



First, Revive the Spirit: A Paper for the Community Development Conference 2015 – Unitec, Auckland

by DENIS O'REILLY



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ABSTRACT

Following the 2014 General Election, New Zealand Prime Minister John Key announced that his government is determined to do something about those "doing it tough" - the poor. He considers poverty a long term issue and one that has confronted successive governments but is anxious about the perverse effects of welfare as regards the 'trap' of welfare dependency. He wants to help and also enable people to help themselves. He concedes that providing or being in work is not the answer on its own. This paper examines the principles of community economic development and takes James K Baxter's notions of differing types of poverty, Nga Pohara (the poor), Nga Mokai (the fatherless), Nga Raukore (the trees who have had their leaves and branches stripped away). It argues that if we are to address poverty, first we need to address poverty of spirit. Globally this idea has Friereian elements but here in Aotearoa it especially aligns with the principles of Whānau ora, and in particular an initiative called E Tu Whānau, the by-line of which is Te Mana Kaha o Te Whānau. E Tu Whānau has a particular aim to counter domestic violence but the upside down thinking approach it takes is to eschew pathology and focus on potentiality. In this it seeks to enrol a cadre of community leaders (Kahukura) and using Māori precepts to set in motion a community multiplier that produces social capital to fill the void, counter dysfunction and enable people to enjoy rich fulfilling lives.

THE PURPOSE OF THIS PAPER

This paper should be used as a back story, a point of reference and record of ideas or issues that you may wish to pursue further. It is aligned with but is not exactly the same as my presentation at the Community Development Conference at Unitec in February, 2015.

INTRODUCTION

My greetings first to our mother the earth, Papa-tū-ā-nuku, in her finery presented as our fair green land, mountains, lakes and rivers, plains and rolling grasslands. Tēnā koe e te whaea. To Tāne who clothes the whenua, with bush low and trees tall, and to his children, bird on wing and creature terrestrial, my greetings. To Tangaroa, in his domain of the great oceans that surround our islands, both in the form of waka and that of fish, ngā mihi ki a koe. To our departed brothers and sisters, parents and children who have left this mortal coil to join the ancestors, haere, farewell.

I give an especial and heartfelt farewell to those who have just left us: to Mātua Api Mahuika, who breathed

fire and purpose into the hearts and minds of Ngāti Porou; and, also, to Tama Huata from Ngāti Kahungunu who through his creative genius revived ancient mātauranga and wove, into forms of song and dance both modern and old, entertainment that lifted the spirit and filled the heart. These two leaders, these Kahukura, epitomised and embodied the spirit of community development. Aotearoa will be the lesser for the loss of them both in the present, and in the immediate future. But in the medium to long term we will recognise that their passing enabled their true work to be revealed in the form of the people they touched and enabled and inspired. And they will be multiplied and their work and values will live on. Accordingly, e ngā mate, ngā tini mate, ngā tini aituā, haere, haere, haere atu rā.

We will conclude our communion with the dead, with the spirits, and turn to address the living, to welcome you, reader friend, from wherever you come. I welcome you in the context of our shared humanity and possibly mitochondrial DNA. I've been reading *Tangata Whenua* (Anderson, Binney and Harris, 2014), and there's a high chance that each of us has some connection one with the



other, the original inhabitants of these isles carrying feminine genes from Formosa down through Asia's peninsulas into the myriad isles of the Pacific and inheriting male genes from a similar tale of migration from Papua New Guinea and thereabouts.

The other thing I picked up is that these patterns of occupation tended to be matrilineal whereby the blokes stayed with their missus' people. It's a stark contrast to the age of imperialism and the process of colonisation that led to the overwhelming of indigenous peoples through assimilation. A society emerging from the mother lode is respectful of whakapapa. So I greet your canoes, the saga of your journey to be with us today, and the pride and dignity with which you come before us. I greet your language, because only it can carry the true meaning of your ancient insights and values, and thus express your soul. I greet you as chiefs, irrespective of gender, or age, or wealth, or conferred status. I greet you in your own right as a unique individual neither greater nor lesser, neither above nor below, but equal each to one another. Nō reira e ngā waka, e ngā mana, e ngā reo, e ngā rau rangatira ma, tena koutou, tena koutou, tena ra koutou katoa.

Before I continue, I should introduce myself. This is for the purposes of enabling you to take a critical perspective on my korero and providing a context for your interpretation and analysis.

My name is Denis O'Reilly. I am a 62 year old Pakeha male, an old white man. I'm a child of the Treaty, describing myself as Tangata Tiriti (Tanzcos, 2004). On arrival in Aotearoa my people were Irish Catholic Kerry men from the village of Breda, who took assisted emigration from the Emerald Isle and arrived in Lyttelton in February 1876 carried by our waka, the good ship *Otaki*. My great-great-grandfather, also Denis, was a thirty-two year old farm labourer. Four generations later, the products of intermarriage within a close knit community, my mum and dad were upwardly mobile middle class service station proprietors, living in Timaru and raising six children of whom I am the youngest. I myself have seven children as a result of my union with Taape Tareha; nineteen grandchildren and one great grandchild. The Celtic blood has mixed with that of the Māori and to that degree my tree of the O'Reilly's will be ordinary or usual and part of this land in a fuller way than that of my parents and my kin in general. However, they will need to carry the responsibility incumbent upon a partner in the Treaty of Waitangi with both hands, Tangata Tiriti and Tangata Whenua. And, yes, matrilineality is part of my reality. I live with my wife Taape Tareha's people (O'Connor, 2014), Ngati Paarau, at Pa Waiohiki. The elders there suggest I have stuffed up 700 years of selective breeding. This Irish-Māori mix has been described as "lepbrochauns".

