TE MANU KAI I TE MĀTAURANGA:
Indigenous psychology in Aotearoa/New Zealand

Ko te manu kai i te miro, nōna te ngāhere.
Ko te manu kai i te mātauranga,
nōna te ao.

The bird that consumes the miro berry owns the forest;
the bird that consumes knowledge,
owns the world.

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Indigenous psychology in Aotearoa/New Zealand

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The New Zealand Psychological Society

Te Rōpū Mātai Hinengaro o Aotearoa

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Ka Awatea

Michelle Levy & Waikaremoana Waitoki

A chill settles on bare soles; yet to be infused with a warm glow. She often wakes at this time. The flute-like call of the korimako heralding the break of day is close. Slipping out silently; inhaling deeply; savouring stillness.

Crouched on the dune, looking out over the dark sea. Iridescent blue and violet streaks, tinge with delicate pink. Stirring and shifting colours; layer upon layer. Radiating saffron shafts. Reaching out; further and further. A shimmering pathway connecting ocean and land. Still higher he climbs; strength growing with his slow ascent. Bathed in golden amber, the sky canvas transforms. Tama Nui Te Rā. The new day has awakened.

She treasures this time. Yes, the sky and sea are at their most stunning. But it was more than spectacle. It was this exact moment in time. The one that existed only as dawn broke. With serenity its only gift, the solitude softened her. It didn't matter what the day would bring, there was this one untouched moment. That moment of hope. That moment of potential. Unrealised. Harmonious. Absolute. Pure.

And in that moment, she would think of her whānau. Her Nan. Her anchor when the fierce storms threatened to cast her adrift; terrified and alone. Her Nan. The one who bathed her in tikanga Māori. Gently guiding her. Showing her where she came from, to whom she belonged, and where she was safe. Her Nan. Who she still talked to everyday. Sometimes in her heart, and sometimes out loud. Her Nan, who she still visited as often as she could. Her Nan, who, missing her so very deeply, she would sometimes lie with; seeking for just a moment, her infusion of wisdom and strength.

And Matiu; Matiu who loved her wholly and completely. The one who had taken care of their children when she was overwhelmed by the darkness, the despair and the confusion. Matiu; the one who had always believed in her.

Then there was Te Waiora; her baby who had brought her and Matiu so much joy in those early days. Her haututu boys, so very full of life. Piata curious about his place in the world. Tai, needing much gentle care and nurturing. And of course Aria. Their blessed glittering star. The pēpi of Te Waiora and Sam. She also remembered the tiny baby lost. That crushing anguish that immobilised her. And now, comforted, she thought about him, eternally protected in her Nan's embrace.

In the purity of this moment Ripeka understood her past, her present and her future. Woven together, made strong by enduring interconnected strands. As Tama Nui Te Rā whispered his greeting to her, she took a deep breath. Slowly, letting go, she thanked him for the moment, for the warmth of his blessing, and for this, especially for this, his promise of hope and potential. She stood. It was time to go.

Our shared history as Māori is one of exploration, exploits and voyaging. Combining physical and spiritual realms meant stars were more than just lights in the sky; waves more than random ocean movements, and birds more than wings dancing in the wind. For the stars, waves and birds, it was a total understanding of their origins, personalities and exploits which enabled pathways forward to be read, understood and followed. Our navigators were artists,

> *Conceiving of their art as a unity; the sum of input from sources such as stars, swells and birds being processed through thorough training and practice into a confident awareness of precisely where they were at any one time, where they were going and how best to get there[1]. Our navigators "read the moods and signs of the sea and sky through patience and constant vigilance. They looked at the ocean surface as we might look at a road map. Signs were there for anyone sufficiently trained to see"[2].*

This book realises a long held vision to boldly claim our space in psychology: showing how we as Māori practitioners, researchers, and teachers of psychology realise our belief in the potential of psychology to contribute positively to the lives of our whānau. Celebrating our diversity, while at the same time being drawn together by our commonalities, these pages offer a space where all our contributions can be honoured. Our title, originating from Virginia's chapter, which in turn originated from a well-known whakataukī, expresses the distinctiveness and beauty of manu Māori who herald the dawn, share stories and who listen to the voices of the universe. Like the manu, our reo expresses our whakaaro and our shared beginnings that unite and connect us across the dimensions of wairua, land, sea and air.

Within this book we implicitly challenge the notion that we must reside solely within the western space and forgo our Indigenous knowledge base. Many of the authors have been in practice for over 20 years – all activists and warriors within psychology. Yet it has taken a long time for us to recognize that we do not need validation, permission, or approval to write our own stories in ways that make sense to us.

The chapters are written and presented in a range of ways that make sense to us as Māori psychologists. Each kaituhi (author) approached Ripeka from their unique worldview. This is us. This is what we, as Māori psychologists, see as important, relevant and meaningful. Although we, as editors, gave some context, and ideas about how we thought each kaituhi might contribute, they determined how they

[1]Lewis, D. (1994). We, the navigators: The ancient art of landfinding in the Pacific (p.48). Honululu: University of Hawaii Press.
[2]Evans, J. (1998). The discovery of Aotearoa (p15). Auckland, New Zealand: Reed

would engage with Ripeka and her whānau; what they would do to help her and her whānau to heal. We did not want to write about Ripeka because she is not a case study, or an assessment devoid of humanity and life. She is not a list of assumptions, deficits, dysfunctions, or risks. Ripeka is us. Even though we may not know Ripeka personally, our interrelatedness to her is inescapable. Ripeka lives and breathes in these pages.

You will see how some kaituhi chose to portray Ripeka. Some sought permission to become part of her life, part of her story; others strongly emphasised the importance of showing due care and attention and of being able to effectively represent and strongly advocate for Ripeka and her whānau. All kaituhi sought to provide a place of safety for Ripeka's story to be told. In doing so, they offered glimpses into their own stories. Simon Bennett and Maynard Gilgen share their insights from the perspective of Māori men, an often forgotten voice. Both speak to the complex interweaving of locating their whakapapa alongside that of their clients within the frame of whakawhanaungatanga. Maynard describes how although his mother gave her whānau a place of safety, she was not immune to the devastating psychological effects of the trauma she experienced as a child. Maynard's stories of home are imbued in the way he works with Māori, with manaakitanga and whakawhanaungatanga as key features.

While we may recognise a familiar plot line: trauma, abuse, grief, hostile relationships, and socio-economic stress, it is what happens next that is important. What happens when we witness Ripeka not through the eyes of a western-trained psychologist, but as a Māori psychologist? What happens when we, as Māori psychologists, with our diverse and multi-layered identities, begin from a starting point of cultural contexts and culturally significant essentials? Tess Moeke-Maxwell is clear about what she needed to do to make sure that the tapu and mauri of her therapeutic relationship was protected.

To engage with Ripeka's story I am first required to acknowledge the tapu involved in this relationship with her and her whānau. I am required to be both spiritually and professionally accountable. My own whānau tikanga (cultural customs) inform everything I did previously as a mental health clinician and now that I am a palliative care researcher. This is particularly relevant in the spiritual sense where I have been taught from birth that the human experience is finite but the life of the wairua is infinite and all that takes place in life is recorded in the spiritual realm. What I do now and how I do it matters - my actions have the potential for either positive or negative repercussions both for those I help and myself. (pg. 210)

Ainsleigh Cribb-Su'a and Hilda Hemopo believe that as Māori psychologists we need to share in the mamae when clients come to us hurt and broken; that we cannot protect ourselves and go home to our safe lives.

> *As Ripeka spoke of the details of her harrowing trauma, I chose to see the pictures in my mind of the horrific experience she had suffered. As a therapist, in honoring her disclosure, I felt it was imperative to join to some extent, with Ripeka's experience and feel some of the pain that she was enduring.* (pg. 93)

When we understand the interconnectedness of whakapapa and tikanga to Ripeka's past, present and future and can see the signs which are meaningful in the totality of their context, we can use them to guide our pathways forward for Māori. How does the narrative change when we see Ripeka and her whānau through our lens of unrelenting hope and unrealised potential? How different are the outcomes we seek for Ripeka and the solutions determine is as valid and legitimate when we base our explorations and analyses on aspirations as defined by Māori? What then is the value we are able to add as Māori psychologists to Ripeka's life, and to that of her whānau? Erana Cooper and Sharon Rickard talk about hope and love in a way that reminds us of our humanity and love for another, Aroha-ki-te-tangata.

