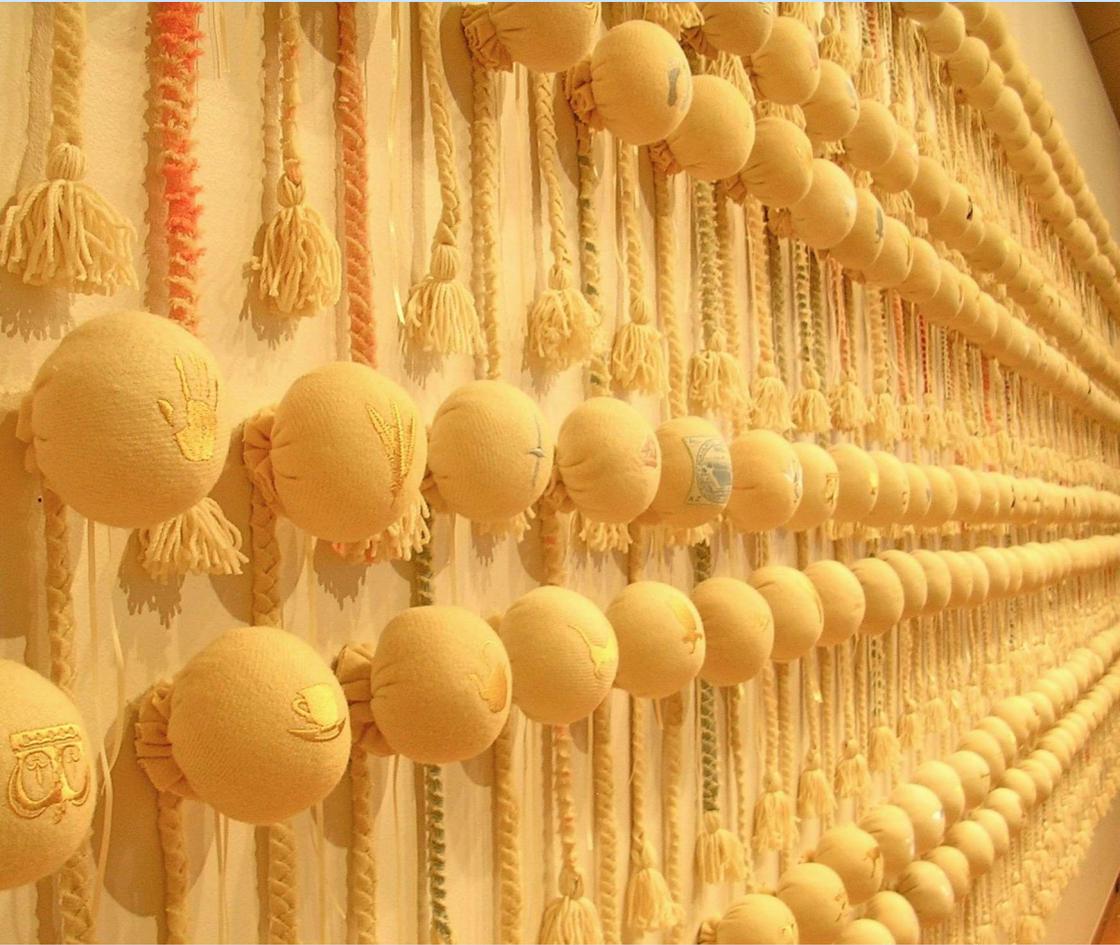


TE ARA RIRIKI:

PATHWAYS TO HEALING IN TARANAKI



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& Mera Penehira*

TE ARA RIRIKI: PATHWAYS TO HEALING IN TARANAKI

A Report to the Health Research Council of New Zealand
For Tū Tama Wāhine o Taranaki



TŪ TAMA WĀHINE O TARANAKI

Supported by: Health Research - Council of New Zealand



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Cover Image: Artist: Ngāhina Hohaia

Image: Roimata Toroa poi installation. The rows of poi are symbolic of Te Ara, the generations and layers of whakapapa. Captured within this installation are symbols of defiance and resistance, resilience and empowerment, tools of oppression and symbols from the natural world; tools of healing and restoration. The poi are constructed from blankets to speak to the intergenerational loss and imbalance of wealth and power that tangata whenua still suffer as a result of lands stolen through colonial confiscation. Whilst generations of non-Māori have prospered in health, education, and business by benefiting from indigenous dispossession.

Layout: Tui Wright Design

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Hei Tīmatanga: A Beginning

Muri Ahiahi

Muri ahiahi takoto ki te moenga
Mate huki anō ka tae mai ka whāki
Kātahi au ka mahara ko au pea e
Te pākia e te ngutu, te hāwenga i kaipeke
Tū mai e riki whakaponohia mai
E tika kei a taka kīhai te huruhuru i whakapiki ki runga
Ki tō kai ngā kanohi kei raro o te hope kei te herepu e
E pae kawau an aka rato mai ki te tini
Nā mua rā e te tau te karawhiunga mai
Ka kino te tara nei ka kitea tinitia
Nā Tiki whakapuare, nā Tiki whakakōtātā
Ngā mahi a te tipua e mau nei e
Ka kai mai ō mata ka tomo mai ki roto
E rongu matua ake nei nā te hika i tū e
te ūinga i raro nei, te komenga mai o ngutu i

This report is opened with the mōteatea ‘Muri Ahiahi’. Muri Ahiahi, like all mōteatea, is a traditional chant that acts as an historical record through which to recall critical events in the lives of our people. Mōteatea also means to grieve or to have a deep sadness. Muri Ahiahi is a record of what happened to the women and children of Parihaka during the Pāhua o Parihaka (Invasion of Parihaka) in 1881 and the subsequent occupation of the papakāinga (village). It was composed by our Kuia (elder women) who survived the plunder of the papakāinga and of their bodies. It is also an expression of intense sorrow. The composition of mōteatea such as the above not only contributes to our understanding of the pain and trauma experienced by our people with regard to healing and the recording of historical events; it is also a forensic record of crimes committed against the women and children of Parihaka.

Colonising, christianised patriarchy has for generations underpinned and enabled the physical and sexual abuse of Māori women and children, and has imposed processes to force women to conform and comply with the actions of oppressive forces. This is within a context of the collective

trauma experienced as a result of the confiscation of homelands; separation from papakāinga; and dispossession of Māori people of our whenua (lands), our reo (language), our tikanga (cultural practices), and our mātauranga (knowledge), and ultimately our rangatiratanga (sovereignty and self-determination). This mōteatea is a reminder of the practices of abuse and sexual violence that Māori, and indigenous women globally, have endured as colonising forces invaded both our lands and our bodies. It is one way in which our ancestors have ensured that we, their descendants, come to understand the excruciatingly painful ways in which Pākehā militia violated our people, our lands and our women. This should never be forgotten as it is within these mōteatea and the histories and memories that are embedded in knowledge forms such as this that we come to understand the origins of the colonial trauma that so deeply impact the lives of our people.

It has been suggested that with the current healing and reconciliation trajectory that is taking place across Taranaki that we should consider no longer chanting this mōteatea in order to move forward with healing. Such a view is understandable given the deep mamae (pain) that is expressed in its words. However, it is clear in the literature and in the interviews undertaken for this work that we must do the opposite; we must bring forward this knowledge, we must speak of the history, we must remember the abuse and honour the strength of our tūpuna wāhine (female ancestors) to continue to live and to survive and to resist for the wellbeing of future generations, for our wellbeing and the wellbeing of our tamariki (children) and mokopuna (grandchildren). As one person noted:

There is at least one waiata from Parihaka that talks about the raping of the women at the Pāhua so you know again that sort of stuff is being denied and even Pākehā people say “aww that didn’t happen”- we have the waiata that says it did, we have the whakapapa that said it did too So we can live today and remember that stuff and commemorate and get on with making ourselves better. (Interview)

Historical and colonial trauma healing is the pathway that we need to create, and that comes with remembering, not forgetting. While historical and colonial trauma is both complex and intergenerational, we have seen through this project that it is not insurmountable. A critical barrier to healing from such trauma is in the 200 years of colonisers' denial of the trauma of genocide and ethnocide that has been perpetrated upon the whānau, hapū and iwi of Taranaki and of Māori across Aotearoa. In a country where there remains an entrenched refusal to engage in deep dialogue and to hear the voices of those most oppressed as a direct impact of colonisation, there is little hope for meaningful change.

The current assertion by Māori alongside a range of social justice-oriented historians in Aotearoa is driven by a desire for all people to understand the histories of our lands, and in doing so to build healing pathways that acknowledge, rather than deny, our historical and colonial trauma experiences. To not do so further facilitates an environment whereby deficit, pathologizing and paternalistic approaches to the current experience of Māori and indigenous peoples takes precedence and becomes the dominant way in which our pain and trauma is defined. Furthermore, it enables people to make excuses, escape thinking about or accepting the full impacts, the totality of harm and the ongoing intergenerational nature of destruction created by colonisation on Māori and other indigenous peoples. Creating healing options that engage with both individuals and collectives requires us to ground ourselves in whānau, hapū and iwi of Taranaki, and to have access to the knowledge of our histories and the impact of those histories on the wellbeing of our people.

The Research Context

For the last 30 years Tū Tama Wahine o Taranaki (TTW) has been at the forefront, planning, implementing and evaluating various approaches to help in initially addressing whānau violence within the Taranaki region. Today it provides a number of community-based development and social justice services designed to enhance whānau wellbeing. These have their base in education, counselling, learned social behaviours and group therapies and are designed to lift Māori thinking and expectations towards developing tikanga-based solutions, which have more relevance

to a values base upon which to achieve a Māori reality for living. These programmes have been developed by TTW in conjunction with whānau and other relevant stakeholder groups. The need for whānau in Taranaki to address whānau violence issues was first raised by Matarena Marjorie Rau-Kupa (MBE), who was instrumental in bringing together a group of like-minded individuals to provide direction and guidance in trying to deal with this important issue. It was from this coming together of Māori community in 1988 that Tū Tama Wahine began its journey.

After decades of development, it became increasingly clear that TTW needed to develop a research base that generated information to allow the organisation to continue to improve current service delivery and develop new services relevant to the demonstrated needs of its local whānau. The organisation has led and participated in a variety of localised research projects since 2010, which has allowed the organisation to advance its knowledge base related to whānau violence, youth resiliency, traditional child rearing practices and, most recently, suicide prevention. This has provided intervention therapies in a manner that preserves their origins in the tikanga of Taranaki. As a result of the key findings and consistent themes identified across each research project, a further research agenda has emerged in relation to Kaupapa Māori trauma-informed care.

Identified within the Whānau Violence (Wenn, Pihama & Cameron, 2012), Rangatahi Resiliency (Kopu, Cameron & Cameron 2012) and Traditional Childrearing (Pihama, Cameron & Leatherby, 2013) research projects conducted by TTW have been participant experiences of individual and group trauma. These were experiences of some form of violation within their lives; these not only included direct experiences of violence, either physical, emotional or psychological, but also included experiences of State-imposed or State-regulated violence, both personal and institutional. Evidence from the interviews carried out in these research projects shows that whānau trauma is not solely about the violence perpetuated upon each other but also includes, as defined by the Taskforce on Whānau Violence, acts of racism, discrimination, oppression and corporal punishment that were defined and undertaken by agencies of the State. The TTW Tupu Ake - Youth Resiliency research report identifies resiliency for Rangatahi Māori in Taranaki as a process rather than a set of traits, which is interactive, complex and influenced by

the unique history shaping the lives of whānau and individuals residing in Taranaki. However, few participants in this research were able to clearly articulate an in-depth knowledge of the historical events and resistance movement that had occurred in Taranaki. A common theme did arise in the form of a sense of great social and political injustice. This not only had a catalytic effect resulting in a sense of activism, liberation and a desire for positive change, but also an increased sense of identity and connection. It provided a wider context for personal experiences in the sense that some participants could identify that greater forces had been at play and that the ripple-on effects of these forces included whānau poverty, abuse, neglect and addiction.

He maunga Tītōhea - A descriptor for Taranaki mountain meaning impoverished

He waipuna koropupū - The pool of life

Ahakoā tukitukia e te poaka - Although plundered by the Pig [The Crown]

E kore nei e mimiti - It will never cease

Ka koropupū, ka koropupū - It will bubble forth

This whakataukī, commonly spoken by renowned Taranaki tauēke on marae throughout the region, was used by participants to describe:

- The shift in thinking experienced by some rangatahi (youth) towards active resistance – not accepting notions of racial inferiority or abusive actions of others.
- The passive resistance practiced by Taranaki iwi and hapū in response to colonisation.
- The teachings and values expressed by tauēke and Taranaki mātauranga (knowledge).

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 highlights the critical components of past resistance and future potential; the concept of the fluidity to adapt and the strength to sustain.

Within Taranaki there are a number of whakataukī that indicate the centrality of the wellbeing and mana of people, which emphasise the sanctity of people within Māori society and our familial connections to each other, as well as our interconnectedness to all things physical, environmental and metaphysical. Te Raukura is made up of three toroa (Royal Albatross) feathers and is the image and symbol in Taranaki of our non-violent passive resistance movement. The message contained within Te Raukura is:

He Korōria ki Te Atua
He Maungārongo ki te Whenua
He Whakaaro Pai ki ngā Tangata Katoa

Each of the feathers represents one of the lines in this universal message. The first line represents a metaphysical message recognising that there is a higher power at work, the second line is an environmental message which emphasises balanced peaceful relationships across our planet and the third is about the benefits of maintaining positive, tikanga-based relationships with all peoples.

These research projects and outcomes have enabled TTW to begin to identify the strengths, weaknesses, and effectiveness of a culturally safe and locally contextualised approach to programme design and service provision. The natural progression is to further explore a Taranaki framework that seeks to address a wider context of healing beyond the siloed intervention service streams aimed at family violence, at-risk youth, parenting or suicide intervention and incorporate the wider context of Māori trauma informed care across Taranaki. This will enable the organisations and practitioners working with Taranaki whānau to re-orientate their clinical practice and analysis away from asking ‘what is wrong with the individual’ to asking “what has happened to the whānau and what happened to the hapū?”

The Research: Te Ara Ririki

This project, 'Te Ara Ririki', is based on the work undertaken by TTW. The project name comes from a line in a Taranaki Poi Tawhito (Traditional Poi Chant) – 'E Kore e Pōuri Tonu Waitara' (1881) which states: 'E tū nei te hunga ririki, me tōna raukura, hei tohu ki te ao, hei!' – Stand strong our succeeding generations, holding firmly to Te Raukura, our symbol of hope and peace to the world. Just as the opening mōteatea 'Muri Ahiahi' records the atrocities faced by our female ancestors, this Poi provides us with the belief that we hold the potential to heal current and future generations. As a Kaupapa Māori Taranaki pan-iwi organisation, the origins of 'Te Ara Ririki' are deeply embedded in TTW's organisational core; that is, to improve health and wellbeing outcomes for Māori whānau, hapū and iwi in Taranaki. Research shows that as a population group, Māori have, on average, the poorest health status of any ethnic group in Aotearoa (New Zealand). For Taranaki Māori this is the impact of the aftermath of colonisation; social, economic and political influences and trauma that have not only dispossessed our whānau of land but have severely damaged our inter-connectedness to one another, our individual wellbeing within the context of the collective (hapū and iwi), and our collective wellbeing in the wider context of iwi-to-iwi connections across Taranaki.

The overarching aim of this research is to inform the development of a localised framework that supports both Māori and non-Māori practitioners working with Taranaki whānau experiencing trauma. The identification of Kaupapa Māori principles in the area of healing trauma contributes to the development of this framework and also complements the wider trauma informed care approach that is growing in Aotearoa.

As a provider of tangata whenua (people of the land) development services for over 30 years we acknowledge the aspirations of Taranaki whānau, hapū and iwi to achieve wellbeing with self-determination of the issues and solutions. Therefore, our intention is to better equip Māori whānau, hapū and iwi to be able to address the 'silence' that permeates Taranaki communities in relation to abuse, neglect and trauma. We are also motivated by Professor Karina Walters, who in her presentations in Taranaki highlighted the danger of silence. This research emphasises that

silence and acts of silencing add to the impact of historical and colonial trauma. Our experience as a Kaupapa Māori-based service provider with our communities has told us that encouraging whānau, hapū and iwi to break the silence, engage in discussion and ignite profound action in relation to trauma interventions and prevention will require a new pathway of intervention logic, a paradigm shift away from mainstream health ideology, towards one that:

- Explores the historic basis of Taranaki Māori indigenous wellbeing;
- Focuses on traditional teachings;
- Engages the creative spirit;
- Examines localized human and environmental interdependencies;
- Re-creates Māori education and mātauranga informed responses to trauma intervention and healing.

Recovery from historical, colonial and collective trauma is the overarching goal of this report. To address this goal, this report includes discussion on a range of themes including:

- Māori and Indigenous Conceptualisations of Trauma
- Māori and Indigenous conceptualisations of ‘trauma’ and the use of the term ‘Trauma Informed Care’
- Historical, Colonial Trauma & Patu Ngākau

The history of Taranaki is sourced in our lands and in our relationships with our ancestral mountain. Prior to colonisation our people lived in ways that were grounded in the tikanga and kawa of our whānau, hapū and iwi. Whānau were reflections of the larger social units of hapū and iwi, which in turn could call upon the vast whakapapa networks when required and were reflected in the waka confederations. All of these whakapapa relationships contributed to the stability and positioning of our people. Whakapapa not only includes our relationships and inter-relationships; whakapapa brings everything, including tūpuna, tūpuna names, stories, deeds, locations, waka, sacred places, belonging connections, sacred puna, karakia, mōteatea, waiata, oriori and other sacred taonga into Māori present time with its unique world view. Lands that are immersed in ceremony, laws, traditions, sacred sites, stories,

history, whakapapa, environmental knowledge and knowing, spiritual and psychic connections to sites, rivers, puna, animals, sources of kai and geological features are personified and embedded in the people's psyche and held in high esteem by being remembered. They belong and are grounded, connected to land, place, space, and time because our tūpuna stories give legitimacy to the people's place and sense of belonging. These ways of being were severely disrupted by successive acts of colonisation.