In Timaru the O'Reilly family were staunchly Catholic, had a penchant for issues of social justice and a bent towards social activism. At the age of seventeen, having completed schooling at a Catholic college I entered the Marist Fathers' seminary at Green Meadows. It was the age of Paulo Freire (Freire, 1970) and South American Liberation Theology. Although I've never regretted the experience, my mission lay elsewhere. My search led me to another Jerusalem (Newton, 2009), a Māori settlement on the Whanganui River, and enrolment into James K Baxter's 'cast iron programme for communal activity, at Jerusalem, in crash pads, or in people's homes':

Feed the hungry;
Give drink to the thirsty;
Give clothes to those who lack them;
Give hospitality to strangers;
Look after the sick;
Bail people out of jail, visit them in jail, and look after them when they come out of jail;
Go to neighbours' funerals;
Tell other ignorant people what you in your ignorance think you know;
Help the doubtful to clarify their minds and make their own decisions;
Console the sad;
Reprove sinners, but gently, brother, gently; Forgive what seems to be harm done to yourself;
Put up with difficult people;
Pray for whatever has life, including the spirits of the dead (Baxter, 1971).

In turn, somehow these beliefs and this practice led me to the door of the whare of the Black Power, whose assembly I joined in 1972 and whose company I have enjoyed and kept ever since (Gilbert, 2013).

I should also note that more or less from around 1975 I have been employed by Government, starting out as the prototype Department of Internal Affairs' Detached Youth Worker (Chile, 2006) and moving on first to advisory officer roles in Internal Affairs, then into senior management roles in the Department of Labour (Chief Executive Group Employment Liaison Service – GELS (Gardiner, 2014), and the New Zealand Employment Service through to similarly ranked positions in Internal Affairs (Manager Marketing and Communications and Director NZ Millennium Office) (Tompson, 1999). Since 2000 I've run my own company, positioning myself as a 'resultant', and working still mainly for Government in resolving intractable community-based problematics (O'Reilly, 2014).



START POINT

Last Sunday there was a Murdoch cartoon in the *Sunday Star Times* (Murdoch, 2015). It features a toddler looking at an accusatory arm and pointed finger and it says:

You are going to make a lot of bad choices in your life – choosing the wrong parents, the wrong socio-economic group, and the wrong social welfare home where you are going to get yourself abused. After that you are just going to carry on making bad choices till you end up in prison or a psych ward. When are you going to take responsibility for yourself? (ibid.)

In a minute I'm going to give you a litany of despair, a recount that the late Parekura Horomia once famously described as a matrix of dysfunction. Most of you will have heard it all before. I would skip the repeat, but I remember an occasion some forty years ago when I was an aspiring community activist. I had come to Auckland to listen to Paulo Freire who had been brought here by the National Council of Churches (Roberts, 1999). The day started with a series of presentations by the nation's Māori torch bearers, members of Nga Tamatoa and the like, Syd Jackson, Donna Awatere, and others. The assembled throng had heard their collective korero many times before. It went on. We Pākehā were berated. Freire sat unmoved and unmoving. He was waiting for some naive, impatient, and unaware creature like me, and I took the bait, standing to proclaim that we had heard all of this before and had we had come to Auckland to hear from Freire not from Hone next door. It was Freire's cue. He stood. 'Ah,' he said, 'I am no guru. I do not bring solutions in a bag with me. The answers to the dilemmas of your nation are in the voices you are hearing but not listening to.'

The next section will read like the New Zealand body count at Passchendaele. According to the 2013 Census report, Māori were more likely to be unemployed (13%) than Pākehā (4.5%). Māori were also less likely to be employed full-time or part-time. The rates of those who were not in the labour force were similar. This continues a long-term trend where Māori are more likely to be unemployed or, where Māori can find employment, they tend to be employed in low-skill, low-paying industries.

Low and inadequate levels of income are often closely linked to poor-quality and sometimes unstable housing situations. Anecdotally, this often triggers a vicious cycle of poor health and poor outcomes for children and adults that can place employment outcomes at risk. Employment is, of course, the primary way families can get the resources necessary to improve their chances in life.

For these reasons, housing quality and stability is a key risk factor for negative outcomes.

