūpuna, our tauke through to current times. These important historical events mentioned above were not only particular to Taranaki, but the severity and devastation trail it left behind has certainly shaped the opportunities and experiences of Taranaki Māori. The combined and cumulative effects of war, land confiscation, dislocation from papakāinga, and urbanisation have also accompanied other colonising practice such as assimilation and acculturation via the Government’s social and political agenda that sought to further disenfranchise Taranaki whānau via political neutralisation, economic deprivation and reduction of personal and cultural autonomy. Financial and material deprivation of whānau today is incomplete without understanding the role played by the colonial government in relation to the early growth of Māori economic development and the impact of its loss through confiscation and war (Baker, Williams & Tuuta, 2012). There is an extensive literature that engages with the impact of historical trauma on indigenous peoples (Duran 2006, Duran & Duran 1995, Estrada 2009, Evans-Campbell 2008).

Measuring cultural responsiveness and connection to heritage was measured in the 2013 Census as connection/ability to kōrero in te reo Māori. Although the Taranaki Region has a larger proportion Māori than is the case nationally, it has the same proportion of Māori language speakers (3.5 per cent). However the picture differs markedly within the Region, with 5.1 per cent of South Taranaki’s population identifying as able to speak Māori, by comparison with 1.9 per cent for Stratford and 3.1 per cent for New Plymouth. The picture is also highly consistent by age, with every age group for South Taranaki having markedly higher proportions speaking Māori than New Plymouth, Stratford, or Total New Zealand. However the proportions speaking Māori are lowest for those aged around 55-59 years and also at 80+, at least in part reflecting lack of support for the Māori language when those people were young.
There is no question that Māori whānau have endured a violent history of colonisation. The legacy left in Taranaki is a unique experience mapped by ‘The Taranaki Report - Kaupapa Tuatahi WAI 143 Muru me te Raupatu - The Muru and Raupatu of the Taranaki Land and People’ (Waitangi Tribunal Report 1996). This first report connects the loss of land to the subsequent impact of cultural, social, political and economic marginalisation on cultural identity.

“They could be the largest in the country. There may be no others where as many Treaty breaches had equivalent force and effect over a comparable time. For the Taranaki hapū, conflict and struggle have been present since the first European settlement in 1841. There has been continuing expropriation by various means from purchase assertions to confiscation after war. In this context, the war itself is not the main grievance. The pain of war can soften over time. Nor is land the sole concern. The real issue is the relationship between Maori and the Government. It is today, as it has been for 155 years, the central problem” (The Waitangi Tribunal, 1996, p.1).

Outlining the concepts of individual and collective risk factors Durie (2005) differentiates between personal risk factors related directly to the individual and collective risk factors related to colonisation. These include “deculturation, insecure identity, whānau dysfunction, loss of balance between self, environmental, and other human relationships, and impact of colonisation seen in oppression, loss of autonomy, alienation from land and humiliation. Further, urbanisation, alienation from physical resources, institutional racism, loss of language, limited access to society’s wealth and blatant oppression have combined to make whānau vulnerable” (Durie, 2001, p.195).
The solutions for kaupapa Māori providers/advocates are for a self-determining view that acknowledges the complexity of the issue, the need for healing and the need for collective interventions. Which requires movement away from western models – ‘one size fits all’ and acknowledgement of the link between positive cultural identity and autonomy (self-determination) collective healing rather than an individualistic clinical solution (Lawson-Te Aho & Liu, 2010, Durie, 2001, Clark et al 2011).
TIKANGA RANGAHAU: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

The research project He Waipuna Koropupū explores and shares a knowledge base that could inform practice in relation to Taranaki Māori suicide. The project is grounded upon the notion that through Taranaki knowledge and information we can make significant changes in our approach to life and to our whānau relationships. He Waipuna Koropupū is primarily about whānau ora and the wellbeing of future generations through the reclamation and sharing of Taranaki Māori knowledge that can support intergenerational change and transformation. Taranaki Māori whānau, hapū and iwi deserve access to Kaupapa Māori approaches in order to help reclaim and inform decision making processes. For these reasons the research methodology utilised was Kaupapa Māori as defined by Smith (1997), ‘by Māori, for Māori, with Māori’. In accordance with the fundamentals of Kaupapa Māori the research has been defined, controlled and shaped by those who have been involved and affected by suicide within the Taranaki Region (Pihama, 2001). In general terms Kaupapa Māori refers to Māori philosophies, Māori approaches and Māori ways of being which are defined and controlled by Māori.

By Māori, for Māori, with Māori

Central to the approach of Kaupapa Māori theory, methodology and practice is the principle of Māori as self-determining. Kaupapa Māori is an approach that enables us as Māori to explore and draw upon our own people, our language and protocols to develop and utilise a range of services and initiatives within our communities. It is not a ‘one size fits all’ nor is it an individual approach because iwi specific ways of being and iwi dialects afford opportunity for numerous possibilities. Kaupapa Māori, however, provides a cultural and political framework that advances Māori aspirations and desires for Māori people.
The research team believes this to be the only appropriate methodology because it locates Māori understandings as central to the research design, process, analysis and intended outcomes (Smith 1997, Pihama, 2001). Kaupapa Māori provides a framework for enabling us to theorise and practice Māori research that validates Māori knowledge, Te Reo Māori me ona tikanga, the multiple Māori ways of doing things and for designing interventions that can make a positive improvement for whānau Māori.

In conducting the research within a Kaupapa Māori framework, the values and ethics were informed by Taranaki tikanga. This included the recognition of the values identified by Wenn (2007) as being inherent in any such approach. These values include wairua, whānau, whenua, te reo Māori, tinana and hinengaro. A Māori worldview is developed from the overarching framework that includes tupuna knowledge, values and beliefs and incorporates these into a contemporary worldview that addresses community interaction and provision of quality standards and criteria. The collaborative approach at all times observed principles such as, whānaungatanga, aroha ki te tangata, manaakitanga, rangatiratanga, and kaitiakitanga; principles that are fundamental to Māori society. The communication required for the gathering of information recognised these principles and ensured those essential values were maintained enabling acknowledgement and affirmation of mana, which included mana atua, mana whenua and mana tangata.

He Waipuna Koropupū research project set out to help build the evidence base of what will work for Taranaki Māori whānau, hapū and iwi in relation to engaging in a cultural dialogue about preventing Māori suicide. Whakapapa connections were utilised in the research approach and aligned to relationships within the wider Taranaki region; this has been an important aspect because Tū Tama Wahine o Taranaki (TTW) works closely with Taranaki whānau, hapū and iwi and those linkages were essential in achieving the goals of this research project.
RESEARCH METHODS

Kaupapa Māori emerges from the kōrero of the participants. The research method employed was empathetic to the knowledge and experiences of the participants and there was a strong cultural preference for the research to be conducted in a participatory manner (Pere and Barnes, 2009). An approach was applied where input from all participants and the information generated from recording of data allowed the research processes to emerge. This research project was a kanohi ki te kanohi approach, and included the accurate recording and transcription of data obtained and the establishment of a sound analytical framework for translating data into information (Wenn, 1983).

With Kaupapa Māori as the overarching methodology, this research was conducted in four distinct phases:

- Compiling a Literature Review and conducting Knowledge Holder interviews
- Key whānau informant interviews
- Facilitating hui and wānanga
- Identification of Key elements to support whānau understanding

A literature review has been undertaken in two distinct phases: the first, at the time of proposal submission and the second to provide an overview of the critical and authored literature, agency resources and Action Plans supporting suicide prevention in the Taranaki community.

An initial pilot group of interviews was conducted with knowledge holders whose knowledge base included mātauranga and tikanga Māori, te reo Māori, pūrākau and traditional stories in relation to suicide, waiata, mahi raranga, whakataukī and whakairo. Tū Tama Wahine o Taranaki (TTW) identified five individuals who had experience in relation to suicide and who had indicated a willingness to participate in an in-depth interview conducted by an approved qualitative Māori
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The recruitment process was through a range of networking, including seeking support from a range of Māori Providers and researchers in contacting participants who are currently involved in the area of the wellbeing of whānau within Taranaki. Four facilitated hapu hui were conducted; two within North Taranaki and two within South Taranaki to further explore Taranaki Mātauranga in relation to culturally based practices, beliefs and values around suicide occurrences and prevention activities.

For this project a process of ‘Personal Invitation’ to participate was utilised which reflected a form of karanga to those that were seeking to enter in to the conversation in the same way that we would enter onto a marae (formal gathering places) to engage in wānanga (gathering with focused discussion). This invitation brings a different interest and participation to the forum. Some things are just not heard or learnt unless one is listening from a sacred place/space, and invitation can be used to access this sacred space. When exercised in a respectful meaningful manner, such invitations can help break down barriers and prejudices. It is important that people are not mandated to attend such conversations but rather invited to help create an new future. There was a deep desire from participants to be able to talk safely about Māori suicide and to become informed about Taranaki history in relation to suicide. Block (2008), in his book ‘Community - The Structure of Belonging’ identifies invitation and conversation as keys to unlocking the silence.

The interview materials were transcribed and a process of thematic analysis was undertaken to determine key themes and to highlight those success elements that were articulated by participants. Alongside the thematic analysis a narrative approach was undertaken.
for the sharing of key themes within a story telling approach that enabled those engaging with the material to have access to those themes within the context of the wider interview. This also provided an opportunity for interviews to be read as whole contributions. Identification of key elements to support whānau understanding involved analysis of the collected data and its summation for the purposes of publication and later distribution through report and hui (while maintaining confidences).
HE MAUNGA TĪTŌHEA

In New Plymouth the Ministry of Justice office is named the ‘Atkinson Building’ after Arthur Atkinson. In the 1860’s Atkinson proclaimed his ‘duty’ in relation to Taranaki Māori, stating; “I find one lies in wait to shoot Māori’s without any approach to an angry feeling. It is sort of a scientific duty” Atkinson Journal, 5 Papers 11, p.49). Moana Jackson (1988) reminds us that we must understand the beginning if we wish to see the end. Understanding the context of Taranaki history is critical to understanding the deluge of suicides in Taranaki.