> *But when it comes to love, we are not merely talking about aroha for individual Māori clients and whānau, we are also talking about aroha and hope for the mokopuna who represent our future, for our people as a whole, for our continuing development and sustainability as a people, for our collective good.* (pg. 100)

This is what we see in the pages of this book: shared frameworks and connection that allow Ripeka to be understood, valued, honoured, and above all, given hope and possibility; where she trusts, and so is able to talk; where she is listened to with compassion, where she no longer has to fight to be heard or seen, when she is taken exactly as she is.

Margaret Dudley, one of the handful of Māori neuropsychologists has removed the sometimes sterile environment that whānau must endure when they seek help,

> *Prior to their appointment, I had written to the whānau explaining the format of the upcoming session. The letter was written using Te Reo Māori. I advised them that Tai should have a good night's sleep the night before and to eat a hearty breakfast before coming to see me. I informed them that a kaumātua would be available in the clinic if they wished him to be involved at all.* (pg. 192)

Bridgette Masters-Awatere drew her contribution from the iwi, hapū and whānau level arguing that Māori have the answers in their communities to heal their own.

In this book, we walk between the lines of Ripeka's story, helping her to reclaim and restore her cultural self, against a backdrop of soul wounds, and colonial and contemporary trauma. A relatively new area for western psychology, but not for Indigenous peoples, Melissa Taitimu speaks to the need for soul healing through Māori worldviews of whakapapa,

> *Kanohi-ki-te kanohi (face to face), whanaungatanga (establishing connections), awhi (support and trust) and manaakitanga (hosting and looking after each other) are only some of the tikanga Māori values that would be required to safely support Ripeka to embark on the journey of exploring and healing her soul wounds.* (pg. 151)

Hukarere Valentine offers the koha of wairuatanga, telling us to follow the signs that speak to our cultural selves where we see mauri and wairua as central to our wellbeing,

> *Wairua as a topic has many intricacies and crevasses, and covers a vast landscape. We may ask what wairua is, but actually we might be better asking what wairua isn't, and therein lies the altered state through which we begin to understand wairua; wairua is related to everything that was, is and will be Māori.* (pg. 156)

In these stories our Indigenous ways of working standout: karakia, mihimihi, whakawhanaungatanga, waiata, manaakitanga, and kai as common elements of practice. Lisa Cherrington describes how pūrākau about Io, Ranginui, Papatūānuku, Tāne Mahuta, Hine-Ahu-One, Hinetitama-and-Hine-Nui-Te-Pō provide experiences, therapeutic metaphors and frames that can heal and transform. Tess Moeke-Maxwell brings Hine-Nui-Te-Pō into our understandings of end-of-life care. Who better to welcome us into the next life but our whaea tupuna?

Tania Cargo reminds us of the natural links between Papatūānuku and our ūkaipō our origins – back to our mothers. Tania's kōrero firmly places our work with rangatahi where we learned to be who we are, at our mother's breasts, and with our whānau,

> *Māori know how powerful eyes are, as these are the window to the soul. Pēpi is no different, where they look, is where we must look. In order to really know who is safe in their lives they must be able to see "reliable eyes", the same eyes that are there when they are hungry and need to be nourished, the same eyes that they see before they close theirs to sleep. The eyes who are there with compassion and warmth and patience providing the "good enough" story. (pg. 262)*

All the kaituhi recognised the power of a grandparent's love to heal a damaged soul. We see what happens when we prioritise collective whānau wellbeing over the wellbeing of one individual thereby enabling

the potential of Ripeka and her whānau. Reminiscent of our ancestral navigators, our work as psychologists is an art; the interpretative combination of science and heart. The confluent space, or the braided river, woven so intricately by Sonja Macfarlane champions our abilities to bring traditional understandings and practices into the everyday,

> *The image of the whale-tail (muri paraoa) metaphorically represents the wellbeing and protection of the rangatahi. For Māori, this icon indicates the support often shown by whales and dolphins to humans in distress. It is a symbol of protection, speed, strength, and sensitivity.* (pg. 232)

The intersection and the interstitial becomes a place of opportunity where we privilege our meta-knowledge about the seen and unseen; of knowing and not knowing, and of being comfortable with how we interpret, and make sense of Māori realities and experiences. In these pages the validity and value of our practice, our craft, our art is affirmed; by us and for us.

Creating this book is not without risk. We risk the eyes of judgment being cast by our non-Māori colleagues and peers. But perhaps more worrying, we fear judgment by our own whānau. We know that judgment, because at times we are our own worst judges. We are earnest in our quest to ensure that what we offer is not misconstrued, misunderstood, or even used against us. So much so that at times we risk fading away into nothingness. Virginia Tamanui puts it out there for us,

> *What if we are misinterpreted or overheard wrongly and/or if what we say is used against us or to exploit us in some way? Fear seems an altogether appropriate response. Yet, it would be a shame not to share – to collaborate. I realise too that safety is only really a concern when legitimacy – power – is absent or has to be regularly negotiated on that basis.* (pg. 47)

And so, our offerings in these pages are made in full acknowledgment of the risk, the doubt and the vulnerability that we load onto our shoulders. We acknowledge all that. But we choose to have our voices heard anyway. In 2002, Dr Catherine Love[3] concluded her keynote address to the first National Māori Psychology Symposium by reflecting on how far we had come as Māori psychologists. She also reminded us that the transformation of psychology in Aotearoa continued to remain a challenge for us all. That challenge is not insurmountable: We know what is needed to meet the needs of an Indigenous Māori psychology.

The most important measure of our transformation must be in the outcomes we see realised for Ripeka, her whānau, and the multiplicity of lived experiences reflected in her story. Transformation also requires hope in our potential to reclaim Indigenous knowledge and its

interconnectedness to the past, present and future: ultimately, ko koe ko au, ko au ko koe: I am you, and you are me. To Julie Wharewera-Mika the last word,

> *Floating on the water's surface, my body feels weightless, free from pain and harm, the water glides over me like an appeasing cocoon. Light smooth ripples move my body up and down, gently side to side at a slow constant pace, relaxing, calming. As the warm soothing sun shines down I feel comforted, loved, and safe.* (pg. 171)

Ripeka's story is our call to action.

Korihi te manu

Takiri mai i te ata

Ka ao, ka ao, ka awatea

Tihei Mauri Ora!

[3] Love, C. (2003). Keynote address. In L. Nikora, M. Levy, B. Masters, W. Waitoki, N. Te Awekotuku & R. Etheredge (Eds.), The proceedings of the national Māori psychology graduates' symposium 2002: Making a difference. Hamilton, New Zealand: Māori and Psychology Research Unit, Department of Psychology, University of Waikato

Ko Tōku Ingoa ko Ripeka - My Name is Ripeka

Waikaremoana Waitoki

He timatatanga: This book is organised around Ripeka and her family's story. The events described in her story reflect the lives of several wāhine, tāne, rangatahi and tamariki who have been involved in psychological services. In researching Ripeka's story, I spoke with several senior Māori psychologists and asked them to describe the type of clients they worked with. The case study about Ripeka, was in my view very real, even with the complex interweaving; but I needed reassurance that the case was not an imaginary assimilation of experiences. We all agreed that Ripeka's story reveals the lived reality of many of our clients who have faced multiple challenges and overwhelming heartache. Ripeka's ability to live well was challenged throughout her life, yet she drew on her whānau to support her and when times were good, she flourished. Living well for Ripeka and her whānau would have been more difficult had she not been able to draw on her cultural heritage for support.