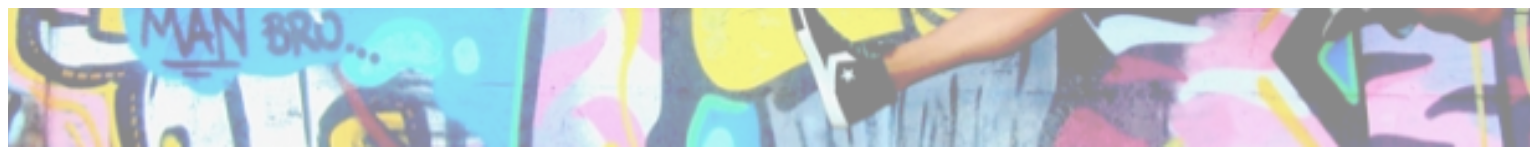
One way to look at housing stability is to measure housing tenure. It is not a perfect measure, but people who own and occupy their homes tend to have greater housing stability than people who rent accommodation. Māori are significantly less likely to own and occupy their own home than Pākehā (45% compared with 73%). Instead, Māori are far more likely to live in rented accommodation than Pākehā (55% compared with 27%).

A good indicator of housing quality is whether occupants have reported major problems with their house or flat. Problems could include: too cold or too difficult to keep warm, too small, damp, poor condition, too expensive, hard to get to from the street, or pests such as mice or insects. Māori reported experiencing major problems at a far higher rate than Pākehā, with 49% of Māori reporting major problems with their housing, compared with less than one-third of Pākehā.

Mental health issues can place any family under significant strain. For whānau that face other external pressures, it can be the difference between positive and negative outcomes. Māori are far more likely to experience poor mental health outcomes, and roughly twice as likely as non-Māori to suffer from anxiety or depressive disorders. The rate of suicide among young Māori is over twice the rate among non-Māori. This trend continues for the twenty-five to forty-five age group, where Māori remain more than twice as likely to commit suicide as non-Māori.

Substance abuse is another risk factor for poor outcomes. Māori are significantly more likely to have consumed large amounts of alcohol at least weekly in the previous twelve months. Pākehā are more likely to consume alcohol daily, but at much lower rates of consumption than Māori. Māori are significantly more likely to have used cannabis in the previous twelve months. Antisocial behaviour and criminal offending are also commonly seen as risk Māori are also serving community-based sentences in any year. However, Māori make up less than 15% of the population. This means that, at any one point in time, over 20,000 Māori will be serving some form of sentence or order for criminal offences. Māori are more likely to be arrested - and then more likely than any other group to be prosecuted. Pākehā, on the other hand, are less likely to be arrested, and even less likely to be prosecuted. The gap between Māori and Pākehā arrest and prosecution rates appears to be increasing over time.

Personal income is an important factor in the quality of life of an individual or family, and there is a well-documented correlation between low incomes and poor life outcomes. Over 62% of Māori earn less than \$30,000



per year, and Māori are far less likely to earn over \$70,000 per year. Māori are more likely to face issues of income adequacy, where their income is insufficient to cover their everyday expenses. A significant proportion (24%) of Māori rate themselves as not having sufficient income to meet everyday expenses. When we combine this with the 35% of Māori who view their income as just adequate to meet everyday expenses, almost 60% of Māori have incomes that are either insufficient or barely enough to get by. In comparison, over 55% of Pākehā consider that their income is either enough or more than enough to meet everyday expenses.

Māori are more likely than Pākehā to be employed in relatively low-skill, low-paying occupations, such as labourers, plant and machine operators, and service and sales workers. This pattern of Māori employment in low-skill, low-pay occupations has remained constant for a long period of time, and shows no sign of changing significantly. The role of nutrition in either mitigating or exacerbating these risk factors must also be considered. Individuals and whānau who get the recommended nutrition levels are more likely to have positive outcomes than those who do not. This appears to be a consistent finding regardless of other risk factors. Māori are less likely than non-Māori to eat three or more servings of vegetables and two or more servings of fruit each day, which are recommended by the Ministry of Health (Ministry of Health, 2003). This exposes Māori and vulnerable whānau in particular to a greater risk of adverse outcomes, such as poor education outcomes, health problems and family violence.

Māori are more likely to be killed or hospitalised as a result of violence. 58% of all reported violence in Aotearoa is family violence, and 39% of those who died as a result of family violence were Māori. We also know that family violence is significantly under-reported. While it is difficult to quantify the true levels of family violence, it is possible to use the incidence of the most serious forms of interpersonal violence as an indicator of other acts of family violence. The disproportionate incidence of serious violence amongst Māori almost certainly flows into the incidence of family violence amongst Māori.

Child abuse is also significantly underreported, and there is no clear evidence on how much of the total child maltreatment that occurs in Aotearoa is currently known. Between 2006 and 2012 the rate of substantiated child abuse for Māori was more than three times that of children from other ethnic groups (Ministry of Justice, 2012). There is no official measure for recurring child maltreatment.

These issues thus lead us to the area of community development I will examine here, namely E Tu Whānau, which is the Māori response to issues of domestic violence and arose out of the Taskforce for Action on

Violence within Families (Ministry of Social Development, 2012).