Since the arrival of Pākehā in Taranaki and their first settlement in 1841 there has been continuous conflict for hapū. Creeping land appropriation by the settlers was enabled, condoned and provoked by successive settler governments who did not shy away from using military and armed constabulary for over 40 years in their attempts to subjugate Taranaki hapū. In the 1860s Parihaka, a Māori settlement in the Taranaki tribal area became the center of a peaceful, passive resistance movement to address colonalisation, the surveying and alienation of hapū lands. The leaders of this passive resistance movement were Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi. Both were of Taranaki and Te Ātiawa descent. In the late 1870s, followers of the peaceful resistance prophetic leaders were told to plow and fence the stolen lands and thus disrupt the surveying activities. For over a two year period the peaceful protesters were arrested and incarcerated in the South Island. Protests, however continued peacefully, and on the morning of 5 November 1881, 1589 voluntary and armed constabulary troops invaded and occupied the peaceful village. 2000 people sat quietly on the marae while the Government Native Minister, riding a white charger, wearing a full military uniform and carrying a saber lead the armed invaders into the peaceful and unprotected papakainga of Parihaka. Amidst children singing, Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi were arrested and exiled from their homelands.

Parihaka was not only an autonomist village in 1881 it was supported by many iwi outside of Taranaki. Parihaka was a productive, cohesive and creative community whose occupants actively affirmed the belief
that Taranaki Māori autonomy was the foundation for peaceful coexistence with Europeans. The Waitangi Tribunal Report - Te Kaupapa Tuatahi (1996) dispels the illusion that it was just another ‘Sunday picnic outing’ stating clearly;

“The military invasion of Parihaka; the assaults on persons; the arrests; the forced removals; the theft; the destruction of homes, crops, and food supplies; and the restrictions on freedoms of association, speech, movement, and religion were unlawful abuses of State power – gross flagrant breaches of civil rights, which offended all civilised senses of decency.” (p.213)

In Chapter 8 of the report the Tribunal also points out that;

“Parihaka provides a damning indictment of a government so freed of constitutional constraints as to be able to ignore with impunity the rule of law, make war on its own people, and turn its back on the principles on which the government of the country had agreed.” (p.182)

The blatantly racist disrespectful attitudes shown towards distinguished tūpuna, who believed and whose culture supported the belief that Taranaki Māori autonomy was the foundation for peaceful coexistence; those same tūpuna who have at various times been described as savages and barbarians to influence settler attitudes and to justify land confiscations. The Waitangi Tribunal clearly enunciates this when it points out:

“For decades, the shameful history lay largely buried in obscurity. Young Māori were schooled to believe that those of their forebears whose images they should have carved with pride were simply rebels, savages or fanatics. The Government’s criminality was hidden.” (p.182)

For generations New Zealanders were not to know that forced removals, pass laws, and other suspensions of civil liberties, so often criticised of
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(p.182)

For generations New Zealanders were not to know that forced removals, pass laws, and other suspensions of civil liberties, so often criticised of governments elsewhere, had been applied here in Taranaki. The majority of people in this country also remain ignorant to the fact that when paying tribute to international peace activists such as Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr, that similar views and practices had first been enunciated by Māori. In fact the practices were first enunciated by, not just any Māori, but by Taranaki Māori.

Many Iwi and Hapū in Taranaki have continued to work, often in difficult contexts, with government in relation to trying to settle historical land grievances. The Fiscal Envelope policy of the 1990’s created a context where Treaty settlements were restricted by Crown policies and highlighted that the historical ideologies of colonial imperialism remain alive and well within Aotearoa. This is also highlighted within the systems of local government representatives who continue to lag behind Māori in intellectual capital as evidenced by protests over Māori representation on the New Plymouth District Council (NPDC) in 2015. The instigation of a binding referendum to deny Māori representation on the Council evidences the ongoing personal and institutional racism that was embedded in the 1860s within Taranaki is still dominate in current times. As stated in the Waitangi Tribunal Report - Te Kaupapa Tuatahi (1996) “There may be no others where as many Treaty breaches had equivalent force and effect over a comparable time” (p.1). Tellingly those breaches seem to be continuing with impunity in Taranaki and the systemic methodical attacks continue in a vain attempt to try and ground down any Taranaki Māori sense of cohesion.

It is widely accepted by not only iwi of Taranaki but by iwi throughout Aotearoa that the peaceful, passive resistance movement activities that were led by Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi were an act by Taranaki Māori of resistance to colonisation. The impact of colonisation on Māori in the Taranaki region cannot, nor should it be, compared to what happened to other iwi throughout Aotearoa. All tūpuna suffered. However, by the time the illegal, corrupt and ruthlessly aggressive invasion of the peaceful and unprotected village of Parihaka took place Taranaki had been a war zone for 40 years and unlike other areas Taranaki lands were confiscated prior to the cessation of hostilities. The Waitangi Tribunal Taranaki Report noted that 1,199,622 acres were confiscated in Taranaki and echoed the Royal Commission Inquiry into Confiscated Māori Lands (1927) the Sims Commission Report which stated that:
“Both the Taranaki wars ought to be treated ... as having arisen out of the Waitara purchase ... The Government was wrong in declaring war against the natives ... Dr Featherston called it, an unjust and unholy war ... we think that, in the circumstances, they ought not to have been punished by the confiscation of any of their lands”. (p11, no:14)

As such these undeniable and incontestable facts inform the background of this report. We are also informed by the words of Te Whiti o Rongomai that highlight the aspiration for our people to create pathways that enable Taranaki solutions within Taranaki.

“Nau te pahua tuatahi naku te pahua whakamutunga”
You plundered me first, but I will determine the final solution.
(Tr Whiti o Rongomai)
HISTORICAL TRAUMA

He Maunga Tītōhea
He waipuna koropupū
Ahakoa tukitukia e te poaka
E kore nei e mimiti
Ka koropupū, ka koropupū, ka koropupū

This Taranaki whakatauākī is a unique descriptor for Taranaki Mountain referencing it as being barren or improvised, however it is an ever bubbling pool of knowledge, although plundered by the pig (a reference to the Crown and its successive settler governments) it will never cease to bubble forth ideas and knowledge. It is often described as an instructional guidance from our Tupuna containing messages of hope and possibility for the future generations; embodied within are commands to persevere and to keep bubbling on despite the seemingly insurmountable assaults made upon us. It highlights the critical components of Tupuna resistance and future potential with the concept of the fluidity to adapt and the strength to sustain.

The project title ‘He Waipuna Koropupū’ originates from this whakatauākī and locates our work within an understanding of the context of colonisation and historical trauma. Such contextualisation is recognised internationally with the United Nations General Assembly calling the experience of colonalisation on indigenous peoples so traumatising that it is a crime against humanity (Kahukiwa 2002). Yellow Horse Brave Heart (2007)) defines Historical trauma as,
“cumulative emotional and psychological wounding, over the life span and across generations, emanating from massive group trauma experiences. The reaction to this intergenerational trauma (which reads almost like a menu of self-hatred) is the historical trauma response, which may include self-destructive behaviour, substance abuse, suicidal thoughts and gestures, depression, anxiety, low self-esteem, anger, intrusive trauma imagery, identification with ancestral pain, fixation to trauma, somatic symptoms, and elevated mortality rates. Associated bereavement accompanies historical trauma grief, known as historical unresolved grief. This grief may be considered impaired, delayed, fixated, and/or disenfranchised.” (p.177)

The collective privation across generations includes not only the denial of language and culture but also the denial of our wairuatanga, the spirituality which was embedded within the language and culture. Add to this the physical deprivations resulting from the theft of Taranaki lands and the embedded societal and institutional racism which successfully denied our assertions of sovereignty, and is reflected within the limited Māori participation in decision making, and achievement within our own lands the prime causality has been the quality of survival. Within such a context of intergenerational denial and subjugation it is not difficult to see how suicide has become so prevalent within our territory.

In Taranaki our Tūpuna had a vision for our future and this ngārara (monster) of colonisation was described by noted Choctaw scholar Karina Walters (2012), at a community lecture in Taranaki, as:

“a thief has embedded ‘genetic depression’ in our DNA. Our strong connection with the Creator, Ranginui and Papatuanuku has been practically severed by colonisation.” (Personal communication)

This was followed by Native American Psychiatrist Eduardo Duran (2012), at the same public lecture, where he described how:
The spirit of the perpetrator goes into the victim and that ‘perpetrator’ within the victim feels the guilt and shame which is now carried by the victim. Attempts to exercise the perpetrator often result in the person killing themselves, suicide. (Personal communication)

Those descriptions by both speakers have helped contextualise and to some extent externalise the emotional conflicts that arise in relation to suicide.

However, it is also important to note that resistance to the multitude of attempts and techniques to force Taranaki Māori to assimilate demonstrate the remarkable survival and resilience embedded in the power of whakapapa and the dynamic capacity to persevere. In fact the very act of healing in itself is an act of resistance against oppression. This is highlighted by one of those who participated within the research.