Ripeka's story is our story – she, and those who have contributed to the lives of Matiu, Waiora, Piata, Tai, Sam and Nan is why many of us work as psychologists. Some of the kaituhi (author) rejected the APA referencing style, with good reason. Practitioners do not need to keep up to date with a clunky, profit-driven style - working with clients is more important. Each kaituhi wrote about Ripeka or her whānau according to their experience. Naturally, this means that Ripeka is portrayed as either Ngāti Maniapoto, or she is Kai Tahu; it depends on who is talking. The benefit for us is that we get to glimpse the variety of iwi and hapū that make us who we are, uniquely Māori.

Waikaremoana

I was working as a clinical psychologist in a mental health service and part of my role was to do urgent assessments for inpatient clients. I received a request to assess a woman who specifically wanted to work with a female, Māori psychologist. At that time, I was the only person who fit that description in the region. I read her file and was appalled, fascinated, and apprehensive. The admission notes said that Ripeka had been picked up overnight by the Crisis Assessment Team (CAT) and that she had barely slept for over two weeks. She had been taken to hospital in a state of extreme agitation, she was verbally abusive and she had hit a staff member. Ripeka was placed in a Limited Stimulus Area (LSA) where she settled within 10 minutes.

The attending psychiatrist noted that Ripeka was wearing a combination of colours which he deemed "inappropriate" and that

she had symbols in red and black vivid on her body. The psychiatrist described her as violent, paranoid, and delusional because she said she often talked to her grandmother who had passed away 6 years earlier, and because she had been found sleeping on her grave. The psychiatrist also said that Ripeka was convinced her gang-related neighbours were out to get her and that she was fixated on her brother's conversion to a religion that did not support Māori culture. Ripeka was diagnosed with Bipolar Affective Disorder, possible Delusional Disorder, questions of paranoid schizophrenia and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). I met with Ripeka a few weeks after her release from hospital.

Ripeka is a 46 year-old beautiful, Māori woman. She was cautious, suspicious, hopeful, and she was struggling. With her husband Matiu, they have a 23-year old daughter (Te Waiora), two sons aged 16 and 14 (Tai and Piata) and a 6-year old granddaughter (Aria). Ripeka also lost a child to cot death when he was 3 months old. I wondered if the psychiatrist had read her earlier file as she had a history of trauma.

The psychiatrist said she was delusional and paranoid because of her choice of clothing, the symbols on her body, paranoid thinking, talking to her grandmother and her attempts to exorcise her dreams. In her discussions with me, Ripeka said she chose colours particular to Māori of red, black and white; the symbols were for her protection. Ripeka said that she had tried every day for a week to get the crisis team to see her but no-one would talk to her; they told her to wait until she got worse.

In childhood Ripeka had experienced recurrent sexual abuse by her older cousin who visited during the Christmas holidays. She said that the abuse stopped when she told her grandmother and her cousin was not allowed to visit their home. As an 18 year-old, she experienced a horrific gang-rape. Of the rape, she only remembers the beginning and then waking up in a mental health hospital days later with injuries to her body. The diagnosis of PTSD suggested that some attention was paid to her past experiences, but not enough. How could he understand a story about an abused Māori girl who grew to become an abused Māori woman?

Ripeka's Story - Ripeka

I didn't have the energy to attend rape counselling services. I was scared, tired and, I didn't trust anyone. I didn't know anyone either. I decided to move in with my Nanny Waiti out the back of Awakino, where my marae is. I gave up my job because I couldn't work anymore. I couldn't do anything, couldn't shower, eat; talk to anyone. I didn't have any money when I stayed with my Nan. I wouldn't say I was unemployed

because I worked for my Nan. She gave me money for cigarettes. She said she would help me to get well, but I had to help her on the marae. I did little things at first, cleaning up her house, cooking meals, doing the washing. Then eventually I started helping her on the marae. I helped her in the kitchen when there was a tangi or whānau hui or I'd tidy the gardens and connect with Papatūānuku. I didn't talk to anyone but my Nan.

After about 6 months my Nan asked me to help with the marae budgets and to do the catering for iwi meetings. By the end of the year, I was taking minutes at the meetings and driving my Nan everywhere. My job, she said, was to make sure I knew what was happening with the whānau, the marae, the hapū and the iwi. That's what she reckoned anyway; in that order. I loved my Nan. She didn't push anything on to me – she knew I still suffered, especially when I was with too many people – so she would give me a little job to do to take my mind of the pressure. If I didn't have her, I don't know what I would have done. I know I wouldn't be interested in what happened on the marae like I am now. She made sure there was a space for us to come home to. That's important I can see that now. Even though mum and dad tried to show us kids when we were growing up, none of us wanted to know.

My husband Matiu? I met him during a family reunion on the marae when I was 20. He was my cousin's friend who had come to a whānau reunion but he isn't related. He came to the marae all the time even though he wasn't even related to us (laughs), but my Nan knew his whānau and said he was a good boy – and that I should stop ignoring him. When I asked her what she meant she said "That boy is only here to see you. Why else has he been here every weekend since the reunion?" I guess I noticed him after that. We got married 2 years later.

Matiu

I fell for Ripeka from the moment I first saw her. She did everything for her grandmother and I saw that she worked really hard to make sure the old people were comfortable. She didn't even notice me but I knew I was going to marry her (Ripeka laughs). It took months with me hanging around the marae in the weekends looking for little jobs to do. I'd always asked Nanny Waiti if there was anything I could do around the marae. I'd go eeling or fishing, chop wood, anything that got me close to Ripeka. When she finally noticed me, well…Ripeka is the love of my life. I will do anything for her. With her getting sick over the years, no-one has ever asked me what I think; this is the first time. I just want to help her and our kids. I do the best I can, but I feel like I keep letting her down.

Ripeka

Te Waiora was born when I was 23. Having baby, being married and living with Nan was the happiest time of my life. I visited marae with Nan. Matiu had a good job at the power station and I had friends who would come over with their kids. I also started working part-time as an office temp at the Iwi Trust Board – nothing too much, just a day here and there. After a few years I moved into town but I always came home to be with Nan in the weekends and during school holidays. Then I had Tai and Piata; both haututu boys. They are so amazing. They do the most random things sometimes but my Nan gets them, so does Matiu. I just see haututu boys, but I love them. Te Waiora cares for them when I get sick.

When I was 38, Nan got diagnosed with cancer. It was so sudden – she was sick for a while which we all thought was the flu and then when she eventually went to hospital the tests they did showed she had cancer. The doctors said she had a year left but she stayed with us for two years. Matiu and I looked after her until she died. It was the saddest thing to let her go, but she said she was happy because I had stayed with her and brought in the next generation – that's how she saw it.

Although I suffered for a little while when Nan died, I think I was ok. I guess it was the spiritual messages I keep hearing on the marae – like during her tangi, I was sitting outside the wharekai at night and I could hear someone doing a whaikōrero on the marae atea, or close to it anyway. I didn't really pay attention at first because I guess I was thinking about what I was going to do now that Nan had gone. When I realised that someone was talking I started to listen, but I didn't speak Māori then – I didn't know what he was saying. There wasn't anyone on the marae – just me. I talked to a kuia about what happened and she told me that I had to learn Māori. That was the message.

Within a year of Nan dying I had another baby. He only lived for 3 months – he died of cot death; so they say. We buried him on top of Nan. Matiu and I nearly split up because we couldn't talk to each other anymore. We couldn't talk about pepi. I just didn't feel like I could talk to anyone. I knew Matiu was struggling too but I just didn't see it at the time. Anyway, I gave up studying and my part-time job but it made our situation harder because at the same time Matiu's hours got cut back. We didn't have enough to buy food and sometimes I didn't eat so that I could feed everyone.

I think I became depressed; I had to get help from my GP. He put me on medication which I don't think worked for me. You know, with medication, it made things worse for me, it was like I couldn't settle

and I wanted to do everything. I thought I was crazy. I had a big fight with Matiu one night and I ended up being admitted to hospital after I was found sitting next to my Nan's grave talking to her. I was diagnosed with bipolar disorder but I'm not sure why, not really. Someone called CYFS and they tried to take our kids away from us because they didn't think Matiu and I could look after them. It could have been the school because Piata was taking off from school all the time to come home and he wouldn't listen to the teachers. They knew I had just lost my baby and was struggling to look after myself and the kids but they didn't care - if it wasn't for my parents CYFS would have taken my kids. Having CYFS in your life is the worst thing; it made me want to get well.