As a result many in Taranaki are still struggling to accept a common language and a common understanding of the destructive narrative that stripped Taranaki hapū and iwi of their communal economic wealth and possessions. In addition, many people are under the false impression that the problems and complex issues faced by Māori today are 'just how it is', normal, and apparently a product of Māori incompetence and inability to 'sort themselves out' and get on top of our issues. This feeds into and accommodates the apparent lack of perspective, lack of acceptance, lack of knowledge and understanding about history, personal racism and institutional racism, and cause and effect in relation to the abuses and excesses of colonisation on sections of the Māori population in Taranaki today. Every colonial system functioning in Taranaki operates today because those systems have stripped Māori systems of their wellbeing and community cohesion; vital constructs such as whānau, hapū, tikanga, mana and tapu that ensured the social accountability, safety and wellbeing of the papakāinga have been disrupted and fragmented. This is reflective of historical and colonial trauma (Duran & Duran 1995; Brave Heart, 2000; Evans-Campbell, 2008; Walters, Beltran, Huh & Evans-Campbell 2011; Million, 2013) which as Karina Walters states:

When I am talking about historical trauma I am talking about massive cataclysmic events that target a collective. I am not talking about single event discriminatory experiences that are between one or two people but a whole group of people or community that is targeted. In our communities we talk about how this trauma is transmitted over generations so I may not have experienced the Trail of Tears, my great grandparents did so therefore what aspects of that trauma do I still carry in my history to this day. (Walters 2007, n.p)

When describing such impacts Takirirangi Smith (2015) refers to the impact of 'patu ngākau' as follows:

A trauma event can be classified as a patu ngākau, which might be translated as a strike or an assault to the heart or the source of the emotions. While the term indicates and describes a psychological event occurring within a victim, the event is generally attributed to some form of abuse toward the victim. The abuse, either physical, psychological or both, has an impact which is perceived as an assault to the ngākau, that is the emotional core of a person and the location where memories are stored. Other forms of patu ngākau which might render a victim with a feeling of internal powerlessness include natural disasters or calamities such as earthquakes or floods. Patu ngākau was also a term often used by correspondents to the colonial government relating to land loss that accompanied colonisation. (p.264)

Māori and Indigenous Conceptualisations of Trauma

The colonial history of Aotearoa/New Zealand and ongoing contemporary forms of colonial oppression tell us that Māori are not strangers to trauma and traumatic experiences. The research and literature in this field is, however, in its emergent stages. Indeed, engaging with the notion of trauma, and in particular historical trauma theory, might be considered controversial. This section considers what Māori and Indigenous peoples understand by the term 'trauma'. That is, how do we engage with the term and what does that tell us about Māori and Indigenous conceptualisations of this notion.

Pihama et al. (2014) argue that in order to fully engage in and understand the effects of colonisation on Māori wellbeing, we need to understand and articulate the notion of historical trauma and the contribution this makes to the health disparities faced by Māori and other Indigenous peoples around the globe. In particular it is noted that theories of trauma and historical trauma have a significant place alongside Kaupapa Māori theory in terms of understanding both historic and intergenerational trauma. It is argued that drawing on historical trauma theory gives Māori researchers the space to bring together our own ways of knowing with those of other Indigenous peoples and make better sense of our wellbeing

or otherwise. Māori engagement with theories of historical trauma has been greatly influenced by the wider Indigenous research field, in particular the work of Native American scholars Karina Walters, Bonnie and Eduardo Duran, Tessa Evans-Campbell and Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart, all of whom have visited Aotearoa in a scholarly capacity in recent years.

The term historical trauma was first coined by Native scholars to better understand the impact of holocausts on survivors and their future generations (Brave Heart, 2000; Walters et al, 2008). Thus historical trauma theory is necessarily political in its articulation, supporting a wide range of other Indigenous theories and methodologies. Furthermore, as identified by both Brave Heart (2000) and Walters et al. (2008), the impact of historical trauma resonates not only with physical and emotional wellbeing, but also with social and behavioural function. It is argued therefore that trauma and historical trauma theory helps us to contextualise our wellbeing within a Māori or Indigenous worldview and in relation to the things that affect us most severely.

Within the broader international Indigenous literature that has informed our understandings and articulation of trauma in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context, there are significant points of note. These include parallels being drawn with experiences of holocaust (as noted above), genocide and ethnocide (Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998; Duran & Duran, 1995; Walters et al., 2008). Such terms are not commonly used to describe our experiences of colonisation and indeed have been avoided until recently. Historical trauma theory, engaged alongside a Kaupapa Māori paradigm, provides an important space to articulate our experiences and seek solutions within the truth of the negative impacts Māori and other Native and Indigenous peoples have suffered.

Brave Heart (2005) discusses historical trauma alongside historical unresolved grief and other expressions to describe people dealing with historic traumatic events and experiences. Some of this has previously been grouped under the label of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder. However, Brave Heart makes an important distinction. She states:

We are survivors of genocide. We may have a higher trauma threshold due to our severe chronic trauma so we may not fit the PTSD (post-

traumatic stress disorder) criteria ... We are survivors of intergenerational trauma, not just traumas within our lifespan. Our culture and history also influence the way we show our symptoms and the way in which we manifest our symptoms. Our grief is different from the dominant culture's grief. (p.2-3).

It is argued therefore by Brave Heart and others (Atkinson, 2002; Walters et al., 2008) that native and Indigenous peoples require a particular kind of theorisation to understand fully our trauma and associated outcomes. This fits with Kaupapa Māori theory, which necessarily prioritises a Māori worldview, ways of thinking, knowing and articulating ourselves (L. T. Smith, 1999; Penehira, 2011). An illustration of the unique worldviews and experiences of Indigenous peoples is expressed by Brave Heart (2005) as follows:

In internalization of ancestral suffering we are carrying the suffering with us. We carry it inside of us. It becomes part of us. Vitality in one's own life is seen as a betrayal of ancestors who suffered so much. It's hard for us to be joyful in our own lives and really free and happy. That's what we want to get back to. That's part of transcending the trauma and the healing process. (p. 7-8)

Native and Indigenous conceptualisations of whānau, ancestry and genealogy are unique, and within the array of our nations there exist both similarities and differences in these conceptualisations. However, what Brave Heart articulates above is the understanding that these ways of knowing and being directly inform our view of trauma and our responses to that. Historical trauma theory enables us to bring together this theory of the oppressed and a range of other concepts into a framework that fits for us as Indigenous and Native peoples. It is broad-reaching enough to encompass previous theories we have engaged with to better understand ourselves and our experiences, as well as specific enough to ensure it makes sense to the Indigenous experience.

In the Aotearoa context trauma is also discussed by Māori in relation to both homophobia and sex. Reynolds et al. (2014), describe this in relation to takatāpui, those who might describe themselves as gay or homosexual.

Serious health impacts resulting from sexual trauma could be physical, mental and spiritual, and included PTSD, long-term anxiety, compulsive disorders, addictions (to drugs, alcohol, or other unhealthy behaviours), social isolation, and suicidal ideations ... It also is acknowledged that the impacts of traumatic incidents not only affect the survivors, but also all loved ones who are connected to the survivor. (<http://www.istss.org/education-research/traumatic-stresspoints/2014-april/leaving-home-lgbt-new-zealand.aspx>)

While it is argued that sexual trauma, whether in same-sex or heterosexual relationships, might also be attributed to colonisation, it is indeed an expansion on the previous literature dealing with Māori and Indigenous conceptualisations of trauma. Furthermore, the term 'trauma' has also been articulated in describing the impact of the homophobia directed to Māori who might engage in same-sex relationships. It is argued that this homophobia and stigma experienced by people in same-sex relationships is in no way a valid cultural response, but rather a direct result of colonised conceptualisations of appropriate intimate relationships (Pihama et al., 2009).

Other scholars have worked with historical trauma theory in the context of Māori who have experienced incarceration. George et al. (2014) discuss the significance of historical trauma theory to developing healing interventions. They state:

Historical trauma theory is about having the ability to name our pain, and create our own pathways to hope and healing. (p.10).

Similarly to Pihama et al. (2014) and other Indigenous academics (Duran, 2012; Walters et al., 2008), George et al. concluded that historical trauma theory provides another, significant pathway to better understand the negative experiences of trauma Māori have had, and better deal with the negative outcomes, such as increased rates of incarceration. In doing so it is argued that we are in a better position to define and take control of our own solutions. This approach is therefore about engaging with the notion of tino rangatiratanga, which again highlights historical trauma theory as a natural fit within a Kaupapa Māori framework.

Within the Māori research context, the notion of historical trauma is talked about in relation to whakapapa or genealogy. Understanding the whakapapa of the impacts of trauma is important in developing healing or other progressive interventions (Pihama et al., 2014; George et al., 2014). It is argued that historical trauma theory, by virtue of the ‘historical’ component to the theory, enables a greater level of understanding. This again validates historical trauma theory as a close fit with Kaupapa Māori theory and indeed a Māori worldview.

In examining the links between Māori deficit statistics and colonisation, Waretini-Karena (2014) determined a strong genealogical or inter-generational context of historical trauma in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context. In charting four generations of his own whānau experiences of colonisation as incidences of intergenerational historic trauma, he was able to illustrate clearly the negative outcomes for each generation, which it is argued will continue throughout the future of this whānau (for example), unless intervention occurs. Waretini-Karena’s work adds to the growing body of knowledge supporting a greater understanding of the intergenerational nature of trauma strongly linked to colonisation (Brave Heart 2005; Pihama et al 2014; Walters et al 2008).

Māori and Indigenous conceptualisations of ‘trauma’ & ‘Trauma Informed Care’

Following on from the points made by Walters (2007) and Smith, T (2015) in regard to historical and colonial trauma, this section expands on Māori understandings of the notion of trauma and examines the ways in which Māori and Indigenous peoples are engaging the term ‘trauma informed care’. To date this remains an emerging body of literature globally and particularly so in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

In exploring trauma experienced by the Māori lesbian, bi-sexual, gay, transgender and queer (LGBTQ) population, Reynolds (2012) argues that as the notion and practice of trauma informed care grows, so too does the need to understand culturally relevant practice in the mental health field. Trauma informed care for Māori and other Indigenous populations will necessarily include cultural appreciation, which will become part of

the diversity of trauma informed care. This means understanding that Māori and non-Māori experience trauma differently because of both their contemporary and historical experiences that inevitably include the trauma of colonisation. Reynolds (2012) explains:

Culturally competent mental health care of a Māori survivor may include a process of spiritual cleansing by using water from the sea, river or other waterway to purify and neutralize the effects of the violation, or receiving spiritual, physical and mental healing from a traditional healer, or simply by being embraced by a close whānau member, which can symbolically represent being enveloped and nurtured by all those whānau in the present and from the past. The trauma is not only seen as a trauma of the individual but a trauma that is carried by the survivor's whānau. (p.10)

It is suggested that the different Māori or Indigenous experience and indeed determination of what constitutes trauma, should therefore be reflected in our approaches to trauma-informed care for these populations. The above illustrates what those differences might 'look like'. Reynolds also alludes to the idea that trauma informed care needs to acknowledge the whole whānau as opposed to the individual. This supports other notions of Native and Indigenous approaches to healing, which are discussed later in this report.

In essence the emergent field of trauma informed care for Māori in Aotearoa is a specific response to a need to address the inequities faced by our peoples as a result of our experiences of trauma (Pihama et al., 2014). While we can use current Māori health models to contribute to the design of trauma informed care for Māori, we are yet to do so in any comprehensive way. Reynolds (2012) shares the following understandings that can contribute to the development of what may be termed Māori trauma informed care:

There are many sites of trauma, and within these sites are our Takatāpui whānau ... we are a people severely impacted by trauma. This trauma is historical and intergenerational. We hurt deeply. We are trying to find our own ways to heal and recover. (p.10)

Clearly, creating Indigenous-informed approaches to the healing of trauma is a necessary development in the field of Māori and Indigenous health and wellbeing. We can draw on Māori and Indigenous healing models; however, specific understanding and focus on the historical and intergenerational nature of the trauma that has affected us will be crucial to our success. Indigenous peoples of Australia also articulate and work in the area of trauma and trauma informed care. As with other Native and Indigenous peoples they recognise the collective trauma we have experienced through the processes of colonisation and the historic and intergenerational nature of this trauma. Atkinson (2013) also discusses trauma suffered by children through accident, family violence and/or abuse. Atkinson argues that services require a greater emphasis on understanding trauma and that effective interventions are based on trauma informed and trauma specific care. According to Atkinson (2013), Indigenous approaches will have key underlying elements including: understanding the trauma effects on both the collective and the individual; creating safe environments for healing; ensuring there are culturally competent staff; the need for a greater sense of self-control; holistic approaches to care and wellbeing; and relationship building and shared power. Trauma informed care or services are described by Atkinson (2013) as those that deal directly with trauma and the effects of trauma. Because of the far-reaching effects of trauma on both the individual and potentially their families and communities, an ecological approach is argued as being more effective – that is, an approach that acknowledges the multiple levels of how trauma impacts on people, and interventions that are multi-faceted and holistic. Ecological and holistic approaches are very much in line with Māori and Indigenous understandings of health and wellbeing (Durie, 2001; Penehira, 2011)

Indigenous conceptualisations of mental health issues such as trauma and historical trauma are also explored in the highly non-Indigenous yet contested domain of psychology. Hill et al. (2010) discuss Indigenous perspectives on theory, research and practice, arguing for a greater integration of cultural and trauma psychologies. Similarly to Duran and Duran (1995) and Yellow Horse Brave Heart (2005), Hill recognises the overwhelming impact of the historical trauma suffered by our peoples through colonisation. Hill argues for a strongly political conceptualisation of trauma stating:

Effective integration of trauma psychology and cultural psychology within Indigenous contexts necessitates self-determination of Indigenous communities and Nations. Furthermore, to foster self-determination and respect sovereignty, such a process must originate within communities as they are the rightful custodians of the knowledge systems on which such transformation is dependent. (p.41)

Hill discusses the implications of the integrated psychologies approach but emphasises that clinical non-integrated conceptualisations in psychology will continue to marginalise Indigenous peoples and communities who have suffered historical trauma.

These approaches, although very effective for some people, have, with rare exceptions, further marginalized Indigenous communities, nations, and peoples, glaringly leaving Indigenous voices out of both general and specific psychological discourse. This marginalization limits the effectiveness of approaches meant to help and invites harm to those to whom they are applied without regard for culture or context. (p.39)

Indigenous concepts of trauma and trauma-informed care do not differ greatly from the ways in which we view our general health and wellbeing. Retrieving wellbeing and healing in light of such trauma in this population involves the need to include the sharing of these histories. The interweaving of historical narratives not only addresses the myths that may previously have been held, but provides alternative truthful understandings to younger and future generations. This method of addressing historical trauma is therefore a mode of trauma informed care. Walters et al. (2008) discuss historical trauma and appropriate interventions in relation to the two spirit population. They describe the trauma as being:

A contemporary manifestation of the succession of systematic assaults perpetrated by the United States government, including genocide; ethnocide (i.e., systematic destruction of life ways); forced removal and relocation; health-related experimentation; and forced removal and placement of Native children in boarding schools. These traumatic assaults are known among Native peoples as historical trauma. (p.142)

Another description of the impact of historical trauma is given by Duran and Duran (1995) who refer to soul wounds and spirit wounding. Their work, similarly to that of Walters et al., highlights the need to understand the history or root of the spirit wounding. Once that is clear, interventions, which might otherwise be described as trauma informed care, must take that history into account in terms of the person's wellbeing:

Successful clinical interventions are not possible in a Native American setting unless the provider or agency is cognisant of the sociohistorical factors that have had a devastating effect on the dynamics of the Native American family. Beginning in the late 1800s the U.S. government implemented policies whose effect was the systemic destruction of the Native American family system under the guise of educating Native Americans in order to assimilate them as painlessly as possible into Western society, while at the same time inflicting a wound to the soul of Native American people that is felt in agonising proportions to this day. (p.27)

Historical, Colonial Trauma & Patu Ngākau

As highlighted in the discussion related to historical and colonial trauma, there is a cumulative and intergenerational impact on Indigenous Peoples from the collective targeting of Indigenous Peoples during colonisation. The emphasis on intentional collective oppression, its destructive agenda and the ongoing disintegration was recognised by all who participated in this project. As one whānaunga (relative) states *“Other Māori can recognise when their own are unwell and vulnerable” (Interview).*

Land dispossession included invasion and occupation, facilitated by both military and legislative colonial processes. Colonial understandings of land based on individualistic, for profit, compartmentalised, private ownership that is patriarchal in nature is the antithesis of Indigenous land usage, which involves nurturing and resource preservation for future generations and is grounded in collective responsibility. The individualisation of title imposed alienation from our lands, propelling whānau and hapū into economic hardship and economic trauma. In Taranaki there was a major shift, in a short period of time, from being totally self-sufficient to chaotic poverty with reduced coping capacities (Waitangi Tribunal 1996).

When we speak of historical, colonial and intergenerational trauma we are highlighting the fact that there is not a single causal factor; nor can we reduce our understandings of these collective traumas to a singular event explanation. Rather, we are dealing with the intersection of multiple oppressions and oppressive events. There are multiple layers of destruction. There are intersection oppressions. There are cumulating effects of the historical experiences of colonisation for Indigenous Peoples. There are compounding events. Not only have our people in Taranaki experienced colonial invasion; we have also suffered the sustained impacts of occupation; of physical, spiritual, cultural and sexual abuse; of removal and incarceration of large numbers of Maori men to the South Island; of genocide; and of ethnocide. This is clearly evident in the Waitangi Tribunal Report (1996) 'The Taranaki Report: Kaupapa Tuatahi' where it is stated in the section 'The never-ending war':

History creates time slots to compartmentalise war, and 1860 to 1869 has been given for the Taranaki fighting; but just as conflict was apparent from 1841, so also did it continue after 1869. Military action on the Government's part did not end until the invasion of Parihaka in 1881. Thus, in Taranaki, conflict with the use of arms was spread not over a few months, as in most places, or even over a decade, but over a staggering 40 years. In no other part of New Zealand did a contest of that nature continue for so long or Maori suffer so much the deprivations of strife after British sovereignty was proclaimed. (p.1)

The length and the intensity of the colonial wars in Taranaki are documented in depth in the Waitangi Tribunal Report (1996) and other publications (Scott 1975; Keenan 2015). Some whānau spoke of the impact of raising historical trauma and colonisation with Pākehā in Taranaki as being particularly important.

It is really interesting because when I talk about historical trauma to non-indigenous people who are working with indigenous people I always say “look I am not bringing this up for native people to feel anger or victimised or feel helpless. I am not bringing it up for non-native people to feel guilty. This happened in the past and hopefully this is an opportunity for us to just be on a level playing field and understand how did we get here, and understand what part everybody took in the outcome for this and how we need to address each other now. It certainly takes time; you have got to build trust. I think that in this country it is very hard because it is all around us. The harm is continuous, ongoing, all around us and how do you step out of that situation? It is normalised but it is everywhere, in our schools, in our institutions. (Interview)

If they were cognisant of that then they would stop. In the Crown’s case, they have been cognisant of it for generations, they haven’t stopped and nor do I believe they ever have intention of stopping. That is just a criminal, criminal action but how are we going to hold them accountable? (Interview)

People like Bill English come here [Taranaki] to the Business Round Table and he makes a statement about how much Māori are costing this country and these to me are people that are looking with tunnel vision. It’s arrogance and very much what they come from; that’s what racism is. He is meant to be an economist and some of the forecasts that come out is that Māori economy is the economy that’s growing the fastest in this country so we are making a contribution; he knows Māori are making a contribution and he’s saying to people here in Taranaki, a redneck area, [that] Māori are costing us. He’s playing popularity to remain in power, that’s all. The politicians have got no morals ... those guys have no morals, they are unscrupulous, they are selfish, those people are filling their own pockets. Of course it makes him popular; it is just the same as when election time comes, Māori become a football that gets kicked around because that appeals to the ignorant majority Pākehā population, because a lot of them are ignorant. (Interview)

Because of the intensity of the trauma for multiple generations of whānau, hapū and iwi in Taranaki, many elders would not talk about the events or violence they were subjected to or witnessed to anyone, including their own children or mokopuna, because it was traumatic to talk about and their thought was to reduce the burden on the mokopuna. Because tikanga and healing practices had already been disrupted to an alarming degree by the long-term, sustained state of war in Taranaki, there was a mistaken belief that not talking about the traumatic events would save the next generation from the impact of the original trauma.