A genealogical way of looking at your life is not common, it does not matter that you do not know what your grandparents did beforehand and connecting all the way back. It is a one generational mind-set that you go and get your job and that is it. If you have kids, sweet, but that is about it. That is the kiwi lifestyle. It is not two or three generations back or more, or from the waka or from Rangi and Papa. (Participant)

We walk around knowing that we can connect instantly into thousands of years to the environment if we so choose to. They don’t have that so what happens is that the imposition that has been put into their minds and made them think that they are lesser. The whole reductionist, destroying of character, rebuilding it, it is historical trauma. It is because we have so many things to disentangle that have become far too hard for people with goodwill to try and effect and make changes to the trauma that people impose upon us. (Participant)
HISTORY OF SUICIDE IN Taranaki

Both the community conversations (‘Lifting the Lid’) and the interviews held for ‘He Waipuna Koropupū’ were grounded upon understanding our history, the impact of historical trauma events and discussing our relationship to what Eduardo Duran (2012) shared in his community talk as the “spirit of suicide” (Personal Communication). Questions were raised about past experiences within Taranaki in regards to suicide and if there are examples or cultural understandings that existed prior to colonisation that may give insight into how we can engage this issue today. Examples of questions raised in the ‘Lifting the Lid’ hui included: Do we have a cultural relationship with suicide and if so what did that look like? Do we have experiences of suicide in Taranaki? Is there such a thing as a genetic predisposition to suicide? These questions linked to wider discussion in the hui and also to comments made during the interviews. Participants shared their knowledge of Taranaki history and provided a contextualisation of events at Pukerangi where our tūpuna took their own lives.

I know I’m talking about another time, where they jumped off the cliffs, Pukerangi. They virtually jumped off, they would rather jump off the cliff and risk their lives and die than be captured by Waikato. So in essence that was the last option that they could think of, they didn’t want to be captured, and they didn’t want to be enslaved. They took the chance to jump off the cliff … Through desperation that is what they had to do and that was an option. To a certain extent that was like a whakamomori in itself. Once again it was about protecting the sanctity of life, rather than wanting to die on purpose … If they stood straight and got captured, [so] they were under a bit of tension but once again I think if it came from the perspective of them thinking about their sacred mana their tapu in themselves and they would rather die than let somebody else tamper with that. Putting it in the context, would I call it suicide? Probably not. In the respect that they were trying to save something else and that is their own tapu and their own mana — that is what they were trying to save … Having a relationship with suicide? I would really believe that we didn’t have a relationship with suicide. I think we had a relationship with
people, kaupapa, me nga atua, and those are all life giving relationships. Everything was about contribution and giving and receiving, and receiving is as important as giving, so actually having a relationship with suicide I don’t believe that we have a relationship with suicide. (Participant)
Whānau that shared within ‘He Waipuna Koropupū’ consistently raised the need for us to think deeply and carefully about the language we use in regards to suicide. In particular, a number of people highlighted the need for the correct terminology to be referenced in relation to suicide when kupu Māori are used. It was also stressed that when suicide of tangata Māori occurs it is critical that we correctly name and identify the situation. With the absence of the word ‘mate’ appearing in the description in relation to suicide it was felt that the actual impact is potentially minimised. The term ‘whakamomori’ is used often and frequently the act of killing oneself is not clearly articulated, hence reducing the true impact of the act. Using the correct kupu can be utilised as a Māori public health promotion knowledge reclamation exercise and can be packaged as a stairway, pathway to reclaim sacred space about whakamomori and whakamate.

One that is commonly known is like a whakamomori, but it really depends on the context of the conversation of what words or word you would use to illustrate someone taking their own life. I have heard in various forums mate kore rihari. I have heard various descriptions mate kino nei, anā nei tēnā mate, so various terms that I have heard being used to illustrate that somebody has taken their own life. (Participant)

Essentially the pressure and the build-up of internal tension within one- self. The suff ocation of one’s existence. That is my understanding of it, so through desperation there is a yearning, a mamae that compresses one to maybe be deluded or not stable as such so then you come into the terms of wairangi and pōrangi and all those different rangi and various levels of states of being while you are in a momori state. That is my understanding of that particular kupu of whakamomori. Mostly it is used for the verb, somebody who has
taken their own life. But to me the whakamomori is actually before the action. It is the state of being so prior to one taking that particular action or that māmae has already started and there are the various levels or states of being prior to the action of suicide. That is my understanding of that particular word. When they talk about this they talk about the states of being and the final act and the outcome is that person who is lying down in state. That is the outcome of the depression of whakamomori. It is a progression. (Participant)

That is the process of pōuri or depression that the person affected is going through... Leading towards. How to describe what state a person is in when they are in whakamomori. Modern newspapers from last century have a lot of articles about ngākau pōuri. Ngākau pōuri was something that was seen as a real heart affliction. You start to look at the deeper depression that they got into and the description of those depressions. Definitely ngākau pōuri and whakamomori and another word is hopohopo. Hopohopo is a type of fear that is far stronger than mātakau. Mātakau you are in control of your fear, hopohopo it is in control of you. It is these deep anxieties that occur and the extent to which they get engulfed in this process of whakamomori. That’s the time when people can see something is wrong. (Participant)

When it happens it is almost well it’s a known thing within society now and the further rebranding of something that was traditionally seen as a big no, no; all of a sudden seems like it’s not so much of a no, no! (Participant)
TARANAKI TIKANGA AND KNOWLEDGE ABOUT SUICIDE

"Pukenga Maunga. Rerenga te wai.
Knowledge comes from our mountain as does water. Where there is water there are people." (Matehuirua Limmer 2015)

Reclamation of Taranaki tikanga practices and concepts of koha, reciprocity, which are Māori strength based and empowerment approaches is highlighted as a key part of the conversations that were held. Returning our tikanga to the centre of whānau life as a normal day to day way of living offers the possibility of restoring order, balance and wellbeing into whānau. These are values that have helped keep whānau intact and aided survival for the last 175 years in the wake of the colonial violence experienced by our whānau, hapū and iwi. Karakia, whakatauki, pūrākau, waiata functioned in relationship with each other and provided mechanisms for the maintenance and reproduction of tikanga. They are strategic compositions that contain meticulous encoded messages for oral transmission and which were significant in regards to ako (learning and teaching processes) and informed deeply our pedagogical practices of intergenerational transmission. They are methods that are designed to instruct, warn, enlighten and educate. None are random or disconnected from the collective (the people), creation or history.

As far as waiata are concerned as I was talking about whakamomori, now there is a state of being within whakamomori about pōuri tension, the mamae. There are many waiata that definitely demonstrate or express mamae. There are waiata here in Taranaki or throughout Taranaki that have been written to express the mamae and hurt and tension that one has, maybe within their family of a particular issue, and that was a way to relieve that pressure so possibly he rongoā. Yes there was that option or that avenue to
express their mamae to get it out there to let it be known; so possibly either that or a huarahi that can be looked at. We do have a lot of waiata with those particular expressions in it, that address mamae. The other things that we do have here in Taranaki there are a lot of whakatauki and kōrero about the sanctity of life which is a different angle; then particular suicide so it is coming from a different angle. So there is karakia, there is waiata, there is whakatauki, kōrero, pūrākau which all express the sanctity of life and so the classic example of that is te maungārongo, hohou te rongo; so all of those expressions talk about how sacred life is. It doesn't really address the suicide issue directly but it actually makes the focus on how special life is. And I see that as a real taonga for Taranaki to address those who have been left behind. Somebody may have taken their life but how do we address those who have been left behind. Talking about how sacred and how special life is and knowing that somebody cares. We have waiata that, Aroha ki te tangata. We have got all of these expressions from Taranaki too, from Taranaki people. (Participant)

The whakatauki that fits above all of this is He kākano āhau nō Rangiātea. Like I say if we don't look after them it will mean we will have one less on the Paepae and we have been denied that rangatira. He's gone she's gone. (Participant)

That you could align to such whakatauki like ko te aroha te mea nui, ko te tangata or something like that it depends on how you interpret that love for your family, love them to bits as this is the core value. The value of being united, being loving, being caring, being family orientated. All those come out of that whakatauki. (Participant)

The ultimate sacredness of the person te tapu o te tangata when we looked at those scenarios of how people were traditionally, you were just placed in a very sacred place because you are a very sacred person ... I have actually got a karakia, it is all around mana ki te tangata, mana ki te wahine, mana ki te tipuranga o te rangatahi, which again was around the pūrākau kōrero and karakia were a way of reciting for us not to forget that you are sacred, do not forget that you have mana … But basically the kōrero was passed on … have specific karakia that are related to the value of human life, the value of life to everyone. (Participant)
Definitely, that story with Māui, the immortality and unfortunately regardless of one person’s taking of the life, they just sped up what was inevitable. The inevitability of death is one thing that we can sort of take on board as being kind of that’s the main endeavor for all of us to understand, is how to get through death. Not the type of death, it is more about the conversation between Māui and her about mortality. They are one and the same person. It depends how you frame the story. If you want to frame it around the atrocity that occurred to create Hinetitama and then Hinetitama turning herself into Hine nui te Pō, they are one and the same person, taking on different roles. The decision for her to take on that role as Hinenui te Pō to a certain extent was what Tane did. But it was more the love of her next descendants coming on so she can welcome them on, the next generation. If we got that right, we go willingly and happily knowing she will embrace us. And then she takes everybody in so that is really important - there is no division between what we do in this day and age that will determine where you are going to go the next. That is no good. If we all knew that we were going to the same place by a woman who chose to do it. It is a bit like Jesus he sacrificed himself on the cross. So did Hinenui te Pō but it is a women, a female and she is going to love and embrace us like all our mothers do. And the fact is that we try to be immortal but we lost out and so the mortality actually defines us. It defines us so much that our tangi institutions, it is not about the haka, it is about the tears. (Participant)

The common ones of course are those whakatauki, kōrero, waiata of various forms, we have got mātauranga that can address these particular states as it progresses to that particular action. That should be the very last, oh nah, it shouldn’t even be an option. We should have these gates in place that address the different states and the progression of the whakamomori that we are talking about. Anybody could argue I suppose, how do you know how somebody is and what state, and I think that is probably the real work of our people is to identify those states. I suppose you could call them assessments but that sounds too clinical for me. We have our own templates, they are in our karakia, if you just had a look at our karakia and the kaupapa of our karakia all of the various states are in there and there are various ways to climb in and out of those states. Those templates are there. (Participant)
The marginalisation of Taranaki knowledge in relation to suicide is one of the effects, as outlined in the introduction, of colonising forces invading Taranaki. The impact continues to this day as the symptoms of historical trauma reveal themselves through many forms of both imposed and internalised violence. The eroding and marginalisation of Taranaki mātauranga continues daily as those historical trauma impacts trigger certain responses and behaviours amongst our people. It also continues, the colonising process of continued settlement of tāuiwi and others in Taranaki means there remains an ongoing struggle for validation of hapū and iwi on their own lands. It is clear from the conversations and interviews held that reclamation of Taranaki mātauranga in relation to relationships and interaction between collectives is central to supporting the recovery of Taranaki Māori intellectual infrastructure. Many examples of the centrality of Māori and Taranaki knowledge were shared throughout the conversations.

