

**A LOCAL AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND
INVESTIGATION OF THE CONTRIBUTION OF
MAORI CULTURAL KNOWLEDGES
TO PAKEHA IDENTITY AND
COUNSELLING PRACTICES**

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DEDICATION

For Maia

...giving the silent a voice

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I wish to thank the group of people who took the risk to engage in the struggle of considering this topic. You represent many courageous Pakeha New Zealanders who put themselves on the line everyday in myriad ways to honour Maori and to advocate for fairness in this nation.

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Tena koutou, tena koutou, tena tatou katoa.

ABSTRACT

This project investigates the experiences of a small group of social service practitioners as they consider the question of what it means to be Pakeha in Aotearoa New Zealand in 2004. Specifically this study considers the contribution of Maori cultural knowledges to Pakeha identity. It also explores whether therapeutic practices that participants have available, are relevant to their current claims of Pakeha identity.

This study highlights the complexity of experience and multiple stories that inform constructions of identity. In approaching the topic I was aware that many important stories of people's lived experience are not often told. People are often silenced due to the difficulty of 'telling'. In this exploration, space was created for the telling of stories, which are often not easily told: stories of struggle and pain; stories of compassionate witnessing; stories of rule-breaking; stories of stepping into territory beyond binaries and stories of richness and delight.

Knowledges have been produced that indicate the need for carefully crafted space for often very difficult identity conversations to occur and for voices to be heard. Further, the study has produced knowledges for scaffolding for respectful and honouring conversations. The stories of this project indicate that the conversations required, have their foundation through engagement with the value of fairness. Findings also indicate that forums, where mutual contribution to identity for both Maori and Pakeha can be acknowledged, are a critical to

establishing ongoing honourable relationships between Pakeha and Maori New Zealanders.

Throughout this project participants acknowledge and honour the rich contribution of Maori knowledges and language to their Pakeha identity.

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CHAPTER ONE

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INTRODUCTION

LOCATING MYSELF AND THE PROJECT

Tena koutou katoa

Ko Tainui te waka

Ko Tararua te maunga

Ko Otaki te awa

Ko Ngati Raukawa te iwi

Ko Ngati Te Horu te hapu

Ko Raukawa te marae

Ko Te Wiata Te Horu te tupuna

Ko Tauhia Te Wiata toku Papa

Ko Mavis Phillips toku Mama

Ko Joy Te Wiata toku ingoa

Tokotoru aku tamariki, ko Ranihera, ratou ko Ripeka, ko Maeli.

Ko Madison Te Wiata Joe taku mokopuna.

‘E kore e ngaro

Te kakano rangatira’.

My origins lie in Tainui's hull.

Under the shadow of the Tararuas,

I spring from the waters of the Otaki River.

I am of the Ngati Raukawa people

Of the sub-tribe, Te Horu.

Raukawa is my marae, my dwelling place.

My ancestor is Te Wiata Te Horu and from his seed

Comes forth my father, Tauhia Te Wiata,

My mother is Mavis Phillips:

I am their youngest daughter, Joy Te Wiata.

The seed of my forbears continues in my children Daniel, Rebecca and Maeli and
in my granddaughter, Madison.

‘Our ancestors will never die. They live on in each one of us’.

Further, I acknowledge the cultural and ethnic identities of my European ancestors
who came to Aotearoa/ New Zealand from Scotland, England, Sweden and
Germany.

POSITIONED AS INQUIRER

I bring this work tentatively as I bring myself, a work in progress. My hope is
that as I share the following narrative regarding a significant point for me in my
inquiry into my own Maori identity, it will clarify how I position myself as I
present this research project.

Some years ago, I had the privilege of attending a traditional arts wananga in the
rohe of my people, Ngati Raukawa. This event proved to be a significant point

for me in my inquiry in regard to my own Maori identity and I share this narrative to further clarify how I position myself as I present this research project. The kaiako led a group of us through the process of weaving our first kono. We began with learning something of the value and significance of the harakeke before taking up a single strand. Next we learnt how and why to select particular leaves and how to cut them whilst honouring and respecting the future of the harakeke and those who would come after us. Then came the laborious preparation of the harakeke so that it could be used. Now it was time to let the weaving begin! This task had looked so straightforward at the deft fingers of the kaiako. However, we newcomers struggled and muttered as the strands dipped and slipped in and out and back again, until eventually our first kono was produced.

Each of these learnings had its struggles as we grappled with alternative ways of thinking and learning new skills. But it was the final piece that created the greatest turmoil for me and which began to make available for me a profoundly different way to view the world.

We were encouraged to give away the first fruits of our labours. My entrenched 'western' thinking caused me to recoil at the thought of giving away something to another that was so flawed. All my inadequacies as a learner-weaver would be available for scrutiny. 'Surely', I thought, 'after practice, I could produce a much more polished article that would attest to my skill and be an item that could be appreciated for its aesthetic value'.

And so the lesson began that has stayed with me well beyond my knowledge of how to weave the kono has dissipated. This was about the valuing of the effort and struggle of learning. Though not perfectly shaped, and gaps growing larger before our eyes as the harakeke dried, the aesthetically imperfect kono testified to the intention, the struggle and the aroha that had been an integral part of the process. It also signalled the beginning of ‘me-as-a-kono-maker’ identity, which would be revised many times along the way. On a broader level, it was also significant in my identity as ‘me-as-an-inquirer’ into questions of identity and of the valuing of Maori knowledges. The kono was a taonga, a treasure that testified to these things.

So it is from the position of inquirer that I present this work. Like the kono, it is a taonga, imperfect with all its gaps and partial knowledges and beginning understandings. But like the kono process, these testify to the value of the struggle and the intention to understand and honour Maori knowledges and to bring them to the attention of others.

No reira tena koutou, tena koutou, tena tatou katoa.

INTRODUCTION

21st century Pakeha New Zealanders’ understandings of identity differ significantly to those of their colonial forbears. Unique to the New Zealand context is the interaction of Pakeha New Zealanders with indigenous Maori New Zealanders. Stories of identity are generated from the interaction of Pakeha with

Maori which, arguably, contributes to another account of *indigenous* identity (King, 1999), that of Pakeha New Zealanders. On this basis, if indigenous Pakeha identity is recognized as being significantly influenced by te ao Maori, it is time to question how relevant traditional Western psychological therapeutic approaches, based primarily on white North American and European psychological theories, are to Pakeha New Zealanders. The aim of this research, therefore, is to explore the possibilities for practice by, and with, Pakeha New Zealanders where there is an intentional endeavour to understand and honour maatauranga Maori alongside dominant Western knowledges.