I look around at Parihaka and I still feel that... I don't want to feel it...it's still struggling. And it's struggling because of the violence inflicted upon the people. The violence inflicted upon the land... at home we used to have an old kuia called she would walk over to the side of road and she would wail, because she couldn't go home. The last time she was there, her mother and father were murdered by soldiers....The hurt that was in her was just ginormous [enormous]....., and she carried that hurt.... But she didn't want to share that hurt with anybody. She just held it. Didn't want to give it to anybody. (Interview)

What I understand is that she had him ... Aunty told me, that through their research that this was conceived by rape – part of the rapes that happened at Parihaka around those times. ... That just blew me away. I was really annoyed for five years and I didn't know how to handle it. I went to Koro ... and I spoke to him and he goes "kei te pai" because that happened to their whakapapa too, and many other. And I thought 'okay, that's happened not just to my family'. I started to get more awareness around what happened at Parihaka. (Interview)

And, it's hard for Nana because she saw and she speaks on what. she experienced, she witnessed and then how tikanga happened on her marae. It's not her fault that my kuikui told her 'Don't put any of this heaviness onto my mokopuna. I puta atu i te Ao Mārama, i puta atu i te Ao hou, ki te Ao hurihuri. That's what she was told by the old people. So that's what Nana's answer is always going to be – 'That's what the old people said, that's what the old people said.' Because from what I hear she was told not to hand on, not to speak of, not to burden her mokopuna [with] what

my tūpuna thought were going to [be] burdens upon us because of the Pāhuatanga and that saddens me. But I understand Nana's from that generation. (Interview)

While many may believe that such colonial actions are a thing of the past, we see, in Taranaki, continued reproduction of the same processes of dispossession and disconnection in contemporary times. The ongoing contest over the Waitara (stolen) Lease Lands, including the Pekapeka Block, is but one example. The most recent colonising act came in the form of the New Plymouth District Council (Waitara Lands) Bill, which was passed by Parliament in December 2018. This Bill enables a New Plymouth District Council (NPDC) and Taranaki Regional Council (TRC)-instigated process for 780 leasehold properties in Waitara to become freehold, with a mere 60 hectares of land to be returned to the Manukorihi and Otāraua hapū (subtribes/clans) of Te Ātiawa. The leasehold land was illegally (stolen) confiscated by the Crown from the iwi and the Otāraua and Manukorihi hapū in the 1860s. The Tamaki Treaty Workers Group (TTWG) claims the NPDC has pocketed at least 60 million in income from this stolen Māori land (Chenery & Hutchinson, 2018). The bill totally ignores the fact that the council and the wider community have already reaped substantial rewards from the stolen lands, and further removes these lands from both hapū and iwi. Submissions to the Māori Select Committee emphasised the impact of historical trauma in Waitara and the ongoing systems of colonial dispossession.

The Parihaka–Crown reconciliation ceremony ‘He Puanga Haeata’ also highlights the impact of multiple events of colonial invasion, occupation, removal and dispossession. The Parihaka Legacy Statement provides an historical overview, which provides us with critical insights into the historical background of the people of Parihaka, and Taranaki more broadly.

Tikanga Tuku Iho: Parihaka Legacy Statement Background

Parihaka occupies a special place in New Zealand history and has ongoing significance to the future of this country. Once a thriving centre of enterprise, peace and independence under the leadership of Tohu Kākahi

and Te Whiti-o-Rongomai, it was all but destroyed through sustained hostility, and most prominently when Crown forces invaded and occupied the community in 1881. Today, Parihaka is a small, determined, Taranaki settlement – the legacy of Tohu and Te Whiti continuing to sustain and guide the community. Parihaka has much to offer Aotearoa in how New Zealanders understand our past and how we respond to our future (Kawe Tūtaki, 2015).

Tohu and Te Whiti developed ideas about ways of living as a community that were intended to generate solutions to the challenges of the day, and enable collective empowerment and control over the community's own future. They advanced a principle-based approach to community development that featured collectivism, empowerment and development (Parihaka Whakamua, Parihaka Pūmou - Future-Proofing Parihaka Report, 2015).

The ideas of Tohu and Te Whiti have been passed down and evolved over time through regular group discussions on the 18th and 19th of every month (forum established to enable open dialogue and debate) and at other forums for more than 100 years. Tohu and Te Whiti did not encourage the maintenance of written records about these ideas in order to avoid manipulation of their views. Knowledge was instead purposefully retained in waiata, karakia and historical statements that were intergenerationally transmitted. The collection of ideas is the legacy of Tohu and Te Whiti. It has been inherited from past generations and is of such value that the community seeks to pass on that legacy to future generations as a cultural inheritance. (Parihaka Whakamua, Parihaka Pūmou - Future-Proofing Parihaka Report, 2015)

Phase 1 – The Upheaval: Violent Upheaval 1813 – 1840

The Taranaki region, rich in resources, densely populated and thick with human existence. Then the region's desolation from northern bounds, lives torn apart within the tempest, ripped to shreds in the storm. The concussive force of the musket resounded, fortifications fell, their inhabitants made captive and taken afar. The vulnerable removed themselves to Kapiti, the primary root left behind resisted. The potential of peace was conceived, bound by Pōtatau and Matakātea at Ōrangituapeka pā, giving rise to new hope and fortitude. Settlements of the past faded

and new forms of community arose, they were sanctuaries of collective prosperity. This was a generation born in the depths of war that gave rise to prophets of inspired vision, breaking from their constraints with concepts of empowerment and transformation. Through this upheaval, despair was eased and light shone once more.

Phase 2 – The Foundation: Reshaping Peace 1840 – 1860

This wave of prosperity swept the region. Settlers made their home in Taranaki, land their intent. The good word conveyed by Whiteley, the sermons of Minarapa, the established flock of Riemenschneider, carrying the peace of God and the Bible's text espousing faith, hope and love. Those enslaved were liberated in the promise of spring, those in hiding had freedom in the warmth of summer. Flourishing with the rewards of cultivation, of collective action, inspiration and resilience. The king-tides carried waves of settlers, eroding the earth, consuming the land, and deep concern builds. Numbers swelled with return migrations of the once vulnerable who resettled, tilling and fertilising the soil, gardens of occupation. Statements of assertion defined boundaries for land to be retained, commitments were made, bound by oaths, people would be lost before their lands. The value of Taranaki land enticed buyers, and enticed the Government.

Phase 3 – The War: The Impact of Conflict 1860 – 1865

Friction to inflame hostility at the mouth of Waitara, sparking tension in Pekapeka, the seat of conflict, embers stoked in Te Kōhia, a wildfire razing the country in deep desire for land, covetous of land. With Kaipopo so too did Te Hanataua, Kukutai and Paratene fall, a loss of respected leadership. Occupation rights were fanned alight, never extinguished but all confiscated. Food was sowed while people were buried, in a succession of settlements, destroyed and torched. Like reeds rising when wind abates. Tamarura revealed with the incident of Lord Worsley, spiritual guidance revealed to Taranaki, violence contrasted with non-violence at Kaitake and elevated on Te Iringaniu. The potential for peace revealed in Christian tenets. So rose the two birds, calling at dawn, Mumuhau and Takereto landing at Repanga.

Phase 4 – The Building: A New Dawn 1865 - 1878

Submerged in the pain of Waikoukou, surfacing again with relief in the

upper reaches of Waitotoroa. Parihaka emerging in the glimmer of a new dawn on the horizon. Weapons were sheathed, far from sight. The flow of blood stanchied, principled practice realised, an albatross takes flight, a way of life. The twelve of Tāwhiao sent out, the shepherds gather their flock with guidance of Christian beliefs. A commitment with their God was made firm, this would be a time of good, a time of great consequence, a time of solace, a time for the most vulnerable. Amassed from the north, south and east, scattered by confiscation. The hundreds gather in teams, working as a collective. Cooperative cultivation of the land ensues. The essence of peace. Food is produced, words are spoken, goodwill to all people, responding to hatred with kindness. This battle is one fought with the tip of my tongue, fought for future generations. For they are the basis of self-determination far into times ahead.

Phase 5 – The Resistance: An Uprising of Resistance 1878 - 1886

The plough goes forth, my people are taken, taken captive, taken by law. Ploughing with non-violence, moving in unison, fencing out hostility. Noses of the brave are broken, and untruths are made real. As the region was reclaimed, people were reclaimed, land was ploughed, and the news travelled, of determination, of resilience, reminiscent of Tāwhiri-mātea. I am condemned on account of my Tikanga, punished with the lash of law, put upon high seas between islands, separated with hard labour in Dunedin, on Rīpapa in Lyttelton, in Hokitika on the Westcoast. Hīroki, like Pōtiki-roroa, made the target, a fish corralled to shallow water, the shelter of Tohu and Te Whiti. Soldiers marched upon children's play. A white horse bearing Bryce's hostility pushing through the hospitality of mothers. They are resolute and assured. The camp of Pungarehu relocated to Te Pūrepo, with intimidation and havoc, together Parihaka remained. The act of a dog resolute and assured in the first plunder. People bundled as potatoes, yet without food. The hen pulling her brood under her protection, there is no food for them out there, rage and thoughts of retaliation constrained in peace. Subordinated for higher ideals. What Hinemoa's cargo has taken, women must carry. Left in hunger and yet found strength. Womanhood brutalised by the basest of human character. This destructive wind borne at midnight.

Phase 6 – The Revival: The Drive for Revival: 1886 - 1907

They have disembarked from ships, moved by sorrow. The hunger of the

punisher for now appeased, the worst for me, the best for you. Prisoners have bindings removed, yet strict constraints remain in place. The mountain encircled by road and angled fences of occupation. Taranaki is again desolate. Small birds of the sky flock to the source of strength, a spring flowing high up on the slopes. This revival from near death, makes life more precious. The poi's beat and tongue's sway on Toroanui and Paraahuka. There is a rending of the waka with debate, spiritual leadership and community leadership. Rangikāpuia rise tall, Te Raukura rise tall. Pulled upward and drawn downward, each standing apart, the pounding of feet, the commotion of voices. Yet the yoke remained tethered. These are coarse clothes of mourning, hitched high for work. The innovations of the world installed to vibrate and spark anew to the world. And still the Crown's iron doors remain firmly shut. We are but demons conjured in the shadows.

Phase 7 – The Forgetting of Parihaka: The Ebbing Tides 1907 - 1975
The sun does set, he dives into night, his life-giving light lost to the world. The rituals sent you both beyond, lost into Tangaroa, hidden into the west, to the very gable of Tonganui. The deep dissensions of Pōtoru were paid no heed, and you did not recede from our memory. It continued to grow and flourish afar, nurtured afar, at Te Parewanui, at Te Maungaarongo, and at Rātana. Subsequent settlements of belief and sound moral values. The political paths on gravel roads led to Wellington, I am dust-covered in the wake. Engulfed in bramble, consumed by borer, wasted in deprivation, flushed with alcohol, embattled with abuse, silenced with scorn. The remaining few caretakers of the bell, the embodiment of Joseph, fed the people with the little they had.

Phase 8 – The Recovery of Parihaka : A Second Revival: 1975– Present Day
Pages have laid bare that which silence has suppressed, that deafened have heard, that blinded have seen. First light reveals the spectrum of Uenuku, with piercing rays and refracted light the deepest and darkest of recesses will know colour. Dawn breaks and the sky has opened, the world is enlightened. Clear those marae long forsaken, reveal their lore, uncover their learnings. Bodies of knowledge yet unseen, drawn from our earliest beginnings, the quest for peace, a flight feather, a tradition of poi. Speak up and speak with resolve, the God almighty they received,

the guiding light of lasting peace, to avoid hatred, to avoid moral debasement, to avoid a complete loss of dignity is his legacy. What is the bird? My poi is the bird. It has flown out to travel over the generations. Battles remembered on the day of the Declaration of Independence may be redeemed with peace in memory of the Pāhua, an eventual peace. The meek, demeaned and impoverished, will stand, they will succeed.

The Parihaka Legacy Statement is significant in the context of healing from historical and colonial trauma for a number of reasons: (i) it is an articulation of events from the position of Parihaka papakāinga; (ii) it provides an overview that seeks to reveal truths about colonisation and in particular the context of the violence perpetrated upon the people of Parihaka; (iii) it gives voice to the abuses experienced by Maori women through the invasion and occupation of Parihaka papakāinga; and (iv) it provides pathways to move in healing ways for the wellbeing of the people of Parihaka. Such a framework for future healing and reconciliation is a model for the grounding of relationships between Parihaka and the Crown in ways that move beyond the dominant model of Crown control and determination that is predominant within the existing Treaty negotiations model.

Waitara and Parihaka are but two examples of many traumatic events and systemic violence that whānau, hapū and iwi within Taranaki have been living with and dealing with inter-generationally since the mid 1800s, and which were commented on by those interviewed for this project. This is clearly expressed by whānau who were interviewed for this project.

I would say that as a whānau and within our hapū we have lived with the experience of the wars that spread throughout Taranaki and came through Ngāruahine and effected Ngā Rauru, further south and my grandfather and grandmother born and raised in those areas and so their childhood [was] informed by being raised by elders in communities who were children at the time of those events. It wasn't ... a singular event, it wasn't something that happened and then went away; it was a series I'd say of events. (Interview)

When Titokowaru was alive my understanding is that he was quite a forceful leader of our people and he fought really hard to retain possession of our lands around that area and we suffered because of it. One of those incidents was at Te Ngutu o Te Manu where they came in and more or less obliterated us and took away all our lands. To this day that land, Te Ngutu o Te Manu has always been a very sacred place for our family... we had family that died there ... I guess that whole history of our hapū is around land being confiscated from us or stolen from us at that time. (Interview)

You might as well say raping the land, raping our people and raping our minds; that's what happened, and so for me that's ... well again. two levels: the Pākehā land grabbing colonisers didn't care, burn our houses down and rape us ... the missionaries and the priest and all of that, that brought that rubbish and that was to rape our hearts ... and our spirituality and all of that sort of stuff. (Interview)

That has had such a huge effect and ... I know eventually that came about because of land, because to me it is connected to other trauma. For us it was things like, I call it an economic trauma because what happened for example is that our people were really shoved into economic hardship. Where we were, flourishing, land, coast was really important. (Interview)

There are so many... All of them; land loss, language loss, loss of our communities, loss of our leadership, and minimisation of our participation in our community.....we didn't suffer so much within our hapū land confiscation but we suffered the land alienation and all of the cultural aspects that go with that. (Interview)

It was like holocaust I mean, I say if that wasn't the case, why would they have built a monument to a dying race. Because their intention, if it wasn't disease, war and then the argument that Māori seeded their tino rangatira, who does that? It's not really in any human being to just say you can rule me now, that's not within our DNA to do that... I think a lot of people are not aware of what has transpired here, the history of this land, ... they talk about the land war and the Māori war, what we should be saying, we want it to be referred to as 'Pākehā war to steal Māori land' because that's what it was. (Interview)

Many whānau spoke powerfully about the disconnect from whenua and the complexities of retaining whenua within whānau because of the complex ways in which capitalist systems define land as property, with individual ownership and shares being central to such constructions.

I was about land, my Kuia was the eldest, she had some (from what I understand) some very clear processes around how she managed that land that belonged to her and her siblings at the time. All her younger siblings died, which left just her with that land. She was left with this land but ... there was one who was alive; her younger brother and he had family and there was sort of tension between those families, with his family and my kuia's family... She would say "this is how it is going to happen" and there was no discussion about it...so the other part of the connection to that land was through him but she sort of took the land like she owned it... she didn't cut them out, it was quite specific that they had this many shares and you had this amount of the shares but the majority of the shares stayed with her.... and it is [tension] still happening today.... It was collective ownership. What happened then it came down into almost individual ownership... My understanding is that her younger siblings died and she took over their shares of their land. (Interview)

I don't know how many beneficiaries there are but there are literally thousands of the last remaining pieces ... there were thousands of those family members who have nothing to do with that land so have nothing to do with any whenua within our rohe; and any issues or even any real connection into their taha Māori through that process, which is a pretty fundamental process for us as a people. Takahi whenua, walking the land, managing and receiving the benefits of connection. The implications of that are horrendous for us as a people. (Interview)

So within our area the actual confiscation happened mostly just further north than us, through New Plymouth and out to Bell Block there was land sales, but of course those were subject to particular whānau selling on behalf of everybody else. They were also subject to land that was supposed to be put aside for Māori and then those Māori that did get it were then targeted for acquisition and minimisation of their use of that land in consecutive generations. In North Taranaki around our area they

did a different process whereby they would take the entire block and then they would offer you back 10% so if the whānau, if people didn't actually buy 10% (of course they would offer you back the bits they didn't want, swamp land) so if you didn't buy it back you didn't have any because there was none there to begin with. Within our rohe there are six families... [retaining] less than 50 acres. (Interview)

The redefinition of land as property and the imposition of western capitalist frameworks of ownership worked in multiple ways to fragment whenua and whānau and to remove many from the knowledge associated with the care and kaitiakitanga relationships with whenua and the wider taiao (environmental ecosystems).

Some of the concepts, things like mana whenua. ...they really mangle it; they talk about mana whenua in terms of that is your power over the land. That is such a Pākehā way of looking; like we are just power hungry people just like them, their lens, they have just put it over our definition of mana whenua, our thing. We like our pūrākau stories ensuring that they are actually our lens on the stories, right down to the actions of our tīpuna. ... always talk about mana moana, mana atua, mana whenua but even things like mana whenua. The reason why whenua is so precious to us, this might be different from other people ... Mana whenua definition like we were given by our Dad is that you still have access to the land where the heart of your tīpuna is imbued; so being able to walk on the land that the spirit where your tīpuna, karakia it is the mana that you derive and mana even in terms of spiritual integrity and strength and all of that that you draw from still being on those lands and being able to connect to those lands, not lord power and authority over the land; that is ridiculous. That has been misinterpreted maybe from our desire to protect those places. Can you image mana whenua, your authority over the land, that is ridiculous! We are from the land, we are the land and especially that knowing so that when you go back to those special places and I think "oh my God my tīpuna stood here" and all this happened and everything that you draw from that... That definition of mana whenua sounds more true to me. (Interview)

We have a lot of aspirations with the land but would also like to receive it back, but there are a lot of resources required, there is a lot of energy and it is all that stuff around common vision, leadership, there is a breakdown of all of those things. (Interview)

It is so embarrassing, honestly, we have made ourselves the centre of the damn world, and we are not. ... about kaitiaki, how they are passed down through whānau, special instances where tohunga will make kaitiaki, what it takes....But knowing 'we have really lost it' in terms of the view and how we have lost it; we have become just like Pākehā, where, 1000 years ago something happened, but they made themselves the centre of the world, they were no longer children of mother and sky and that culture has developed like that. And that is the main thing that has mucked us up, we have made ourselves the centre of the whole damn universe and that is just not how it is. Even kaitiakitanga has become about us. Oh my god, how could we do that! It's so embarrassing you know we have let the arrogance of another culture permeate our culture where we just do not see ourselves in the scheme of things, even with stuff like climate change happening. (Interview)

These systems and processes are foundational issues in regard to economic oppression and increasing poverty for whānau, hapū and iwi in Taranaki. Coulthard (2014) emphasises that the dispossession of lands and resources and the imposition of capitalist systems upon Indigenous lands through colonization has worked to create widespread economic and political impoverishment. The impact of economic poverty and its associated effects was highlighted by whānau in their korero.