The GP gave me a different dose of medication but it made me feel tired all the time and I felt like I was inside a bubble looking out at the world. Even though it still hurt to get up every day and look after the kids I thought I'd try going back to work so I asked the Iwi Health Service if I could work part-time. I got better over the year and Matiu got better hours at work; I even went back to studying. I helped to set up a Māori consumer advisory service.

The organisation was so good; the service is kaupapa Māori. When whānau go there they just get treated better than if they went into the mainstream service; it really has to be by Māori for Māori. Te Waiora, my daughter had to get help from them. She was in a relationship that started really well but then Sam, her partner, started hitting her after Aria was born. He's a drinker and for a while, before Aria was born, he dragged my daughter into it, but she is ok now. Sam needs help though. Matiu and I and the boys are looking after Aria while Te Waiora and Sam sort themselves out.

This last admission though I think that was the worst. I knew I was getting unwell because there was just so much going on that was pulling me down. I tried so hard to get help but no-one would listen. I had spent weeks several weeks travelling to marae to get our people to vote on how they wanted the Iwi Trust Board to represent them on a Treaty Claim. There was a lot to sort out within our iwi and the media were having a field day dragging Māori into the dirt; it was all over the papers. Every day there was something negative about Māori. I wasn't sleeping and I would drink heaps of LiftPlus to stay awake. I couldn't stay away from the politics; what would my Nan have said?

Then a gang moved into my neighbour's house and I stopped letting my granddaughter play over there. My friend started giving me a hard time about that, but I wouldn't let Aria go there. I was so scared that they might see me; I couldn't even look at them. Then my friend starting

seeing this guy, who, it turns out, is a sex offender. They both came to my house! I couldn't handle that and every time my friend wanted to meet up I'd find an excuse to stay away. She started to back-stab me to our other friends.

My son Tai was hurt playing league. He was concussed and knocked out for about 5 minutes. I was terrified that he was going to die. Matiu and I take turns looking after him because it was like he was knocked back to being a 10 year old. He can't go to school for a whole day just yet. He is still at home but he goes for an hour then he gets too tired and upset. Matiu did all the childcare when I was in hospital. Now I just worry that my family is falling apart because I can't hold it together.

When my Nan and pepi died my brother turned his back on us; he won't step foot onto a marae now. He joined a church and then started telling me not to teach my kids Māori and that it was a waste of time. I don't understand what happened to him. He lived with my dad's parents for years so he speaks Māori and he knew that he was supposed to take over on the marae when dad died, but he just walked away. Dad is one of the kaumātua who does the whaikōrero on the marae; my brother was meant to take over from him. My parents were so hurt. I can't understand why he won't have anything to do with us anymore. I feel like my brother is persecuting me for wanting to be Māori.

You know, looking at it now, why would the psychiatrist think I was crazy? Am I really bipolar? Can I 'be' a psychiatric disorder? I learned about these things when I helped set up the mental health unit for our Iwi Trust Board. I know my triggers and I know what went wrong in my life. I just need help to be a parent; I just want to heal my family.

Waikaremoana

Ripeka highlights the importance of cultural awareness, knowledge and skill for Māori. Her life-story featured episodes of abuse from friends, family, and the mental health system. She should have been helped when she was first admitted to hospital. Why was she left to suffer on her own for so many years? My review of her case notes found repeated instances of institutional racism that so often disadvantage Māori. Worse, those abuses had prevented her from reaching her full potential.

Years later I prepared a PowerPoint presentation about Ripeka for a training programme. My 10 year old daughter happened to read the details about the colours that Ripeka wore. She commented: "Those are the colours of Waikato Māori. Why is she doing that?" Why was Ripeka's attempt to manage her distress obvious to my daughter, but not to anyone else in the mental health system? All those professionals, all that training...

Would a good cultural formulation framework have identified the impact of culture on Ripeka? Will training this generation of psychologists in to work with Māori prevent future abuses of other Ripeka? Whenever I do that work, I talk about Ripeka. Her story provides the backdrop to consider why Te Tiriti/The Treaty, language and socio-political histories and issues are relevant and why knowledge about Māori iwi, hapu and family structures is important.

Students or psychologists ask: "what is the point of knowing about socio-political histories?" When that happens, I point to Ripeka's experiences. She reminds me that Māori have different ways of thinking and behaving and that if psychologists really understand Māori worldviews, they can be positive change agents. Psychology as a profession has to step outside its cultural tower and look at alternative Māori explanations and possibilities.

My experience with Ripeka was not unusual as it reflected a challenge that many Māori as psychologists or consumers face. Students still talk about their struggle in psychology, dreaming of the day when they can be free to be Māori and to think and work as Māori. Those struggles sometimes find a way into our everyday lives as psychologists. While I was on a routine visit to a client in prison, I came across a significant and impressive Māori carving in the meal room. I read the name of the carver and felt a more powerful pain as I recognised the name of the man who had brutally murdered a friend of mine. He was in jail for that all-too-common-crime against women. I read his name aloud. My supervisor at the time, without knowing my whakapapa, commented: "if you are Māori with that surname, it is highly likely that you are going to end up in prison". I calmly replied: "That is my mother's maiden name" – the implication in my words were that with "that surname", I was not in prison as a prisoner, but as a healer. Someone, not from my whakapapa, iwi, hapū, or whānau, had just told me how my life and the lives of Māori with "that surname" was going to play out.

Listening to him, it was as though there was no potential in Māori lives. Was it because of the name? Was it the stereotype that Māori offenders, or at least recidivist offenders, are hopeless cases, immune to the social, political and economic forces that create the backstory to their lives as the forever-in-prison statistics? I also wondered how that might feel to whānau who could undoubtedly sense that the person charged with helping them may not have believed in their ability to walk different paths. The mistrust that Indigenous peoples have towards psychiatric diagnosis is entirely understandable given our experiences with the mental health system and the revolving-door of misdiagnosis, under-diagnosis,

and less than optimal treatment options. While there have been instances of exceptionally good outcomes for us, there is often limited analysis of the nuances of Māori realities, experiences and reactions to everyday life events.

Ripeka may be seen as complex, but her backstory of multiple instances of unmet need is not unique. Was Ripeka simply another Māori with 'that surname'? Psychology training in Aotearoa, and internationally, barely touches on the details of Indigenous aspirations, focusing instead on deficit models of Indigenous mental and physical health and wellbeing. By keeping the focus on our perceived deficits, we, as healers, miss the opportunity to consider building our own knowledge systems. How might we as Indigenous psychologists and Indigenous health workers support whānau like Ripeka? Do we have the means to revitalise and reinvent our mātauranga Māori that is rich with psychological knowledge? Do we need to take a deep look at what we are learning in mainstream psychology so that we can see where we might be out of step with a Māori worldview?

Ripeka's story is a message of hope. If she can believe, so can all of us.

The baskets of knowledge: A curriculum for an Indigenous psychology 16

Waikaremoana Waitoki

> *Ko te manu kai i te miro, nōna te ngāhere; ko te manu kai i te mātauranga, nōna te ao. The bird that consumes the miro berry owns the forest; the bird that consumes knowledge, owns the world.*

Through the chapters in this book we have walked alongside Ripeka and her whānau. We have taken a journey into potentiality; that of Ripeka's as well as our own. Our introduction to this book asked what would happen when we witnessed Ripeka through our eyes as a Māori psychologist, when diverse and multi-layered cultural contexts form our starting point. What would happen when we understood the interconnectedness of whakapapa, and tikanga to Ripeka's past, present and future and how they could be used to guide pathways forward? We asked what would happen when we viewed Ripeka and her whānau through a lens of unrelenting hope and unrealised potential. If all those things happened, what value are we able to add as Māori psychologists to Ripeka's life, and to that of her whānau?