This project offers an opportunity for further conversation within the mainstream counselling profession to explore possibilities for practice on these terms.

THE PROJECT AND ITS FOUNDATIONS

The purpose of the study was to undertake a local investigation of the practices of a group of Pakeha New Zealand counsellors whose work is informed by narrative understandings and practices (Crocket, 2001), and who are working to honour Maori knowledges alongside dominant Western knowledges in their day-to-day work. In Chapter Two I outline ideas, important to this study, about identity being constituted through the stories people tell of their lives. My intention was to explore how conversations where stories can be told and identity produced are crafted, in the counselling context and other sites.

The dominant culture in Aotearoa New Zealand is understood to be based on Pakeha or New Zealand European cultural ideas and values. My interest was in exploring current Pakeha identity claims and the ongoing construction of Pakeha identity. If articulations of Pakeha identity differ significantly to other Western articulations of identity, specifically that of colonial forbears, one would begin to question the relevance in Aotearoa New Zealand of traditional Western psychological approaches to practice. Therefore, I was interested in the possibilities for counselling practices that spring from current articulations of Pakeha identity and the scope of applicability for such practices with both Maori and Pakeha clients. I expected accounts of practice would be produced and articulated that could be placed alongside other mainstream accounts of practice, as counsellors engaged intentionally with exploring Pakeha identity.

The notion of socially-negotiated identities that underpins this work, and is described in the next chapter, moves me to consider the identity possibilities that arise from the processes of colonisation of Aotearoa New Zealand by European. I ask, 'if identity construction is dynamic where have we now come to in understandings of identity and how do we engage in the dialogue that assists us in authenticating people's identity conclusions (White, 2001)?' The theoretical background to the concepts of socially negotiated identity and the authentication of identity conclusions is discussed in detail in Chapter Two.

Acknowledging the richness that difference offers to our society, this project begins to explore the fertile space in-between Maori culture/identity and European culture/identity. My approach to the project was to focus on Pakeha counsellors'

engagement with Maori knowledges. Particularly I was interested in unpacking the difficulties and struggles encountered as counsellors step into territory that is situated between the commonly accepted articulations that dichotomise Pakeha and Maori identities. In this 'in-between' territory traditional understandings of identity are blurred as connections between cultural knowledges are negotiated. It is in these in-between places that alternative articulations of identity are possible.

I also asked about the effects that intentional focus on the honouring of Maori knowledges, which engagement in this project brings, has on counselling practices and the identities of the participants. What are required are other stories of identity that are generated from interaction of Pakeha New Zealanders with Maori: stories that give another account of indigenous identity. I believe this project is relevant to counsellors, and counselling educators, in developing indigenous counselling practices that reflect rising indigenous identities in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Othering

This study springs significantly from my present understanding of the richness of maatauranga Maori and its growing influence on my own values, practice and identity. Being one of a great number of New Zealanders who are able to trace whakapapa to both tupuna Maori and to European forbears it is my preference to locate myself in terms of both Maori and Pakeha identities in Aotearoa New Zealand. It is the contradictions and tensions between these identities, together with the sense of possibility these identities bring that continue to inform my interest to engage in this research. My hope is that it might contribute at least in

some small way to the ongoing struggle of people who wrestle with the narratives and practices in respect of ethno-cultural identification, that categorise and divide. There have been a number of investigations of such systems of identification that categorise and divide. Coined 'Othering' by Michelle Fine (1994), these systems produce practices that construe "difference as deviance" (Young, 1990, p.168, cited in Johnson & Pihama, 1995).

In Othering, categories are imposed that normalise one group and pathologise the other. Such categories construct 'them/us, either/or', 'self/other' binaries leading to exclusion and marginalisation. They are the constructions that produce narratives that support the structures and ideologies that support Othering. My intention is to enter the territory situated at the "hyphen" (Fine, 1994, p. 70), in-between binary constructions in support of the struggle of marginalised Others and to contribute to rich and alternative constructions of identity. It is in these places that identities constructed on binary terms get unsettled. I argue they are worth unsettling and assumptions about culture and identity, and ethical practice rethought.

Most of my life has been spent learning and supporting the values and mores of dominant New Zealand culture, through observation and participation. Thus, I have understood my identity to be primarily constructed by the knowledges and values of my European forbears. In the past few years I have also been privileged to more intentionally engage in the construction and articulation of my identity as a wahine of Ngati Raukawa ki te tonga o te hapu o Ngati Te Horu, and to be touched and shaped by Raukawatanga and maatauranga Maori: the wisdom and

knowledges that guided and shaped my tupuna and continue to influence members of my whanau, hapu and iwi, to varying degrees, today. Consequently, I no longer choose to occupy a position that would allow me to ignore, reject or simply give a nodding acknowledgement to these ‘other’ knowledges that I have encountered. I note that such Othering positions are supported by many of the political structures and values that undergird this nation.

Stitching

In engaging in this project I find myself in community with tupuna and kaumatua such as Mihipeka Edwards, a well-respected kaumatua of Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Porou. In speaking of her work in teaching taha Maori, which brought together both Maori and Pakeha, she encapsulates the sense I have of drawing together and honouring Maori culture alongside dominant culture, “In my heart I felt I was part of the meeting of the two peoples, the sewing together of humankind” (Edwards, 2002, p.120).

Edwards (2002) draws on the wisdom of tupuna through reference to a whakatauki/waiata that has been important to her and that she passes to others:

Whakarongo ake au ki te tangi	I am listening to the crying
o te manu e rere runga rawa e	of the birds overhead
tui, tui, tui, tuia	stitch, stitch, stitch
tuia i runga	stitch to the heavens
tuia i raro	stitch to the world, to Papatuanuku

tuia i roto, tuia i waho	stitch to your inner soul, your heart
tui, tui, tuia	stitch, stitch, stitch
ka rongō te ao, ka rongō te po	the world hears, the darkness hears
tui, tui, tuia	stitch, stitch, stitch

To speak in the words of the whakatauki, I ask what ‘stitching’ has been occurring between Pakeha and Maori in Aotearoa New Zealand? I am also intentional about making space for the telling of ‘stitching’ stories. I am aware there is a “considerable politics of storytelling, narrative construction and mythmaking” (Saleebey, 1994, p. 353) that informs a culture’s ideas of the ‘way things are’. So in a sense, by focussing on ‘stitching’ stories, I too am engaging in a political project. As I embarked on this project, much politicising had been occurring in our nation in that gave significant voice to stories of separation and division, such as the ‘Orewa’ speech by Don Brash (2004), leader of the National Party. These stories serve to locate us in nineteenth century colonial understandings of identity, which I speak about later in this project. I contend many individuals have moved well beyond such colonial articulations of identity and that many more ‘stitching’ stories sit restlessly in the background waiting for their moment of telling.

