

# Claiming Space and Restoring Harmony within Hui Whakatika

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*The time has come for indigenous, specifically Māori psychologies, to move from the margins, and claim legitimate space within the discipline of psychology (MPRU, 2007). Phinney and Rotheram (1987) argue that there are ethnically-linked ways of thinking, feeling and acting that are acquired through socialisation. The message implicit in this statement has profound implications for a discipline that seeks to understand and respond to the intricacies of human behaviour. Although the epistemological paradigms emerging from the experiences of indigenous minorities such as Māori may offer a challenge to mainstream knowledge and perspectives (Gordon, 1997), it is clear that disregarding such alternatives may well leave the discipline of psychology impoverished. On the other hand, paying attention to alternative paradigms may well serve to enrich this discipline. This paper presents two successful Hui Whakatika that were led by Māori in mainstream settings. Particular dimensions of, and congruencies between both are explored. The first highlights the vital role of a kaumatua in facilitating and guiding the entire process; the second focuses on the role and experiences of a kaitakawaenga as he works collaboratively with whānau members to find resolution and restore harmony.*

As the founding document of Aotearoa New Zealand, the Treaty of Waitangi can provide guidance, by reflecting the three Treaty principles, those of partnership, protection, and participation within a range of disciplines, including the discipline of psychology. The principle of *Partnership* is about responding to issues of power sharing and decision making. The principle of *Protection* is about acknowledging and valuing indigenous knowledge and pedagogical values. *Participation* is the principle that provides individuals and groups with equity of access to resources and services. It is the contention of this paper that the Treaty of Waitangi may well be used to inform a process of ‘claiming legitimate spaces’ for Māori psychologies within the overall discipline of psychology, for the time has indeed come for indigenous, specifically Māori, psychologies to move from the margins, and claim legitimate space within the discipline of psychology.

As a nation that espouses such philosophies as inclusion, social justice and equity for all, it is worth considering what the concept of ‘claiming spaces’ might actually mean for Māori. Perhaps reframing this to reflect the notion of ‘re-claiming spaces’ might better encapsulate the journey for Māori in terms of how Māori epistemology has been acknowledged throughout the passage of time. Despite the obvious kaupapa Māori renaissance that has transpired for Māori over the past twenty to thirty years, and Durie’s (1997) assertion, that Māori knowledge has an integrity of its own, Māori epistemology is still regularly relegated to the margins, perceived as inferior, or simply dismissed within a range of disciplines, including that of psychology.

Bishop (1996) contends that solutions and understandings for Māori do not reside within the culture that has traditionally marginalised Māori, rather, the solutions and understandings are located within Māori culture itself (Bishop, Berry, Tiakiwai,

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Richardson, 2003). These authors further emphasise the need to draw from both traditional and contemporary Māori cultural worldviews, knowledge, practices and experiences. According to Gordon (1997), the epistemological paradigms emerging from the experiences of indigenous minorities such as Māori, offer a challenge to mainstream perspectives, however, this does not mean that such perspectives must or should remain inert. Howitt and Owusu-Bempah (1994) further contend that the lack of attention to alternatives to mainstream knowledge will leave any discipline (including the discipline of psychology) impoverished. For many Māori, the term 'mainstream' in itself maintains the perspective that Māori epistemology 'belongs elsewhere', that to actually be and live as Māori necessitates 'belonging elsewhere', as generally mainstream society neither reflects nor values a worldview that is uniquely Māori. Despite that however, it would clearly follow that paying attention to alternatives to mainstream knowledge could indeed serve to enrich the domain of psychology.

Phinney and Rotheram (1987) argue that there are ethnically-linked ways of thinking, feeling and acting that are acquired through socialisation. The message implicit in this statement has profound implications for the discipline of psychology, given that it seeks to understand and respond to the intricacies of human behaviour. Understanding others depends on three specific components, as outlined by Durie (2006). These components involve: engagement; ways of thinking and theorising, and; ways of analysing. Durie explores the marae atea as facilitated during the process of pōwhiri, as a metaphor for engagement, wherein particular aspects such as space, boundaries and time take on exacting significance and meaning.