The authors in this book answered these questions and many more. As we walked alongside Ripeka, our korowai, richly woven with mātauranga Māori, illuminated our practice as Indigenous psychologists and we saw just how different the journey for Ripeka and her whānau can really be.

It has been pointed out over many years, by many people, that psychology training, both in Aotearoa, and internationally, barely touches on the aspirations of Indigenous peoples. We know all too well that we continue to be viewed through a lens of deficiency. We also know how psychology training not only refuses to engage in meaningful discussions about privilege, power, intergenerational racism, structural racism, and historical trauma, but works actively to exclude them. Indigenous writers around the world highlight how this exclusion serves to privilege a Western agenda and in doing so, maintains the disparities that exist for Indigenous peoples.

We know these disparities very well. But despite them, all kaituhi in this book have Indigenous knowledge bases at the heart of their practice. This is not new. We have known for many years that Māori psychologists across the research, teaching and practice spectrum have been making significant contributions to Indigenous psychology. However, we also know that by demanding our gaze fixate only on deficiency, we, as Indigenous psychologists, have been unable to move towards the

production of our own free-thinking, critical, decolonised Indigenous knowledge bases within psychology. As a result, the contributions we have are somewhat fragmented; limited in their reach, without a core, cohesive thread to draw them together. As identified in Chapter One, our transformation in psychology requires us to draw together those contributions, to form a connected, and unified whole on which an Indigenous psychology can be built. This concluding chapter proposes that our traditional knowledge institutions provide the perfect space to relocate an Indigenous psychology: ngā kete mātauranga; the space where we reconnect and honour mātauranga Māori.

Mātauranga Māori

Mātauranga Māori is a unique Māori way of viewing the relational phenomena of the world, taking into account Māori methods of comprehending, observing, experiencing, studying and understanding *everything*: the seen and unseen that exists, and has existed, and may yet exist (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011). Included in this definition is recognition of the embedded knowledge within traditional and contemporary aspects of Māori culture and society – including the arts, sciences, education and technology. A unique Māori way of viewing the world means that we consider traditional and contemporary knowledge and culture – we are not trapped in history. Our lives, as we live them, are guided by the past, and shaped by the future. Sir Mason Durie cautions against viewing mātauranga as a static piece of the past, *"simply learning about 'things Māori' is not the same as being guided by an evolving knowledge system called mātauranga Māori"* (Durie, 2012, p. 23).

Royal, (2012) wrote that kaupapa Māori and mātauranga Māori are distinct terms: one concerned with transformation and emancipation and the other concerned with notions of indigeneity *". . . how we can improve the way in which humankind exists and lives in the world through new strategies of indigeneity, rekindling kinship between people, and between people and the natural world?"* (p. 37). An Indigenous psychology then, will serve at least two purposes: generate solutions to improve the lives of those who wish to live a good life; and make a scholarly contribution to humanity and its repository of knowledge. By focussing on mātauranga Māori as an evolving body of knowledge, and kaupapa Māori as a way of applying that knowledge (Durie, 2012), we can set the foundation for exploring our Indigenous knowledge and their origins, to create space for an Indigenous psychology. Embedded in our mātauranga Māori is a story that many cultures have, our creation story, handed down as oral histories and pūrākau.

Pūrākau – oral traditions

Our oral traditions and pūrākau, as is evidenced throughout the chapters in this book, link to a valuable and vast database of ancient and contemporary knowledge. The personification of phenomena, typically seen in oral histories, enables us to attribute causality for events that impacted on our lives – such as the continental shift [or Māui, fishing up Aotearoa] or the creation of rivers, mountains and the celestial heavens. Pūrākau are a significant source of knowledge comprising *". . . oral histories [which] can be seen simultaneously as data, and encoded knowledge, and a capsule of wisdom"* (Mercier, Stevens, & Toia, 2012, p. 112).

While we have retained a connection to our oral histories, their rewriting means that we have fragmented knowledge about how valuable they can be to our everyday lives. Oral histories serve to capture parts of historical events that have happened but have been lost in the passage of time. They also serve metaphorical functions as *allegories* of phenomena (Berkerian & Levey, 2012) that help us understand and theorise events – for example, *kei te haka a Tāwhirimatea* – Tāwhirimatea is doing a haka, as an explanation for thunder.

In addition, our pūrākau and histories provide *a metaphorical point of reference* (Winitana, 2012, p. 27) from which to understand individual and collective behaviours. They can be used to conduct psychological research, teaching, assessment and treatment, as well as to heal from historical, collective and individual trauma (Piripi & Body, 2010; Rangihuna & Kopua, 2015; Royal, 2012a; Walker, 1975). Cherrington (2003) explains,

> *Traditionally, pūrākau have been handed down from generation to generation to provide advice and insights to the thoughts, actions, and feelings of our ancestors* (p. 118).

The search for knowledge/Creation Story

Our mātauranga Māori contains very strong genealogical patterns. Our story begins with a seed, or conception, culminating in an entire universe filled with life, where each element, mauri, or essence, is related to the other. Our progression begins with the void in which nothing is felt, possessed, or seen; where there is no union, or boundaries; where night, when it is perceived, is intensely dark. Within the long darkness, nothing is felt, or seen; until a stirring is perceived, and a search for the glimmer of the world begins. Eventually, thought becomes life; it breathes, takes shape, and is aware of time and importantly, aware of an infinite space – filled with potential. Mai te kore, ki te pō, ki te ao mārama – from the nothing, to the darkness, to the world of light and

consciousness. From consciousness came thought and Io-Matua-Kore (the Parentless-One); from Io, came the first family.

As referred to by Tamanui, Valentine and Maxwell, Tāne-nui-a-Rangi was one of 70 (or more) offspring of Ranginui and Papatūānuku who, along with his siblings, lived between the dark, suffocating embrace of their parents. Tāne-nui-a-Rangi separated his parents by lying with his shoulders on his mother, and with his legs pressed against his father's chest, wrenched his parents apart. Other stories, particularly in Tūwharetoa, state that Tāne-nui-a-Rangi was aided by the use of pou/posts, which can still be seen today (Orbell, 1998). Tāne-nui-a-Rangi is also credited with the creation of the first woman, Hine-Ahu-One at Kurawaka – formed from the earth steeped in the ultimate female element, the menstrual blood of Papatūānuku.

Although Tāne-nui-a-Rangi and Hine-Ahu-One had many children together, Tāne's daughter Hine-Titama was his first known victim of incest. His hara/crime became the catalyst for the transformation of Hine-Titama to Hine-nui-te-Pō; when, as an adult, she discovered that her husband was her father. In her shame and anger, Hine-Titama left the world and all her children to become Hine-nui-te-Pō. As Hine-nui-te-Pō she waits for her offspring to leave this world so that she may provide care to them in the next world.

The creation narrative is a metaphor for the emergence of an Indigenous psychology towards te ao mārama – the world of light. Like Indigenous peoples worldwide, our increase in energy, strength and awareness precipitates a further search for wisdom and enlightenment that draws on our metaphorical, physical and psychological links to spaces, places and peoples (Cajete, 2000; Durie, 1997; Grande, 2008; Marsden, 2003; Meyer, 2008; Royal, 2012b). As seen in the chapters by Tamanui and Valentine, it is more than abstract thinking; our creation narratives enable us to explore themes that can inform psychological encounters such as research, theory building and exploration, and healing.

Several kaituhi chose to write from the perspective of our first parents and the family dynamics that occurred with their children. That many of us returned to our own stories: ngā kete mātauranga, our pūrākau, Ranginui and Papatūānuku and their descendants, *ko ngā atua Māori*, the Māori deities, when the opportunity arose was revelatory. The kaituhi in this book show the extent to which mātauranga Māori, with its astounding complexity and depth of knowledge, has become firmly embedded in the psychological spaces we occupy, and the types of issues facing whānau Māori we work with. As is common in Kaupapa Māori paradigms, both Western and Māori worldviews are utilised in our practice, however it is our mātauranga Māori, in all of its

forms, which is privileged. What is clear is that we use te reo, karakia, whakawhānaungatanga, pēpeha, mihimihi, karakia, pōwhiri, poroporoaki, whakatau and waiata to assess identity, iwi, hapū, and whānau links to settle clients, or to engage in therapy (Bennett, 2009; Manna, 2002; Mark & Chamberlain, 2012; Pere, 1994; Valentine, 2009).