Here are some examples of this, this is the perspective of our tūpuna who really treasured and cherished life. Nā te pō te kai hari o te ao, nā te mate te kai hari o te ora, that is the classic example of how even in a state of despair that is the carrier and will bring you to appreciate life. Those terms and expressions are specifically to Taranaki and knowing that expression, I suppose there is probably a gap from actually knowing some of this stuff and actually educating or getting it out there so that the general public can understand those concepts. (Participant)

You do it proactively. You look for the opportunity where “I have to speak, I have to sing I’ll bring out that song”. So that is how it is. It is not just a random, pick a song to get through the tikanga. You actually find a song that is close to where you are at this time. You consciously engage with the emotions in that song to get through the phase that you are in in your life at that time and if you can be more specific, the more engaged you are in the details of the song then it becomes more fulfilling. The tunes, the melodies are such beautiful melodies that the more you sing them the more you can get through them. I think that is one of the gifts that our ancestors had is that beautiful sound, connection to sound. (Participant)
The karakia, because those karakia start from Te Kore, talk about Rangi and Papa, the wānanga, the wehe mai i te wehe, there was a job for their children to do that was tiaki rāua you know. Ētehi tiaki Rangi, ētehi tiaki Papatūānuku and those karakia surround them, because they are the wairua hoki atu ki tōu tuakana, hoki atu ki te whānau o te pūngāwerewere rā nei, o ngā mea rere ana, ngā ika. That’s what I mean hoki atu, you are not just a wairua that goes into the wind and becomes nothing; kei te haere tonu to wairua engari e hara hei te tangata hei te tuakana. That’s what I mean so my karakia are like that; go back to your first whānau. Because when Rangi and Papa and all their children you know they had whānau and more whānau and whānau, they have got so much whānau now that half of them don’t even know where they came from first of all. So those karakia say hoki atu ki te whānau tuatahi, haere mai to whānau tuatahi ki te tutaki i a koe ki te tau i a koe; so you can go back there because you have forgotten who you were connected to. Karakia, because you have got the kawa tuatahi, ko te kawa tuawhā, ko te kawa tuatoru, ko te kawa tuawhā; because those kawa are all about tuakana.

( Participant )

One of the interpretations of Ngā rā o Maehe? That line, it has got ‘te rere mai a te ao. ’ Basically the kōrero is no matter what the world throws at us we will stand up and be- ahua reka. ‘Ahua reka ana te rere mai a te ao, nā runga kai ruru.’ So even though we’re in a state of starvation and being downtrodden and stuff, ‘ahua reka,’ we’ll actually use that to inspire us. The words, the models to inspire us. ( Participant )

But also the pride that we can take on our tūpuna upholding themselves with dignity, being political prisoners with dignity, dying with dignity and coming back with dignity and embodying ‘patu te hoariri ki te rangimārie.’ So we deflect the hoariri by that. So how are we generally speaking, if we are able as Taranaki whānui, or pockets of Taranaki whānui, or collectives of Taranaki whānui able to resolve that trauma in our own way? In a way that allows us to vent, that allows us to cry and not vent at each other but vent at what is, what was, to get a better understanding, some critical awareness.

( Participant )
[The waiata ‘Poua’ from Aotea…..and that talks about Tū-te-nganahau. It talks about in the second verse – you know that’s a waiata tangi. We are addressing a person that has passed away. You’re yeaming for them to be upright and standing like a pou. “Poua anō koe e te motu nei, te kī atu kia hoki mai ki ahau. He ara tāpokopoko, te ara i haere ai koe.” There are two schools of thought around that line which is talking about - tāpokopoko is like a swampy place where you trudge through. So you are trying to walk across a swamp and you know back in the day when we were kids, if you had gumboots on you would get sucked down and you would have to go [suction sound] and be pulled out of the mud. That is my understanding of tāpokopoko. So one school of thought is that’s what you have just been through, life is just like that. Or, he ara tāpokopoko, you are embarking on a journey that is arduous in the afterlife so you’ve got that sort of journey in front of you, tāpokopoko. “He ara tāpokopoko, te ara i haere ai koe. You can take it various ways but it is a natural thing you are going to die, death is something that can’t be negotiated with. That’s the sort of kōrero that people talk about from Poua. Second verse “Nā wai i tiki mai tahitahi, nā te toa nei nā kuru koe tiki mai tahitahi. Kia pai ai he nohohanga mō te tama nei, mō Tū-te-nganahau.” Basically it says that part of dying is that you actually have to make space for the new generations. Tū-te-nganahau. So for me that invokes kōrero around Tū-te-nganahau is an aspect of element of Tū as in Tūmatauenga. As I understand, Tū-te-nganahau is to be able to stand upright in the wind. It is when you get kaihautū, a similar sort of whakaaro. No matter how hard the wind is blowing you are still standing upright so Tū-te-nganahau is the element of survival or the element of intergenerational survival. (Participant)
There are alarming numbers of suicide recorded for Taranaki. Between July 2007 and May 2015 Māori represent 19% of all suicides in the eight year period. These statistics are not reflective of the true picture of suicide of Taranaki Māori. During the time period that this research project was undertaken there were five other tūpāpaku returned to Taranaki for burial that are known to the research team, however because the suicides occurred outside of Taranaki they were not reflected in the regions statistics.

My nephew who died, he grew up in Taranaki; I thought you are part of this, but you killed yourself in ... you were brought up here. He was brought up in ... all his life so he’s part of that so that’s what brought that back to me it gave me a bit of a shock, such a small place, and that many people have done that to themselves, in my neighborhood that I didn’t know about it shocks me. It shocks me it really does. (Participant)

Also the statistics are too generalized to provide us with meaningful understandings in regards to hapū and Iwi. Whānau talked about their understandings about the impact of the historical trauma in Taranaki and the contribution of that through disconnecting whānau and the silencing that surrounds suicide.

I think you go right back to our history in the 1880’s in terms of what happened after European contact. For me I think that it’s a loss of our language and part of that was a cultural taking of a lot of our Tikanga in terms of how we would have dealt with things. I think that’s got a lot to do with it, I’ve got no evidence, I’ve just got the guttural feeling with what happened to our people, our old people talk about those happenings having a detrimental effect in terms of our upbringing our life. (Participant)
We really have to think about our historical past, how that has impacted on us as a people from back then to now our people have lost conversation. (Participant)

That was as a result of historic issues, there were elements of historic mental illness within the whānau, there were elements of depression within the rangatahi himself, but on top of that probably the most impacting thing ... had come down to the lack of tikanga within that whānau. The lack of firm values to ensure that that rangatahi was well supported. Because when we look at some of the impact of the issues within that whānau, mum had been unable to provide correct guidance for some of the rangatahi. I guess on top of that [is the] vacant Dad. (Participant)

I think it is a social problem. If you have a look it sort of matches the statistics with crime, with drugs, low social economic areas, it seems to be part of society's social make-up and we know that there are more Māori people in the prisons disproportionate to non-Māori. I just think it is in line with those other kaupapa as well. (Participant)

I think when somebody takes their own life; everybody loses. Everybody loses. There are no winners in the game; there are no winners in there. Whereas if you were having a relationship is that the kind of relationship the kind of outcome you want from that relationship for everybody to lose? I suppose we formed relationships with kaupapa, with people, with our spiritual side so that we can interact and everyone can become winners. Personally I don’t believe that we have a relationship. Have we in 2015 come to the stage we are starting to have a relationship with it? I think that things have happened and the end result has been suicide and we are trying to unravel it and give it some kind of context within Te Ao Māori. That is what we are trying to do, how we can put it in perspective. Once again that is the end result. I would rather have the relationship with the people when there are thoughts of suicide. When there is a lead up towards the action that is where the relationship should be prior to the end result; the outcome. I am no expert on this but there has got to be some indicators and it is also a tapu subject as well, not many people like to talk about it because it is something bad. Like, is the wrong word but they are uncomfortable, uneasy to talk about because of the stigma around it, very similar to depression and mental illness. First of all, that stigma, once you get over that then I think we can have some brave talks with our families. Once again I think it is those relations prior to the actual action. I think prior to the actual action. By the time the action has taken place it is too late. (Participant)
Informants advised that suicide was not talked about as a topic of conversation nor was it that apparent when growing up. When a death did arise it was usually spoken about in descriptive terms in relation to the manner of death and apparently without judgement about the manner in which the death occurred.

You know, as a child growing up suicide was not a big thing it wasn’t a big thing in terms of being talked about in the house at all, when we knew. Well Suicide in itself is a new word. (Participant)

Because I remember you know our family talking about, oh, he hung himself or he shot himself. But there was no reference to suicide or mention of any suicide. (Participant)

It’s not openly talked about, you just hear about it. (Participant)

I think it has always been there but maybe people are looking at that as being an option, maybe in the past it hasn’t quite been an option ... and people were more aware of it but I think it comes back to the whakamomori state as well that once we get into those areas of unwellness, pressure and tension within one’s self it comes to a grinding halt where they think it is better off if they weren’t actually here. It has become an option. You have to put it in the context of each individual’s family’s as well and that is hard to do if you are not in the family or not in that grouping. (Participant)

Whānau in the conversations and interviews did however identify other behaviour known to them such as family violence, sexual abuse, alcohol abuse, neglect, physical abuse and drug abuse.
Informants advised that suicide was not talked about as a topic of conversation nor was it that apparent when growing up. When a death did arise it was usually spoken about in descriptive terms in relation to the manner of death and apparently without judgement about the manner in which the death occurred.