The wisdom in the whakatauki beckons me to ask, how does our situated and partial knowledge enable us to "traverse the terrain of connection" (McNamee & Gergen, 1999, p. 25) between our understandings of identity and those about us?

It is time to ask questions about the possibilities for practice where there is an honouring of marginalised bodies of knowledge such as maatauranga Maori

within the mainstream counselling profession. This is particularly relevant for narrative approaches to practice, which seek to honour local knowledges. Commenting on movement toward biculturalism, James Ritchie (1992) was adamant that society had not even begun to embrace the richness that Maori values could offer to dominant culture, and in order to do that we needed to have an appreciation of what Maori values are. More than a decade later it is time to ask ourselves how far towards appreciating Maori knowledges and values have we moved and how that movement might have occurred. Do the accounts we give for that movement reflect intentionality or is there a sense of knowledges having 'crept up' on us?

Risk and Connection

While working within an iwi context I was privileged to have conversations with kaimahi and with Maori clients, particularly wahine Maori. Prior to intentionally developing and embracing understandings of Maori identity I had not been privy to such conversations. In considering the space that was created for these conversations to occur, I am drawn to the work of Kaethe Weingarten (2000) who in speaking of trauma tells of a mother foregoing genuine connection with her daughter, in order to protect her. In her example the mother realises the daughter is willing to assume risk in exchange for intimate connection. I think of this idea in relation to my experiences with other Maori where I find some resonance with Weingarten's observation. Particularly poignant for me here is the understanding of wahine Maori as nga whare tangata or the 'houses of humanity' (Pere, 1988, p. 137). In a physical sense, as childbearers, wahine are honoured as protectors of tamariki, taonga of the iwi for the future. Flora Tuhaka (2003) speaks of this

Maori knowledge that holds women and children sacred, and is adamant that as such they must be treated “like the sacred greenstone” (p. 178), invoking images of a taonga highly treasured among Maori. There are direct parallels between nga whare tangata and nga whare tupuna, where the cultural taonga are protected for future generations. Holding the same sense of sacredness, in order to protect their cultural taonga and identity, many Maori have kept their thoughts, feelings, and actions separate and apart: forfeiting genuine connection with ‘others’ (Weingarten, 2000). However, alongside the stories of forfeiting connection are also stories that both Maori and Pakeha can tell of assuming risk in exchange for intimate connection with others as Weingarten showed (2000). I do not claim this is a story of trauma in the sense that Weingarten speaks of, but even so we live in a political climate where we continue to be witnesses to events that push society toward Othering positions and therefore to the silencing of voices that support connection. This project argues for assuming risk in exchange for greater connection.

The project is an investigation of who Pakeha New Zealanders are becoming as they stride into post-colonial New Zealand in the 21st century.

I have come from
So many places to meet here,
...
Looking through this thin line
I wait as new to me as I am to you.

(Colquhoun, 1999, p. 81)

CHAPTER TWO

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BACKGROUND

THEORETICAL STORY

Overview

The epistemology that underpins my approach to this study carries a number of assumptions about culture and identity shaped by social constructionist and postcolonial theory. This position aligns with my claims I made as a counsellor writing about my professional identity and practice (Te Wiata, 2003), which draws primarily on the narrative metaphor.

On these terms, and calling on the work of White (1995), I make the following claims. People select and give meaning to parts of their lived experience. The meanings people make are not neutral but have real effects on their lives. From the dominant stories or self-narratives that are produced in this process, understandings of identity are developed and thus a person's ability to perform in the world. Meanwhile, other parts of experience are neglected and remain unstoried. Further, all people have 'knowledges-lives'. What is needed to bring that knowledge forward is space for dialogue to explore these knowledges and their histories. Other people struggle to locate themselves in their preferred stories and to espouse their own knowledges because of disqualifying, dominant stories that others hold of them and their relationships (1995).

Lives are multi-storied (White, 2001). The notion of multi-storied lives represents a shift from the traditional dualistic notion of good story/bad story, real story/false story (2001). White contends that some stories open the way to a much wider range of action whilst others narrow that range (2001). This is not to say the narrative metaphor promotes or embraces a moral relativist position where all stories are equal. Rather, the social constructionist position that informs narrative ideas, insists one consider values and ethics (White, 1995). As we interact with others and the stories of lives are further negotiated or renegotiated we have “a responsibility for the real effects of our interactions on the lives of others” (White, 1995, p. 15).

An important shaping idea of this study is that our identities are socially, culturally and historically constructed. People’s understandings of the world are shaped by discourses – the taken-for-granted assumptions that inform the cultural stories of how life ought to be (Burr, 1995). We attribute meaning to events and these meanings shape our stories and the stories we tell constitute our lives. Our lives are continually being constituted and reconstituted as we negotiate meaning within our contexts. Further, an integral part of authenticating our preferred identities is to recruit an audience to new descriptions of ‘self’ (White, 1995).

The theoretical background to this study is embedded in these understandings and focuses on two key ideas: the construction of identity possibilities and the significance of colonisation on identity. This project considers how these two ideas inform therapeutic processes.

I now briefly outline several central concepts I call on in this study. These concepts are: folk psychology; a narrative account of therapy, particularly the dual landscapes of action and meaning; language as action; difference; hybridity; colonisation; understandings and acquisition of knowledge. After this brief introduction I offer a richer description of each of these concepts. To begin with, I draw on understandings of socially negotiated identities and the significance of *folk psychology* in the authentication of identity (White, 2001). I consider the place of stories, narratives and myths in informing folk psychology and people's collective understanding of who they see themselves to be. In this regard I am also concerned with the dynamic nature of identity, individual and collective, and how 'new' stories of identity are published and legitimated.