The land was quite rich and down that road that we lived in there was plenty of kai and there were rivers. The tide was really close and even growing up as children we always had lots of kai; fruit trees on our farm, we had a whole paddock that was our garden and all those vegetables were shared with people down the road and that was post colonisation so I don't believe that [poverty] was there pre-colonisation. (Interview)

I call it an economic trauma because what happened for example is that our people were really shoved into economic hardship. ...For example the introduction of the native land court and the individualisation and the rating of land especially... A lot of the families where I am from, 12 to 13 that was it, if you could milk a cow that was it you were out of school and milking. Survival mode to the max. (Interview)

The Impact of Historical and Colonial Trauma

Understanding the level of pain and the historic nature of soul wounds is critical to understanding how to heal and care for those who have suffered such trauma, or who continue to carry the pain of the historic injustices. Whānau spoke of a range of impacts both individually and collectively as whānau, hapū and iwi, including issues of disconnection from whenua through acts of confiscation and invasion in Taranaki. These manifest in multiple ways, each of which are outcomes of the fragmentation and intention of colonisation, including intergenerational disconnection, loss of information transmission, communication issues, being silenced, and identity crises. The following quotes provide insights into these impacts:

One of my uncles he literally disappeared when my Nan died ...and then his daughters have hardly seen him. We've lost an uncle basically ... he's just disappeared gradually over the years but I hear from family friends... so they are like "Oh no we know where he is; he's in a safe house but he needs medicine and we make sure that he gets a coffee. Our kids give him a coffee or something when they see him". So essentially he is not homeless but a step removed and he runs away from my brother when he tries to approach him sometimes [although] he must recognize him as being family and he doesn't want anything to do with us, so that makes me very sad. (Interview)

My grandmother felt shame in being a native so she would never speak to us about it ... so there was no language passed on, no story, no knowledge, no wisdom and I yearned for that as a child. I remember not understanding how she could be ashamed of that but starting to feel a bit ashamed of it myself because of her. That is a disconnect right there that even though you may want this knowledge, first of all, trying to find

someone who has it is a big issue and then this feeling of shame and that somehow talking about being native is not a good thing and maybe you are not a good person. So this is a huge barrier to knowledge. (Interview)

We need to find better processes to confront, I suppose, our history. We have just started this new process of the maunga claim and I went to the hui for our people. They are talking about doing it differently but there is nothing different about it and that is obvious to me ... I don't think it would matter that I was on the land or had my hands in the ground because it is so complex and so insidious ... because we don't have the language. When I did this, this is exactly what I mean, I can identify it, I can describe it, but we don't have that language within our community, we don't have that language, we don't talk about that; I think we did once upon a time. (Interview)

Generational grief, those traumas do not go away because Pākehā says oh we are going to apologize. I say you can stick your apology when I know damn well you don't mean it. They are saying that they will apologize and throw a few million in then it's all done, Māori need to move on; when we said move on to where? Where is Māori going to move on to? I mean at the end of the day it's a continuation of inflicting the Pākehā tikanga that valued money rather than people and then when I hear Pākehā say, 'he aha te mea nui o te ao, he tangata', it really sickens me. (Interview)

One of the destructive, but generally unspoken effects of colonisation is that it taught us to disrespect ourselves. Disrespecting oneself enabled and cultivated disrespect to each other, which progressed on to disrespecting everything else within a Māori worldview, including severing intimate connections to the natural world. There is a deep-seated *mamae* currently present in Māori *whānau* due to disconnectedness to each other and our natural environment. So if the *mamae* is caused by disconnection, surely one of the *rongoā* is to find and make connections to the things we are disconnected from. A 'damaged communal self' not only presents a challenge to *whānau* Māori but also to Māori practitioners who have become more individualistic in their approach while paying 'lip service' to the healing qualities within *whānau* Māori connectedness.

I'm not saying exclude people, but for Māori for example, the mental health service does more harm to Māori than good. And yet the people working within it, because it's very much a western model, they've been trained in that western model. And I remember when I challenged them, and I said, if you are Māori you are more likely to get even more drugs and [be put in a] medical straight jacket; and because the system doesn't understand Māori culture and they have no inclination to want to understand. Because how do you do psychiatry or psychology when you don't even understand the person you are treating and their belief system? That to me is not only disrespect but it's abusive. (Interview)

A key issue raised by whānau was the impact of ill-health through the cumulative impact of colonisation, historical and colonial trauma and the many structural disparities that are the result of systemic and institutional racism. This was often discussed in terms of the early loss of whānau members.

His mum, my great grandmother, passed young and three of my Koro's brothers and sisters were sent back to Taranaki. Some were sent to the East Coast and some stayed in ... because my Koro's Pāpā was from there. ...my Koro's mum died when she was quite young and we have a history of dying young, you know to make it to 60 is significant, and my grandmother passed within weeks of her 60th birthday. (Interview)

All her younger siblings died, which left just her with that land. (Interview)

My father is one of those people who died, he died in his 50s but the thing is that is not uncommon, his brother died the same year, my cousins some have died 40s/50s and the thing is what it means is they are not even Pakeke age – over 70 really to be a kaumātua at least. That has had such a huge effect...but two things that have been really prevalent where I am from ... and hapū even in our wider whānau is in terms of earlier deaths. Our people were taken, really young, so we have lots of cousins and grandparents that died in their late 40s and 50s and so there is a huge thing there in terms of that people don't have connections to who should be our pakeke and who should be our leadership....Literally dying

so I know that we are in a situation where lots of my tuakana, that was it, boom, all of a sudden they are the ones that are meant to be fulfilling what we would consider kaumātua roles but they in many ways are just out of being rangatahi. (Interview)

Early loss of key whānau members creates what may be seen as a knowledge and leadership void. This means that whānau are left without those key people who held the knowledge to reconnect whānau members to each other, to whenua, to hapū and iwi, and to support the reconnection to te reo and tikanga.

My grandmother for our whānau was the decision making, absolutely, and I guess she would talk with Koro but he would agree with her, she was in her era as well educated as she could be...when my nan passed ... what I've noticed with mum and her siblings, they can't make a decision as a family, they waited and I guess out of respect for Koro to try to have any discussions about her lands.... If they had meetings or tried to have meetings as I've gotten older I've recognised none of them have been able to get together to make a decision, so that one thing, has not been resolved. Now that Nan and Koro have both passed on, my mum and her siblings have just almost been like possums pulled into a headlight for coming up to 20 years now. I hadn't realised exactly how difficult it was for them to talk to each other or to agree to come together to speak to each other... I was quite shocked and then I thought well what did I expect because my knowledge of my family is we haven't come together we have never been called together, we haven't shared anything. (Interview)

I think that it wasn't so much about her death, it was about after she had passed away there was nothing left. I felt that my father was left to take over and he wasn't quite sure about what his role was in terms of he was the only one in the family, he had to take over, he had to teach us and I felt that he was struggling in making us understand what was happening with our kuia at the time. Now I think about it I think she has passed away and she took a lot of knowledge with her and that sort of impacted upon our family about where did we sit, who was connected to us. We were quite isolated from our marae... We were isolated from one another,

we were isolated from our relatives, we didn't know who half our relatives were and they lived down the road. So, it felt like she had taken all that knowledge with her and not given it to my dad. (Interview)

Dying young; repositories of knowledge dying; leadership gaps; confusion about roles; individualisation of land titles, responsibility, and accountability; silence about historical events; knowledge gaps, with significant whānau information and stories not passed on; wisdom gaps; disconnection from land, collective, sacred places, language; gender bias; economic hardship; survival mode; identity confusion; alcohol abuse; whāngai system disrupted; silenced history; disconnection from intergenerational knowledge about whakapapa; disruptions to the three-way relationship between earth, people and the spirit realm; feelings of shame, collective shame; ongoing state violence dictating who they will engage with in relation to Treaty breach settlements.

Removing people from their land, taking their language away, taking the ceremonies away and taking their pride away and their sense of being, sense of belonging, and their sense of participation. We were people who participated every day in our environment and suddenly they take us, many of us, move us in with other tribes who have nothing in common with us, remove us from our land and just have food that is not very nutritious, alcohol and no work – that is a recipe for disaster! (Interview)

In general, the health, our health disparities are unbelievable. We have higher rates of everything you can imagine; diabetes, heart disease, mental health issues just from historical trauma, of survivors and their offspring and the offspring of those offspring, bringing that intergenerational trauma forward. Health disparities are huge, when we look in the prisons and see that we represent way more than we do out in the general population, ok, what is that doing to our folks, and so many men and now more women every year being incarcerated as well. I can't think of a good thing.... I see that the poverty also comes into the poor health and incarceration level, all of those things, employment, all of it. (Interview)

The evidence of distress and confusion about our identity, the violence in our recent past as a whānau and our ways of interacting with each other; communication, being able to co-ordinate anything and respond to just day to day life. [It] is immensely difficult to even identify single things but I will perhaps say ... trying to get us all together in the same place at the same time is extremely difficult. (Interview)

...from our whānau, especially looking at differences after colonisation is that,... it was the real, connectedness to everything. Like, you were clear as to your place, space, and role. ...but I know even in really basic things like Tuakana-Teina, which can be really not basic things, that there is a real safety and wellbeing in those things. In terms of good health prior to colonisation and even now, it was clear where there were responsibilities and it is the wellbeing of the collective, but in terms of [the] individual there was a safety about it... I know perhaps that that connectedness and who and where you were in the scheme of things undoubtedly would also help in terms of physical health. But certainly I know in terms of spiritual health, emotional health ... mental health; being clear and confident as to who you are in the scheme of things is a big one. (Interview)

Caring for tamariki was discussed in some depth by whānau; in particular, the desire to engage with the impact of the denial of traditional childcare systems through colonisation. It was noted that tikanga such as whāngai were usurped quite early in the colonising process by the state and that this is a further example of state violence designed to undermine whānau and hapū. There are also parallels here with what happened to other Indigenous Peoples through forced removals of entire communities; the theft of Indigenous children who then experienced what is fundamentally a form of incarceration in Residential and Boarding school systems.

There was always whāngai but the whāngai system... that for some reason it has almost ground to a halt from what I imagined when I heard pakeke talk. So these might be the ones who are still in their 70s and 80s or some of my nannies who are maybe a little bit younger like 70s and they talk ... “and so and so was given to so and so” – it wasn’t ‘taken’ or “thing was raised by so-and-so” and you have these wonderful, wonderful stories, so

I think maybe young people had the same issues as today in a different context. But there was this huge family context where people who could provide awahi and manaaki and it is amazing too because you talk about how you hear pakeke tāne, literally koros who have taken both genders and it always was “I was looking after this girl but now she is 10 so she needs to go back to her whanau”. It was never that permanent separation as well so I think that actually ... it’s not that we can’t look after our children; it’s that who looked after them, was different. (Interview)

...it is also two people living in a house raising their own kids that is not natural. (Interview)

...the removal of our children to boarding school, and the mission schools taking the children away from the families and their history and their ancestry and all the traditions and not allowing them to speak the language, not allowing them to have connections; sometimes even brothers and sisters being put into the same boarding school and not allowed to connect with each other. So, when you have that level of disconnect from everything, from the land, from spirit, from your family and from each other and yourself, the outcome is going to be bad, it is not going to be healthy. (Interview)

When you come from a history of boarding school, where do you learn parenting? Parenting was hitting, beating, separating and no physical contact, no emotion, no cuddling. (Interview)

Just in terms of tikanga related to good health is that knowing your place in the scheme of things and being protected and nurtured in terms of your place, whether you are a tuakana or mātamua or whether you’re teina or pōtiki, is also that role of karakia, especially with pakeke I think in terms of strengthening you in that place as well ... Teaching; my babies already know how to karakia, can’t really stop them sometimes and the safety in terms of their own resolve that when they are out there on their own the protection that adds to them. I can teach them whatever but there is something about old people with the young people in the spiritual thing as well, and I know we are lucky because we got that from our grandfather and my father. ... We were very lucky. (Interview)

We teach them about the Māori parenting model, parents are having the kids but then they are going off and working all day ... it is the role of the pakeke, and when people see that they say it makes so much sense. That has been stripped. ... We put people [elders] out to pasture and that is so terrible, they have a huge role and everything that they do have to offer. (Interview)

I think we live in a society that has a very short timeframe of reference. We need to go back to intergenerational thinking; I believe that our Tūpuna had a totally different expectation of our babies. As I said earlier on about closed community and effectively our communities were much more closed, you regenerated your community from your community... Our children were seen as the next resource and only silly people would not maximise the potential of their children or maximise the potential of their koroua or kuia and not just farm them out, or expect oh you are retired now you can just float off on cruise ships or whatever. There is an expectation back, a life expectation that was invested in you from before you were born, but of course the intergenerational stories of the deeds and the aspirations of your tūpuna are carried on and expressed and expected through that responsibility. Those things are just so broken. (Interview)

Māori Models of Healing

Mason Durie (2001) writes about living as Māori, with the ability to actively participate as citizens of the world and to enjoy good health and a high standard of living. Senator John Lewis, a civil rights movement legend, on the programme ‘Democracy Now’ (13.1.17), when addressing the issue of police violence towards the Black community and ‘Black Lives Matter’, used Dr Martin Luther King’s words when he referred to community as “Beloved community, a community at peace with itself”. The Ngā Puhī Rangatira Kawiti referred to “He whenua rangatira” as a time when we all should be able to enjoy the ‘good life’ of prosperity during peaceful times. Our Ojibwa relations from Great Turtle Island say “to live the good way”; our Navajo relations use the expression “to walk in beauty”; our Ngāti Porou whānaunga talk about “he ngākau aroha” – a caring heart; and in Taranaki we say ‘Te raukura’ – a healthy recognition that there is a higher power, the desire for peace across our lands and good will towards all people.

He whenua rangatira, beloved community, to live the good way, to walk in beauty, he ngākau aroha and te raukura all offer healthy balanced philosophes about how to live productive, meaningful lives. Reaffirmed within them all are generous, well balanced lives of possibilities, creativity, gifts, abundance, prosperity and peace; for everyone, not just for some. These Indigenous expressions of citizenship and wellbeing are in stark contrast to how Taranaki Māori have been denied the right to a 'good life' for generations, which extends to the present, as evidenced by the outpouring of racist vitriol in a citizen-led referendum to prevent the creation of a Māori Ward to allow Māori representation on the New Plymouth District Council in 2015.

The need for contextualised, culturally safe health and social services is well recognised in Aotearoa, particularly within Mental Health and Addiction Services. However, this response can often be polarised, and limited in its focus, using generic Māori cultural constructs or iwi non-specific, total population impacts of trauma for Māori. While trauma is an experience that can affect all people, Māori experience trauma in distinct ways. Similarly, hapū/iwi have experienced trauma in distinct ways. These are linked to localised experiences of colonisation, racism, discrimination and subsequent unequal rates of violence, poverty and ill health. Given that hapū and iwi have been impacted by trauma in distinct ways it is important to identify practice principles that can contribute to the development of a framework that helps Māori providers working with Māori individuals to better understand and respond to trauma within a whānau, hapū, iwi context.

This section takes a kaupapa Māori approach, which centres and privileges Māori ways of being, knowing and thinking in the research paradigm (Penehira, 2011; Smith 2007). Researchers have a torrid history of using research as a tool for further oppression of Indigenous peoples (Mead, 1994; Pihama, 2001). For many generations, non-Indigenous researchers have entered our communities to glean information, collect data, and then analyse these in ways that are devoid of Indigenous ways of knowing and behaving (Kidman, 2007; L. T. Smith, 2007). The end results were to produce de-contextualised research findings that position Indigenous peoples as victims of their own wrongdoing; thus justifying

the continued role of the coloniser to teach us the 'right way'; their way, in order to save us from our own destruction.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1997), whose work centres largely on de-colonising research methodologies, provides significant guidance to both kaupapa Māori research and Indigenous research methodologies. The converse of Linda's work is 'colonising methodologies'. Colonising research may be considered, amongst other things, as that which privileges academic literature and empirical evidence over and above oral accounts (L. T. Smith, 1999; Pihama, 2005; C. Smith, 2002). However, this is not to say that de-colonising methodologies counter this by privileging oral accounts over academic literature and empirical evidence. Rather, it is about giving voice to material previously not recognised as valid in terms of research documentation. This includes, but is not exclusive to, oral accounts (Lee, 2009). De-colonising methodologies also acknowledge, for example, the historical and contemporary narratives contained in traditional carving, song and performance. Contextualising Kaupapa Māori alongside the broader Indigenous research context (L.T. Smith, 1997) is important in this literature review, which necessarily draws on native and Indigenous literature that expands on what is available from Māori sources. It is known that understanding other Indigenous views helps us to understand our own.

Māori Healing Models in Relation to Healing Trauma, both Personal and Collective

In this section, Māori healing and Māori healing models are discussed. The holistic nature of Māori and Indigenous healing is such that these models are applied in multiple healing and wellbeing contexts, as opposed to being specifically designed for the context of healing historical trauma. This section includes references to both new and well-known models. One of the most significant elements to Māori health and wellbeing is known as 'mouri' (within Taranaki iwi dialect) which is described as one's life force and innate energy (Penehira, 2011).

A review of both the contemporary and historical literature reveals further understandings of mouri. Elsdon Best (1934) described mauri (mouri) as 'the active life-principle, or physical life-principle', though he

also acknowledged that it was not a simple term to describe, nor a term that non-Māori could easily understand. Whilst drawing a similarity with the term ‘soul’, he notes that it differs significantly in that, unlike the soul, it ceases to exist once a person is deceased, referring to the expression “kua ukiuki te mauri”, in reference to the death of a person.

Mana Kaitiakitanga – Māori Principle of Wellbeing

Developed by Dr Huirangi Waikerepuru, Mera Penehira and other students in 1997, Mana Kaitiakitanga provides a comprehensive framework in which it is useful to view Mouri. Emerging from a series of wānanga (learning institutions) which were ultimately aimed at the resurgence of moko kauae amongst Taranaki Māori women, it provides an overview of the Māori principle of wellbeing. The framework (Figure 1) includes Mouri as one of seven key elements of Māori wellbeing, the other six all referring to various aspects of Hau. Mouri and Hau are viewed here as the ‘carriers’ or ‘indicators’ of areas in our lives and in our being that are essential to our wellbeing, which in the context of the Māori principle of wellbeing, includes physical, spiritual and emotional states of being.