Specifically, Durie (2006) talks about the notion of 'space', whereby a realistic degree of distance is necessary at the outset until a relationship has formed. Acknowledging a level of distance effectively provides a stage for clarifying the terms under which parties come together and engage. Conversely, diminished distance may

precipitate panic or alternatively lead to withdrawal, both of which impact negatively on the processes for building relationships and establishing engagement. Understanding the concept of 'boundaries' requires making the necessary distinctions between groups, ie: tangata whenua (hosts) and manuhiri (visitors); the living and the dead; the right and the left; safe and unsafe; men and women; the old and the young. Appreciation of these distinctions enables mutually-respected boundaries to be defined without pretence, and will provide a platform upon which respectful engagement may emerge. Adhering to the domain of 'time' means that being 'on time' is less important than allocating, taking or expanding time in order to ensure that processes are completed properly, that they are being accorded the time that they deserve.

For many Māori, the same rituals or phases of engagement as those progressed during the pōwhiri process, can be adhered to during other situations or contexts of encounter. Guided by notions of space, boundaries and time, these phases broadly include:

- starting / opening rituals (which includes respecting space and boundaries at the outset, and determining who speaks)
- clarifying and declaring who you are / from where you have come
- clarifying and declaring intentions (which includes the purpose of meeting)
- coming together as a group
- building relationships and making initial connections (which includes sharing whakapapa or genealogical connections)
- addressing a particular kaupapa or issue (which includes open and frank discussions, face-to-face interactions, reaching decisions and agreements, defining particular roles and responsibilities, and taking the time that is required)
- concluding (which includes summarising decisions and agreements, and uplifting mana)
- sharing kai / refreshments

Macfarlane (1998) proposes that the traditional hui, or meeting held within Māori cultural protocols or ways of engagement, can provide a supportive and

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culturally grounded space for seeking and achieving resolution, and restoring harmony. Hui whakatika (literally, a time for making amends) such as these, offer a unique process for restoring harmony from within legitimate Māori spaces (Hooper, Winslade, Drewery, Monk & Macfarlane, 1999). Underpinned by traditional or pre-European Māori concepts of discipline, hui whakatika provide a process that follows the same phases of engagement as those outlined above while also adhering to four quintessential features of pre-European Māori discipline as identified below by Olsen, Maxwell and Morris (cited in McElrea, 1994). These are:

1. an emphasis upon *reaching consensus* through a process of collaborative decision-making involving the whole community
2. a desired outcome of *reconciliation* and a settlement that is acceptable to all parties

rather than isolating and punishing the offender

3. not to apportion blame but to *examine* the wider reason for the wrong with an implicit assumption that there was often wrong on both sides
4. less concern with whether or not there had been a breach of law and more concern with the *restoration* of harmony.

The four broad concepts of *reaching consensus*, *reconciliation*, *examination* and *restoration* as described above are critical to effective hui whakatika. It is important to note also, that these traditional Māori disciplinary concepts continue to feature widely in contemporary Māori society as a means of resolving issues of concern or conflict. By following the concepts and processes as depicted in Figure 1 below, hui whakatika can be inclusive, restorative and healing rather than adversarial and punitive.

**A Model of Healing by Judge Michael Brown (1988)**

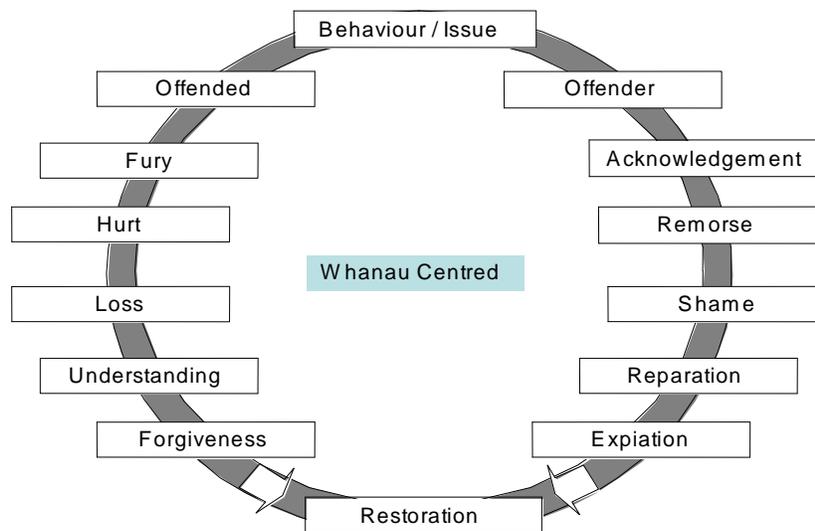


Figure 1. A Model of Healing by Judge Michael Brown (1988). Adapted by Macfarlane (cited in Fraser, Moltzon, and Ryba, 2000)

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In this way, hui whakatika can be likened to more recent and contemporary notions of restorative justice (Hooper et al., 1999). Indeed, it may be argued that the aims of both processes are fundamentally similar.