You know, as a child growing up suicide was not a big thing it wasn’t a big thing in terms of being talked about in the house at all, when we knew. Well Suicide in itself is a new word. (Participant)

Because I remember you know our family talking about, oh, he hung himself or he shot himself. But there was no reference to suicide or mention of any suicide. (Participant)

It’s not openly talked about, you just hear about it. (Participant)

I think it has always been there but maybe people are looking at that as being an option, maybe in the past it hasn’t quite been an option ... and people were more aware of it but I think it comes back to the whakamomori state as well that once we get into those areas of unwellness, pressure and tension within one’s self it comes to a grinding halt where they think it is better off if they weren’t actually here. It has become an option. You have to put it in the context of each individual’s family’s as well and that is hard to do if you are not in the family or not in that grouping. (Participant)

Whānau in the conversations and interviews did however identify other behaviour known to them such as family violence, sexual abuse, alcohol abuse, neglect, physical abuse and drug abuse.

Just bad behaviour rapes and things but not suicide, other bad things that happened, yeah but not suicide. (Participant)

Others saw that these issues and behaviours potentially contributed to suicidal ideation and suicide. Informants acknowledged that those behaviours were learned behaviour and have impacted severely on some families. It was noted that our society is experiencing the ‘hangover’ from colonalisation with the impact of alcohol and drug abuse on succeeding generations and the ‘suicide epidemic’ is linked to the alcohol drug issues that are also epidemic within our communities.

I see the use of drugs out there is quite frequent and its open and its high and I think that’s a contributing factor to suicide. (Participant)

… had depression and trying to get to the bottom of depression. So you couldn’t put it down to one aspect although in that instance sexual abuse was the reason for it. (Participant)

[One] was into Tikanga and into the arts and the other one was just totally not, and she was being abused, now that I understand those things, that’s why she was very wary. She had been a victim and battered and I didn’t know that then but knew that something wasn’t right. [It] was weird and she would never speak anything Māori so anything Māori we had to go back to [others]. (Participant)

I remember they used to talk about it all the time and then they used to go and address the issue, whether it had been family violence or domestic violence or whether it would be alcohol problems. It wasn’t the same drug problems. I remember alcohol was quite prevalent in the 70s and I remember the domestic violence that used to be quite heavy … We are the outcome of that society, you know, that wasn’t too much in the distant past; we see families in that state now where alcohol dictates. (Participant)
IMPACT ON FUTURE GENERATIONS

“Diseases are stories etched into our land and bodies. Even if they are our inherited legacies they can be re-written” (Ramona Beltran 2012)

Beltran during her ‘Community Korero workshop’ at Tū Tama Wahine o Taranaki (2012) spoke of trauma and illness as being “etched into our land and bodies” as a direct consequence of historical and colonial trauma. Brave Heart (2000) identifies historical trauma as a major influence upon high mortality rates and sitting alongside alcohol related conditions and homicide is suicide. Intergeneration trauma is imbedded within historical trauma and because of the influence of the colonising churches in Taranaki there is also a heavy dose of shame attached to suicide. It was highlighted by a number of Hui participants that these factors can combine to maintain an unholy silence about suicide in our communities. It was described as an unholy silence because of the distancing and detachment they perceived to be present across Taranaki in relation to suicide. There was a deep desire from participants to be able to talk safely and with relevance about Māori suicide and to become informed about Taranaki history in relation to suicide. This work is about those practices and (as was the intention of our tūpuna) to provide pathways for living for our tamariki and mokopuna.

... we really have to think about our historical past, how that has impacted on us as a people ... from back then to now our people have lost conversation. They have lost conversation in terms of we always had to sit at the table and eat and there was always a conversation happening around the table, that doesn’t happen anymore. You get people some of our people sit and play on phones so there is no conversation no eye contact in the mix of that. They have lost values their values have changed, they have lost our values as Māori, and their values have changed I think that’s probably some of the impact on that. (Participant)
I think that the principle of life is such a strong force it will create a huge disdain for it [suicide]. Focus on the value of life and the principle of life. If you are comparing how we measure engagement with the potentiality of life against those who go against the potentiality of life I think life will win. Let’s put things into context because the stats make you feel that it is just one direction in terms of life and death but if we are measuring how life renews itself as much as how we sever life by our own individual decisions. It is interesting you know you can’t stop the sun coming up, can’t stop the flowers blossoming, you can’t stop the seasons coming, the tides coming in, those are all the life. Once you engage with it you can see that it is so prevalent all omnipresent death becomes quite minimal but it is part of life, it is not life with a part of death. Life is finding space for death not the other way around but if they want to do that then it just sort of goes against why we are human. It is the old kind of drive to find the next plan, the next common thing; it is such an important drive in us. (Participant)

The issue of abandonment of Māori male children by Māori men often left with their Pākehā mothers without any whakapapa or cultural support is abhorrent and is an issue for every region not just Taranaki. However it needs to be addressed at the highest levels within Te Ao Māori.

You know when we lose those young lives unnecessarily; we have been robbed of the talents for our paepae. You know they come with their talents. So for everyone that dies unnecessarily, we are robbed of that skill of that person of that whānau from our paepae. (Participant)
But this night he decided no f… you I'm not coming you know because that's how he behaved so anyway he took his life. He decided that that's what he wanted to do so he did it, so those kids are still suffering today and their children are suffering as well they are old enough to have children. Not having that father and grandfather figure there. Not just not having him there but just knowing why he died is impacting on them as well probably not the little ones but the children. And I have heard one of his kids say I would be better off dead so you know that's an impact. And they drink alcohol it's become part of their life, so is drugs. There's family relationship breakdown somewhere that's still impacting today on those little ones. So using that as an experience you can see generations; these three generations that have been impacted on. (Participant)

There is no quick fix we've got to spend a lot more time studying the whānau dynamics and their circumstances to be able to align some of our practices, value practices to meet their current needs? We can't just write a prescription to go there, do this, do that, buck yourself up we've got to understand what is actually happening for the whānau. (Participant)

He wanted to be with us as he grew up with his Pākehā family; he didn't have those things until he met us. And my brother got rid of him because his girlfriends were first. So he didn't want to be a father to him, so he tried to come to us and dad would talk about Māori things to him and he loved it, and when he was carving when he was wood working he loved that, he was awesome. You could see it in his āhua that he loved that creating, there was a build-up, he went to my sister, he went to everybody except me, I was here, but he was over there and went to Mum and Dad to another … sister to another sister … until that sister there could see something was wrong. She said there is something wrong with him…. he was looking for something and she didn't know what it was. She thought he just smoked too much drugs and she rung me and I said he's taking drugs for a reason find out what that it is. She said “I think it’s our brother, he wants to be close to his Dad. But our brother is more interested in his girlfriend's then he is in him, so he tried to find a relationship with us … he was looking to belong, that was sad. (Participant)
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The importance of training whānau to understand how they belong and why they are valued was reiterated on multiple occasions by the research and wānanga participants. Participants spoke of whānau wānanga, whānau leadership stepping up and in particular in relation to embracing tikanga to empower the kāinga back into a caring, responsive, responsible and accountable social structure.

It is very vital for us to have tikanga and values that help align our thinking and way forward, as a whānau. For us Māori it is to have these values in store, so that is basically a coping strategy for our people to move forward when we do come up against things we are able to move forward transition through those hardships adequately to ensure that we don't come up against these sorts of issues. Its values that ensure that you know who you are, and that identity is kept strong and that tikanga and kawa are things we just don't choose to listen to its more we do it and that assists a whānau to have a strong standing ground so that when things may come up there's protocols in place to address things that can be difficult. Things that show where people belong; whakapapa their marae. Where people are connecting back to their tūrangawaewae in regards to a whānau that may be unaware of their whakapapa, who they are or where they are from and that's where it's important for them to establish, or rekindle, especially that identity reconnecting back to your whānau, hapū, iwi back to your marae. We can talk about installing dedication and enduring commitment to who you are as a Māori, in terms of your identity that also falls out of ensuring that that understanding is there first. (Participant)
HE RONGOĀ: PROTECTIVE FACTORS AND HEALING

Research undertaken within Taranaki titled ‘Tu Ka Ora: Traditional Healing Stories From Taranaki (Reinfeld, Pihama & Cameron 2015) highlights that within the region there remains strong knowledge sources about healing that was undertaken by our tūpuna. LisaNa Redbear (2015) at a Mental Health training in Taranaki stated;

“There is an understanding, within Indigenous people’s culture and customs of the inter-relatedness of ceremonial healing and artistic creation. Just as in the times of our ancestors, we need ‘ceremony’ relevant to the ills and monsters we face in the present. We need sound, image and understanding to assist us in decolonising our heart, mind and body.” (Personal Communication)

A key overarching finding of this research is that whānau held for many generations key knowledge about traditional healing practices. The revitalisation movement in regards to te reo and tikanga has given impetus to the rejuvenation of healing knowledge that can be drawn upon to support the wellbeing of our people.