We have significantly expanded our work beyond applying tikanga and kawa. Tess Moeke-Maxwell shows the many layers of experience and mātauranga Māori she possesses when she talked about sensing mamae and Ripeka's disjointed wairua,

> *I could tell she wasn't really there. I observed her slightly stooped body and listless mauri. She was fidgety and her skin had a grey appearance. I was momentarily flooded with physical and emotional sensations – my head ached, my body felt restless. From where I sat, I quietly began a mihi to her wairua to acknowledge her suffering. Through karakia, I directed my āroha to envelope her through God's grace. Sexual abuse carries an easily identifiable energy to the mauri – heaviness like no other; I sensed it with her.* (p. 211)

Tess used ngā kete mātauranga (p. 216), karakia and mihimihi within the space between te ao wairua (the earthly realm) and te ao kikokiko (te physical realm) to settle herself and to settle Ripeka. Her process laid a foundation for her to engage with Ripeka when the chance arose again. Tess displayed esoteric knowledge surrounding whakatau and aroha-ki-te-tangata that should be taught and learned within the context of its whakapapa connection to a Māori worldview. The knowledge and skill that Tess and other kaituhi possessed has a knowledge base that is older than the creation story.

Ngā kete mātauranga: The baskets of knowledge

Excerpt from the Tāne-nui-a-Rangi chant:

I riro iho ai	*He brought back down*
Ngā Kete o te Wānanga	*the Baskets of Knowledge*
ko te Kete Tuauri	*the Basket called Tuauri*
ko te Kete Tuatea	*the Basket called Tuatea*
ko te Kete Aronui	*the Basket called Aronui*
Ka tiritiria, ka poupoua	*Portioned out, planted*
Ki a Papatūānuku	*in Mother Earth*
Ka puta te Ira-tangata	*the life principle of humankind*
Ki te whai-ao	*comes forth into the dawn*
Ki te Ao-marama	*into the world of light.*

The establishment of whare wānanga in Māori society can be attributed to Tāne-nui-a-Rangi (Winiata & Winiata, 1995), although local variations exist, e.g, Tāwhaki, (Jones, 1958). Tāne-nui-a-Rangi climbed

the 12 heavens to collect the baskets of knowledge, providing the basis for the first whare wānanga. As Tāne climbed to the upper heavens he was constantly attacked by his brother Whiro-Tipua who had, himself, wanted to enter the heavens. With support from his brother Tāwhirimatea, Tāne climbed the aka matua, or parent vine, recited the appropriate spells, and gained entry into the highest of the heavens, where he was brought before Io-matua-kore, the Supreme god; the parentless-one.

The Supreme God, Io, dwelt in the twelfth sky at Matangireia. His marae or plaza was Te Rauroha, and the sacred house in which the treasures of knowledge were kept was named Rangiātea
(New Zealand Electronic Text Collection, 2015, p. 447).

The importance of knowledge and its origins is captured in the saying, *E kore au ngaro, he kakano I ruia mai Rangiatea; I shall never be lost, (for) I am a seed dispersed from Rangiatea.* Knowledge contained in whare wananga existed well before the creation of the world and the creation of the gods. When Tāne arrived at the 12th heaven, Matangireia, Io-Matua-Kore gave him, from the sacred house of Rangiatea, the three baskets of knowledge: *Te kete tuauri, te kete aronui* and *te kete tuatea*. He also gave him two sacred kōwhatu – stones, named Te Whatu-kura, Huka-a-tai (ocean foam) and Te Whatu-kura, Rehu-tai (white-sea-mist) (Whatahoro, 1913, 2011). Whatahora (ibid) asserted that the *"kete, or 'baskets,' are the three great divisions of knowledge taught in the Māori college; we may call each kete a syllabus. . ."* (p. 131). After returning home, Tāne buried the kete and stones safely within Papatūānuku and lit a sacred fire, *manawa ora*, above it to guard against theft or vandalism (Barlow, 1991). It is these baskets of knowledge which can provide a framework for our own Indigenous psychology.

Te kete tuatea

Te kete tuatea contains ancestral knowledge about agriculture, and aspects of technology. However, its primary contents includes knowledge of *mākutu* (sorcery) and *whaiwhaiā* (spells, incantations); and the malicious side of human nature: war and evil (Te Taura Whiri, 2008). Human suffering and hardship as the result of war, financial greed, poverty, environmental destruction, structural and personal violence, racism, disenfranchisement and oppression resides within this kete. The consequences of actions that limit or extinguish the growth and potential of children and families, and the environment are examples of the knowledge in this kete. There is some difficulty describing this kete with its destructive contents, however, we need to understand how to deal with this knowledge, or we risk overlooking the opportunities to balance out their effects.

In the introduction to this book, Ripeka, describes being molested as a teen and brutally raped as a young woman. These events were precursors to her post-traumatic stress and bipolar disorder diagnosis. Ripeka also talks plainly about hearing the voice of an orator, a kaikōrero, during her mother's tangihanga. She was not particularly perturbed about this experience, perhaps because she was in mourning and because she was on a marae; however, when she talked to her psychiatrist about these events and her use of Māori symbols to manage her distress, she was regarded as psychotic and a serious risk to others – in some cases that would place her in te kete tuatea. Melissa sums this line of thinking nicely,

> *I am going to work differently with a client if I have an epistemological world view that understands hearing voices or contact with ancestors as a totally acceptable part of reality, not always positive, sometimes traumatic, but possible. In comparison, if I believed voice hearing was merely a psychological coping strategy for trauma or a by-product of a chemical brain imbalance I am not going to work with the client as effectively and may even alienate them.* (pg. 151)

Had Ripeka received a culturally appropriate assessment that included the knowledge within ngā kete mātauranga, we would be able to determine whether her metaphysical connections were maintaining her distress or protecting her from further problems. We could also explore the importance of whānau and her identity (including the impact of her brother's religious dogma), and the socio-political dynamics that affected her hapū and iwi.

Te kete aronui

Ahakoa he iti, he pounamu – Although it is small,
it is (precious) as greenstone

Te kete aronui contains knowledge to advance physical, spiritual and mental welfare: social relationships, aroha, peace, goodness, arts (whakairo, rarangi, tu, humanities, music, rituals, social science research, philosophy, and literature (Moorfield, 2016; Te Taura Whiri, 2008). An Indigenous psychology should naturally include elements from this kete in everyday work because we, like many cultures, cannot live good lives without the elements of love, technology, music, art, or knowledge exploration. Erana and Sharon describe in their chapter, how aroha must be the foundation for working with clients,

> *It seems quaint to talk about love. Yet we really believe that at the heart of all of our mahi with Māori, there is a sense of love. We are talking about aroha, of loving compassion, concern, and understanding. Of sorrow-felt sadness and trusting affection, of belief in potential and of a value that sits at the centre of who we are as Māori and how we know how to be with other Māori.* (pg. 99)

The notion that psychologists must feel love and compassion for their clients challenges western thinking on many levels. Of course there are many clients for whom it is difficult to love, but the idea that everyone deserves love should act as guides to the way we choose to work.

The oral history of Mataora and Niwareka provides an example of how te kete aronui contains valuable knowledge about tāmoko (tattoo) and its connection to healthy relationships and whānau ora (family wellbeing). While the story of Mataora and Niwareka is typically used to describe how tāmoko came from another realm to the human world, it is also a story of how whānau support is crucial to healing from intimate partner violence. Mataora was taught the art of tāmoko by Niwareka's family. He also received a full moko kanohi (facial tattoo). Reflecting on the Niwareka story enables us to explore Māori patterns of patience, forgiveness, healing from abuse and whānau aspirations.