Throughout this project I ask if identity construction is dynamic, where have we now come to in understandings of identity? And how do we engage in the dialogue that assists us in re-imagining our identities, that is imagining them in ways that reflect the changes that have occurred over time? I consider constructions of the notion of *differance* (Johnson & Pihama, 1995) leading to a discussion of the 'in-between' places in terms of identity. Specifically I work with the notion of *hybridity* (Meredith, 1999; Seuffert, 1999) and the identity possibilities that arise from this concept.

In considering socially negotiated identities/subjectivities, this project is concerned with a *narrative account of therapy* that embraces understandings of mutually-constitutive interaction within the therapeutic context. Also it highlights the contribution that narrative therapy offers to expanding the repertoire of

identity claims available, drawing on ideas based on the *dual landscapes of action and identity* (White & Epston, 1990; White, 1991).

The performance of language (Wittgenstein, 1958; Drewery, Winslade & Monk, 2000) is another concept that is central to social constructionist ideas and narrative approaches. *Language as action* is discussed further in this chapter and I contend that any identity conclusion in this local Aotearoa New Zealand context is to some extent shaped by interaction with te reo Maori, either in its articulation or in refraining from its use.

Another concern of this study is the Eurocentric psychological thought that produced the processes that support the marginalisation of Maori culture and values and posits the Maori individual as the inferior 'other'. On the basis of the notion of socially-negotiated identities underpinning this work I consider the identity possibilities that arise from the British *colonisation* of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Specifically, my research investigates how a group of Pakeha New Zealander counsellors have begun to embrace Maori culture, knowledge and values in their work. Significantly, we explore which 'knowledges' are perceived to be important and how those ideas are 'translated' and drawn down into the storylines of this group of Pakeha New Zealanders. In doing so we consider how these understandings contribute to the production of indigenous Pakeha New Zealand identities and of counselling practices.

Also important is how people have come about these ‘other’ knowledges and the difficulties encountered. In this regard I briefly discuss the values that surround the *acquisition of knowledge* from Maori and Eurocentric positions. This project is a snapshot of how a specific group of counsellors have negotiated their way amidst these differences and difficulties. I have a particular interest in considering how knowledge produced in negotiating such a path might contribute to the learning experiences of others.

A site of Maori knowledge that is available in the public arena and of particular relevance to those working therapeutically are various *Maori models of practice* that have been developed from the 80s and continue to be produced. Some of these, produced by Maori leaders in the field, are discussed in this chapter along with understandings of *bicultural counselling* and struggles to rationalise and define identity within stages and statuses.

I now expand and thicken description of these concepts which are keystones in this project.

CONCEPTS IMPORTANT TO THIS PROJECT

Folk Psychology and Socially Negotiated Identity

The historical traditional of understanding of life and identity known as folk psychology was largely displaced and marginalised by modern psychologies, which championed the notion of an essential self (White, 2001). White observed that though modern psychology was experiencing a resurgence of popularity in

the 1960s and 70s there was concurrently a shift occurring among some of the social sciences, toward what he says Geertz coined an “interpretive turn” (p. 12). In this interpretive turn the centre of inquiry became ‘meaning’. The meanings people ascribed to their life experiences and how these meanings shaped their lives and constructed their identities became important. A “ ‘new’ cultural anthropology” (p. 12) was developing where people’s realities were not considered to be individual constructions but rather “understood to be historical and social products, negotiated in and between communities of peoples and distributed throughout these communities” (p. 12).

Interpretive inquiry gave attention to the construction of meaning through stories and the significance of such stories in the way people make sense of the world. Folk psychology, considered naïve from the perspective of professional psychologies, once again thrived in the context of interpretive inquiry. White (2001) offers the following ideas about folk psychology. Folk psychology proposes an intentional state psychology (2001). It says people are living their lives intentionally and purposefully, to achieve the things that they perceive to be important. Folk psychology also suggests that people commit to living their lives according to their values and beliefs. The ways people live their lives are considered to “reflect their preferred ways of being in the world” (p. 13).

It is somewhere at the intersection of this interpretive turn and folk psychology that White (2001) located his explorations of narrative therapy. These explorations contribute to the richness of intentional states and preferred identity claims. Explorations such as these are only made possible through the stories

people tell and that are told over time. Therefore, this study worked to hear the stories, narratives and myths that contribute to constructing and articulating indigenous identities. Further, the intention of exploring identity possibilities and practices has led me to ask in this project, how it is decided which stories are deemed credible and admitted to the normative structure of culture. I am concerned with what is required to assist new identity constructions gain admittance to society and in this endeavour I pay attention to the “small and the ordinary” events “that occur in our lives” (Weingarten, 2003, p. 2).

Narrative Practice and Identity

Socially-negotiated identity constructions are a central concept in narrative therapy. Michael White (1997) challenged traditional ideas of who is transformed in the process of interacting with therapists. The traditional psychotherapeutic idea where people who consult therapists become the objects of the therapists’ expert knowledges and practices, he called a “one way account” of therapy (White, 1997, p. 127). A one way account constructs the person seeking help as the ‘Other’, who alone is shaped by the encounter. Consequently, the way therapists’ work and lives have been shaped through the interaction, is made invisible.

However an alternative is a “two way account” (White, 1997, p. 130) of therapy, which underpins a narrative approach to practice. A ‘two way account’ is informed by the notion of mutuality. The therapist has an ethical responsibility to look for, notice, acknowledge and articulate the contribution of the interaction with the person with whom they meet, to their work and life. White named these

‘taking-it-back’ practices. In effect it is about an acknowledgement that all parties’ lives are shaped and identities reconstituted through the interaction. White’s two way accounts of therapy challenge the hierarchy of knowledge and in doing so, work to challenge the construction of “otherness” (p. 131). The idea of mutual contribution generates richer description of identity by contradicting the notion that the person is in some way exclusively deficient. Finally, White’s preferred account supports the contribution of these interactions to the rich description of the therapists’ work and identities as these interactions become plotted “into the storylines of our lives” (p. 132).

The therapeutic context was an important site for conversation for the group of social service practitioners who participated in this project. Embracing a two way account of therapy, participants spoke of co-researching Maori knowledges and values which at times created space for conversation to occur and produced rich connections which would otherwise have been unavailable to them.