Restorative practice in schools requires:

*“that harm done to a relationship is understood and acknowledged and that effort is made to repair that harm. In order for that restoration to happen, the voices of those affected by the offence need to be heard in the process of seeking redress”* (Restorative Practices Development Team, 2003. p. 11)

What differs however is that the initiation and legitimation of the hui whakatika process is able to be determined by and for Māori. Thus hui whakatika can exemplify how all three Treaty principles may be able to be applied in practice.

There are four distinct phases to a hui whakatika process. These include:

1. *The pre-hui phase*: preparing the whaariki (foundation)
2. *The hui phase* (the hui proper), which includes the following cultural processes:

#### Beginning the hui

- Mihimihi (greetings) / karakia (prayer)
- Response from manuhiri
- Reiterating the purpose of the hui
- Whakawhanaungatanga (introductions and making connections)
- Sharing kai

#### Developing the hui:

- How we are being affected, how we are feeling
- Successes to date, strengths
- Barriers /enemies to success
- Seeking out a new story (restorying), by determining and agreeing on the way forward:  
*What we will do, who will do what...*
- Setting a time / venue for phase 3 (forming / consolidating the plan)

#### Closing the hui (poroporoaki/ rituals of farewell)

- Whakakapi (summing up)
- Final comments by members
- Karakia

- Sharing kai
- Informal discussion

#### 3. *Forming / consolidating the plan*

#### 4. *Follow-up and review (at a later date)*

According to Macfarlane (2007), each of these four phases is critical to the overall success of a hui whakatika. It is imperative that sufficient time and effort is invested in the initial pre-hui phase, as this part of the process is equally as important as the actual hui itself. The pre-hui phase involves determining who needs to be involved, establishing a willingness from all parties to participate in this process of ‘making amends’, meeting with all parties separately in order to explain the process and preparing them for what will happen in the hui, hearing their stories about what has happened, and finally selecting a venue and time. Phase two of the process, the ‘hui proper’, follows the protocols of engagement as represented by a pōwhiri process. Effective facilitation of this phase is also crucial.

Below we present two separate case studies of successful hui whakatika that were led by Māori in mainstream education settings. Particular dimensions of, and congruencies between both are explored. The first highlights the vital role of kaumātua in facilitating and guiding the entire process; the second focuses on the role and experiences of a kaitakawaenga as he works collaboratively with a whānau to seek resolutions and restores harmony.

#### **Case Study One: Establishing spaces through kaumātua support**

The first example of a hui whakatika concerned one Māori medium syndicate within a large mainstream school that responded using the traditional process of hui to resolve a situation that involved three year 7 and year 8 Māori students, found to have been experimenting with marijuana during the school day and in their school grounds.

#### *Phase 1: The pre hui phase*

Their teachers, who were Māori and the Pākehā principal, sought advice from a kaumātua, an elder, directly connected to the local hapū (sub-tribe) and with high standing in both the Māori and non Māori

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community. Her advice resulted in these staff members, the three students and members of their families agreeing to come to a meeting at the school, the very next week. This group understood, albeit some with skepticism, that the meeting would be held according to Māori protocol and was being held in order to seek solutions by engaging within the supportive and culturally appropriate learning contexts provided by the traditional hui (Macfarlane, 1998). The group also understood that the school policy response would normally have been to suspend the boys, thus remove them from the education setting and potentially expose them to even greater risk of drug taking. The teachers and the families involved wanted to avoid this situation at all costs, while the experience of this principal was that support from this elder had already resulted in traditional Māori responses providing some effective solutions to other problems. Although this situation was very different to others that he had encountered, he trusted that a traditional Māori response could be very effective.