In Ripeka's case study, she drew Māori symbols on her body to protect herself from malevolent spirits. Although she was pathologised for that act, she felt within herself that she needed to keep herself and her family safe. Embedded within her actions are an extensive history of mātauranga Māori including tā moko (and its origins), te reo, karakia, tapu, dealing with blood and the body; Māori patterns and their meanings.

Tā moko is becoming more prominent in Indigenous communities as a way of engaging with clients, or to symbolise reclaiming one's cultural identity, mental health journey, relationship or significant achievements (Kopua & Rangihuna, 2015; Nikora, Rua & Te Awekotuku, 2003). Revisiting the narratives of our histories provides us with the compass to finding our Indigenous psychology; it also enables us to rewrite what is written about us and our atua. When we consider how Hine-nui-te-Pō reinvented herself with strength and courage in the face of significant psychological shame, we see a leadership model of self-determination, autonomy, and resilience (Ruru, 2016).

Hinetītama, as Hine-nui-te-Pō, becomes a powerful healing guide for women who experience sexual and violent trauma, enabling them to seek wellness for themselves, to provide a secure home for their children, and to reclaim the tapu o te wahine, the sacred feminine from the masculine gaze. Murphy's (2013) book *Te Awa Atua* challenges the colonial masochism that has shaped our views of women's bodies and their functions and reminds us that we are descended from the divine and sacred. Freeing our minds means looking to our traditional stories written by us, not the colonial ethnographer who portrayed Hine-nui-te-Pō as the goddess of death with sharpened obsidian teeth in her vagina (Alpers, 1964), who was the merciless killer of Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga. It is critical that we reclaim our stories because *"the deliberate silencing of*

Indigenous traditional cultural narratives via acculturation and assimilation policies … (Beltran & Begun, p. 159) has taught us to doubt our own value.

Te kete tuauri

To sit quietly in the wharenui or the urupā and feel the presence of your tīpuna is to feel wairua. (cited in Valentine, p. 166)

Te kete tuauri contains knowledge of benign ritual, and is also *"related to the creation of the natural world and the patterns of energy that operate behind the world of sense perception and the realm of the tohunga"* (Moorfield, 2016 para 1). It includes the knowledge of natural sciences; knowledge of karakia, tohi, tapu, wairuatanga, matakite, tikanga, wehi, tikanga, tangi, moemoea (Harrison, 1967; Te Taura Whiri, 2008). Reclaiming these concepts is integral to our understanding of how Māori experience the seen and unseen world.

Hukarere invited Ripeka to bring something of her grandmother that they could use in therapy.

My Nan had a love for the land, and especially the river. She came to me one day and showed me a stone; it was a big piece of stone, from the River. The stone was cold, and although it looked like any other piece of stone, I noticed that sometimes it would glisten in the sunlight, and sometimes I swear the stone would change colour. She told me to hold it; and as I held it, I felt this energy force, the mauri of the stone. She told me a story of the three baskets of knowledge and the two sacred stones. (pg. 164)

If we are learn how to practice, or even understand, karakia, karanga, whaikōrero, or waiata, we need to do so in ways that acknowledge the tapu nature of ngā kete that keeps everyone safe. Many of the scenarios described in the pages of this book derive from te kete aronui, and tuauri, as they relate to knowledge about, and the purpose of karakia, composition and spiritual elements. Tess Moeke-Maxwell presents a wonderful description of how she uses nga kete in her work (pg. 216).

Te kete tuauri fills quickly when we read the chapters that relate to te ao wairua (the spiritual world) and te ao kikokiko (the physical world). Ainsleigh Cribb-Su'a and Hilda Hemapo describe an example of wairua experiences that for some of us would be beyond our expertise. Yet Ainsleigh was able to move smoothly into creating a space of safety for everyone in the room.

And then I saw it. I saw a small glow…bubble out and then retract just as quickly as it had emerged. And then I was drawn to noticing the expansive, imposing darkness around the small glow. The glow was bright despite its

minimal presence. The contrast was striking, like white light dancing on a black background. The light, defiantly providing distinctive shape and form on a blanket of black to make the picture.

I was so distracted by what I was experiencing that I hadn't noticed that she had turned around to face me. Indubitably she noticed that I was looking at her in a different way and she gave me that same inquisitive look that she had given me the first time we had met. When I caught her gaze, I put my head down and begun our karakia. (pg. 92)

Other kaituhi talked about their experiences with wairua, their connection to tūpuna, and being able to perceive events before they occurred. Hukarere and Melissa Taitimu clearly situate their chapters in the practice of karakia. I particularly like how *Hukarere-talking-through-Ripeka* used karakia and karanga to safeguard herself when the pressure built within her, threatening to fracture her ability to be present. We can think of settling a client using karakia and karanga as reminiscent of mindfulness based practice – while being vigilant to the potential of cultural misappropriation. Similarly Melissa outlines the way karakia is used: *"Healing often utilises karakia and other forms of ritual to support a person's journey from Te Pō into Te Aō. From disconnection to connection."* (pg. 150)

Indigenous Māori Knowledge

Hukarere like many Māori psychologists, knew about the kōwhatu-stones that Tāne brought back from Io-Matua-Kore, from Rangiātea. Her application of Indigenous knowledge reaches another level that some of us would struggle to understand. The levels are synonymous with the 12 levels that Tāne ascended – each with its adversities, triumphs and experiences gained. There is nothing in our psychology training that comes close to the knowledge needed within ngā kete. The experiences described above show that one would need a significant amount of interrelated knowledge about mauri-embedded objects, wairuatanga, te reo, karakia, tohi, pure, mauri, karakia, and mana and tapu. We would also need to know about other kete (i.e., the kete aronui) and whānau roles: mātāmua and pōtiki, the role of tūpuna and mokopuna, mana and whakapapa. As Māori psychologists we can all aspire to reach higher levels of learning.

From the chapters in this book as well as key informants in my PhD research, core cultural concepts which share a connection, or whakapapa, to ngā kete mātauranga can be identified. The goal is to research and reconnect to each term and their application. This in turn provides us with a tool which allows us to realign our whakaaro with our original

institutes of learning, *Matangireia* and *Rangiatea* and to reconceptualise the layers of impenetrable, and everyday Māori knowledge that lay across all the kete. What I have done is to identify some of the themes, or key concepts that underlie our mātauranga (knowledge) and present them as foundational to an Indigenous psychology. The list below is a fraction of what we could learn. Some of these concepts may be recognisable to other cultures and other languages, while others may not.

Aituā	Ako	Aroha	Atua
Haehae	Haka	Hapū	Hara
Hongi	Hura kōwhatu	Ihi	Io-matua-kore
Ira tangata	Iwi	Kaitiaki	Kangakanga
Karakia	Karanga	Kaumātua	Kawa
Kawe mate	Ko wai au	Koha	Mamae
Mai and atu	Mākutu	Mana tangata	Manawa
Manaakitanga	Mana	Manawa Ora	Marama, Mārama
Marae	Manuwhiri	Maramataka	Mātauranga Māori
Mate	Matekite	Mauri	Mihimihi
Moemoea	Ngaro	Ngākau	Ngā atua Māori
Noa	Papatūānuku	Pēpeha	Pō
Pono	Pōrangi	Poroporoaki	Pouri
Pōwhiri	Puhi	Tā moko	Taonga
Ranginui	Riri	Tapu	Tauutuutu
Teina	Te reo	Tuakana	Tangihanga
Tohi	Tino Rangatiratanga	Tūrangawaewae	Tuturu
Te Rā	Tikanga	Utu	Wahine, Wāhine

Table 1: Core Cultural Concepts in Psychological work with Māori

He papa anō: Another layer of knowledge

We are well aware that the space between the two worlds in which we live needs careful negotiation. For some, working with Indigenous knowledge will make an enormous difference to their worldviews and subsequent practice. For others, an Indigenous worldview has limited meaning as *". . . outdated notions of shared and bounded values, beliefs, and behaviors are greatly complicated in a globalized age"* (Gone, 2015, p. 142). Being Māori does not and cannot mean the same thing for all Māori. Achieving the balance between Western psychology and Indigenous healing processes is difficult when the processes of validation and verification operating in both systems are perceived as being in

opposition with each other (Love & Waitoki, 2007; Nikora, Levy, Masters, & Waitoki, 2006).