Dual Landscapes

These are now familiar terms (White & Epston, 1990; White, 1991) to the body of narrative ideas where it is proposed that the stories of our lives are constituted by these two landscapes. The landscape of action plots sequences of events through time. Landscape of action questions work to make visible preferred, but previously unstoried or obscured, experiences (McKenzie & Monk, 1997). The landscape of identity is where people reflect on the implications of their experiences storied in the landscape of action. Effectively, landscape of identity questioning has people consider their meanings, desires, intentions, beliefs,

commitments, motivations and values that relate to their experiences in the landscape of action, weaving back and forth between the two. Landscape of identity questions encourage exploration of an alternative storyline and the implication this storyline has in terms of understanding one's identity. People are invited to "reflect differently on their own identities and the identities of others" (Carey & Russell, 2003, p.63).

At the heart of the matter, is the question, 'how does the awareness that is raised in a brief conversation become generative of further identity knowledges?' I find hope in White's (1997) work, drawing on Myerhoff's definitional ceremony and outsider-witness practices for the performance of particular knowledge claims. He claimed that by making space for the telling and then the consequent re-telling of stories by outsider-witnesses, it is possible to rescue the "told from the telling of it" (p. 94). In other words the stories or the significance of stories that might "otherwise pass like a blip across a person's screen of consciousness, and disappear off the edge into a vacuum, are pulled down into the storylines" (p.94) of people's lives.

In this project, the members participated together in the telling and re-telling of stories, through landscape of identity questioning, to focus on the knowledges that had been evident in another member's 'telling'. Members moved beyond the parameters of the initial storyline, generating richer description and offering the possibility for the participant sharing their story to review and possibly revise their own description of their knowledges and skills. Thus the research group

processes itself, opened space for the generation and authentication of richer identity claims.

Language as Action

Central to discussions of social constructionism and therefore to narrative approaches to therapy, is language. In this project I draw on ideas about the performance of language (Wittgenstein, 1958; Drewery, Winslade & Monk, 2000). That is, I am interested in those ideas that draw attention to language and acts of speech performing an act in and on the world. In this way language is seen to shape reality. Further, this view contends that through language or speech acts, we become participants in communities of meaning (Freedman & Combs, 1996). It is through sharing words and linguistic distinctions, that we ascribe meaning to language. Thus we learn to understand our world and validate the realities that our words construct.

These ideas about language lead me to inquire about the effects of Maori language in constructing our view of the world and in constituting our identities. It is not possible to live within Aotearoa New Zealand without being called into interaction with te reo Maori whether it is simply at the level of place names around the motu or haka performed at sports events. For most New Zealanders, interaction exceeds these examples. A premise of post-modern thinking is that “knowledge is constituted through language” and that “language is the medium through which we socially construct reality” (Freedman & Combs, 2002, p.194). Te reo Maori offers access to other images, metaphors, stories and concepts, and supports the exploration of subtleties and nuances, all of which may otherwise be

less readily available. Through the processes of social interaction, these alternative knowledges produce dynamic and alternative understandings of identity.

In previous work I have spoken of Maori culture offering spaces where te reo as a taonga is performed and realities are produced (Te Wiata, 2003). Relational practices such as noho marae, powhiri, mihi whakatau, tangihanga, haka and whakawhanaungatanga are uniquely Maori realities where te reo is performed and identity shaped. The influence of other realities that become available even in the early places of language knowledge and performance means professional work and identity can be shaped by dimensions of thought that were previously not available. It is important to make a distinction between simply learning about a 'concept' to appreciating these as alternative realities within a Maori belief system. A modernist approach to learning about Maori identity constructs knowledge as a commodity that can be found and accumulated with little thought to performance. It is through participation in practices of tikanga and other Maori cultural activities that people are most obviously performing Maori knowledges. Each interaction strengthens and creates further meaning for the traditions that are honoured.

Traditional cultural activities create space to facilitate the "construction of new experiential realities" (Freedman & Combs, 2002, p. 192) for those who participate in them. However, a concern to me is that in acknowledging the traditional sites for the performance of te ao Maori, a rigid boundary is created that invisibilises the everyday connections with te ao Maori in society.

Participating in our communities we are continually connecting with te ao Maori, and rather than overlook such commonplace connections I call forth acknowledgement of the contributions they make to the histories of who we are and who we are becoming. Defying discourses that would confine acknowledgement of the contribution of te ao Maori to the marae or celebratory events, I focus here on daily influences of te reo Maori and te ao Maori on the work and identities of Pakeha New Zealand counsellors and the people with whom they interact.

Working intentionally with Maori concepts and te reo Maori creates dilemmas for counsellors and particularly so for Pakeha New Zealander counsellors. In actively creating space for conversations exploring Maori realities, one immediately positions oneself in relation to those realities. In working towards honouring the importance of alternative knowledges and ways of making meaning, the counsellor may be intentional in the use of te reo or of a construct such as ‘whanau’ in their conversation. In working with Maori, Maori language may become available for the counsellor as they work to create meaning for themselves as they construct understandings of identity. Conversely, refraining from joining with a person in this way, using silence as an act of speech, also powerfully positions the counsellor in relation to the knowledges that may, or may not, inform the client’s view of the world. Likewise, working with Pakeha New Zealanders, the use or absence of Maori language and concepts again positions the counsellor in relation to Maori realities.

One of the dilemmas that all counsellors face when working with Maori clients or clients of Maori descent is how clients position themselves in relation to Maori identity. For some people though their physical appearance speaks of Maori heritage, they may choose not to identify with Maori identity. The use of te reo Maori and Maori concepts may unwittingly issue a position call to them to identify as Maori that they find objectionable. Jonson (Jonson, Su'a & Crichton, 1997) raises another issue for Pakeha New Zealand counsellors. She speaks of counsellors inadvertently provoking shame in some Maori clients as Pakeha New Zealanders utilise their understandings of cultural knowledge and language, where the client is aware of their lack in their own cultural knowledges. Also, some Maori clients may experience anger that in having understandings of cultural knowledges and language, the Pakeha New Zealander counsellor possesses taonga that they do not have. Again, other Maori clients may believe that such taonga should be reserved for Maori alone.