#### *Phase 2: The hui phase*

The hui was held in the school room designated as the whare wānanga (house of learning). At the elder's direction, family members accompanied each of the three boys, including a grandmother who was there for her own mokopuna (grandchild), as well as for the other boys. The principal, deputy principal, senior teacher, classroom teacher and the elder, all attended. The elder's participation ensured that correct kawa or cultural protocols were adhered to, thus protecting both the people and the kaupapa (purpose/ agenda). She began the meeting with mihimihi, then karakia that asked for guidance and support. This was followed by a cup of tea before the agenda was jointly set.

All members of the hui agreed that they would be seeking to fully address the problem without creating a situation of shame and blame. The principal gave his clear commitment to support whatever decisions came from the meeting, thus handing the power to redress the situation and restore relationships back to the hui participants.

After much discussion and at times extremely heated debate, the marijuana incident was fully discussed,

ownership was acknowledged and consequences were collaboratively determined and agreed to. The students involved in the incident and their parents contributed to both the debate and the determining of solutions and consequences. The hui continued with tasks being agreed to and allocated and then it was time for poroporoaki when everyone was given an opportunity to have their final say. The meeting then concluded with a karakia.

#### *Phase 3: Forming the Plan*

As a result of the collaborative decision making within the hui, the group planned a four-day in-school suspension intervention, to be developed by the teachers and supported on a daily basis by people from each boy's family. Teachers agreed to set up the separate programme aimed at providing these three students with positive Māori cultural messages and role models, as well as specific and accurate information about marijuana and the consequences of drug abuse. The students went home from the hui with family members then returned the next day ready for their four days within the newly determined parameters of the in-school suspension.

The plan focused on three key areas:

- accurate information (about marijuana and the implications of taking it);
- open and honest sharing of information (between the specific school staff, the boys and their parent(s); amongst parents; between related professionals, specific school staff, the boys and their parents);
- keeping the boys in the education system (the boys alternative was almost certain suspension).

#### *Phase 4: Follow-up and Review*

Each of the four days of the in-school suspension began with the senior teacher and kaumatua meeting with the boys and their family member for karakia. The day's work and timetable were then discussed. On the bell they each returned with their work to one of the three syndicate classrooms and seated themselves in their desk placed to the rear of the room. Here, the boys each worked on their individual programme under the further guidance and support of the family member who had agreed to support them on that day. Four visitors who were able to speak knowledgeably on the effects of marijuana had been

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invited to share their expertise at lunchtime sessions. These visitors were all Māori and had been organised with the kaumatua, from her strong local networks. They included another kaumatua with a young recovering drug user, a Youth Aide Officer, a doctor and finally a man working in the field of drug rehabilitation. At lunchtime, on each of the four days, the boys came together with members of their own family and the teachers. The boys, their family members and the teachers shared food, attended the related presentations facilitated by these visitors, listened, questioned and talked openly and honestly.

Although the rest of the students in the syndicate undoubtedly knew what had, and was happening, the syndicate teachers did not discuss any of these events with them nor did the principal discuss these events at a staff level. Interactions between these boys and their classmates were greatly reduced over the four days of the in-class suspension and although teachers did not actively monitor this, it was promoted by all of the students themselves. On the Friday afternoon, exactly one week after the marijuana incident, the in-class suspension finished and after the weekend the boys resumed their relationship with their peers and school returned to normal.

This response ensured that these students remained at school and after the in-school detention they were accepted back by their classmates as if nothing untoward had happened. Importantly this response opened up more effective two-way communication and support between the homes of these students and their school. All groups learned from the process, the outcome was seen by all to be just and equitable to the misdemeanor, and more importantly, none of the groups (school, student or family members) lost mana.

This incident happened over a decade ago. The boys all remained at college until at least the end of year 11. The youngest of the three boys, successfully finished his year 12 having competed in top college sports and cultural teams throughout his secondary schooling. For these boys, no repeat incidents such as this were reported as having occurred throughout the rest of their schooling.

### **Case Study Two: Reclaiming spaces with kaitakawaenga support**

The second case study of a hui whakatika intervention is one that has been recounted retrospectively by a kaitakawaenga who works for the Ministry of Education, Special Education. The kaitakawaenga regularly works alongside other specialists who are working with whānau Māori. Kaitakawaenga expertise and knowledge is an integral component to the service delivery process, as they are able to draw from kaupapa Māori ways of knowing and engaging, enabling whānau to bring their own cultural realities and preferences to the interactions.