Well Māori can only address Māori issues no one else can address our issues. Some of the thinking for me at the moment, you get other people in to Māori territories address some of their issues and it never gets addressed like it should. With a Māori kaupapa you know, it doesn’t matter if they can’t speak the reo, if they have got a ngākau Māori then you are in there. I mean I asked a girl yesterday I think “pēhea to wairua?” and she said well I’m not hearing voices. I laughed at her and said ok, so your wairua is ok, but you know, we don’t ask those questions. If we ask them so we normalize the question they answer them. (Participant)
How different would we be in our view of life if we were able to empower our people with the knowledge of Māori lifestyle? That hasn’t happened. So we haven’t got to the point that we know how much our people need to know about themselves in order to be free from the negative influences that are destroying them. (Participant)

That is why I like Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori because a lot of what they teach there is about how special life is and how special being alive and belonging to something really is. Those are sorts of institutions that contribute to making it conscious within the minds of our children that they are special and they have worth. That is part of it if you are missing a link culturally you are almost handicapped. You haven’t got all the tools so it doesn’t really matter if you are brought up in another culture but particularly for Māori we need to know who we are, where we have come from because that is another tool that you can use within your kite of life. Having those values of ensuring that life is valued that life is special and having those kōrero around it and they are articulated either in Te Reo Māori or they have articulated in a Māori world view, they will definitely help one to understand and be more conscious about the sanctity of religion and the sanctity of life. I do believe that there is a big element of knowing who you are and where you are from, from a Māori perspective and some of those Māori values. There is a focus on community if we are specifically talking about language, the revival of the language it is about trying to have a major influence on the family, and on the nuclear family I don’t like that word nuclear but and then from that nuclear family those teachings can be spread and widened to the wider family. So that is the focus and with this particular kaupapa … I think the approach should be the same, I think the approach is to go into the family and give that base mātauranga about the sanctity of life and that should be the words that should be resonating throughout the household and to a number of households and then to the neighborhood. Those sorts of expressions should be heard. (Participant)

The effect of the Tohunga Suppression Act 1907 further marginalised Māori expertise in the healing arts particularly in the sphere of mental and spiritual wellbeing (Durie 2001). Repositioning the role of knowledge holding elders and all elders to one of protector but also with the responsibility to address the circumstances, initiate cultural
processes and pull people back to a firm direction and purpose for living. Karina Walters has consistently reaffirmed and reminded us that we are not our ancestors but we are our ancestor’s sons and daughters and that they had a vision, moemoeā for us (Walters 2012). They did not die or conduct a peaceful, passive resistance movement, plow up lands in the face of armed and hostile colonialist’s, be imprisoned without trial in harsh bleak conditions, be used as slave labour for us their mokopuna to get to this century and begin to kill ourselves in droves. They did not die for us for this to be the result. This is not their moemoeā, their vision or aspiration for us and it is important to reconnect to what their vision for us was. We have a responsibility to ‘call’ the wairua back into the body, back into the collective body to heal. And as stated earlier healing from historical trauma is in itself an act of resistance to oppression.

Again it depends on the circumstance whether it’s a tangi, well it’s to give peace to the family for this time; it might be for an opening of something; they are there. It’s a bit like a doctor with all their specific diagnosis specialists theses fallas are specialists too. (Participant)

With regard to our tūpuna kōroua who had been given the gift of his wairua, his gift was around the healing of wairua, te pōharatanga o te wairua so effectively within the whānau it goes back to getting a mind back into the utmost purity or the ngāhere or reconnecting them back to a pure state of mind which was tikanga … rekindling back into the ngāhere, the process of noa within our awa, sacred sites, drawing on traditional understandings, and in that regard was definitely a tikanga that was practiced. (Participant)

Our tūpuna had steps to address the pōuri, the mamae, the mate hinengaro and these come in various forms. (Participant)

The term healing means many different things to many people and is made more complex because of the denial of the traumatic colonialising history of Taranaki. Those involved in this project highlighted throughout that identity and understanding ones history directly influences our lives. As such there is an emphasis on the need to be able to embark on what is likely to be a life long journey of awakening awareness about whānau, hapū and iwi history within
Taranaki. Such an awakening, revealing process is both multi-layered and takes time. When a hapū, whānau or significant members in a whānau lose purpose, have no knowledge or feeling about their ‘calling’ in life, loose focus and direction in life; the physical and spiritual disconnection is complete and the weave, the fabric the meaning of life disintegrates. There is a total disconnection between the present generations being interconnected from our past and our future in present time, as in now. This is what Taranaki is coping with. Protective factors and healing are closely connected with the reclamation and revitalisation of the fabric of Te Reo o Taranaki me ngā Tikanga.

Something is not right. You know, there is purpose for lamenting and then there is lamenting on your own constantly. That is something that we don't do as an effective form of healing. It is supposed to be an emotional connection fulfilment and you are being mirimiri'd by it. It has gone into more ritual function than it has gone into emotional healing with a lot of our arts and it requires spontaneity for it to be real. But as events occur we have the material there to bring out when you need it that is the magic. But you need to be constantly fulfilling that emptiness with laments as they did. (Participant)

Selective amnesia in this country encourages everyone to identify as ‘kiwi’, forget history and culture of origin and validates such understanding through such things as the recent Television New Zealand ‘Kiwi Meter’ development online www.tvnz.co.nz/one-news/new-zealand/kiwimeter-kind-kiwi-you Dominant colonial discourses serve to marginalise the history of Aotearoa and maintain the social alienation and oppression of Indigenous Nations.
Social alienation of members of the community is a new phenomenon that has been systematically driven, manufactured. Where to have no identity is to be better than when you have a complete identity. For anyone in that community in traditional times, social alienation would have been through war, through muru, but not through a systematic break down of your mental reflections of who you are and to say you are not worthy of this community. A lot of European have trouble with the Māori way we would embrace the drunken, the rangatira, how the rangatira would work with the slaves. They are still having trouble with that. Our ability to put aside our sovereignty and be down with the people because the community was what made you who you were. This current context is really about surviving in a socially alienated environment where we are rebuilding the platform for you to be part of something that you are legitimately part of. (Participant)

The values of belonging to a hapū, whānau hapū, and iwi and knowing your tūrangawaewae and whakapapa that these things have to be instilled early so that they are almost immovable; and then somebody has always got that as a reserve, when things get hard. (Participant)

Education and awareness and promotion of how we are trying to beat this from the outside in, really we need to go on the inside out and that is what various organisations try and do, they try and get inside the family, and within the family to fix a problem or address particular issues within their context. (Participant)

Prior to colonisation our people within Taranaki, like other iwi throughout Aotearoa, did not require policing nor did we have jails (Mikaere 2011). Mātauranga Māori provides us with ancestral understandings and practices for how to move within a contemporary world (Nepe 1991). Mōteatea, whakatauākī and traditional teachings related to ātua Māori are examples of Māori traditional knowledge that provide guidance in all aspects of our lives (Broughton 1993, Pihama et al 2015). The roles within Māori society were also guided through mātauranga Māori with a number of whānau discussing roles and responsibilities of Māori men in educating Māori boys to understand their relationship to Māori women as Te Wharetangata, and in supporting the collective and matriarchal structures that were a part of specific communities.
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Discussion dedicated to Māori men focused upon (i) their requirement to take control of their trauma and return to the homelands and (ii) a need to increase knowledge that enables them to help nurture the wellbeing of the whānau and collective. Participants highlighted that Taranaki should be clearly articulating what is expected of a Taranaki Māori man, as distinct from what is expected of Māori men of other hapū and iwi living in the Taranaki region. Taranaki needs
to confront the issue of the pathologising of Māori men, which has been reinforced by the successive layers of state violence for 200 years, and has contributed significantly to their disconnection from whānau, hapū, iwi, te reo and tikanga. It is highlighted that we need to extend invitation and a requirement for Māori men to exit their marginalised positioning and stop dwelling on the fringes of society. Some participants spoke of the need for Māori men to return to their homelands and in doing so to return to the centre of the whānau with a renewed quest for purpose, identified direction. These participants considered that to do so would enable a reconnection towards healing and to reposition them in line with their whakapapa, rights, responsibilities and obligations. Where reconnection to whānau, and whenua strengthens life purpose it is also critical that adequate and appropriate support systems, resources and reconnection to te reo, tikanga and mātauranga Māori are accessible and seen as essential in regards to prevention and intervention of suicide.

How do you work this out so that you know that everybody is a winner here? Getting back to the bravado that is what I have seen bravado, expectation and ego. I look back now at the different ones that I have seen, there are different elements of those in all of that for the men. Well, there is probably a preference where you would like a male influence within a home especially if you have got male children, that is the ideal but if you have got some uncles who can share that mahi. Pick up responsibility for their nephews. That is all good but does it have a major influence on our younger tama tāne taking their own lives? I have no idea. I think it is more than one issue and I think there is a bigger picture. (Participant)

I think there is obviously no one answer to this question but what I probably would like to say is that we have to be engaged in our families and start to live as families and respect each other as families. I believe it starts at the home and as children. I am dad, I was a dad when they were born, I was a dad when they were 5 and 10, 15, 25 so I will always be their dad but as they grow up I will treat them as a 10 year old as opposed to a 5 year old. I will
treat them as a 20 year old. It is my responsibility to identify my role within the family and I think that I am a son as well and my dad is getting older so I think it is about keeping those relationship and communications open. (It) is that we talk about it and then we make sure that we are aware that this does happen and that is to ‘plug’ in to one another. Besides that it is the kaupapa that needs to be addressed on many levels. Te Reo Māori does play a big part and I think identifying the whakamomori process right up to the action and then of course there are all those tikanga rituals that have to take place once that has been done. In as far as looking after, once again the living, the circumstances around that particular action. (Participant)

The respect for identity, the marae and belonging kuia and kōroua instilled a respect for life and keeping alive the tūpuna connections, like you are alive so the tūpuna are alive. … We are the living versions of our Tūpuna… Put those states of mind back into a pure form back into the ngāhere as a way of refreshing or rebooting the thinking and that it was a daily thing to always feel important you are a chiefly person everybody is chiefly… So if you were wayward or your whakaaro was out of line you were always pulled into line and everybody knew that, that’s just normal. So I guess it became normality rather than a fear. (Participant)