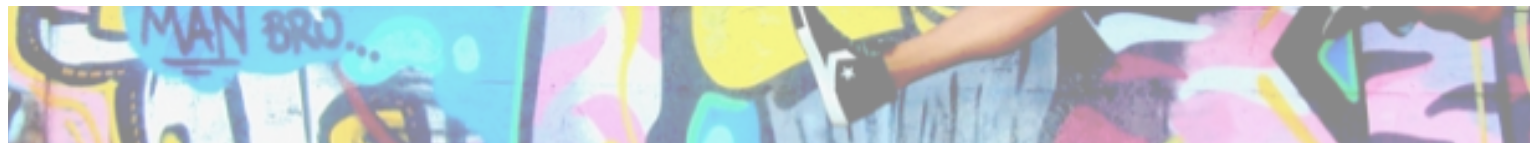
At this point let's just briefly deal with the economic development aspects of this issue. Four years ago the Treasurer and Minister of Finance Bill English noted that our 'prisons are a fiscal and moral failure,' and that maintaining and expanding prisons 'is the fastest rising cost in government in the last decade' (Anglican Church, 2011). If we are able to address the issue of poverty at a community level, reduce poverty related crime ('poor behaviour'); reduce or eliminate the self-defeating and counter-productive expenditure on consumables such as alcohol and cigarettes, which cause ill-health and result in huge health-related costs; and, optimise deployment of family income towards the best-possible-in-the-circumstance expenditure on food and clothing for children, then there are clear implications for economic development. We reduce negative spend. We make the best of social investment. There's got to be an implication for the bottom line. Let's park this.

While we are on a side-street, allow me to make clear where I come from in my thinking and philosophy. From my background and from what I have shared with you in my introduction you may already anticipate my framework, the implicit paradigms that guide my beliefs and behaviours. Let's move to make these explicit.

In the first instance I believe that people are inherently good, and, when we fail and fall we can pick up, repair, and move on. I believe in potential and redemption. I take my cue from my wife's tīpuna, Tareha Te Moananui and his maiden speech, the first by any Māori in the House, made in September 1868 during the course of the Fourth Parliament. Tareha said (through an interpreter):

This is the only word that has occurred to me to say, that when it is good and when it is evil that lies before you continue to do that which is good. That which is evil is not so powerful as not to be overcome by good, and that which is good is the only thing that you need spend your powers upon. (Te Moananui, 1868)

It could be said that this is the first Whānau ora speech to have been made in the New Zealand Parliament. 1868. How long it takes for ideas to percolate the system. Let us fast forward then from Tareha's time through the tumult of wars and sickness and suppression, and the cultural cleansing that arose from the momentous rural to urban shift and consequent dislocation of Māori and find a point, perhaps in the early 1970s where the discourse began to contain fresh voices and recognition of previously ignored points of view.



We can examine this through a community development lens, and in particular that of Māori community development, as outlined by Ross Himona (Hinemoa, 1998a; 1998b). He says we might expect that Māori:

- Analyse their own situations;
- Define their own challenges;
- Set their own aims and solutions;
- Devise their own solutions and strategies.

In the context of this paper the expectation is that there is an interface with Government. Here we can draw on Love Chile's three-stream model involving government, iwi, and whanau (Chile 2006). Chile proposes that there are three strands or tikanga to community development in New Zealand which he describes as:

- Efforts by Government;
- Collective community action; and,
- Action expressed as tino rangatiratanga or self-determination.

If we take Himona's sequence, we can see the underpinning philosophy being articulated in policy development terms by various academics and knowledge holders. In this regard I cite:

- Ngā Pou Mana (Henare, 1988);
- Te whare tapa whā (Durie, 1994);
- Te Pae Mahutonga (Durie, 2001);
- Te Wheke (Pere, 1984);
- He Korowai Oranga (Ministry of Health, 2002).

The Ngā Pou Mana model was outlined in 1988 by the Royal Commission on Social Policy. It has in many ways been subsumed into the other models. Ngā Pou Mana was a four 'pou' framework developed in the area of social policy. The four 'pou' are:

- Whanaungatanga (family);
- Taonga tuku iho (cultural heritage);
- Te Ao Tūroa (Physical environment); and
- Tūrangawaewae (land base).

Perhaps the best known and most widely-used Māori 'wellness' model is Mason Durie's 'Te Whare Tapa Whā' (Durie, 1994). Using the metaphor of a whare, it describes an integrated approach to Māori Health (oranga). The model initially emerged from the Māori Women's Welfare League research project Rapuora in 1982. Te Whare Tapa

Wha proposes that the four cornerstones of Māori health are:

- Whānau (family health);
- Tinana (physical health);
- Hinengaro (mental health); and
- Wairua (spiritual health).

The underlying theme of Te Whare Tapa Whā model is that of holistic integration within the context of family. Beyond, but supporting the Te Whare Tapa Whā framework, Durie (2001) proposed that there are five positive capacities inherent within each whānau structure:

- Manaakitia – the capacity to care for whānau members, particularly children, the elderly, and the less able;
- Tohatohatia - the capacity to share, to provide a safety net by distributing money and goods to those in need;
- Pupuri taonga - the capacity provide guardianship, to act as trustees and manage resources;
- Whakamana - the capacity to empower develop human capital and engage in advocacy; and
- Whakatatakoto tikanga - the capacity to plan ahead and provide for the future.