In this instance, the kaitakawaenga had been engaged in order to resolve an issue which had transpired for a special education advisor working in a mainstream primary school. Two brothers (Māori) had been referred to this special education advisor for their severe and challenging behaviours in the school setting. The brothers were less than a year apart in age, and were in the same Year 6 class. The boys' parents were separated, and the custodial arrangements had been organised so that the parents would have both boys, week about.

Due to the apparent severity of the boys' behaviours at school, the special education advisor had hastily put in place a behaviour intervention plan for the school setting, however the whānau had had little, if any input into this plan. Subsequently they had ceased to engage in any of the tasks that had been allocated to them in the plan. Indeed, it was clear that the boys' behaviours had actually escalated since the plan had been put in place. The class teacher and principal had both become extremely frustrated and were asking the special education advisor to do something soon in order to prevent the boys from being suspended or even excluded. The special education advisor therefore had sought help from the kaitakawaenga and at a meeting she outlined the case history to date.

#### *Phase 1: The pre hui phase*

It was determined that a hui whakatika would be convened in an attempt to collaboratively resolve some of the issues of concern. The kaitakawaenga met several times with both parents, initially

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separately, and then together, in order to ensure that there was willingness on their part to attend. The parents explained that they wanted to resolve the issues but were suspicious of the motives of the school, and were consequently reluctant to meet at the school grounds. The kaitakawaenga worked to allay any fears that the parents had. He listened to their concerns and the dreams that they both had for their sons. He then explained the hui process, mentioning that he would be facilitating the hui, with the support of his kaumatua, who would welcome them and any others they wanted to attend. Both parents were told that whānau support would be welcome at the hui. The kaitakawaenga also met with the class teacher, the principal, and the special education advisor and went through the same process. These meetings were critical to not only gauge the willingness of all parties to be involved, but to also clarify the protocols for engagement, and the kaupapa of the hui. With the help of the special education advisor, the kaitakawaenga organised the venue, which included setting up the room, having all of the necessary resources ready, and ensuring that there was food to share.

#### *Phase 2: The hui phase*

The hui was held in a meeting room at the Ministry of Education, special education offices. This room was regularly used for mihi whakatau and hui, and reflected many of the cultural icons of the local iwi. The kaitakawaenga had actively encouraged the parents and the boys to bring along whānau support, and they had opted to do so. The maternal grandmother, the paternal grandfather, an aunty, and an older cousin came along to contribute to the hui and to support the boys and their parents. The classroom teacher, a senior teacher, the principal, the special education advisor, the kaitakawaenga and the special education kaumatua were also in attendance; 14 people in all.

The special education kaumatua began the meeting with a mihimihi and then said karakia in order to clear the pathway for the rest of the hui. The grandfather responded in te reo Māori, declaring the family's willingness to contribute and participate. The kaitakawaenga briefly reiterated the kaupapa and the intended flow of the hui, and then started the process of whakawhanaungatanga, whereby everyone

in turn introduced themselves, and made a brief comment about what they hoped to achieve at the hui. Everyone then had a cup of tea and a biscuit.

The members of the hui listened to everyone else's stories and perspectives without interruption. Although initially they appeared to be whakamā (shy, reserved), whānau members, including the boys, began to contribute more as the hui progressed. The hui worked from a strengths based approach, in that positive perspectives were at the forefront. Honesty was also a key component, whereby people were encouraged to openly share how they were feeling.

The kaitakawaenga observed the ahua (demeanour) of the group gradually change as the hui progressed. They listened to each other's issues, struggles, and frustrations in relation to the current situation, things of which they had been previously, largely unaware. They were also listening to constructive and affirming statements, which challenged some of the previously-held assumptions that individuals had made.

Members of the hui started offering positive and supportive comments which became solution-focused. Importantly they also began to see where they perhaps needed to take more responsibility for their own attitudes and actions. There was an obvious willingness on the part of all members, to remain respectful of each other, and to remain committed to the kaupapa.

After further discussion, a list of possible and probable actions was brainstormed and pulled together. This was later constructed into a more formal plan at a subsequent meeting attended by members of the whānau, the class teacher, the principal, the special education advisor and the kaitakawaenga. Both of the boys contributed to the final discussion, and offered some suggestions, which were added to the planning list. The kaitakawaenga then summed up the hui, everyone was given a final opportunity to comment, and the kaumatua concluded the hui with a karakia. Formulation of the plan (Phase 3) took place two days later at the same venue.