Māori Marsden (1988) describes the relationship between Mouri and Hau, positing that Hau-ora, or the breath of life, is the source from and by which Mouri emanates. While saying that in particular contexts Hau is used as a synonym for Mouri, Marsden also differentiates between the concepts, advising that Hau is a term only applied to animate life, whereas Mouri can be applied to both animate and inanimate things. He states:

Mauri was a force or energy mediated by Hauora – the Breath of the Spirit of Life. Mauri Ora was the life-force (mauri) transformed into life-principle by the infusion of life itself. (p. 21)

As shown in the framework below, seven elements that make up the Māori principle of wellbeing are framed by four further institutions or concepts: Health, environment, law and tikanga. In so doing, it is suggested that these institutions engage directly with one’s wellbeing and vice versa. That is, the state of health and the environment, the way we operate within the laws and indeed the lores of our communities, and our knowledge and

practice of tikanga, all influence our wellbeing. In contrast, our state of wellbeing, or otherwise, affects our ability to operate in healthy ways with and within the environment, and to conduct ourselves in law/lore-abiding ways, by knowing and practicing tikanga Māori.

The base of the framework involves tapu, tika, pono, hē/hara, and noa. These are concepts that allude to the states of being that we move through and between in everyday life and events.

They are significant contributors to the framework, in that these states, or rather our ability to understand what state is necessary for what purpose, and our ability to move between states, are critical to our wellbeing. The framework is illustrated in Figure 1 and is followed by an overview of how these concepts were discussed in terms of the framework development:

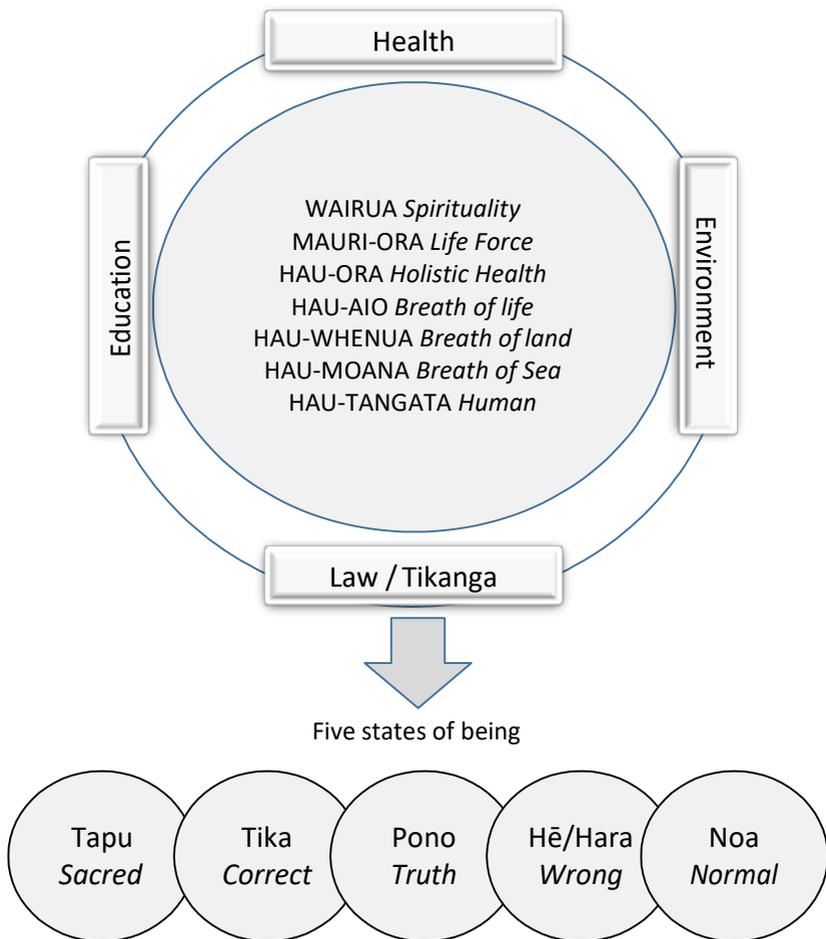


Figure 1.
 Mana Kaitiakitanga (Penehira, 2011)

Tapu: (Sacred) A necessary state of being in order to enable certain things to be achieved or events to be conducted. To gain in-depth understanding of karakia and other forms of traditional knowledge, or to participate in events such as tangihanga, one enters into a state and space of sacredness.

Tika: (Correct) It is necessary to be able to conduct oneself correctly according to whatever situation, event, or level of thought one is engaged in. This requires an understanding of what is correct in the first instance. In terms of children developing into adults with a healthy sense of wellbeing, it is important that they develop knowledge and understanding of what is correct. This may be specific to individual whānau, hapū and iwi.

Pono: (Truth) To operate in a truthful sense enables one to be open to new learning. The relationship between truth and new knowledge is significant, in that our belief is that if people do not engage truthfully in a learning situation or wānanga, they will not reap the benefits of that situation – they are not in a state to receive, nor understand new knowledge. When people operate in a space other than the truth, it negatively affects their wellbeing.

Hē/hara: (Wrong) In learning, in living and in being well, mistakes are made. This concept recognises that, and its place in the framework reminds us that it is a state that we will all be in from time to time. While in that state, it generally detracts from our wellbeing. However, it is significant to understanding the Māori principle of wellbeing that we take new knowledge and understanding from our mistakes; from our time in the state of 'hē'.

Noa: (Normal) This is the state in which we operate for much of our daily lives, activities and events. It is well known to us. It is perceived to be the opposite to tapu and provides the foundation from which we can enter into other ways of being.

If each of these states has a significant place in our lives, and if collectively they provide the basis for the Māori principle of wellbeing, how is it that we move through these states and between these states? The mediating mechanism, which guides us into, through and out of these states is

simply karakia (prayer or incantation). We have karakia that specifically take us into a state of tapu for example, and karakia that release us from that tapu. There are karakia that can be used to remind us of what is true and correct (pono and tika), and karakia that caution us about being in the state of 'hē' (wrong). Karakia kai or food blessings are perhaps the most common form of karakia for the state of noa (normal). With an understanding of karakia as the mediating agent of these states of being, it is acknowledged that karakia play a significant role in the Māori principle of wellbeing.

The seven elements of the Māori principle of wellbeing are explained below in the terms and understanding that were applied during the framework development:

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

Mouri Ora: (Life force) Refers to the innate life force within each of us. In terms of our wellbeing it asks us to give consideration to the wellness of our energy, of the force/s that activates us to do things and to operate and interact with our world.

Hau Ora: (Holistic health) Māori conceptualisation of health is holistic, including reference to physical, emotional and spiritual wellbeing. Hau ora literally may be translated to be the breath of life.

Hau Āio: (Breath of Life) Refers to 'te hau ā lo' or the breath of Io, who is recognised by Māori as the Supreme Being from whom creation is derived.

Hau Whenua: (Breath of Land) The wellbeing of humans relating to the wellbeing of the land. Hau Whenua also refers to the relationship between people and the land. If each of these are well (the people and the land), and the relationship between them is active and well, this has a significant positive contribution to Hau Ora. This element also facilitates the notion of ‘tangata whenua’, which recognises Māori as people of the land.

Hau Moana: (Breath of Sea) Similarly to Hau Whenua, the wellbeing of humans relating to the wellbeing of the ocean environment. The relationship between people and the ocean is referenced here. The independent wellness of each (the people and the ocean environment) is important, as is the wellness of the interactions between them.

Hau Tangata: (The breath of humanity) Refers to the unique human spirit within each of us. It speaks of both the individual and the collective wellbeing of humanity. Just as Hau Whenua and Hau Moana are about people and their relationship to the land and ocean environments, Hau Tangata is about people and their relationships with each other. Our wellness as individuals impacts on our ability to relate to and engage with others, enabling us to either contribute to or detract from the wellness of others and the collective.

As shown here, mouri is but one of seven key elements of the Māori principle of wellbeing. The descriptions of each of these elements allude to what may be perceived as a Māori view of the overlapping nature of aspects of wellbeing. There is a strong interdependence between each of these notions. This further suggests that if just one of the elements is less than ‘well’, then all will be affected. The Mana Kaitiakitanga framework is therefore a holistic one which provides a platform for understanding the place of mouri in Māori health and wellbeing.

Charles Royal (2005) considers Mouri alongside two other concepts in particular, those being Mana and Tapu. He states that:

...mana is the term we use for energy and consciousness that comes from beyond this world, from another reality, and flows into this world. Tapu is the term we use for the sacred and restricted nature of the vessel within

which the mana is resident and mauri is the term for an energy within the physical vessel which is necessary for mana to alight in that vessel. (p. 8)

Thus he adds another layer to our understanding – that is, Mouri is but one life principle acknowledged by Māori, and furthermore, its existence is co-dependent with a number of other principles.

Mason Durie, a leading academic in health with a particular focus on Māori mental health, developed the Whare Tapawhā model in 1984. The model centres on Māori philosophies toward health and is based on holistic health and wellness. In the model, Māori health is underpinned by four dimensions representing the basic beliefs of life – te taha hinengaro (psychological health); te taha wairua (spiritual health); te taha tinana (physical health); and te taha whānau (family health). These four dimensions are represented by the four walls of a house. Each wall is necessary to the strength and symmetry of the building.

Although Mouri is not specifically addressed in the model, as Best (1934) records, Mouri forms part of one's psychological wellbeing and so it certainly could be positioned in this context within the 'taha hinengaro'. In later work, Durie (2004) examines Māori and Indigenous health promotion, in which, drawing on the work of Mihi Ratima, he situates Mouriora as an integral element, stating that:

It is now accepted that good health depends on many factors, but among Indigenous peoples the world over, cultural identity is considered to be a critical prerequisite; deculturation has been associated with poor health whereas acculturation has been linked to good health. A health promotional goal must therefore be to promote security of identity. (p. 10)

In this context, mouriora is referred to as one's cultural identity and having access to the Māori world. Similar links between psychological health and physical health and wellbeing have been made by many in the field, and indeed a Māori approach to health, as mentioned earlier, is holistic (Durie, 2001; Pere, 1991; Ratima, 2001).

A number of Māori have also drawn a link between colonisation and poor health. They argue that loss of sovereignty, along with dispossession (of lands, waterways, customary laws), created a climate of material and

spiritual oppression with increased susceptibility to disease and injury (Durie, 2004). These are all things that have negatively affected Mouri; that is, the Mouri of the land and waterways involved, and in turn, the Mouri of the individuals, families and broader Māori communities connected with those places. In considering that Durie (2004) and others (Harris et al., 2006; Robson, 2003) propose that there are links between loss of sovereignty, spiritual oppression, and poor health.

Pita Sharples (1995) speaks about the concept of ‘whakahoki Mauri’, a concept that has been with Māori forever. It essentially refers to the need to restore a person’s Mouri, and in this context to restore their identity, pride, and wellbeing. In a review of Kaupapa Māori literature, Linda Smith (2000) writes that:

Mauri is the life force inside the person, which makes the individual function. It is the combination of your spiritual, physical, chemical makeup ... if your mauri is sick, you will become sick. (p. 27)

Again, this points to the significance of Mouri in one’s health and wellbeing. As Barlow (1991) posits, a person does not have control over their own mouri or life-essence. However, I would argue that given Sharples’ advice regarding the notion of whakahoki mouri, and the knowledge shared in the Mana Kaitiakitanga framework above; specifically the mechanisms, protectors, and modes of transmission between states, that Māori do have the inherent ability to nourish, protect, and uphold both our own mouri and that of others. Conversely, we might also choose to engage in ways that have the opposite effect on mouri; that is, to denigrate, put at risk, and deny the wellbeing of one’s mouri.

Traditional Healing Practices

Pākia mai e te tūpuhi,
Ka hinga ko te pūriri o te taiaha,
Ka ara anō ko te raupō o te poi

This whakataukī provides an analogy to colonisation; a storm or gale that is unstoppable and doesn’t discriminate, it just breaks and destroys everything in its path, including the magnificent sheltering

pūriri tree from which taiaha are forged. However the more humble and unnoticed, quiet and low lying raupō, which poi are made from, is flattened out and sinks onto and below the surface of the water during storms. It rests and then rises again when conditions improve. There are also other understandings that can be associated with the pūriri and taiaha representing strength, presence, creative energy and physical protection for the papakāinga, with the notion of 'ka hinga' also being linked to the forced removal of men from Taranaki. The raupō and poi in rising can be viewed as representing female presence and creative energy, the nurturing and recitation of historical memory, resistance and resilience. This aligns with another saying from Te Whiti o Rongomai, 'E Tū tama wāhine i te wā o te kore', Taranaki women will arise in the void'. Taranaki Māori have a long history of being resistant to domination and this whakataukī gives insights into the strength that is ours to take charge and lead our own healing processes, as we are reminded by our whānaunga Mahinekura Reinfeld and Leonie Pihama:

In the present political context of colonial transformation, re-claiming our own healing knowledges is a catalyst for affirming our own power because it locates the source of our power 'within' ourselves. (Reinfeld & Pihama, 2008)

Healing in a Māori worldview is a multi-layered notion that is situated as part of a whole, with that whole being about our humanity and wellness as Māori and as Indigenous peoples. To enter into the discourse of Māori healing is to engage in the discourse of wellbeing. To consider the notion of 'healing' in isolation from wellbeing would risk positioning healing as something only undertaken when one is 'unwell', or when there is an imbalance. However, as those who work in this area have noted, the sorts of things that are considered part of the Māori healing 'package', are more often than not, part of a total 'life package' or 'lifestyle':

Rongoā Māori centralises the importance of healthful and balanced relationships with self, universe and gods – whatever we perceive these to be. They may also continue to include direct relationships with tribal lands and environs or they could be shared due to the multi-affiliate character of many Māori descendants today. (Reinfeld & Pihama, 2008)

Tohunga can be considered the central point of traditional Māori healing. Tohunga are recognized by their own whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori communities as those who possess a great depth of knowledge of Māori healing across a wide range of cultural practices. In the research undertaken by Reinfeld and Pihama (2008), participant whānau clearly articulated the role of tohunga as healers within Taranaki. Thus, tohunga and their implicit knowledge and practice of Māori healing are clearly considered critical to our traditional healing practices. Rongoā and healing were as much a part of daily life as eating and drinking, as opposed to the more common contemporary understandings of medicine and health interventions that are engaged in on an 'as needed' basis.

From the time of settler arrival, Māori have naturally explored and indeed taken on Western health interventions, initially engaging with those as a matter of curiosity, and latterly as an essential response to the onset of Western ills that beset our communities with settler arrival, and at times in conjunction with our own traditional knowledge. One man well-known to have traversed the junctions between Māori and Western health systems is Dr Golan Maaka (Haami, 1995). Although trained as a medical doctor in a Western framework, Dr Maaka both understood and respected the knowledges of tohunga and Māori healing. As Bradford Haami (1995) describes:

He believed greatly in the efficacy of Māori medicines and often sent Māori back to their old people to be cured by their parents who knew the traditional remedy for their ailment. He knew that the old Māori medicines used by many of his young patients' grandparents would cure their ailments much better than any modern medicine he could prescribe ... Golan would send people away with the Māori cure for their ailment, which they were to apply for a week. After a week he would study the reaction and if there was no change, he would apply the western equivalent (p. 136)

Reinfeld and Pihama (2008) describe, in their study centred on healing knowledges in Taranaki, how Māori healing includes, but is not exclusive to, Rongoā Māori, which they propose as something that reflects an Indigenous and holistic view of health:

Rongoā Māori encapsulates a desire for holistic health and in doing so can also be interpreted as a means of reinforcing long-held tribal beliefs regarding the legitimacy and efficacy of whakapapa shared with atua Māori, Te Ao Tūroa and te tangata whenua. In this sense it can be understood as being another cultural marker and means of reinforcing a select group membership. The positive focus of rongoā Māori in restoring whole relationships is reason enough to take an active interest in it. Rongoā Māori is neither magic nor exceptional. It is basic and practical to living a balanced existence with 'all our relations'. Such a view is shared by many Indigenous peoples still living close to the land base, forests and oceans (p.39)

As Reinfeld and Pihama (2008) note, the reclamation of Rongoā Māori, and indeed anything deemed to fit within the realm of Māori healing, has an importance that stretches into an even broader view of health and wellbeing. That is to say, it has a political importance: reclaiming and practicing Māori healing is indeed part of a return to our traditional pre-colonised ways of living. It is, therefore, a de-colonising action, and an action which has the potential to play a vital role in the return of Māori to being the self-determining collective that we once were.

Māori views on illness, wellness and healing

What is clear is that the impact of colonisation on Māori approaches to health has been significant. In order to understand the current state of Māori health and the position of traditional healing, we need to understand that such changes within our cultural, spiritual, academic and economic context have altered our ability to access much of the knowledge and practices of our tūpuna, in that rongoā was without doubt a part of our daily lives. (Reinfeld & Pihama, 2008, p.31)

Although repealed in 1962, the Tohunga Suppression Act of 1907 has played an absolutely significant role in how Māori view health, wellbeing, and healing. It states:

(1) This Act may be cited as the Tohunga Suppression Act, 1907.

(2) Every person who gathers Māoris around him by practising on their superstition or credulity, or who misleads or attempts to mislead any Māori by professing or pretending to profess supernatural powers in the treatment of cure of any disease, or in the foretelling of future events, or otherwise, is liable on summary conviction before a Magistrate to a fine not exceeding twenty-five pounds or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding twelve months in the case of a second or any subsequent offence against this Act.

(3) No prosecution for an offence against this Act shall be commenced without the consent of the Native Minister first had and obtained.