Durie's supplementary Māori health promotion model, Te Pae Mahutonga, uses the Southern Cross constellation as its symbol to bring together elements of modern health promotion (Durie, 1999, 2001). The four central stars of the Southern Cross represent the four key tasks of Māori health promotion:

- Mauri Ora; Mauri Ora relates to cultural identity and means giving Māori New Zealanders access to the Māori world.
- Waiora; Waiora relates to the wellbeing of the physical environment and to a spiritual element that connects human wellness with cosmic, terrestrial, and water environments.
- Toiora; Toiora relates to healthy lifestyles. It is concerned with personal behaviour and speaks of understanding that too many Māori are trapped in lifestyles of risky and self-destructive behaviours.
- Te Oranga: Te Oranga relates to participation in society and is dependent on the terms under which people participate in society, and in the confidence with which they can get a job and have access to benefits such as good health services, or the school of their choice, or sport and recreation



The two pointer stars represent:

- Ngā Manakura. Nga Manakura relates to community leadership. It requires a high synergy collective approach which fosters alliances between groups who are able to bring diverse contributions to developmental programmes. Durie (1999) says that, as an example, leadership for promotion of whānau ora needs to reflect community leadership, health leadership, tribal leadership, communication and alliances between leaders and groups.
- Te Mana Whakahaere. Te Mana Whakahaere relates to autonomy. Whānau ora cannot be prescribed. Communities – whether they are based on whānau, marae, hapu, iwi, or kaupapa - need to experience self-determination in promoting their own whānau ora.

Alternatively, Dr Rose Pere's 'Te Wheke' model uses the metaphor of the eight tentacles of the octopus to express the components at play. Pere uses the metaphor to take us to another and perhaps deeper level of understanding of an integrated approach required for whānau ora. Concordant with other advocates of traditional Māori health, Pere acknowledges the seamless link and the uncontrived balance between the mind, the spirit, the human relationship with whānau, and the physical world. Thus, the octopus tentacles represent the following:

- Whanaungatanga: the open and healthy expansion of emotion;
- Ha a koro ma, a kuia ma: the breath of life from forebears;
- Mana ake: the unique identity of individuals and family;
- Mauri: the force in people and objects;
- Te Whānau: the family;
- Whānaungatanga: extended family,
- Taha tikanga: physical wellbeing;
- Hinengaro: the mind;
- Wairuatanga: spirituality.

I should note at this point that the use of the term whānau is not limited to traditional 'European' definitions, but recognises the wide diversity of families represented within Māori communities. It is up to each whānau and each individual to define for themselves who their whānau is.

We can see from these frameworks that build upon and reinforce and reaffirm each other that Māori operate collectively and whānau are a key component of Māori social architecture along with hapu and iwi. So we

can see in play Himona's observation that Māori community development occurs when Māori analyse their own situations; define their own challenges; set their own aims and solutions; and, devise their own solutions and strategies. If we then take Chile's three stream model wherein we can expect to see efforts by government; collective community action; and, action expressed as tino rangatiratanga or self-determination, we can recognise the process of policy development rolling out into 'iwi friendly' policy frameworks. For instance, we can see these concepts manifesting themselves at an operational level in the Ministry of Health framework He Korowai Oranga. At the heart of He Korowai Oranga is the achievement of whānau ora, or healthy families. This requires an approach that recognises and builds on the integral strengths and assets of whānau, and encouraging whānau development. (Ministry of Health, 2002)

The overall aim of He Korowai Oranga is whānau ora is for Māori families to be supported to achieve their maximum health and wellbeing. Whānau (kuia, koroua, pakeke, rangatahi and tamariki) is again recognised as the foundation of Māori society. As a principal source of strength, support, security and identity, whānau plays a central role in the wellbeing of Māori, both individually and collectively.

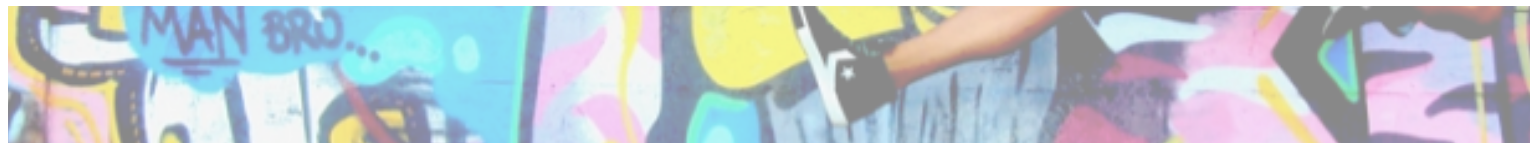
The outcomes sought for whānau include:

- Whānau experience physical, spiritual, mental and emotional health and have control over their own destinies;
- Whānau members live longer and enjoy a better quality of life;
- Whānau members (including those with disabilities) participate in Te Ao Māori and wider New Zealand society. (ibid, 3)

It is considered that these outcomes are more likely where:

- Whānau are cohesive, nurturing and safe;
- Whānau are able to give and receive support;
- Whānau have a secure identity, high self-esteem, confidence and pride;
- whānau have the necessary physical, social and economic means to participate fully and to provide for their own needs; and
- Whānau live, work and play in a safe and supportive environment (ibid, 3).