#### *Phase 3: Forming the Plan*

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At the request of all members of the group, the planning meeting also followed the pōwhiri process. Several members of the group commented that having the two days interim space following the hui whakatika itself had allowed them to reflect on many of the things that had transpired during that hui. According to the whānau, it had also enabled them to gain even greater strength and resolve for moving forward.

The plan focused on three key areas:

- achieving a consistency of routines and expectations (across and between both of the home settings);
- maintaining regular and ongoing communications (between the school and the parent(s), as well as between both of the parents);
- developing and maintaining positive and productive relationships (between the boys and the class teacher / principal, between the parents and the class teacher / principal, between both of the parents).

Both parents openly discussed the inconsistencies that existed between the respective home settings, and defined the new kawa (protocols) that they would both be putting in place and maintaining in and across both contexts. These kawa included the parents being more structured, consistent and clear in their instructions and expectations of the boys, and also included the boys taking on greater responsibility for their actions, with incentives and rewards playing a role. The boys agreed that this was fair and reasonable, and felt that they would be able to adhere to the kawa. Communication protocols were also constructed collaboratively. These involved the setting up of home to school positive notebooks, the regular use of phone calls both ways, and an end-of-week group debrief for the first four weeks.

Building positive relationships revolved around the teacher and principal making time available to talk to each of the boys, as well as to each of the parents. The teacher made adaptations to the classroom programme that included curriculum content, lesson structure, lesson pace, group activities, classroom responsibilities and the provision of more regular and specific feedback. The teacher and principal wanted

the parents to feel welcome and included in the school, and so reiterated the 'open door' approach that they wished to maintain.

The weekly debriefs were planned for the Friday lunchtime slot, and would include the parents, other whānau, the boys, the teacher and the principal, and kai. It was also determined that a full follow-up and review meeting would take place at the end of the four week period, with the option of calling one sooner should the need arise.

#### *Phase 4: Follow-up and Review*

The hui whakatika took place early in April. At the follow up and review meeting held four weeks later in May, the feedback from all parties was extremely positive. There had been a definite reduction in the types of anti-social behaviours that both boys had been presenting prior to the hui whakatika. The boys were much easier to manage in both of their home settings, and they were now engaging in their learning at school. Both parents had been using positive and consistent strategies in their respective homes, which had enabled both boys to achieve several small rewards. Over the next few months, both boys also received achievement awards at the school's assemblies.

There were only two small incidents that occurred at school post the hui whakatika. The first incident involved one of the boys being sent by the class teacher to the principal for some time-out after swearing at another student. The other incident involved an altercation in the playground where both boys pushed another student onto the ground. School staff said that both of these incidents were easily dealt with and were no more challenging than others that they have to deal with regularly.

In early October of the same year, their cases were transitioned over a period of two weeks to the Resource Teacher Learning and Behaviour (RTLb) service. The transition process involved all parties, and was done so with a view to preparing everyone for the changes that would inevitably occur as the boys moved into Year 7 at the beginning of the next school year.

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The parents both stated that they finally felt as if they had a voice in their sons' education and that they and the school were actual partners now. They put this down to the barriers that had started to be broken down during the hui whakatika process. Likewise, school staff mentioned that while they now felt more inclined to approach the parents and seek their ideas and perspectives in terms of the boys' education needs, they would not have actively done so had it not been for the hui whakatika process. At the last RTLB transition meeting, one of the boys mentioned that he had not been in much trouble lately. When asked by the kaitakawaenga if he thought that was better, he said "Yeah, cos I get to learn more stuff so I am getting more clever".

### Conclusion

For Māori, working to support the learning and cultural needs of Māori students in mainstream settings, by following principles from te ao Māori, can pose many challenging dilemmas. In terms of *participation* and *protection* within the Treaty of Waitangi, many Māori educators strive to ensure that the students and their whānau with whom they work are able to access all of the resources and benefits available from within the New Zealand education system. At the same time, they work to protect and revitalise their own cultural identity and integrity, as well as the cultural identity and integrity of others with whom they work. This regularly positions this work within the spaces between the indigenous Māori and the dominant Pākehā cultures (Durie, 2003). Within these spaces, cultural constructs such as pōwhiri and hui can provide legitimate spaces, determined and governed by Māori culture and protocols. These are the spaces from which enormous learning and strength may be drawn.