Another difficulty that faces counsellors in their use of te reo Maori and maatauranga Maori is the inadvertent colonising of Maori concepts and knowledges. For example, Durie (2004) outlined the application of the concepts of tapu and noa, as a code for survival, to counselling and health services. He described the traditional primary understanding of tapu as 'risk' and noa as 'safety' and rahui as 'off limits'. He said "the practical basis for the code tended to be subsumed into a spiritual code for living" (p. 7). Later, however, tapu was effectively separated from the code, and interpreted by early missionaries as primarily spiritual and linked to retribution and punishment. Arguably this later interpretation is the most circulated understanding of tapu in dominant society and

to some extent among some Maori who are still finding their way through the tangle of colonised understandings of Maori identity and knowledges.

Meanwhile, tapu and noa remain the basis for much interaction on the marae in modern times.

For Pakeha New Zealand counsellors to overtly embrace aspects of Maori language and concepts in their work with clients, both Maori and Pakeha, is to assume risk in exchange for deeper connection (Weingarten, 2000). Both Maori and Pakeha New Zealanders have been influenced through interaction with the other though Maori arguably to a much greater degree. This is a claim that can be supported in part through reference to legislative imposition and violations in terms of the Treaty of Waitangi as well as the ‘influence of Western ideas and technology’ (King, 1999, p. 10). A concern of this study is the Eurocentric psychological thought that contributed to the marginalisation of Maori culture and values and the Maori individual as the inferior ‘other’. Further, the notion of socially-negotiated identities underpinning this work takes me to consider the identity possibilities that arise from the early processes of *colonisation* of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Colonisation and Identity

The historical roots of modern Western psychology are embedded in the context of ‘European conquest, exploitation and domination’ (Howitt & Owusu-Bempah, 1994, p. 2). The colonisation of Aotearoa New Zealand was dominated by traditional Eurocentric ideology. At its heart, was the ever present binary logic that defined Eurocentric knowledge as universal and the Eurocentric subject that

produced it as the norm against which all others were measured (Seuffert, 1999; Johnson & Pihama, 1994). In juxtaposition to this Eurocentric universal, all other knowledges or systems of meaning (and the subjects that produced them) were judged lacking and inferior. This served to confirm the rationale to colonise “including the domination of the production and legitimation of knowledge and culture” (Seuffert, 1999, p.5). Therefore it was inevitable that “Maori knowledges were devalued by colonisers at the same time that Eurocentric knowledge was valorised” (Bishop, 1996, cited in Seuffert, p.14).

Prior to colonisation, the indigenous peoples of this country identified themselves in relation to physical location and to kinship (hapu/iwi) affiliations. The machinations of colonisation created the Maori subject in the same way that it has subsequently created the Pakeha and the Tauwiwi subject. Characteristics were subsequently ascribed to racial categories, informed by Eurocentric ideologies. Later further categorisation of Maori continued based on quantification of ‘blood’ that served to further dislocate and exclude, and to contribute to dilemmas of identity. Drawing on Foucauldian thought, wherever there are operations of power that would constitute some as ‘Other’ in ways that would diminish and entrap, there is also the possibility of opposition as these groups organise in resistance. This may be through contesting the validity of imposed boundaries or categories achieving a shift in the boundaries, such as in the dropping of the ‘blood’ quantification category in the 1970s. So though the ‘Maori’ category has its dangers in its vulnerability to stereotyping and Othering, there is also usefulness in subscribing to such a grouping in order to mobilise strategically for different “political projects” at particular times (Pettman, 1992, p.106; Meredith,

1999b). It is from this understanding that I refer collectively to the hapu and iwi of this land as 'Maori' for the purposes of this project.

Colonisation is a multi-storied narrative. Obscured by the multitude of stories of injustice, imposition and attempts to assimilate are the stories of resistance to these processes. Significantly, some of these stories speak of the success of Maori in resisting assimilation. Other stories speak of accommodation by Maori on their own terms, of European contribution to their lives and future well-being.

However, my intention is to explore and give attention to the ways that Pakeha New Zealanders see themselves as having been influenced by Maori culture, knowledge and values. I employ notions of interactions being mutually constitutive as in White's (1997) metaphor of a two way account of therapy. The project seeks to take "responsibility to identify, to acknowledge and to articulate" (p. 130), in and out of the therapeutic setting, the contribution of tikanga Maori to Pakeha identity. This is an intentional effort at undermining the rigidity of power relations between dominant culture and identity, and Maori culture and identity.

Hybridity

In considering alternative articulations of identity, I have been drawn to discussions of post-colonial culture and identity in Aotearoa New Zealand, which have highlighted the work of Homi Bhaba and the notion of hybridity (Meredith, 1999; Seuffert, 1999). Drawing on Bhaba's work in articulating his identity in terms of heritage and upbringing, Meredith (1999, 1999a, 1999b) said he embraces both Maori and Pakeha whakapapa and worldviews. Thus stating, he works to position himself outside the dichotomous categories of 'us/them' or

‘either/or’ that have been gaining currency at an alarming rate in our nation at this time.

Meredith (1999) vigorously rejected ‘half-caste’ identity on the basis of “quantification of blood” (p. 24). A quantification basis results in ideas of ‘not quite one or the other’, producing deficit and exclusion. Instead he preferred to take ‘half-caste’ and recast it based on notions of ‘not only, but also’, in order to produce richness and inclusion. He spoke of recasting half-caste identity in favour of hybrid identity. He warned to favour the notion of hybrid identity is to make oneself vulnerable to charges of disloyalty from those who adhere strongly to ‘either/or’ categories whether advocating Pakeha purity (see King, 1991) or tuturu Maori (Meredith, 1999b).

Moeke-Maxwell (2003) also worked to make visible the hybrid identity, focussing on the difficulties within Maori society in making space for the “bi/multi racial individual” (p.2). Again she was specifically referring to the individual who is of both Maori and Pakeha/other ethnicity. Highlighting the diverse realities of bi/multi racial individuals she advocated for the possibilities that are available as these individuals are called out of the shadows that would invisibilise them, and space is created for them to be known in all their worlds. Neither Moeke-Maxwell or Meredith were advocating for the supremacy of the hybrid position. Rather they called for a shift toward a framework that would make space for such an identity to stand alongside tuturu Maori or Pakeha purity. Such a framework would promote the possibility of some things being ‘both/and’ – *both* Maori *and* Pakeha. Meredith (1999a) also encouraged a move toward a perspective that not

only acknowledges and negotiates difference but begins to notice and acknowledge affinity with gusto.