In 2009, the New Zealand Government commenced work on establishing an evidence base for an integrated service delivery approach to enabling family well-being for whānau Māori. A taskforce was set up with a brief to establish a



framework that strengthened whānau capabilities, enabled collaboration between state agencies in relation to the provision of whānau services, ensured that relationships between government and service delivery agencies would be broader than the merely contractual, and produced improved cost effectiveness.

The taskforce reviewed the available literature and took to the road to hear oral submissions from twenty-two hui. Over a hundred submissions from individuals and organisations were also received. Common themes emerged, including the need for any whānau ora approach to be based on Kaupapa Māori and to have 'mānawa Māori' – a Māori heart.

Whilst the primary focus of the Taskforce's effort was directed at the machinery of government, including the relationships with agencies, especially with community-based service delivery entities, there was nevertheless an evident desire to reverse engineer a distinctly Māori approach. This was both structural and cultural, and included issues of Māori entitlements under Article Three of the Treaty of Waitangi and as regards internationally recognised rights afforded to indigenous communities. The Taskforce concluded that there were five implicit impact domains:

- A whānau aspirational aim;
- A set of principles;
- Identification of whānau outcome goals;
- Provision of whānau-centred services; and
- Establishment of a Whānau Ora Trust.

Accordingly, a set of principles was established to serve as a platform for the identification of indicators, outcome measures and the logic for allocation of funding. These include:

- Kaupapa Tuku Iho – the way in which both implicit and explicit Māori values, beliefs, obligations and responsibilities are available to guide whānau in their day-to-day lives;
- Whānau opportunity;
- Best whānau outcomes;
- Whānau Integrity;
- Coherent service delivery;
- Effective resourcing;
- Competent and innovative provision.

The desired outcome was expressed across a set of goals that would be met when whānau are:

- Self-managing;
- Living healthy lifestyles;

- Participating fully in society;
- Confidently participating in Te Ao Māori;
- Economically secure and successfully involved in wealth creation;
- Cohesive, resilient and nurturing.

The taskforce drew attention to the critical need for whānau and iwi leadership to play a role in facilitating Whānau Ora. It stated that supporting natural leaders within whānau is essential to the success of Whānau Ora. However it notes that these implicit roles are based on whakapapa connections and exist outside government interventions. Accordingly, when it came to whānau action and engagement the implementation required:

- That whānau strengths are acknowledged and endorsed;
- That whānau ownership of solutions and actions is encouraged;
- Partnership between whānau and providers is the norm; and
- That whānau have opportunities to extend their own resources and expertise while also addressing the needs of individual members.

The Taskforce envisaged that whānau centred design and delivery of services would mean that:

- Services are designed and delivered in a way that places whānau at the centre of service provision;
- Services build on the strengths and capabilities already present in whānau; and
- Services and whānau interventions are underpinned by a focus on building whānau capability so that they are able to prevent crises, manage problems, and invest in their future.

This was to be reinforced by active and responsive government agencies and funding. Consequently, these various philosophical consideration and themes have been conflated into this broad approach we call Whānau Ora, and have now become manifest in Te Pou Matakana (Te Pou Matakana, 2014). I'll leave the policy development whakapapa at this point and return to my examination of E Tu Whānau.

E Tu Whānau is one of a suite of recent government-wide efforts specifically intended to prevent family violence, through which the determination of Māori has broken out of the normal bureaucratic silo and reframed the situation. I don't know if it's an apocryphal tale from Wellington's public sector beltway, but the legend is that the broad enquiry into family violence neglected to have a



specific device to take on a Māori worldview. A hurried decision was made to convene a Māori Reference Group. At the first meeting the invited delegates concluded they were being used to give the enquiry a 'brown wash' and that the consultation was post-facto and not authentic. The Māori group got into a collective huff and decided to disband. But Tawhirimatea intervened. The Wellington weather deteriorated and the airport was closed. The group were required to stay the night in Wellington. Over kai and korero, their sensibilities regained equilibrium. They reviewed their position and decided to champion an authentic Māori response based on these precepts:

- Issues for Māori are severe and complicated (The Māori Reference Group for the Taskforce for Action on Violence Within Families, 2013); and
- Māori have a unique solution grounded in traditional values that they know will work (ibid., p. 4)

They decided that their response needed to provide a fresh approach, based on the general principles of Whānau Ora while specifically aiming to make an enduring difference by transforming the serious impact of violence within whānau, hapu, and iwi (ibid., p. 15).

Accordingly, as recommended by Tareha 146 years ago, the E Tu Whānau 'Māori' approach is based on the inherent strengths within Te Ao Māori, the Māori world, and is founded on Kaupapa Māori Theory. Kaupapa Māori Theory has been described as being an expression of upraised consciousness and a resistance to the dominant discourse (Bishop, 1996). The dominant discourse often contextualises Māoriness as a predictor of some likely pathological condition: relatively low levels of educational achievement, relatively low incomes, higher than average rates of unemployment, much higher rates than average of imprisonment, and, lower than average life expectancy. One commentator regularly describes Whānau Māori as 'feral' (Laws, 2012).

The E Tu Whānau approach, however, rejects this pathological construct and makes an explicit determination to assume Māori potential, to commit to the philosophy and practice of being and acting Māori, and to providing an action framework wherein things Māori are accepted in their own right.