By developing relationships of trust and respect with cultural experts and others, and by seeking to work within these cultural spaces, opportunities can open up to see oneself in relation to others and to learn from these relationships. Within these spaces, one is able to bring oneself, and all that that represents, to the kaupapa, and be listened to. Power is able to be shared between self determining individuals and/or groups. Participants are able to determine their own actions within relationships of interdependence

(Bishop et al., 2007; Young, 2005) that are culturally prescribed and understood. Too often, Māori have not been accorded respectful or legitimate space within New Zealand society, regularly being relegated to the position of *junior* partner (O'Sullivan, 2007). Rather than continue to perpetuate such disparity, a determination to reclaim legitimate spaces and protocols, as were facilitated by both the kaumatua and the kaitakawaenga respectively in the case studies previously outlined, is necessary.

Pōwhiri and hui whakatika therefore, can provide a powerful analogy for the notion of 'claiming spaces'. They both provide distinctive protocols for establishing relationships (Glynn, et al., 2001), protocols that are based on mutual respect and trust but also on rangatiratanga (self-determination). There are five elements of rangatiratanga that emerge from both pōwhiri and hui whakatika that can also be applied to Bishop's (1996, 2005) framework for evaluating power sharing relationships and thus to the Treaty in terms of *partnership*.

1. Māori initiate the relationship and determine the procedures for this. People from the dominant culture take the less powerful, responsive, visitor, role: *Initiation*
2. Māori are largely able to determine how they will participate, how the events and kaupapa will unfold, what they stand to gain from the relationship, and how the other visitors in this space will participate: *Benefits*
3. Interaction occurs within the cultural space over which Māori have control. This ensures that the use of their own language and cultural processes is validated, affirmed and takes precedence: *Representation*
4. Non-Māori must adopt the less-powerful position. Their concentration on listening and understanding, and not on controlling or directing the proceedings will demonstrate (or not) their respect for the cultural space and cultural context in which they find themselves and upon which they will be judged: *Legitimation*
5. Proposals for new initiatives, or for collaboration on a new project, however important they may

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seem, are not presented until these prior processes have taken place. In this context the host and not the visitor, determines whether such initiatives are appropriate and effective: *Accountability* (Berryman in press, 2007, p. 286)

Western psychology has regularly perpetuated power imbalances that have only served to denigrate and marginalise indigenous knowledge and practices (Bishop, & Glynn, 1999; Mead, 1997; Smith, 1999). For many Pākehā, pōwhiri and hui whakatika will often require a shift in mindset away from the familiar ways in which they prefer to engage in Māori or Pākehā spaces, to learning how to engage respectfully in legitimate Māori cultural spaces. Within the construct of these hui whakatika, what was acceptable and not acceptable was defined within Māori discourses. These cultural contexts, led by cultural experts, ensured that no one voice was able to dominate. Instead, each member brought their own set of experiences and expertise, and participation evolved on the basis of interdependent roles and responsibilities within which trust, respect and obligations to each other, and to the kaupapa, were fundamental to the collective vision of restoring harmony and respecting the mana of all participants.

In Article One of the Treaty of Waitangi, the Crown undertook to enter into a *partnership* with Māori; under Article Two, the Crown declared that Māori would receive *protection* and the right to define and retain all of their possessions. Under Article Three, Māori were guaranteed *participation* in, or access to, all of the benefits that the Crown had to offer. Throughout the decades, Māori people have continually tried to assert their rights under the Treaty of Waitangi; rights which enable them to both define and promote Māori knowledge and pedagogy. Within the legitimate Māori spaces provided by these two hui whakatika, Māori were indeed able to claim these rights and reach resolutions that were of benefit to them and where their mana was maintained. Interestingly rather than denigrate or marginalise the Pākehā who participated, these cultural spaces were inclusive and they too were able to benefit.

The people in these hui whakatika were looked after by leaders who understood the importance of mana. This kaumatua and kaitakawaenga ensured that all of the appropriate traditional practices and protocols, including those implicit in traditional Māori discipline, were employed throughout the intervention. This in turn ensured the safety of all and the ultimate success of the intervention. Bishop and Glynn, (1999) suggest that the reassertion of Māori cultural aspirations, preferences and practices, supported and legitimised by cultural leaders, can lead to more effective participation and learning for Māori students. This intervention highlighted how this can be especially important for those at risk of suspension from our education system.

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