(General Assembly of NZ, 1907)

Although Māui Pōmare, Te Rangihiroa (Peter Buck), Apirana Ngata and James Carroll, primary sponsors of the Act, were Māori, clearly the Act represents a non-Māori analysis and fear of Māori custom and practice that has at its heart the intention of halting Māori healing interventions. Rua Kēnana and other Māori leaders and traditionalists were particularly, though unsuccessfully, targeted by this Act. Although the underlying reasons for this are not immediately apparent, we continue to battle for a complete turnaround from the Act, to a point where Māori healing interventions can be viewed as legitimate and valid once more. Māmari Stephens (2001) provides a useful analysis from a legal perspective that engages a more contextual approach and uncovers the core intent of the Act by simultaneously studying both the political climate of the time and the subsequent application of the Act:

The Act was the product of political and psychological tensions that prevailed at a unique period in New Zealand history. There were certain overt aims to the legislation, such as the prosecution of Rua Kēnana and the improvement of Māori health, that were not fulfilled. On careful examination of the debates and related sources it appears that another primary intent of the Act was symbolic. It offered opportunities for the Pākehā dominated legislature to reassert certainty in the face of uncertain medical technologies and millenarianism, and to exert political dominance over growing Māori autonomy. (Concluding comments)

Stephen's (2001) analysis provides an important backdrop to the reclamation of Māori traditional knowledge and healing discourse, which is the topic of the present study. It reminds us that in reclaiming our

knowledge and re-engaging in the practices of Māori healing, we need to be mindful of maintaining control of and determining how, at all levels, the reclamation occurs. It is also critical to note, as a Māori female writer, the impact this legislation had on us as women. Ani Mikaere (2003), a leading academic in the field of Māori women's spirituality, states:

The Tohunga Suppression Act 1907, in outlawing Māori experts, continued the colonial pattern of demeaning Māori spirituality ... because the preservation of the spiritual safety of their whānau and hapū had been such an important role for Māori women, the devaluation of the traditional spirituality automatically resulted in a loss of status for them. (p. 111)

Māori women like Ani Mikaere provide an important analysis of the particular effect of coloniser legislation on the role, status and practices of Māori women. Understanding this is a critical element in reclaiming the strength and breadth of Māori women's voices and physicality in society. We continue to live in a colonised land, under the same system of governance that through the Tohunga Suppression Act 'outlawed' the practices we are re-engaging with. Clearly the Māori health, wellbeing, and healing discourse is not devoid of political debate and influence. So, with this Act providing the introduction to Māori views on health and wellbeing, what of Māori views prior to colonisation? How did we perceive illness, wellness and healing? As Royal (2005) explains:

Contrary to what some critics may say about the rejuvenation of traditional knowledge ['going backwards'], the revitalisation of traditional knowledge is as much about understanding our future as it is about our past. (p. 5)

Reinfeld and Pihama's (2008) work did just this, by reviewing Māori traditional healing knowledge literature, conversing with key informants and considering the current practices and future implications of the use of Rongoā Māori in Taranaki. In undertaking this, they discovered some important indicators of original Māori instruction centred on our health and wellbeing:

Being alone; an individual standing apart, is viewed by Māori as a precursor to dis-ease and imbalance. Whānaungatanga is a way of living

in relational systems without losing sight of who you are and the need for self-care 'first'. When attending rongoā Māori, whether in a private home or clinic, the role of whānau is given first priority in any healing process. The support and strength of the many focused on the one and the shared burden or worries of the one spread out amongst the many – these are spiritual principles which culminate in a view in which all is returned from the source of all beginnings and endings, to the supreme Creator. The primary vehicle for this releasing and lifting away is karakia. (Reinfeld & Pihama, 2008, pp. 37-38)

What is most evident from this work and further exploration of the literature is that healing is not something that occurs in isolation, either from the environment or from people surrounding the person; nor are the healing interventions themselves undertaken in isolation from each other. Healing is a part of a whole, part of a bigger picture that is really concerned with humanity, life and lifestyle.

Imbalance expressed by an individual is never solely attributed to that individual. Instead this approach is mindful of addressing the whole person in the context of their relationships. Rongoā Māori is therefore a 'people medicine' which seeks to restore balance between the temporal (relationships) and those of the eternal. Imbalance in this paradigm takes place within a whānau context. More often individuals present as they are often the 'carriers'. Usually such individuals are the most vulnerable and spiritually open within the whānau, such as the very young and frail members. To address entire whānau is to address 'all our relations' and in so doing the mauri of the whānau is able to be restored. (Reinfeld & Pihama, 2008, p.38)

The whānau is clearly a significant part of the 'whole' being described here – that is, the holistic Māori view of health and wellbeing. Restoring the balance, therefore, was not always focused on the individual; while 'balance' might be an issue for the individual, it is not assumed that it rests necessarily within the individual.

While traditional healing was largely symptomatic, aiming to provide rapid relief of symptoms, the physical remedies themselves were employed within a wider philosophical and theoretical context. Central to the belief system of traditional healers were the fundamental concepts of tapu, noa, rāhui ... they were also the basis for a Māori theoretical position concerning illness and sickness. (Durie, M. H., 1998, p.15)

It can be argued that in discussing Māori views on illness, wellness, and healing, we are discussing Māori views on life; in other words, a Māori worldview. As evidenced by the Mana Kaitiakitanga framework presented in this section, and discussed by other Māori and Indigenous writers, Māori worldviews are holistic, with a reluctance to view any one aspect in isolation from another. As Reinfeld and Pihama (2008) state:

The idea that we can isolate physical illness out from spiritual or emotional wellbeing is one that is a clear contradiction to concepts such as hauora and mauri ora. Māori constructions of wellbeing have always been articulated as being interrelated on all levels; physical, spiritual, emotional, mental and more recently economic. There is no desire to affirm any notion that one form of healing can happen in isolation as that is clearly not what is articulated by participants in this research. Rather we hear many stories and reflections on how healing was interconnected. (p. 15)

Healing Trauma

Two articles were sourced that relate specifically to Māori addressing the healing of trauma. Health researchers Wirihana and Smith (2014) discuss how Māori define wellbeing traditionally and outline methods that were used to promote healing from trauma. They argue that:

Traditional narratives have the potential to support healing from the historical, collective and individual trauma, which continues to influence Māori wellbeing today. (p. 205)

The types of narratives they discussed being used in healing processes include haka, waiata, mōteatea and whakawhanaungatanga. These were described as powerful healing methods, which have been used by Māori

for many generations and which can be applied again in contemporary healing. They also referred to Māori whakapapa kōrero as another useful healing method::

Using whakapapa kōrero as the basis for healing within the therapeutic context is becoming more widely acknowledged and practised within New Zealand ... Whakapapa kōrero has been used to adapt cognitive behavioural therapy programmes when working with people with depression and has helped to improve rapport and develop therapeutic relationships. (p.205)

It is significant to note also that Wirihana and Smith (2014) also refer to the holistic nature of Māori understandings and approaches to health, wellbeing and healing as described earlier in this section:

Māori viewed wellbeing as a holistic process which emphasised the interconnected nature of spirit, body, society and the natural environment. Moreover, individual wellbeing and interpersonal relationships relied on a complex and sophisticated process founded on the basis of spiritual knowledge. (p.201)

So, while it is acknowledged that there are specific methods known to work more effectively in healing the effects of historical trauma, the overall approaches and understandings of wellbeing are not different.

Waretini-Karena (2014) also articulates Māori approaches to understanding and healing historical trauma. Working in the field of preparing counsellors and other practitioners, Waretini-Karena's work examines the Takitoru programme. Takitoru has essentially been developed to provide counsellors with skills to work in the area of historical trauma. Waretini-Karena outlines the model:

The Takitoru framework is a decolonising model that has three underlying philosophies The first makes the assumption that if Māori counselling students learn about racism, then they can become equipped to practise in a culturally appropriate way ... The second seeks to inform Māori counselling students about the impact of historical intergenerational trauma by deconstructing historical contexts ... The third informs Māori

counselling students that Māori culture has its own epistemologies, principles and codes of ethics. (p.64)

Both the work of Wirihana and Smith, and that of Karena, argue for decolonial approaches to healing historical trauma. Given that much of the historical trauma Māori and other Indigenous peoples have suffered has been in the context of colonisation, these approaches make perfect sense. In summary, this section of the literature review tells us that applying Māori understandings and notions of wellbeing in an actively decolonial framework is the most effective approach to healing our own historical trauma.

Indigenous healing models

Understanding historical trauma and working to heal the impact of historical trauma has been ongoing amongst Indigenous peoples outside of Aotearoa for some decades now. Those most well-known include Dr Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart, Karina Walters and Bonnie and Eduardo Duran, whose work has been discussed in other sections of this report. Their work has been based mainly in Great Turtle Island with Indigenous populations, and has had significant influence in the development of our work here in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

There is now a growing body of work emerging from the work of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in Australia. Atkinson (2002) makes a simple but critical point when she shares her part of the journey in historical trauma:

The decision to begin the ‘search for solutions’ came out of that meeting. The difficulty was to find the time to stand back enough from the crisis of day-to-day survival to find solutions that were achievable and could be implemented. (p.9)

This point resonates with many Native and Indigenous peoples, who know well the state of day-to-day survival. It also resonates with the work of Sodeke (2004), who suggests moving beyond human survival and focusing on human flourishing. All too often the result of continued colonisation is a continued state of crisis survival (Pihama, 2001).

Atkinson (2002) discusses relationships as significant underpinnings to understanding and healing historical trauma, articulating the importance of relationship to land, to people and to the lores that determine those relationships. Atkinson's work also explores the application of ceremony and narrative work in healing. She explains the practice of narrative known as Dadirri, which focuses on storytelling and listening with specific intention:

Listening invites responsibility to get the story, the information, right. However, listening over extended periods of time also brings the knowledge that the story changes over time when healing occurs as people experience being listened to in Dadirri ... Dadirri listens and knows, witnesses, feels, empathises in the pain under the anger, and if the pain is accompanied by action, seeks to understand the thoughts and feelings behind the action. (p.18)

Atkinson (2013), and others (Hill et al., 2010), have explored the notion of integrating cultural practices, cultural psychology with trauma psychology. It could be argued that this is an attempt to de-colonise psychological healing practices and as such is admirable but fraught with tensions. Hill et al. explain:

The transformation of trauma psychology and cultural psychology, therefore, must necessarily include the integration of place and relationships, beyond rhetorical acknowledgement. The implication, of course, is that effective integration of trauma psychology and cultural psychology within Indigenous contexts necessitates self-determination of Indigenous communities and Nations. (p.41)

Not all historical trauma is rooted in colonisation, but for Native and Indigenous communities it is more often than not the case. Therefore, understandings and approaches such as those shared by Hill and Atkinson and others, are necessarily political. Colonisation was and is a direct political attack on Indigenous peoples. Healing the trauma associated with that is correspondingly political and contentious. Balsam et al. (2004), whose work is based in Great Turtle Island, have examined the historical trauma faced by lesbian, gay, bi-sexual and two spirit Native Americans. They recommend that healing approaches within

these communities focus on Indigenist health models that recognise the multiple minority status and marginalisation they endure.

The multiple minority status of two-spirits, who must contend with oppression based on race/ethnicity as well as sexual orientation, may impact their educational opportunities compared with their non-Native LGBT peers (p. 296).

The work of Balsam et al. (2004) also explored Indigenous approaches to Indigenous suffering. It is argued that understanding the socio-political and cultural contexts is critical to the success of any healing interventions in relation to historical trauma:

A culturally sensitive approach to working with two-spirits means understanding the individual in historical, socio-political, and cultural contexts. For example, assessment of trauma history should include not only individual experiences of traumatic events but also a broader assessment of cultural and historical trauma to the client, his or her family, and his or her community. Two-spirit clients may present with PTSD and other psychological symptoms that are not clearly linked to discrete events but traumas experienced vicariously through their family and community. (p.298)

Clearly, as indicated earlier in this review, there is a need for healing interventions to focus more broadly than the individual. It is critical that individuals are viewed in the context of family, culture and the wider communities they are born into and/or associated with. Indeed helping the individual to understand the broader context of their own trauma and wellbeing is also paramount to successful healing.

Developing historical trauma timelines or soul wound genograms can help AIAN clients visualize how the inter-generational traumas are subsequently passed on and manifested across generations. (Balsam et al.,p.298)

Couture (1994) also considers the importance of understanding the broader approaches required in healing historical trauma in Aboriginal populations in Canada. In particular this work looks at the need to

understand Aboriginal approaches to dealing with Aboriginal behavioural trauma.

... differences between Western society and traditional Aboriginal approaches to a patient-therapist relationship Western society emphasizes the similarities of patients, while traditional Aboriginal approaches emphasize the need to address the core differences of patients, as well as the differences between the nuclear families of western society, and the extended families of Aboriginal cultures. (p.1)

This section extends on the argument that historical trauma suffered by Native and Indigenous peoples throughout the world requires unique approaches that prioritise Native and Indigenous understandings of health, wellbeing and healing. Specific healing approaches have been and are being developed by Native and Indigenous peoples, which take into account the intergenerational nature and broader impact of historical trauma in our families and communities. To date this work is still emergent and ongoing work is critical to our ongoing healing.

Concluding Discussion

This research was undertaken within the framework of Kaupapa Māori. In context that means Māori ways of knowing, being and understanding have been applied to the representation and analysis of the literature included. It also means that due acknowledgement and understanding of our place alongside our Native and Indigenous relations is given throughout. In particular it is noted that our own work in Aotearoa in the context of understanding historical trauma and its impacts has been greatly influenced and enhanced by other Native and Indigenous approaches, which foregrounded our own studies.

The literature component of the work has presented material relating to how we conceptualise the terms trauma and trauma informed care. This revealed some of the terminology we associate with this field and showed how these terms resonate or otherwise with our own language and ways of understanding historical trauma. Māori and Indigenous healing of historical trauma remains a relatively new field. This review has explored pertinent literature, revealing some of the approaches we have engaged

in order to deal with the burgeoning impact historical trauma has had in our families and communities.

Importantly, the literature tells us that because of the colonial oppressive origin of much of our historical trauma, our responses are necessarily political. The work being carried out in developing new models of healing, and challenging existing psychological thinking, is complex and requires steadfastness in terms of holding to the knowings of our ancestors. The healing models being developed, adjusted and applied in these early stages have been shown to draw significantly on the traditional knowledges of Native and Indigenous wellbeing. There is a strong body of work, and a commitment to better understanding historical trauma and healing approaches in Native and Indigenous communities.

Remembering as Healing

Connection to ancestors and whenua by actively cultivating memory is not a new concept to many indigenous or other 'old' cultures, because the consequences of disconnection were considered abhorrent. The attempts to wipe out collective knowledge about the shameful colonial occupation and events that took place in Taranaki almost succeeded in making Taranaki Māori exiles in their own homelands.

Yes I definitely think that the most important information was embedded in the rhythms and the kupu and the ability of our people to constantly reinforce the important lessons and that's what I have found to be in terms of thinking about when the trauma happens part of the healing is that we acknowledge it, we remember it, we'll sing about it so that we never forget. And whilst it might trigger sadness or pain or feelings of hurt it also is part of the healing to remember to acknowledge, to respect and to never forget because in the forgetting, when we forget... that's who we are, we remember that. (Interview)

A shared understanding of a correct and accurate Māori view of a historical narrative of Taranaki colonised history would be empowering, as it would help to dispel the illusion that Taranaki Māori 'lost' their

land and would also directly articulate the effects of land and resource confiscation (theft) on whānau and hapū and the resulting psychological, physical and economic abuses perpetrated against Taranaki Māori. In sharing his knowledge with the whānau of Tū Tama Wahine, Uncle Tiki Raumati (personal communication) during a conversation about healing the soul wound from historical trauma, stated;

If a people don't have their myths and legends, their stories of origin, then in reality they have nothing. May as well be dead, (literally) because those stories carry the wairua of our Tūpuna, of us, past and present. If we don't have them or don't continue to relay those stories to the next generation then in effect we cease to exist. We have to reclaim them and enjoy them; they are ours! Whakapapa is alive, it is breathing and it is here, present in this room and it can help us to get through hard times and to deal with crises. We can heal by remembering and being told our stories. Not just our creation stories but whānau stories about our Tūpuna. This is why whakapapa is so important for healing of trauma. Indigenous people live on their lands, we grow out of our land, and our land is made out of us the dust of our bones. (personal communication)

Recovery from trauma is the overall goal for Taranaki; however we need to strategically head towards development beyond recovery. This continues to be an area of strategic need in Taranaki, to enable coordination across iwi. Within any setting, Taranaki Māori need to insist on, take space and expect time to be given so that we can accurately articulate our own view from our own perspective; however, this does require insight into what is currently taking place, traditional and contemporary descriptions, and parallel processing involving narratives and imagery. This is a journey for whānau. We have been told that knowledge alone will not change the events that have happened in the past; rather it is the understanding held within, which is insight derived from that knowledge, that helps in developing wisdom – which is transformative. Whānau who shared with us for this project emphasised that we must know our history in order to understand and face the historical and colonial trauma that has affected us intergenerationally. This requires us to trace it and track its origins – then repudiate it and replace it with our truth and understandings that are inclusive of both cultural and political analysis. Approximately 98% of Māori children in Taranaki attend white-stream conventional

schools. What is clear is that the inclusion of Te Reo, Te Ao Māori studies and Taranaki history into curriculum would normalise and also make a major contribution towards early regeneration of pride and reduction of ambivalence about identifying as and embracing being Māori. This should of course be developed and delivered by Māori. It is incumbent upon us to restore the prestige and honour of our Tūpuna, because the sheer brilliance and splendour of our ancestors has a longer outreach than the benefits of the current Treaty breach settlements.

We have a right to heal as Taranaki Māori. This includes being able to learn, hear and speak our histories, our reo, our tikanga, in ways that affirm and validate the whānau, hapū and iwi of Taranaki. This necessitates our healing processes being grounded in a Māori knowledge framework, which is based on Kaupapa Māori cultural principles and values.

Just in general I think a return to our tikanga Māori, the tapu o te tangata. We live in a society that kind of sees, I believe, no value in people or at least the one value, only one value and that is the value of how much money you can earn, not how much you contribute to your community but that is contextualised by the \$\$ signs you can earn. (Interview)

For Taranaki this means starting from a common base of acknowledgement and understanding about what has caused the issues, which have been exacerbated due to intergenerational addiction (both Māori and non-Māori) to the denial of the original trauma.

Returning to Collective Wellbeing: Reflecting on Healing Practices

Essentially Māori healing will not fully occur while all the systems Māori are subject to are manipulated and managed in structures that are based on commercial, corporate and Pākehā values, and a world view that includes and continues to embrace colonial constructs of racial superiority, class privilege and entitlement, including the ongoing marginalisation of women. Māori wellbeing and healing has its own worldview, processes and systems, which require whānau, hapū and iwi members who hold

certain knowledge and practices to facilitate the processes. What is evident in Taranaki is that healing processes for Māori require Māori to be directing and in charge of the process.

It is an intergenerational and then a generational responsibility to reaffirm pride and reclaim our people's good name, to restore our reputation, good character, respectful behaviours and respectful relationships and in particular familial relationships. (Interview)

Reconstructing collective spaces such as Papakāinga and collective cultural spaces where we can draw upon the strengths of whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori organisations to build support systems is essential.

I think we are actually doing it now. We have started the process about creating a space for whānau to begin to address some of that historical stuff in a safe environment. In an environment that is familiar to them and an environment where they can choose to come and not be directed to go somewhere else and in a position to start giving people some knowledge and skills on how to go about doing that. We are in a position to support and walk alongside families to do that. It is not about what we need to do; it is about what we are doing and how we can continue to do that and how we keep that momentum up. (Interview)

When we talk about, it took a village to raise a child, why aren't we re-creating those villages, the Pā sits empty ... like the Kōhanga Reo, Māori went and did it, why aren't we re-building those villages around the Pā, because the Pā was a living entity and the people thrived around it. (Interview)

This project aligns with concepts of cultural safety as articulated by Irihapeti Ramsden (2002) and discussions on providing effective care should be viewed in this frame. However, it is not as simple as writing up new codes of ethics or creating new training programmes. The disrespect towards Māori is deeply ingrained in the Pākehā psyche, which operates

alongside altruistic notions masquerading as neutral and impartial care for Māori, who generate income for all professionals because they figure negatively across all systems. The proof of how Māori are treated in health, justice or social service systems is in what actually happens to people, not what services say they do or what their codes of ethics or conduct stipulate best or safe practice to be.