As an expression of tino rangatiratanga, E Tu Whānau is based on the strengths that reside within Te Ao Māori and is unapologetic about taking a Māori world-view. It focuses on strategies and solutions that encompass the whole whānau and aims to engender whānau self-responsibility. It seeks to align with and contribute to the government's broader objectives, for instance, improving

effective outcomes for Māori across a range of sectors and services and addressing poverty.

At this point we arrive at the provision of grist to the mill of my argument. Poverty takes many forms. I mentioned at the beginning of this dissertation of my buy-in to the philosophy laid out by James (also known as Hemi) K. Baxter. In his work *Jerusalem Daybook* (Baxter, 1971), Hemi outlines his notions of differing types of poverty:

- Ngā Pohara (the poor: it's a relative matter; is financial in nature; and, is best addressed through fiscal policy)
- Ngā Mokai (the fatherless: this is both metaphoric and actual in terms of fatherless families; another form of fatherlessness also applies to the disowned and rejected, the gang members and other difficult to deal with people)
- Ngā Raukore (the trees who have had their leaves and branches stripped away: these are Hemi's allusions to the tangata whāiora, addicts and alcoholics, the depressed and alienated, the homeless and lonely).

Now it is probably accidental, but if you look at these three forms of poverty you could well argue that there is an implicit hierarchy. It could be inferred that in New Zealand a state of material hardship (being pohara) on the part of an individual or family should be able to be addressed if the other two forms of poverty (Ngā Mokai, being fatherless and alienated; and, Ngā Raukore, being 'naked' and alone) have first been addressed or are under control. For instance, the Ngā Raukore cluster includes those who might be facing mental health issues, and their pohara status can be mitigated by professional care and support.

Some Ngā Mokai might find their resolution through redefining themselves as fathers rather than as fatherless, and behaving in a way consistent with the expectations of being a good father (or child). It is a family construct. Notions such as these are a-rational – based on feelings and beliefs, and sit in the metaphysical sphere. They are in Durie's E Tapa Wha quadrant of Te Taha Wairua, and represent a response to what I am describing as a 'poverty of spirit'.

So it seems to me therefore, that if we are to address poverty, first we need to address poverty of spirit. That is the poverty that underlies many dysfunctions at a Whānau level: the low self-esteem that leads to substance abuse and thence the poor deployment of resources (albeit



already meagre) at a household level, and domestic violence and child abuse.

It is in this area that I see E Tu Whānau providing an otherwise missing ingredient in the smorgasbord of programmes being delivered under theme of the Government's Whānau Ora initiatives. Most of these are "programmes" whereas, unlike the usual service delivery model, E Tu Whānau is being delivered as a national community development programme in the form of a broad-based movement making it possibly unique to the New Zealand public sector. One distinguishing feature of E Tu Whānau is the emergence of a cadre of committed community change agents, kahukura, producing a multiplier of social capital through their high levels of discretionary effort.

The underpinning belief of E Tu Whānau is that universal positive change for Māori is critical to the future well-being of all of Aotearoa and that this can only take place within a context of Te Mana Kaha o Te Whānau – a sense of well-being strength and pride at the very core of Te Ao Māori that impacts on the thinking and actions of all whanau (Durie, 1994). The overall aim of the E Tu Whānau Programme is to make a real difference through achievable initiatives, grounded in reality, that are Māori owned and led. It is an optimistic approach based on the belief in the inherent potentiality within whānau Māori and triggered by '[p]roviding opportunities for our people to fall in love with who they are' (The Māori Reference Group for the Taskforce for Action on Violence within Families, 2013).

The E Tu Whānau vision is that whānau are strong, safe and prosperous, living with a clear sense of identity and cultural integrity, and with control over their destiny – Te Mana Kaha o Te Whānau. As can be seen, this vision is well grounded in theory, and is founded on and consistent with fundamental Māori aspirations based on the concepts of whānaungatanga, whakapapa, tinana, wairua, mana and mauri that we see identified in preceding models and initiatives. It focusses on strength and empowerment – spiritually, physically, mentally and emotionally.

Accordingly, E Tu Whānau is focused on:

- Māori led solutions grounded in tikanga and based on whānau strength;
- Responsibility and accountability for positive change – from iwi, government and whanau; and
- Community discussion and action led and modelled by Kahukura (community thought leaders).

These potentially lofty notions have been codified into an implicitly measurable state for a Māori 'dream family' - Te Atarangi o Nga Moemoea (ibid.) – wherein:

- People have knowledge of their whakapapa, history and taonga and are confident within their identity and able to live in the present and shape their futures;
- They can speak their own language;
- Spiritual aspects are central to their lives if they wish them to be;
- They value and respect all who belong to them – tamariki, kuia, and kaumatua;
- They are aware of and active within their community;
- They realise their roles, functions and responsibilities;
- They have sufficient access to resources so that they are able to provide for their needs;
- They are able to collectively meet their family responsibilities;
- They are adaptable entrepreneurial and well educated;
- They are visionary with a sense of future possibilities;
- They are able to make decisions about their own lives and participate in all aspects of life;
- They are comfortable in their own skins;
- They are responsible and accountable for their actions; and
- They deal honestly with conflict.