Most of the narratives within this book reside within te kete aronui and te kete tuauri; however, there is scope to include the knowledge contained within te kete tuatea. Moreover, it is the natural overlap between each kete that helps to organise and provide clarity on their functions or purpose.

Having worked through our creation story to ngā kete mātauranga, there are other layers of exploration to add to the narratives and cultural concepts which show the breadth of our mātauranga knowledge base. These layers expand on what we need to consider when we work with an Indigenous psychology. The analytical lens I used is the critical incident technique (CIT) developed by Flanagan (1954), as a method of identifying training needs in industrial sectors. A central question contained within the critical incident technique provides a starting point: *In terms of what you did with your client, what knowledge, skill and ability or attitude does one need in order to do what you did?* (Waitoki, 2012). This simple questions expands the focus of what we need to know to work with the cultural concepts, as we cannot take these concepts out of the context that gives them coherence. It is noticeable that Māori psychologists effectively use Māori-cultural processes as part of their psychological work. The examples articulate how mātauranga Māori and cultural traditions are used in spaces that affect Māori lives and the types of psychological issues that Māori clients face.

I invite you to look at the chapter, or chapters, that resonate with you. Then, carefully consider the layers and interconnections within – as though you are pursuing your own discovery of an ancient house of learning. For example, I may be aware of the cultural manifestations of hearing voices or speaking with the deceased, but I also need to know how the phenomena is perceived within the cultural understandings of that person and their whānau. I also need the skill to work in the best way possible. If I want to know about wairuatanga and how it relates to life and death, I can look to narratives, statements or cultural concepts to identify what I need to learn, and how I might acquire that knowledge and skill. There might also be things that I am not aware of and may discover in my own pursuit of knowledge.

To illustrate, below is a sample (from appendix A) developed from an analysis of the chapters in this book, and my PhD research (Waitoki, 2012), of knowledge, skill and awareness statements which can be aligned to the cultural concepts of *wairuatanga*. A work in progress, there

are many more concepts that can and will be included as each narrative is further explored collectively by Indigenous psychologists. However, this one example very tangibly presents the richness, vastness and potentiality of ngā kete mātauranga. These statements can easily be used to develop teaching and learning goals in psychology.

Knowledge: Māori concepts of spirituality - cosmology, astronomy, mythology, theology; oral traditions and oral histories, whakataukī, whakatauākī. Knowledge that karakia conveys the mauri of thoughts, feelings and actions of a person and can be conveyed to an object or a person. Knowledge of language use and its harmony with wairuatanga, cultural identity, and collective aspirations. **Skill:** Being able to present traditional concepts in modern ways or to present modern concepts in traditional ways; being able to balance training with wairua experiences. **Awareness:** Religious beliefs of psychologist or client about wairua, spirituality, and any potential clashes; awareness of societal beliefs and stereotypes about paranormal experiences, and awareness of socio-cultural-political influences on Māori as an Indigenous people.

Whakamutunga, conclusion

Ranginui and Papatūānuku demonstrate how the pain of separation is endured in order to ensure the growth and survival of future generations. When we find ourselves trapped in the embrace of a western psychology that smothers our self-determination, we need to find ways of letting in the light, fresh air, and new horizons. Naturally radiating from within these pages, our accumulated Indigenous knowledge provides theoretical foundations on which to create and nurture a relevant psychology. At the same, we will connect ourselves to the traditional and everyday psychological knowledge housed within ngā kete mātauranga.

Returning to the point from which we began, we think back to Ripeka; when she drew Māori patterns on her body as a way of protecting herself. In this one act, the knowledge of te kete aronui, Mataora and Niwareka is obvious. We can see how those patterns of tā moko can be seen as a pathway towards healing. To help tread this pathway, I asked tā moko artist Rāwiri Horne, from Moko Tamore to draw images of native manu/birds, such as the manu on the cover: *E koekoe te tūī, e ketekete te kākā, e kūku te kererū – the bellbird sings, the parrot chatters, the wood pigeon coos.*

Ripeka is listening, listening, listening… She hears unintelligible symbols and yet she is able to respond. It is her reo to be reclaimed with a perfectly attuned mita just for her; koekoe, ketekete, kūkū…kīkīkīkī. (Tamanui, pg. 63)

The manu are intentionally woven throughout the pages. They are there to provide a break from the text, and for us to use in our everyday practice. Study the patterns with their inherent whakapapa; each line a connection to our oral histories and our aspirations. Connect with the Indigenous knowledge contained in each curve, line and spiral; feel free to colour the birds, or give them to clients. The manu can be used to begin a conversation with clients or each other; the list is endless. Explore the creation stories and the mātauranga Māori embedded (often unseen) in our everyday lives - and do something creative. Consider the manu within its natural environment and our connectedness to that environment. We cannot legitimately be Indigenous psychologists if we cannot see ourselves as a part of a universe that was mapped out and named, eons ago.

But some of our own priests of this tribe, Ngāti Hau, say that the first heaven has the wind, the second heaven has the clouds, and the third heaven is the place where the blue sky is seen—that is, the region close to this world of ours. The fourth of the heavens is Papa, the origin of this world. The fifth heaven is known as 'the lake', for from it comes the rain, the mist, and all of the waters of this world. The sixth heaven is the home of the gods, as are all those beyond it, even to that of Rehua, the most splendid of the heavens.[1]

Choose your own pathway as Indigenous psychologists,

Piki ake, kake ake ki ngā whetū
Ascend, climb; reach for the stars.

[1]http://teaohou.natlib.govt.nz/journals/teaohou/issue/Mao52TeA/c5.html#c5-2

Appendix A:

Knowledge, skill and awareness (KSA) statements aligned to wairuatanga

Knowledge: Māori concepts of spirituality - cosmology, astronomy, mythology, theology; oral traditions and oral histories, whakataukī, whakatauākī. Knowledge that karakia conveys the mauri of thoughts, feelings and actions of a person and can be conveyed to an object or a person. Knowledge that the purpose of karakia is to draw assistance in our everyday activities and in more important occasions such as births, marriage, illness, death. Knowledge of whakapapa connections, geographical connections and spiritual connections; that karakia provides a link to the past, present and future and to the gods and tūpuna. Knowledge that Māori call on ancestors for support and guidance. Knowledge about when karakia is being used inappropriately.

The purpose of karakia, types of karakia: for protection, purification, ordination and cleansing; for meals, openings, closings, tapu lifting, settling clients (cleansing and protection). Knowing the right time to conduct karakia; not assuming everyone wants karakia (importance of checking whether a karakia is wanted). The different ways that hapū and iwi practice and understand wairuatanga.

Skill: Being able to present traditional concepts in modern ways or to present modern concepts in traditional ways; being able to balance training with wairua experiences; relationship building with church members; comfort and confidence with using karakia; to show respect for spiritual processes pronunciation; willingness to try different methods. Competent use of language (at any level); comfort with not doing a karakia and negotiating an alternative process, or allowing the client to conduct an alternative process; being able to talk about the nature of the client's relationship with deceased loved ones; alternatives to grieving that do not impose risk on the client.

Awareness: Religious beliefs of psychologist or client about wairua, spirituality and potential clashes; of societal beliefs and stereotypes about paranormal experiences; Māori beliefs about spirits and "guides" spiritual advisors; that Māori may want to, or may already converse with the deceased; potential religious biases; respect for clients beliefs about religion, spiritual or cosmological beliefs.

The imposition of western religious values onto Māori spiritual beliefs; the positive and negative impact that religious institutions have had on Māori (such as: Salvation Army, church-based schools, and church groups); and that psychologists safety is important (spiritual, emotional and physical).

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