Te Reo, Tikanga & Mātauranga Taranaki

The past 30 years have seen a significant growth in the regeneration of te reo and tikanga nationally. Since the establishment of Te Kohanga Reo in 1981 we have seen a range of innovative Māori educational initiatives develop that are focused on multiple intentions including te reo Māori regeneration; the creation of Kaupapa Māori contexts where being Maori is validated and affirmed; the assertion of rangatiratanga; the centring of Māori pedagogical practices; and whānaungatanga as a means of providing collective support, responsibility and obligations. Graham Smith (1997) describes these as Kaupapa Māori principles that provide a distinctive Kaupapa Māori context for the revitalisation and regeneration of te reo, tikanga and mātauranga Māori as follows: tino rangatiratanga (the self-determination principle), taonga tuku iho (the cultural aspirations principle); ako Māori (the culturally preferred pedagogy); kia piki ake i ngā raruraru i te kainga (the socio-economic mediation principle); whānau (the extended family structure principle); and kaupapa (collective purpose principle). With regard to te reo Māori, a number of whānau commented on the centrality of te reo Māori to gaining strength and wellbeing.

To me language is how we talk about that relationship with the world and when we take away language we take away that pathway, that relationship highway essentially that tells us and informs us what kind of relationships we have with the world. (Interview)

Language is another one; Te Reo. Because, that is who they are, it is who we are. It is not like it is something you have introduced; it is actually something that to be a healthy person as a Māori that is what you do. You look after people, everything is done consciously. ... a lot of people when

they started doing that talked about grandparents, elders, they were really talking about the tūpuna and about “I know this stuff because when I was growing up this was talked about and it came from somewhere, it came from there.” It is about that connection to the other world, to Te Ao Māori. (Interview)

Our reo, te pou toko manawa o tō tātou Māori and our reo and Te Aaarangi developed and it is beautiful. I wouldn't be speaking today [if] not for these efforts so I wouldn't be able to... ki te kōrero i tōku nei ake reo rangatira. (Interview)

Tikanga concepts and practices were noted consistently throughout the discussions in this project. It was emphasised that our tūpuna understood and recognised that human beings have a natural, inbuilt capacity to heal. Tangi, for example, provided a context in which healing could be facilitated and enhanced by a period of mourning and ceremonies to ease the pain of grief, to acknowledge atua and the passage of the deceased into their new status. Tangi involve having the time and space that allows a balance of emotions to prevail and a realizing of opportunities for full potential to occur. Our tūpuna had the sense to employ immediate practical solutions when required and have places of sanctuary where recovery could occur in relative safety. Just the fact that words and terms such as wāhi tapu (sacred spaces) pūnanga (refuge/haven) Pā Tūwatawata (a safe place, a place of safety), occur in our language signals that the understanding of the human condition and the potential to recover was significant and real and that places of sanctuary actually existed. They are not figments of our imaginations; nor is the intricate interconnectedness between people who honour the natural world and live to the rhythms of Papatūānuku and Ranginui. The great need or requirement is to return healing to an indigenous context. We share here the words of a wide range of whānau who spoke of the role of tikanga and Māori approaches to trauma to show the exceptional depth of understanding held within our communities.

I think recognizing and respecting the time required in a process for either as an individual [or] for hapū, whānau to be able to come to terms with whatever the trauma was. I think that a difficulty in today's world is almost like a fear of accepting and respecting [that] when trauma happens grief is a natural response; pain, hurt, feelings and anger, all of those things need to be respected and for almost like the state of tapu be allowed to run its natural course until such time as the ability to think clearly and normally and respond and return to normal function post trauma or event, recognising that it will always be inside of the memories of our people. I would say here the tikanga to deal with trauma events is reconnecting to the physical spaces and whichever physical safe space is of most significance to the person; whether that's other people or to a marae, to the ocean, or to a physical place that is the safe space to be able to do what it is to tangi, to be able to release all of that. (Interview)

If you are Māori you are dealing with some trauma, be it historical trauma in your whānau and the everyday real impact [where] you are dealing with alcoholism, abuse, or it is that other trauma ... where actually you have been traumatised since you were born and so you have really deep internalised racism that is affecting the health and wellbeing of your opportunities, of the way you deal with things. It means the amazing potential for happiness enjoying the contribution that you could then make never happens; it is always stunted because you are living in this place where your relationships can't ever get past a certain place. All of that other stuff can't happen. (Interview)

I think there is a safety that comes with knowing who you are and what is expected of you but also the safety and protection [that] comes from knowing what support you also have. It is not only Tuakana-Teina in terms of those relationships in the multiple things that you can expect from those relationships including what your contribution then is and what your place in the world is. But in terms of connectedness to the land and everything that the land was in terms of..., but even rongoa places for healing and wellbeing. And so I think in terms of tikanga around that; then I know that all those things were very much nurtured as well as known.... Everything was Māori so there was a natural progression. So you might not know where all the puna were to go and be healed but you were safe in the knowledge that someone would know and if you got in

trouble in those aspects that people can take you there. I guess that also goes in terms of physical health but knowing that all those things are very much together. ... I know people talk about that in terms of whakapapa and whanaungatanga then the mana of the person in terms of their place within the wider scheme, but it is really that connectedness in terms of your physical relations as well as in terms of the universe; Rangi and Papa in terms of your tūpuna, in terms of them, the other children. (Interview)

I guess there's a number of things but ... for me any sort of healing Karakia helps. Wai helps but you know in a more sort of general way knowledge, knowledge helps; learning about your Tupuna, learning about Ruaputāhanga, knowing what they did. And seeing it even these days, even in my memory I can remember kuia doing haka at Parihaka you know and people don't see that stuff these days and they are not aware of it so you know that's for me when people need healing of any sort whether it's emotional, physical, whatever, those things go together really well – Karakia, Wai... But you know the thing to take from that is even if it's a physical, sexual or emotional violence the consequences are not just those things; it's a tangible thing, it's an emotional thing that you hold with you and you can transmit it on to your other generations and so you know I think karakia, wai, rongoa, mirimiri a kaumatua or somebody you respect helping you with those things and support, it has to be healing on so many levels. (Interview)

I paid a visit to Tokanui hospital, I saw the different way that they looked after Māori whānau and they had them all together and it was totally different, a totally different approach....They were all talking to one another, they were looking after one another. It was a different way to care, they were all sitting and eating with one another and they were all praying together and having karakia.... karakia, it was a normal process for them. ... a lot of people that went into that unit... they weren't in there for a long period of time; whereas when whānau came in here [TDHB] they would be in there longer than anybody. (Interview)

We have to look after our own people. There are better results...created a different space for them, created a space where they were able to relax,... introducing them to things like pepeha and stuff like that and some waiata. ...and then we included people from the community to come in. ...good at communicating with our whānau ... and it was just like a really

caring whānau manaaki group. In that group we were able to follow our own tikanga around kai, around karakia and it was just normalising it, bringing it back to 'this is what you do at home, so this is what we will do here....' It was unconsciously familiar and people were comfortable doing it. (Interview)

The state of hē, and noa, and how we can move from one state to another through the use of karakia... But you know, if you are in a state of hē, as an individual, as a collective, that can be resolved through karakia. And I guess other processes. So, being in a state of hē,... and I'm being, I'm not in a tau, way of being, for me, it's like being in state of hē. Something's not right, something's out of kilter, something's not in balance and so we need to invoke stuff, doing karakia, invoke rongo, or pathways to rongo, or balance or peace, that lovely thing called peace. Someone's in a state of hē, whether it's the survivor, whether it's the transgressor, whether it's the collective, something's out of kilter, ... you can observe that, things aren't right, but there are processes, including karakia. I don't know what those karakia are, but they can help us, guide us as people, whether it's spiritual – my jury's out. Whether it's happening at a spiritual level, or rational, or whether it's a more practical, whether it's them both happening at the same time, where we are led by someone who knows that stuff, through a process of karakia, where there is resolution ... retribution maybe if appropriate, so then we can get back to a state of noa. And noa being unrestricted or tau, I think. ... I believe that one, they go hand in hand, holistic, interacting with each other. I don't understand the metaphysical enough; I can understand logic, and I can understand physical, and I can understand a human interaction process, which might lead people mentally, to understand something's that happened, and therefore, I think there's a possibility for resolution at a spiritual level. I don't know enough about how that stuff works. But I think that there is a spiritual dimension going on. (Interview)

Traditional healing for all forms of trauma has always included the use of water and karakia. Water, wai Māori, or sea water continues to be used by whanau today to support healing rituals and recovery as well as to initiate and support transformative processes (Reinfeld and Pihama 2008). Drawing upon tikanga and mātauranga Māori for healing

was commented on throughout this project. We close this report with examples of healing practices that were shared, which will form the basis of further development in the articulation of a Taranaki healing framework development that will follow this research project.

I would have to say the first thing that comes to mind is Te Raukura hei tohu ki te ao. To remember that even if we don't have a white feather in our hair, or are holding ... the Raukura then the kaupapa of Te Raukura. I know how many of our whānau carry that name but it's in our personalities, it's in our waiata, it's in our kōrero, it's in our physical tohu of wearing feathers and at the same time I always think of maunga and maungārongo. The kupu kōrero Tutahi as well as a whare we visited regularly, Tutahi and the kaupapa remembering within the whare, within the statement and within the history;... so there is a wealth, like any whare carries so much information and means a lot of different things to different people but essentially I think it is heart, as it is a whare to feel safe in and to remember and to celebrate survival....it's to use concepts or kupu kōrero ... I think hoki ki tō ūkaipō, hoki ki tō maunga. To return, to reconnect. That has been my personal [feeling] when I need to think about the need to centre, to reconnect, to feel at ease when I'm feeling uneasy or conflicted and have felt low, and sometimes it's not being physically possibly for me...I live a long, long way away so I will sing waiata or I will do some reading around our history that then helps me to recover a sense of equilibrium....and so physically being able to walk into a whare where you just can relax and breathe easily is so important; but if that's not possible then returning to those phrases, those waiata, those kōrero and memories. (Interview)

That notion of maramatanga; the problem is that has been captured by a religious context. I really mean it in terms of maramatanga being that really deep understanding that is on a wairua level. I don't mean maramatanga in terms of the religious context.... That is what I would say is that in terms of that 'whaia te maramatanga' but definitely that commitment to enlightenment as a collective and holding people into account... because I think that is how it will actually happen because only then can you really feel true aroha... that people can't really learn te reo unless they have been politicised it is a waste of time. I remember hearing

that all the way back then it is those three things: yes te reo and tikanga for ever and ever and then knowledge of our history but also that critical scaffold of life. You assume that is just a part of it, when people learn te reo that is part of it [politicisation] but it is not unless it is the particular way that it has been taught. I don't know what it would look like at the end but certainly the process and ... I reckon, if you can take people through that process of maramatanga where they learn and connect deeply to what might be the very specific context that forms who they are today and the others around them. (Interview)

It just comes back to tatau whakapapa, that karakia encodes it for us. And articulates and places us as people, as human beings, as individuals within our wider environment, within phenomena, within our environment and to each other. And those different elements of Rongo, of Taane, of Tu, of Whiro, of Tangaroa. Whatever those elements, whatever those (I don't want to use the word deities) are, but those ahuatanga are, are both external to us and I believe they are also internal to us. So I think back in the day, our original instructions were explicitly laid out in whakapapa and have been codified for us in a form of karakia. Whether tatau whakapapa is a relatively contemporary karakia based on old whakaro or not, I'm not sure, but I believe it's based on traditional Māori ways of looking at the world. But back in the day, I don't know who held that sort of knowledge, whether it was the Tohunga class, the learned people, male and female of the community, or whether it was Joe Blogs within the collective, knew that stuff explicitly, could rattle off whakapapa, or they just had rules. And those rules; tapu, and noa, as guidelines and Tikanga, let's call it, of that collective...., couched around Tikanga, which were naturally occurring within our environment. Otherwise if you didn't have that, if you don't have Tikanga, it would fall apart. (Interview)

Entire hapū who have for so many generations lived in a specific place and connected to the environment, to the rhythm and life of everything in that natural environment, being a relation in terms of their relationship to the life of the hapū, not separate or exploiting it but they are part of it.... A lot of the whānau names, say in a particular area it might be a fish species that's the whānau name, and so we wouldn't be separate from that which you are also getting sustenance from, when you may go collect that particular kai...Then the life cycle of us as the people within

that natural environment is no different to the life cycle of all of the other living creatures and the forests nearby or the river running through, that is also physically sustaining and spiritual, the place where we go horoi, physically wash, clean or take water from, take kai from. And then also where, if anyone is feeling a little bit exhausted, you just jump in the water, or feeling very upset about things, go sit by the water and so the connection to the environment and its space or the collective living wellbeing is decimated. (Interview)

Wairua is important to healing...I guess I'd like to explain what I think wairua is maybe. I think it's about balance and I think it's about balance between a physical self... and our soul and our core being that transcends the physical. I think recognising that in every day and every way and throughout our life we have to balance and make sure that both are nurtured. And as much as we like to try and take care of our, make sure that we have perfect clothes for the weather, sun hats and sunscreen or good kai and water, healthy kai, we need to make sure that we nurture our wairua as part of our health. Our wairua is as important as our bodies; and the wairua, in a space when we are around others, it takes as much effort as looking after your own tinana. (Interview)

It has been through wānanga, through structured learning and through others of our wider iwi that I've learnt details about what happened here, what happened there; our own family haven't approached learning and sharing. (Interview)

Mōteatea and Pūrākau as healing

Mōteatea and pūrākau are important as vehicles to strengthen and uplift wairua; they carry a life force and wairua of their own and in Taranaki are relevant parts of healing processes alongside other waiata and poi because they enable access to Tūpuna. Mōteatea maintain a sacred space, which Taranaki hapū honour by the continued recitation of them because it enables a wairua healing when one consciously remembers the plight of our Tūpuna, and allows a communion to occur between Tūpuna and their descendants, almost a double-edged healing past and present. They nurture and mirimiri wairua to reflect and maintain balance, which is relevant to healing today.

Mōteatea, waiata, poi are all relevant methods of remembering because that's what helps people heal... and I would say that it is an essential part of any healing and I think about... Songs or music is a core part of uplifting the spirit and our waiata have within them so much knowledge about who we are, there is a wānanga within each waiata and sometimes within a single kupu. So even though I may have been singing a particular waiata for a long time ... and I am still learning about them, and it's a great experience to be like and realise something new from something so familiar and a part of my life for so long. (Interview)

I always feel great love, immense, sometimes a bit sad because I think about the fact that all this happened and is still happening to a great extent, the perpetuation of those very things that we were trying to fight against. Because we recognized them as being designed to destroy us and we are still having to fight those same exact fights so there is quite a lot of sadness about ... what is wrong with everybody? Why are they so persistent in their determination not only to destroy us but themselves in the process? That's the confusing thing but then feeling so grateful and I'm not sure if happy is the right term, tremendous relief that we have our mōteatea, our tikanga, our phrases which align us to the strength and resilience and it uplifts me, my spirit is lifted when I recite. (Interview)

One of the things I have been worried about is that also in terms of our pūrākau... I hear some people and it is a simplistic ...where we don't have things to do with conflict because in terms of basic things like Tane and his daughter ... the idea was that she was shamed or banished because of the incest. One of our stories is that it is not necessarily that, one because they are gods, so it is completely different tikanga that they are ruled by, but it is not the fact that he kept her to himself, but that she wasn't free to be out. Now that is a huge tikanga in terms of everything under the sun, people choosing for themselves and yet you always hear it was because of the incest. Another one is the fact that the resolution of conflict requires [a] process of engagement, so one of our things you always hear about Tu and Tāne fighting after the separation— it sort of just boils down to ... this is where men get their war tendencies and things. In our whānau, yes there was a conflict and they went through a process and by the end they came out distinct, Tāne was Tāne, Tu was Tu and they then had different domains and that is one of the reasons as well why we

shouldn't compare when it is inappropriate to do so. That is a big thing and requires a process....but you never hear that today; it is about how we know men are warlike... and it is everywhere, let alone that there is no woman in any of these stories ... There are layers and layers in terms of knowing who you are. (Interview)

I am going to say if nothing else what I believe and have learnt and see and use as a source of strength ... is that even in your darkest, even when things seem like awwh how on earth can we deal with this, we have the examples of such fighting strength ... within our Atuatanga tikanga. We are descendants of Tāne and everyone's he uri no Tāne and Tāne Tikitiki, ngā kete mātauranga and Tū, our mere existence that they stood and battled each other, that we have that in our whakapapa... no doubt within the Christianising of our peoples has been, let's pacify, put Tū in the 'war', 'bad', 'naughty, go away' but it's actually a part of who we are as a people. Naughty boy corner, over there Tū, we're Tāne now and ... well, no, we are all, we are Hine-ahu-one, we are Papa-tū-ā-nuku and Ranginui, we are all of it and I think that the reductionism of colonisation ... individualizing is part of it but also reducing and minimizing and marginalizing. Our people have gotten familiar and I wouldn't say comfortable, but complacent... that's who we are. I have an analogy, ... you know when you drive down the road sometimes and you see these beautiful harakeke or toitoi in between the fence line of the freaking farms and the road, there's where our momo whānaungatanga ki ngā ngahere – it's not even on the road, it's not even on the land it's just in this little side of the road and that's deliberately planted there by the council and it's almost like a slap in the face. But I think about our connection... with our natural world from our pepeha, we are our mountains, we are our rivers, we are our lands and that if we listen to all of those kōrero and if we think about the birds that can no longer sing - we've chopped down all the trees, we will have no songs to sing; we are chopping ourselves off...I think that the work that I am doing relates in a way that perhaps furthers their work within whānau and ā-tangata. (Interview)

It is what pūrākau are there for, is to guide us; if you can understand what they are saying, then I think if we follow ... some of those guidelines we would be much better off than how we are. (Interview)

Decolonisation

Activism for some has been a tool to decolonise by challenging the status quo and by refusing to join in the local (Taranaki) and national pastime of ignoring colonial history and cultural amnesia and denigrating Tūpuna knowledge. Activism requires making a conscious effort to learn the pathways left by Tūpuna; their actions and words. Activism has supported a positive realigning with Tūpuna kaupapa that made a major historical contribution to hapū survival in the face of aggression and violence. Activism and organised structured learning – wananga –has given knowledge, politicisation and structural analysis about colonial violence across the spectrum, and the ongoing institutional and personal racism that maintains its power structures. In particular it draws attention to the structures that indoctrinate an ideology of inferiority among young Māori that is aligned with a sense of collective shame. This shame and inferiority is then actively exploited by racist media, local and national politicians and others when attacking Māori efforts to address marginalisation across the social justice spectrum.

I heard a brief snippet of Don Brash talking about something like that this morning and I just think that's so last century; that that attitude can still exist in this day and age is beyond belief. But I am not so complacent to think that because I have done lots of learning and I know many others have, that... they are still tūturu to that belief, they will carry it on and it is passed on. And so therefore not just the ability to nurture our wairua and to feel well within ourselves and to be able to heal ourselves, but having to constantly battle that, to create the force fields around that onslaught. That also extends to the cultural arrogance around making any decision here in our own country [that they see] is their right to do based upon that ancient belief, that they have the one god so they are right, so therefore they get to make all the decisions. It's so absurd. (Interview)

We are so unsafe in so many different places. It is hard to find ... you can never truly heal until you are in a position where you are not being attacked constantly. You are defensive all the time. (Interview)

Transformation can and does happen when people understand that what has always felt intrinsically wrong for them and their people is actually correct, and that there are greater forces outside of them that are wrong, have power and control aspects of their lives that they had not previously understood. Participants acknowledged that this knowledge has enhanced insight, healing and contributed towards a more hopeful and balanced outlook on life.