The E Tu Whānau themes and values have been expressed as:

- Aroha – expression of love and feeling loved;
- Whānaungatanga – about being connected to whanau;
- Whakapapa – knowing who you are;
- Mana/manaaki – upholding people's dignity and being giving of yourself to others;
- Korero awhi – open communication, being supportive; and
- Tikanga – doing things the right way, according to our values.

However, despite the relatively low investment, the social capital multiplier effect generated by the discretionary effort created at a community level produces disproportionately positive value for money and high-impact outcomes.

In essence, while the government investment may be creating a 'push' towards positive behaviour change through broad policy initiatives, the tribes and community change agents (kahukura) are creating the 'pull' through



targeted support of inherently Māori metaphysical strengths and facilitating whānau-centred desire for improvement. As an interesting side note, it should be noted that whilst E Tu Whānau is a Māori-led initiative, the principle of inclusivity means that any New Zealander can participate and benefit from the E Tu Whānau approach. As such, the E Tu Whānau philosophy and mission has proved to be particularly attractive to the migrant and refugee community and has enabled engagement with Saudi, Afghani, Ethiopian, Eritrean, ethnic Fijian and Indo-Fijian, Asian and South Asian, and Muslim communities nationwide, especially through the 'Parenting in the New Zealand Context' programme. It presents a lateral point of engagement and intersection with vulnerable families of differing beliefs in confusing and troubling times globally. It may be that as an indigenous model E Tu Whānau is philosophically more acceptable to these groups than what otherwise might seem to be 'Western' paradigms.

As always, the perennial question is how does this input of resources and effort translate into tangible measurable outcomes? This is particularly true when a programme of action is delivered in way that to some eyes might seem to be 'soft' or 'fuzzy', a criticism that is often made of initiatives in Te Ao Māori. There is a broad government-wide move towards results-based-accountabilities (RBA). In many instances, however, measurement and evaluation is undertaken from a Western paradigm and binary framework, which fails to capture the subtle shifts in the feelings and beliefs that underpin behaviour change. Moreover the measurement framework is generally 'top down' and created by analysts who whilst having appropriate qualifications may lack life experience and cultural awareness at the front line, especially in dealing with hard to reach communities and complex problematics. The E Tu Whānau approach is based on proven community development principles and is 'flaxroots up' so it can drive off the strengths and desires of the local community. There is a strong and well-established body of evidence that shows this is an extremely effective approach (Hinemoa, 1998b; Chile, 2006; Pere, 1984; Ringold, 2005). Fresh research continues to produce affirming insights and understanding, and E Tu Whānau is contributing to this body of evidence as part of its goal to help develop 'better practice' in serving Māori communities and whānau Māori.

E Tu Whānau utilises Kaupapa Māori referenced methodologies and is exploring fresh methods to record and interpret impact data. The E Tu Whānau mandate to help develop effective social sector services for whānau Māori also has cost-effectiveness implications for sectors

such as health and education.¹ However, there is one indisputable and critical core measure for E Tu Whānau and that is the reduction of domestic violence - especially within whānau Māori. The belief is that where there are strong pockets of E Tu Whānau activity, we should see correlations between reduction in anti-social behaviours leading to domestic violence and an increase in pro-social behaviours leading to stronger protective factors and whānau success.

It is here that another of the unique characteristics of E Tu Whānau become apparent, because the outcomes present an integrated 'whole of government' set of results. Rather than attempt to extrapolate the impact of a set of inputs across a complex and interrelated field of practice, they have described what the solution looks like and are working with the community members of this movement in defining this future desired state of whānau in terms of tangible results and measurable behaviours. This is the challenge at the moment across Government. In some ways, E Tu Whānau may be leading the field by establishing what flourishing whānau may look like, and finding meaningful measures in an area fraught with complexity.

CONCLUSION

A great deal is happening in communities across the country as the reach of E Tu Whānau grows. It is increasingly endorsed by Te Ao Māori, it is manifesting as something that can play a real and meaningful role in improving lives and outcomes for individuals, whānau, hapu, iwi, and the nation at large.

E Tu Whānau is an indigenous model of working from a particular philosophical base within Te Ao Māori – a Māori world view. It derives from a position of building on the strengths of the culture and of the whānau, rather than on the deficits that need to be fixed. The strategy is classic community development, and is based on achieving the buy-in of people and supporting them to identify local issues and solutions. Following on from that, they can make the changes to create a different outcome for their whānau. Often this means overcoming issues such as a deep suspicion of any form of government involvement, the unwillingness to initially disclose any real concerns

¹ As an example, in the health sector in Hawke's Bay the stats for Māori 'Do Not Appear at Specialist Appointments' runs at >16% as against an average of <4.5% for the general population. It is expensive. Not only is the specialists time wasted but the patient's condition potentially deteriorates and becomes even more costly to treat. We know from the smoking cessation effectiveness research that impact on whānau is an important motivator for quitting. E Tu Whānau inspired health consciousness (tinana) might reasonably contribute to reducing the rate of no shows and thus peripherally contribute to efficiency.



about safety within the whanau, or some people being so disempowered that they believe they have little control over their lives or the future of their whānau.

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