We are celebrating our mortality and also celebrating that without loss there is no interaction or engagement with each other. They go hand in hand and so I see that is the death and life thing and the dual stuff. Those personalities of the gods are really based upon the tapu and noa. Regulating the tapu of that god and also making a noa. You don’t want to whakatapu Tūmatauenga too much without Rongo. And you don’t want to whakatapu Rongo too much without Tū. There has to be a balance … It is sort of like what are you doing it for? Well I need to Tū. I need to patu tangata. I need Tū. That Tū is all about Tū te tama i roto i a koe. Whether it is exercise or whatever. And Rongo is actually a behavioural thing, it is listening, it is feeling, it is in balance so when you take these things on, that you engage with Rongo mā Tāne, peaceful men, which is gardening or all those kind of things you get to understand the personalities of those gods. But they have different roles and different functions. (Participant)
ARTICULATING A TARANAKI PERSPECTIVE ON SUICIDE

The ability to understand how to manage feeling and behaviour associated with whakamomori were an intricate part of the cultural social fabric and language of Taranaki Māori. The conversations and interviews highlighted that within Taranaki emphasis has to be on a collective effort to repair the social fabric of Māori cultural connectedness. A focus is needed upon recovering and empowering our shared sense of belonging. Repairing the dynamic social fabric of Māori community in all its complexities is more important than searching for a ‘quick fix’ or the appearance of a ‘fix’. Short term programmes for ‘youth at risk’ are just that – short term. In order to move beyond the restrictions that are placed on programmes by the government we need sustained prevention, intervention and healing processes that are grounded upon tikanga, as our original instructions as human beings, and connectedness through whakapapa that affirms the value of human life.

Suicide within Taranaki is directly connected to the forms of collective historical and intergenerational trauma that has been experienced by Taranaki Iwi. That impact continues as successive governments provide treaty settlement processes that create division and discord amongst our own. The impact continues as the New Plymouth District council denies tangata whenua voice in the decision making that happens daily on our lands. The impact continues as both personal and institutional racism is perpetuated daily upon our whānau. These systemic issues are grounded in the invasion of Taranaki in the 1860’s (Waitangi Tribunal 1996). Colonisation systematically destroyed Taranaki language, culture, our entire society in Taranaki, stole our lands our wealth, making us paupers and destitute in our own lands.

Throughout this research aggressively unjust and oppressive colonising events both past and present have had a profoundly significant impact on the research participants and on this report.
We have an opportunity in Taranaki to come to terms with our past and actually take control of our trauma. To reclaim our history as iwi, as hapū, as whānau actually, where we say ‘ok the crown forced this settlement process on top of us, it is what it is.’ It was less than ideal, and also, added to that some people who have got ‘marketing’ skills. I use ‘marketing’ because this is basically social marketing, its health promotion, it’s what do they call it - social engineering – health promotion. But it has to be a big picture take. This isn’t one project about this, here is the new agenda. We are re-setting the agenda for Taranaki whānau developments. I think about when you fellas when we were back in our whānau ora days and talking about an agenda for iwi development in the 7 - 70 year cycle. I am talking about that sort of scale. That we take it back. And I’m really interested in that conversation of Taranaki whānui. But it is time for us to re-set the agenda for ourselves. And that this is an internal conversation and it is about taking a look and not being defined by colonisation. Because our whole existence has been defined by colonisation for the last 200 years. So we should take a step back further and say ‘yeah well, that was shit. That wasn’t too good.’ So in 1000 years’ time we should think that was a pretty stink period for 250 years but then in 2020 or 2034-2035 on the 200th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, Taranaki lead a charge and say ‘kua nui.’ Colonisation shafted us, here are the lessons we have learned, here’s our new agenda for the next 200 years. To get to that point we have to address trauma and set our own agenda going forward. And we need savvy people who can conceptualize all that stuff, get the philosophy right, rebuild our own knowledge systems and then start recruiting. (Participant)
If you are on a pathway of self-discovery and wanting to be discovering who you are that is the first basis from where you can help manage people. Because there is curiosity and there is desire to be something else other than what they already are ... You could steer them towards a whakapapa based model of self-discovery or an education based model, a job, employment or whatever. Those that don’t want to be discovered that are complacent, that are happy with their lot, they are happy that life drives them rather than them driving life ... To a certain extent, ambition is one of those drivers behind people wanting to have, that they are in control of their lives and what they are doing. What are your hopes and desires? How much are they thinking about what they could be, what they want to be and the tapu of the future? Because it is un-manifest you have to manifest your present. Then that requires you to understand that you are in control. (Participant)

My feeling is that there needs to be some sort of support, some sort of program, some sort of view articulated … and I’d be really supportive of someone doing that of looking at our literature in archives or waiata. It’s happening a lot more and more actually that sort of action of looking to our waiata and kōrero for answers, for enlightenment, for perspective, as a navigation tool for today. But we’ve just got to take that stuff, not with a grain of salt, but we have got to take it that that stuff was designed, narratives were constructed in the context and that is us, but we now live in such an incredibly fundamentally different world now that we can still get some real philosophical viewpoints from here but we need to bring them into the current time with enlightenment. Re-translate them into today’s language and not have unintended consequences, you know of justification of suicide or even subtle encouragement or glorifying or justifying suicide because surely we don’t want that as a general rule. (Participant)

Discussion within the conversations also noted the increased call from the Ministry of Education to teach young people attending high school how to manage relationships. It was felt that what needs to be taught to tai tamatāne and tai tamawahine in Taranaki is a ‘dual capacity’ on how to actively navigate and negotiate both worlds and to recognise the racism embedded within the dominant culture structures and institutions. If this is achieved there will be no need for ‘white stream’, i.e. colonial western defined, relationship lessons because the skills and knowledge in relation to understanding ‘dual capacity’ are transferable.
Taking a Kaupapa Taranaki approach to learning and teaching in regards to relationships and healthy ways of being would be inclusive of the many examples of whakatauākī, waiata, pūrākau that can inform our youth in terms of their connectedness to Taranaki and to living. A range of whānau emphasised a need to draw upon mātauranga Māori in all developments related to suicide and wellbeing more broadly.

You don't know the future. You don't know what the design is for you and everyone else that is around you. So the future is tapu because it is a mystery. You can't see it. So you have to ensure that as things happen that you can wade, you can navigate your way through it. Some events you have control of, some you don't. Those events that you don't have control of, you usually find that you get confused, you need to find some kind of understanding and everyone else needs to find it. And particularly times of tangi. And you see the strong ones are the ones that are able to handle, have a good routine in life. Know that you get up in the summer. You know that you do your karakia in the morning. You know you don't eat too much. These are some of the restrictions that you put on yourself in heavy emotional times because that is what they did. Why did they do it? Kia mau mai te māmā. So if you let it know then ka ora koe. It is an embracing of pain. You embrace the pain so you can get out of the pain and then manage it. That is what we have been taught when we sit on the whare mate and you are not allowed to move. You have to sit on the pae the whole day. And you have to sing and pray and sing and you have to engage with people that are enveloped in their pōuri and then bring them out. Because as you have been in their situation yourself you know that the fact is that you don't see the world as having provided an opportunity. It took away something from you and so there is a mission for those that are surrounding those people to see the potential of life. And so you hold on to these philosophies of rātou ki a rātou, tātou ki a tātou, te hunga mate ki te hunga mate, te hunga ora - you say it but knowing that division between life and death and how you engage with that division is very determining on how you manage yourself and everybody else around you. Especially in those times. There is a loss of control in their direction, so you are there to apply direction. The direction is that you are here to live, and there is a space and time that we embrace Hinenui Te Pō and we bring her on and we know that we are happy that she is going to look after all of us when we go. It is not a moral judgment of what is going to happen, it is basically going through the emotional challenges of loss and ensuring that they are
able to see the potential of life afterwards. Whether it is the next generation, whether it is in your own routine that you know that you have that keeps you on your path. When people don’t embrace life in so many ways, then you start to wonder how well their mental health is going. And you know part of it is the ritual function and part of it is the informal discussions after all the speeches and saying “what’s happening, how are you?” It gives a good kind of context as to some of those struggles that we are struggling with. We are all struggling with the same thing. (Participant)

The value of being united, being loving, being caring, being family orientated. All those come out of that whakatauki. (Participant)

The ultimate sacredness of the person te tapu o te tangata when we looked at those scenarios of how people were traditionally, you were just placed in a very sacred place because you are a very sacred person. I have actually got a karakia, it is all around mana ki te tangata, mana ki te wahine, mana ki te tipuranga o te rangatahi, which again was around the pūrākau kōrero and karakia were a way of reciting for us not to forget that you are sacred, do not forget that you have mana. But basically the kōrero was passed on… have specific karakia that are related to the value of human life, the value of life to everyone. (Participant)

Here are some examples of this, this is the perspective of our tūpuna who really treasured and cherished life. ‘Nā te pō te kai hari o te ao, nā te mate te kai hari o te ora’, that is the classic example of how even in a state of despair that is the carrier and will bring you to appreciate life. Those terms and expressions are specifically to Taranaki and knowing that expression, I suppose there is probably a gap from actually knowing some of this stuff and actually educating or getting it out there so that the general public can understand those concepts. (Participant)

You do it proactively. You look for the opportunity where “I have to speak, I have to sing I’ll bring out that song”. So that is how it is. It is not just a random, pick a song to get through the tikanga. You actually find a song that is close to where you are at this time. You consciously engage with the emotions in that song to get through the phase that you are in in your life at that time and if you can be more specific, the more engaged you are in the details of the song then it becomes more fulfilling. The tunes, the melodies are
such beautiful melodies that the more you sing them the more you can get through them. I think that is one of the gifts that our ancestors had is that beautiful sound, connection to sound. (Participant)

‘Te tangata tōmua, te whenua tōmuri’ [highlights] that you can’t claim our land until you extinguish our soul. It came out of the hui in 1846 at Taiporohēnui. No one was to sell land. That is when they passed the patu around. That whakatauki came out of that. One of them we have got it written on our urupā, it talks about Tangahoe tāngata, ‘Tangahoe awa e haere, Tangahoe tāngata kāhore e haere’ The Tangahoe River flows, it goes but Tangahoe people will not move, we stay put, and these are our lands … [Also] They probably referred to suicide probably in the mihi would say that ‘kua rupeka atu koe ki tera taha’ you have jumped into the realm of death. (Participant)

Whānau healing that is focused upon understanding and reclaiming tikanga within Taranaki is essential.