We need to be cautious of the dangers that political constructs such as ‘biculturalism’ have in supporting thinking in ‘either/or’ terms (Meredith, 1999). However, to totally reject biculturalism as a dichotomy oversimplifies and invisibilises the “hard work and careful negotiations that produced bicultural structures” (Seuffert, 1999, p. 15). It is the same hard work and careful negotiation as well as struggle with ‘contradictions and tensions’ (Meredith) that will need to be embraced if we are to continue to explore possibilities for identity at the ‘hyphen’.

Michael King (1991), a well known leader in the exploration of Pakeha identity, spoke of the construct of national identity as being instrumental in instilling in people the belief in a ‘real New Zealand’ which is endorsed through many of our structures including, family, educational and media. He warned this concept reflects the ideological values of the groups with the most to gain. As such it provides fertile soil for the nurture of generalisations and stereotypes, notions of ‘them/us’ and for producing division between people. In response, King asked readers to imagine the possibilities that could exist beyond the tired, outdated representations of national identity that had their roots in 19th century colonial values. He challenged us to make space for “new images that show hybridity rather than Pakeha purity” (p.195). Further, he challenged our “national imagination” (p. 195) toward more diverse and inclusive representations of who we are as ‘collective identities’. King’s position in support of hybridity, echoes

Homi Bhaba's notion that hybridity "describes the moment at which discourses of the coloniser embrace traces of the language of the colonized" (Seuffert, 1999, p.10). King's focus was on Pakeha New Zealanders who through cultural and social interactions in Aotearoa New Zealand are now unlike their forbears but rather have been decisively reshaped through generations of contact with things Maori (King, 1999).

Yet many of us continue to express ourselves in ways that reflect 'time-locked' positions rather than reflecting new hybrid identity possibilities that might be produced as elements of cultures are interwoven (Bhaba, 1996, cited in Meredith, 1999a). Rewi's (1992) discussion with a Pakeha New Zealander, of differing understandings of 'time' values is typical of the dilemmas in engaging in 're-imagining identities' dialogue. The person interviewed speaks of a Pakeha/Tauwiwi time value as traditionally future-orientated. The past is behind the person who is positioned looking forwards to the future. An ethical response to this value is to project and plan for the future. The dilemma here is that to plan for the future, based on where we are today, requires a concretising of our current position in order to be able to firm up our future projection. This 'current position' may not have shifted far from its 19th century colonial values, resulting in "constant reworking of the same ideas of who we are (which) gives no chance for these outdated representations to fade away" (King, 1991, p. 195).

Alternatively, a traditional Maori time value positions the individual in the present looking forwards at the past and the future comes up behind them (Rewi, 1992). With this understanding, colonial/post-colonial history of Aotearoa New Zealand

remains before Maori in clear view. With many unresolved and continuing issues of dispossession, racism embedded in its societal structures and “a disturbing trend of racism being disguised as public debate” (Pihama & Lee, 2004, p.1), Maori today may well anticipate the future, and ‘re-imagining identities’, dialogue with cynicism and distrust. This could also contribute to steadfast adherence by some to the ‘tuturu Maori’ position as well as contribute to the exclusion of many who would claim Maori identity but be disqualified due to criteria imposed by this position (Meredith, 1999b).

Beyond Binaries

I find hope in Derrida as he beckons us to in-between places by the creation of the term ‘differance’. Differance draws attention to those differences that are not constructed in terms of oppositions but rather that focus on the interplay between differences (Derrida, cited in Johnson & Pihama, 1995). This idea is congruent with what Bishop (in Seuffert, 1999) describes as a Polynesian worldview. In a Polynesian system of meaning making ‘ideas are not related in oppositional pairs but sometimes in triplets or sometimes as interrelated matrices, whose interrelationships are examined’ (p.5). The notion of differance also challenges the external positioning of people to a category and recognises instead ‘the application of identification by individuals to a group, and all that it signifies to the subject’ (Johnson & Pihama, 1995, p. 76).

Feminist debate also challenges understandings of difference that are constructed around the concept of ‘Other’ in relation to gender. According to Jones (1990, cited in Johnson & Pihama, 1995) radical feminists did not necessarily reject

fundamental understandings of the differences between men and women. The significant change was in understanding what those differences meant. Jones described a radical shift from deeply embedded binary notions of difference constructed by men which posited men as superior and women as inferior. The move was to a position that acknowledged differences but those differences were not to be seen as lacking but rather to be celebrated. “ ‘Postmodern’ feminism, she said, ‘amongst other things represents an attempt to rethink difference’ ” (Jones, 1990, p. 90, cited in Johnson & Pihama, p. 76).

Knowledge

A significant area of difference between traditional Maori ideas and traditional European ideas, that is relevant to ongoing Pakeha identity construction, is the way knowledge is acquired. An assumption of Western education systems is that knowledge is accessible to the individual who would make reasonable effort to acquire it. For Maori, knowledge does not belong to an individual but to the community, and with the knowledge comes responsibility back to the community (Consedine & Consedine, 2001). A number of writers have explored aspects of Maori understandings about knowledge.

Some of those who are accustomed to privilege, that belonging to dominant groups brings, experience exclusion and outrage when they find that some knowledge may not be readily available to them (Jones, 1999, cited in Consedine & Consedine, 2001). These experiences are highlighted in a lecture room vignette where Maori and Pacific Islanders were given the option of forming their own group and Maori knowledge was affirmed as being important. This proved

unsettling for many Pakeha students who were experiencing a shift in terms of what counts as knowledge and who has access to it (Consedine & Consedine, 2001). This illustration highlights an ideological difference that must be carefully negotiated when Pakeha are working towards understanding Maori culture and knowledges.

Proposing a kaupapa Maori research position, Russell Bishop (1998) drew attention to the existence of Maori systems of accessing, defining and protecting knowledge well before this country was settled by European. Though protected by the Treaty of Waitangi, these Maori cultural processes were later marginalised. Today such processes are “legitimised within Maori cultural discourse” (Bishop, 1998, p. 201).