It was here in New Plymouth, my first ever sort of introduction to whakapapa of the rohe, and then the fact of being in my lifetime denigrated, I think is the right word, and that I had a natural response and an absolutely valid response to that. The first time I stood outside a real estate agent was when the West Coast lease, selling land that was leased land, and I was like in any language that doesn't make sense, and that's not appropriate or shouldn't be legal. I couldn't figure [it] out and so we were made aware of this.... And I thought I want to learn a bit more about that, what's going on... I don't know why I just thought everyone would see the sense in going to support this take and then at the hīkoi that we had organised at that time and the response to the Fiscal Envelope. That was extraordinarily important to me to participate in because it was healing to me, it was a great way to reinforce the learning of the ngeri and the waiata because we were singing them, and actively I felt, paying tribute to the history of the active resistance and the peaceful, without violence responding to violence. And so that is what motivates me and continues to motivate me and inspire me when I see other people... as a child born in the mid-70s and as a child in the mid-80s I saw the Springbok tour and the response to the racism, I saw stuff about the Vietnam War and I also knew that globally... Then when I come to the realization heck our people were innovative and revolutionary in this area right here and people seem to be completely unaware, the entire nation is in this cultural amnesia and I couldn't participate in that amnesia; there was no way possible. (Interview)

Each bit will peel off, a bit will peel off, we reach a new level and that takes time. To go against this, you have to be consciously going against... it is not something that will passively happen, you cannot be passively

decolonised, you have to be focused and consciously front up against that stuff, which takes time and energy, and which sacrifices friends and family and a whole lot of other stuff and also isolates you. But the more you pull off the more you are exposed and you are able to see and the more complex it becomes. But I suppose you also get to those things, what we have with our wānanga – you get confusion and you get some clarity. If we don't go through those processes you are never going to get to the clarity. (Interview) For me, decolonise is actually the end game of what it would look like and then there is the process of decolonising... One of the things we know that has been huge in terms of decolonising ... there are two things in particular... the first is not the easier one but is really shifting the shame, because ... if you are born a Māori you know pretty much at primary school you figure out at some point that you are fucked basically. You just start to figure things are very wrong, not how they are meant to be.... there is still this real internal shame... and I know that in the decolonisation process why ... education is to shift that shame because often what we get is that people carry around a real shame of their understanding of the issues that are going on with Māori and it leads to self-hate because they can't appropriately locate where it is. So when we are able to say 1867-1868 the Native Schools Act does anyone know why that was passed? Yes, because in Parliament they had said Māori are such political strategists in terms of the war they are never going to stop, they have been bred for this stuff, we cannot afford to kill them off so we need to come up with something else, we need the schools to indoctrinate them. That is black and white in their speeches so people can actually see 'holy crap that is why public schools were set up for us'. Same with the Māori seats, because they have this shame of oh we need special Māori seats to get in and it is like 'hello' in the middle of the war to direct the minds of the natives in the proper channel. So that they can then see things in their real context. (Interview)

Being able to actually connect; that is huge. What we see is people have such a huge transformation because things that have always felt wrong for them in their puku that then affect their health and wellbeing in a million ways. We know the most obvious one is that supposedly some people harm outwards and others that harm inwards. It plays out of all those things, so what we see is that people in terms of being able to shift that shame of what is happening with us collectively, and being able to

actually pinpoint it to where it is at, that is a huge decolonisation at least in terms of the process. (Interview)

That it is really a complete dismantling of what is in place, particularly in our minds, that that is the way things have to be. It can be quite different. (Interview)

Working in ways that support both individual and collective healing is seen as essential in Taranaki.

Because we can't possibly have the collective healing [without healing its members] and also we can't have individual healing without a collective ... I don't see how it could happen, but able to exist without feeling the need for others to have the healing but that they are genuinely healed. Does that make sense? That we can all work on it ... the efforts put into individuals are important, but until everyone is healthy and well then maybe no-one can be.... I think it would be hard not to, I think it is an essential part of healing individually to help others...A healing relationship is like a familiar relationship; it exists because it naturally occurs or we exist because we come from each other and we recognize ourselves in the eyes of everyone around us and as a collective. (Interview)

I would say that efforts towards making sure that our natural environment [is safe], if we put efforts in to that, our physical selves and our wairua will be secure...that is then what nurtures our bodies and I think our spiritual, physical, mental health will align. I remember Huirangi spoke to us one time about this notion of koretake. Being without purpose or no connection and that's how a lot of people became or were separated away from our land. We had no foundation and he gave this kupu poutake or pūtake, that might have happened but that doesn't mean we have to be perpetuating that state of disconnection; that we can re-connect. And the efforts to re-connect, I think for us to help believe the impact of the trauma of our history, which started with the removal of our peoples from our lands, needs to be Because we can't possibly have the collective healing [without healing its members] and also we can't have individual

healing without a collective ... I don't see how it could happen, but able to exist without feeling the need for others to have the healing but that they are genuinely healed. Does that make sense? That we can all work on it ... the efforts put into individuals are important, but until everyone is healthy and well then maybe no-one can be.... I think it would be hard not to, I think it is an essential part of healing individually to help others...A healing relationship is like a familiar relationship; it exists because it naturally occurs or we exist because we come from each other and we recognize ourselves in the eyes of everyone around us and as a collective. (Interview)

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have access to our whenua and to be able to protect it, protecting our environment is protecting ourselves and healing our environment and healing ourselves. (Interview)

A healing relationship between the individual and the collective, I think there has to be because they are both dependent on each other, aren't they. One hinges on the other. I think that as I said before you can heal yourself to a certain point but if you want to be completely free and healed from the trauma that you have, it has got to come from somewhere else doesn't it. (Interview)

Even educated people who are doing well in life are dealing with that [Post Traumatic Stress Disorder]. So, to me the answer when I started to look at that and say "well, what do we need" we need education, say about foetal alcohol, yes we need to educate the population this is what drinking will do to our generations, but education is not enough. If it was enough we would all be skinny and many things. What we need is healing. To make any programme work that is the platform we have to go from, so how do we get people to the point where they are healed enough to take in the information, to actually take action on this information. So, to me, working with the tribes, and I have worked with them continuously, ... what I see working in any community where I see healing happening is that tradition is coming back. Like the canoe journey where all the tribes come together... and I just find that, that just learning the songs, the drumming, the dancing, and the prayer and understanding that you don't touch that paddle if you have been drinking or drugging. This is a spiritual activity, not a physical activity, not just a cultural activity, it is a spiritual activity and I see healing happening as people are learning language and drumming, singing, doing things like the canoe journey and that is where it is going to come from, getting that pride back, being proud of being a native person. (Interview)

It was also noted that we need to reclaim our collective consciousness; what needs to be healed, and to explore what is required to enable whānau and hapū to reclaim their responsibilities as mana whenua that is inclusive across generations as a part of the wider healing paradigm.

Trusting ourselves, trusting our own expertise, our own. And I'm going to take it back here to the trust in our own whakapapa and Atuatanga. I don't know if it was felt as betrayal at the time when the māuiui... when the medicines weren't used traditionally... they were not a remedy for these new things coming, so a new way of sorting; innovative and adapting and I accept that totally. I also respect that as revolutionary thinking to guide people in a new way, to deal with the new situations and that's what we need now; the way that we've been for the last however long is actually not appropriate for the future because the future is going to be really different from our past. (Interview)

I suppose we need to reclaim everything that belongs to us. Land. We need to start reclaiming our land; we need to start reclaiming our whakapapa, our connections, our language, our relationships with other hapū and iwi around the country. Reconnect because I think prior to colonisation everybody was connected, whānau, hapū and iwi, all the iwi were connected but they all knew where their place was, they all knew where the boundary was aye and reclaiming those.... We have started the process about creating a space for whānau to begin to address some of that historical stuff in a safe environment. In an environment that is familiar to them and an environment where they can choose to come and not be directed to go somewhere else and in a position to start giving people some knowledge and skills on how to go about doing that. We are in a position to support and walk alongside families to do that. It is not about what we need to do it is about what we are doing and how we can continue to do that and how we keep that momentum up and don't get despair[ing] and don't give up.

I go back to tradition first of all. ... So having this safe space to reveal yourself in without the concern that it will be used against you, because the other rule of course is that it is all confidential, it stays in the circle. ... We did that talking circle and as we bonded and we felt safer and safer more and more, not only grief and pain came out in stories but the healing started pretty soon. ... And one of the things we also did with that group was helping them learn about their own culture. ...and I remember taking a Micmac boy into a library and finding a book and he was shocked that there was a book about his people and I said I want you to read this

book. I asked him “Why do you think I want you to read this book?” He said “You want me to learn about my culture”. I said “No, a white man wrote this book, I want you to tell me if the library should throw this book out or keep it, is this real, is this really your culture” and he felt incredibly empowered by that. I said you are the expert and even though there is a lot of dysfunction there has got to be someone you can find to talk to in your tribe that has some knowledge of tradition. You know, just trying to light that little spark in there to make that connection with your past and bring it to the now, that it is not dead, your past isn’t dead it is alive in you. We just have to find the little switch to turn it on and then feed it. (Interview)

Permaculture doing it and one of the big rules around permaculture is the problem is the solution and so weed species are actually your solution but it requires energy and focus which is one of the hardest things. So for me, some of the things that we started to do are about that. So my gardening thing is not just about gardening it is about food sovereignty and the exploration I have been doing around alternative money systems. There are particular tools that are used to keep us locked in ... finances or at least debt is one of those tools. And things like kai, we need to figure out those fundamentals, those basics; we need shelter, food and so one of the things that I am using here is the mara and I am looking at using that as one of my tools, I suppose, to un-isolate ourselves, to create food independence, food sovereignty amongst ourselves. And the other ones that we are looking at and slowly trying to develop is around papakāinga and communities of interest, those places that we can pull our people back to that are owned and managed and run under the best tikanga that we can manifest within those communities. Pull back those responsibilities of proper care of our whānau, pan whānau and pan communities, so there is a new working type. So the co-op models. This is what we have to do and I am not just looking at Māori because this system requires ... one of the things that I kind of think we need to do... is that if it is a Māori issue it is easy to be isolated and to be stamped out... We look for people and organisations who have values that we can align with because when legislation is created and it hurts Māori nobody cares, but when it hurts Pākehā, people care. And so if we align ourselves with Pākehā friends and those types of bigger models we create a buffer zone between us. So we don’t have to go and advocate for ourselves because

they are hurting their community as well and often they are going to veer away from that supposedly. (Interview)

There are things we can do, traditional things, absolutely, but we have got to come to grips that we are not the majority, at all, and we are living here in this world with all these people and we are not going to be able to isolate ourselves ... so we have to get educated, we have to participate, we have to get strong, we have to inspire leadership, we have to be sober and clean and we have to be role models. We have to work harder than most people out there. That is a responsibility I feel that we do not have the leisure to do anything but become healed and healthy. (Interview)

When asked what whānau believed could be a catalyst for or could motivate healing and a change of behaviour, the following were noted: hope motivates healing; purpose motivates healing; taking pride in survival motivates healing; hearing the truth motivates healing; having children motivates healing; taking and modelling leadership to the next generation helps provide a recovery platform. We close this report with their reflections.

I think exhaustion, sometimes like if you have just got to the point where you no longer can stand the state that you are in and if it's been so hard or difficult to try to sit in that unhealthy state and so you just try to find a way out and to lift yourself from it. But that's me, I can't do this anymore, I can't be aggravated or I can't be so furious that ... I'm afraid to go out the door today because I'm going to just like a wildfire explode; so therefore I have to centre, remember my Parihakatanga and just conscientiously make the effort to, not force myself, but to acknowledge this is how you are feeling, do you really want to carry it through the day or week or whatever. (Interview)

It is so motivating for people because it gives them purpose. And that's the other thing I think in terms of knowing your place. [With] tikanga before, you would know what your place is, that is absolutely certain.... but I think giving people a purpose is so healing in itself and it is just like knowing where you are in the scheme of things; it is the same thing except

it is also within the history now of colonisation and recovery ... knowing where you are in that because then people might still go home and not be involved in anything, but they might be better parents to their children. They might be better partners or grandparents, and that in itself is, if you were working against the norms then that in itself, is a radical act and it can be incredibly healing. Putting things in perspective, that is the key, the answer to everything. Plus getting the resources off the rich. ... because I think that is where the real healing is as well ... it is about that spiritual tīpuna, so making sure in terms of when we wānanga and things like that, no alcohol and drugs because it just messes it up. It is not that it messes it up and distorts it but it just means you are not really open for those actual answers to come through. I think it is like being more critical but knowing that when you hear the truth people go “oh my god”. It is funny, people can be told something their whole lives but when they hear the truth they say “Oh, I knew it!” ... I think it is in us, searching for that and being committed to that and then knowing when it sits ‘here’. That definition of ...sounds more true to me, sounds more real or that story about that tīpuna actually sounds more real. (Interview)

What motivates healing? Having children? ... I think there are lots of things but everybody who goes consciously looking for that kind of stuff has some kind of crisis or epiphany or something clicks or something drastic happens. I don’t really think people go passively to find healing; it’s a switch, I feel, and until the switch flicks yeah.... forgive but never forget. As in I don’t want to carry that baggage with me but I remember. I don’t want that to taint my ongoing life but I do remember. I do believe or have read about processes of ‘forgiveness’; it is a process of payment for transgressions but the payment is set by the aggrieved not by the instigator and has real consequences for the people involved and that is why, to get back to the treaty settlement, the treaty settlement hasn’t actually happened for me because the consequences aren’t there. I don’t recognise what we were given as appropriate to the consequences that we suffered. (Interview)

Ideally we try not to cause more harm but then sometimes just because it’s a significant, colossal amount of historical trauma you need perhaps, almost like a circuit breaker potentially at times,... almost like a timer that’s a tick, tick, tick eventually time will heal, lalala, we will grow awareness,

we will revitalize our reo, we will sing songs, we will create more avenues for feeling proud and instil that in our children...so whilst all that good work is going on and reinforcing positivity that we are essential, we are a vital part of not just Aotearoa but the Pacific community. And yet whilst we celebrate some really significant awesome wins and achievements there is this huge falling or failing and traumatic current situation that's getting worse. And so I think that is ticking and this is the slow, long term, got another -100-200 years we might recover from the last 100 years when in actual fact I think there needs to maybe be something to fast-track it... you can't make time go faster but the compassionate slow, we love you, sit in a circle...the other day when someone asked Mike about the tree on One Tree Hill, when that was chopped was working with some mental health patients at the time and she said their wairua lifted that day when they heard that, they didn't know the political link or about the Fiscal Envelope but somehow something in them registered that that was a blow, a strike against the evil empire and they were all like yaaaay; it lifted their spirits and it was like a circuit breaker after so long of attempting to do other things. Sometimes it takes something,... we have lots of work going in the slow long-term approach [but] every now and then we do need something.... that gets people's attention and gives the wairua a bit of a shakeup. (Interview)

Hope. Support. Good relationships. Just some of things like within hapū and that, doing the claim sorting that out with collective motivation to move on. (Interview)

This is a picture and you are part of the picture and connecting people to some key things that happened. But actually them being able to connect themselves within history. (Interview)

I talk to the patients there, I talk about historical trauma a lot and I talk about the fact that they killed off 99% of us but I tell them, guess what, you come from the 1%! You are resilient, you are amazing, and those are your ancestors, the ones who survived that. This is strength we have. (Interview)

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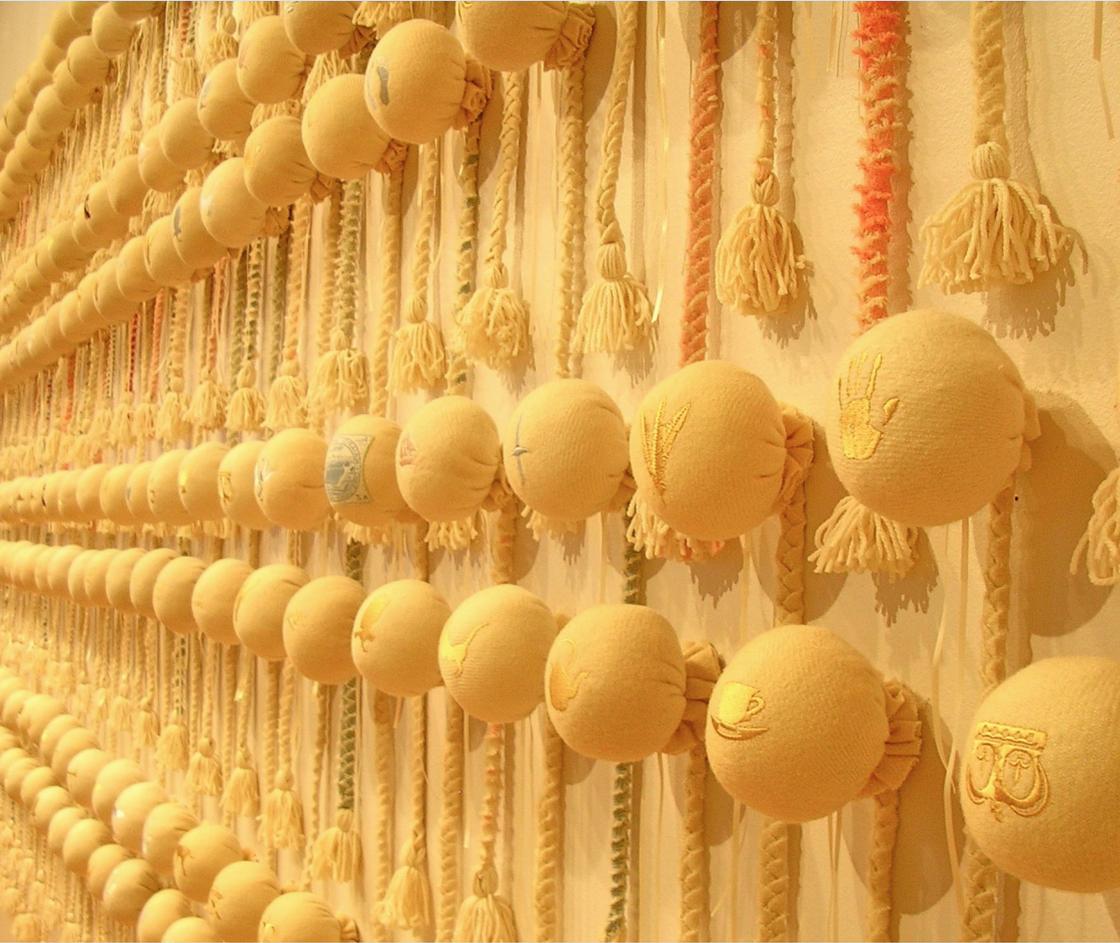
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