It always concerns me that Taranaki doesn’t have carvings in their houses, mārama au i ngā kōrero ngā wā o mua engari ko ngā whare i roto i te Tairāwhiti all those houses they are all carved houses. It gives you as a young person a sense of I belong here. And you walk into these houses here in Taranaki it doesn’t give you that there is a wairua but you can feel it and you can see it but us kids there’s not enough people out there telling us what we need to do we have to see a visual thing. We have to see it, we have to touch it, and we have to feel it … Going to Maniaroa to talk about that house because it’s visual. There is carving, there is kōwhaiwhai, and there are tukutuku panels there. I’m doing that for a reason because its visual and they can touch it and hug it and do all that. You can’t do that here in Taranaki it’s all just kōrero. For our young kids they have to have the visual stuff to believe in, to help them learn about balance and help them learn about what is Tūmatauenga, that’s my answer. It’s a carved whare. Carved whare have to come back to Taranaki. We have to stop living in that past and say we did this for a reason; we put them in there because … we have to find as many things as you can to heal whatever you can do to heal, I think that is part of the answer. (Participant)
Heal the whānau our kuia ... maintained a kaupapa mai he atua pā ana te tapu tanga o te wahine Wharetangata; our kōrero in the realm of the pūrākau kōrero around the Hinenui-i-te-Pō and that even the kōrero with the tapu tanga o te wahine the superior being of our atua and the bearers of a life was in fact our pūrākau around how we uphold tikanga and kawa. (Participant)

We all heal each other, we all help each other. Somebody knows something then stand up and do it. And I suppose because of the way I did my nephew; I set a tikanga and when it came to Dad nobody argued with me … he did something for me, he did. He set a whole new tikanga thing in our family by me carving that [waka pungarehu] for him and taking those old traditional karakia over there and doing it the way we did it and making everybody feel better. (Participant)
TE ANGA WHAKAMUA: MOVING FORWARD

Sir Mason Durie (2007) in his paper ‘Indigenous Health: Catalysts for Innovation’ identifies two broad capacities that underpin Indigenous success. The first one is the dual capacity to engage with Indigenous culture, networks and resources, and to engage with global societies and communities. The duality recognises the two worlds within which indigenous peoples live and the skills needed to negotiate both. Successful engagement with the Indigenous world is facilitated by spirituality and cultural competence and acceptance by communities, while engagement with global societies is eased by the acquisition of technical skills, educational qualifications, and a capacity to deal with bias and prejudice. This is particularly vital in regards to creating pathways for Indigenous Peoples to live fully as Indigenous nations on our own lands. Our tūpuna have since first interaction with Pākehā sought to ensure the wellbeing of future generations.

The development of a collective focused Taranaki Māori strategy to address this issue is essential and must include Te Reo o Taranaki Charitable Trust revitalisation and language reclamation strategies that provide for te reo and tikanga, the Kura Kaupapa Māori immersion schools in Taranaki and Te Wananga o Aotearoa who host a significant number of Māori students across the generations on its New Plymouth campus. Developing plans for the Taranaki region that support both decolonisation and revitalisations is important to ‘rebuild the village’. In relation to whakamate, the collaboration between the language revitalisation strategy and a healing learning strategy would have positive benefits in relation to drawing the kainga back into a caring, responsive, responsible accountable authentic Māori social structure.
it’s not a quick fix, and its rebuild the village ... rebuild that village because out of that village comes the values that are needed because the values are not happening at home you know our Māori values I think were meant to be used ... and while the village down there had been destroyed by the constabulary our parents were clever enough to build another village but it looked different ... some of these essential things we have to re-establish those villages because within those villages comes our karakia our whānaungatanga all of our values come from that village, so we have to re-establish that village ... rebuild that village and ensure that your values are valued. (Participant)

It’s about us; if we are going to intervene we have to be clear in ourselves about what we do. We have to be clear about what we are going to do and finish the task you know and that might go on for a long time it won’t be a 2-minute job. (Participant)

... there is no quick fix we’ve got to spend a lot more time studying the whānau dynamics and their circumstances to be able to align some of our practices, value practices to meet their current needs. We can’t just write a prescription to go there, do this, do that, buck yourself up we’ve got to understand what is actually happening for the whānau. (Participant)

The fragmentation of whānau, hapū and iwi through the imposition of colonial ideologies and structures means that coming together of the collective in a supportive meaningful manner is critical. Advocating for collective ways of being where everyone has a place and is accepted as belonging and possessing gifts and skills that contribute to benefit the whole is central to ensuring the survival of the whānau or collective. Prevention is to support whānau to restore mana rather than for others to ask how do we restore their mana.
I think about how I spent a lot of time with my grandfather growing up and I thought when I look back now I think we came through I came through quite a traditional time with him because that’s all he knew. He couldn’t read English; he couldn’t write his name, his first language was te reo Māori. Well that was his only language and when I think back now we were lucky we were lucky what we did get from him and his time. But you know if there was a tangi at the Pā it was his job to go and get the eels so that Uncle … could dry and smoke them, Uncle … had the best smoked eels in Taranaki. That was part of his tikanga you know if there was a suicide, suicide wasn’t looked at as suicide it was a death, kua mate and it was a person so whoever was coming we had to feed them. Whakapapa. So that’s what he did so looking back at those times it was like any other tangi and yes there was trauma with the family but I think there was a trusting in the process of tikanga Māori during that tangi at that time. (Participant)

You can’t package all this up in one box it’s an ongoing thing that you compile as you go from year to year day to day. … That somewhere we make a commitment to a lifelong learning and recovery of our little kete our Mātauranga Māori Kete to get us through … I think that’s the key. I think that us being in the position historically in terms of how we are, our language taken from us, hasn’t been in the best interests of us certainly just looking at all the Kura Kaupapa and the kōhanga reo and all the stats coming out of there. Now once they have got that base I have often thought about it, ok, if we had been able to have our own language right from the start just what impact that would have had on our education truly bilingual, truly bilingual, bicultural like some of these other countries. (Participant)

The coming together to creatively acknowledge a life time commitment to live according to correct and consistent messages that are gifted to us through tikanga. Alongside this was also interwoven the fundamental need for the normalisation of Te Reo Rangatira and for people to kōrero, to hui together and to keep in contact on a regular basis.
If you are already on the back foot, it’s very difficult to rebalance; even so I guess that in itself will create a wide range and that’s why I think that creative approach around when you get the whānau, how do we install the same type of structures traditionally but also that cater for today’s dynamics. The structure that we are trying to help our whānau recreate has to be critiqued in regards to firstly helping our whānau understand the dynamics which is why I think it is very important that our wāhine wānanga and tāne wānanga around some of the inequalities that the people face today. So when we touch on how are we going to help our whānau in today’s structures in society how we did traditionally is really about being creative and creating an environment on the ‘get go’ ‘straight away’ that’s suitable for that whānau and it requires the utmost commitment of all that whānau. Everybody’s got to be on board and it’s from the Kaupapa Māori perspective we are not dealing with no Pākehā structural way of dealing with this whānau. We go into that whānau and uphold a kaupapa that this is the message, this is our kaupapa and its installing the worth back into our people that we too can come across as a statutory organisation that might give you a growling for not doing the right thing but how we come across is the key as to how we tailor it how we actually bring our people out of these states within the bloody structural constraints that are placed on us. (Participant)

We need to talk more, we need to hui more, we need to ask each other “how are you?” We need to get on the phone and say “how are you … are you all right.” That’s what I noticed about my ..., I never ever rung them they never ever rung me ... Keeping in touch and asking for something can you do this for me, and I really like that, it kind of woke me up that I need to take that step too and I need to ring … . But keeping in contact, because that set our relationship, it didn’t make us so strange to each other. (Participant)
I was just thinking about being plugged in with your family and I was thinking of different forums that you do get plugged in. Because we are distracted by the influences of the world whether it be from the internet world, the sporting world I think there is a simple forum where families can plug in and talk about issues and I have always seen the kitchen table as being one of the best informal platforms for discussion … I sort of took that same sort of concept and put it on the table. It is in a small forum, it is not with lots and lots of people but it is in a small forum where you can plug in with one another at a time that is quite and just ‘check-in.’ That is one thing that I was thinking of. (Participant)

Within our tikanga and te reo we have an ancestral knowledge archive to draw upon that can guide and enable us in the development of responses to the forms of historical trauma faced by our people. The whānau that shared in the conversations for this project have given us strong indicators as to the need to decolonise, revitalise, regeneration of te reo and tikanga from Taranaki, and in doing so to strengthen our resolve not only to live, but to live a good and healthy life as tangata, as whānau, as hapū, as iwi, as Māori. We are not speaking of merely surviving or resilience, we are speaking of resistance to the imposition of colonial historical trauma upon our people.

This project has affirmed that for Taranaki the answers lie within. It is time to remember that our tūpuna laid before us guiding principles that reassure us that in surviving the genocidal acts of colonisation within Taranaki we originate from the seeds of Rangiātea and we will continue to resist and through that resistance we will again flourish as a people.

Ka koropupū, ka koropupū, ka koropupū!
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