Ranginui Walker pointed to mythical encounters to illustrate the importance of knowledge to Maori. He maintained myths remain relevant and, in the situation about which he was writing, that they serve to highlight traditional Maori understandings that elders are the “repositories of wisdom, knowledge and tribal lore” (Walker, 1992, p. 174). Walker pointed out that for elders to surrender their knowledge is also to diminish their mana. In this tradition the younger ones who must obtain this knowledge must wrest it from the elders. The persistence of the younger is pitted against the wisdom of the elders. Consequently, knowledge is not available to all those who attempt to acquire it but rather entrusted to select ones who become kaitiaki on behalf of the community. It is no surprise that Maori communities may well view Pakeha quests for Maori knowledge with suspicion given that an individualistic Western worldview of obtaining knowledge

is for their “own advantage in a system where their values dominate” (Consedine & Consedine, 2003, p. 182).

Alongside these aspects of Maori knowledge I now consider ideas that link knowledge and power and the relationship between these, proposed by Foucault. Foucault rejected the commonly held notion that the acquisition of knowledge increases an individual’s power. Simply put, knowledge according to Foucault is a particular version or construction of an event that is given the ‘stamp of truth’ in a society (White & Epston, 1989). Construction of events can be understood in terms of discourse. Burr offers an understanding of discourse as, “a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, statements and so on that in some way together produce a particular version of events” (1995, p. 48). Out of a variety of possible constructions/discourses some will be deemed to be more credible than others therefore, are more likely to be viewed as “common sense” (Burr, 1995, p.63). It is this common sense view of the world that Foucault linked with power. Foucault saw the power to act, to control or be controlled dependent upon these ‘knowledges’ that prevail at a particular time in a society to the extent that they create possibilities for action. Since there are other possible constructions/discourses available for any given event, which create other possibilities for action, it follows those dominant discourses that inform the particular ‘knowledge’ will be continually subject to challenge and resistance (Burr, 1995). So for Foucault, where there is power there will also be resistance. Power is exercised by drawing upon discourses and is most effective when it “produces knowledge” (Burr, 1995, p.65.) This means ‘prevailing discourses are always under implicit threat from alternatives which can dislodge them from their

position of ‘truth’ (p. 70). This notion is highly relevant to the inquiry of this project: what shape does resistance take? What are the knowledges that are being produced as a result of our resistance in regard to identity and how are we performing them in Aotearoa New Zealand?

MAORI MODELS OF PRACTICE

I introduce briefly a number of Maori models of practice in order to locate the conversations of the research project within the currently available literature on which Pakeha counsellors may draw. I also briefly outline the historical context that provided the environment for the development of these models of practice. The following models are outlined: Whare Tapa Wha, Te Wheke, Paiheretia, Te Pae Mahutonga. Two of these models have been in use for two or more decades while the latter two are more recent developments.

Maori models of practice offer therapists a glimpse into understandings of health and well-being which privilege traditional Maori values. These ideas about how to approach practice with Maori are a readily accessible site of knowledge for both Maori and Pakeha practitioners.

Numbers of Maori models of practice for health and well-being have been developed partly due to the inadequacy of recognition afforded Maori culture and cultural knowledges as contributors to change (Durie, 2003). Significantly, both a traditional and a contemporary Maori view would honour connections to geographical origins, to iwi, hapu and whanau, before the individual. Drewery

(2005), philosopher and counsellor educator, and Pakeha New Zealander, tentatively reflecting on views of Maori students on the importance of these connections to Maori, noted that even the structure of Maori language and the way it is used demonstrates the “centrality of relationship” (p. 309) to Maori culture. The corollary of highly valuing the ‘self-in-relationship’ is that Maori have been dissatisfied with approaches that exclude relational and environmental connections and instead focus on the individual acquiring skills.

Leader in the areas of Maori health and development, Mason Durie, contended that due to the upheavals of the nineteenth century, by the 1970s Maori had become progressively more dependent on the State (2003). The State was fundamentally committed to policies and programmes that would continue to assimilate Maori into the dominant systems of colonial New Zealand and this continued until the passing of the Treaty of Waitangi Act in 1975. The Crown was now appearing to be committed to negotiating relationship with Maori as a partner in the future development of this nation and Maori responded with even greater determination to live as Maori. Around this time Maori participation increased in the health debate between physical disease determining well-being or sociological and cultural factors being major determinants. Soon a number of views developed that gained acceptance as “the Maori health perspective” (Durie p. 61) and in 1982 became what we know today as *whare tapa wha*. Durie acknowledges contribution of kaumatua from marae around the country and other significant professionals at hui where Maori well-being was discussed, to the co-production of this model (Durie, 1994).

Whare Tapa Wha

As the name indicates (whare tapa wha: four sided house) the model is based on four dimensions for health and well being: taha wairua (spiritual), taha hinengaro (mental), taha tinana (physical) and taha whanau (extended family). Whare tapa wha was a move away from what was known as Cartesian dualism that created splits such as between body and mind, and experience and behaviour. Such notions were prevalent in Western culture and thought and pervaded many processes of counselling (Durie, 1989). Whare tapa wha presented a blurring of those divisions and positioned individual wellbeing in relation to wider systems of connection. Whare tapa wha continues to be widely known and used by health, social service and counselling professionals, both Maori and Pakeha, in their work with Maori. Sometimes described as a traditional approach to Maori health, Durie points out that ‘more correctly it was a view of health which accorded with contemporary Maori thinking’ (Durie, 1994, p.70).

Te Wheke

Soon other Maori models were also gaining acceptance. Te wheke (the octopus) developed by Rangimarie Pere was first presented at a health hui in 1984 to illustrate health from a Maori family perspective (Pere, 1988). The eight intertwining tentacles of the octopus represent closely related dimensions of wellbeing while the body and the head represent the family. Similar to whare tapa wha, te wheke includes the four dimensions previously mentioned, extending taha whanau to whanaungatanga and adding mana ake (uniqueness), mauri (life principle ethos), ha a Koro ma a Kui ma (breath of life from forbears) and

whatumanawa (expression of emotion). Finally, the eyes of the octopus represent wairoa or the whole of wellbeing for the individual and the family. Like whare tapa wha, te wheke works to support an integrated approach to understanding wellbeing for people.

Paiheretia

First presented by Durie in 1999, Paiheretia is viewed as a move towards integrating a relational approach to health with a disease or behavioural approach. Most often at odds with each other in terms of priority for intervention, Durie offered Paiheretia as an approach to bridge the gap and to offer Maori people the best of both worlds (Durie, 2003).

Paiheretia recognises identity, self knowledge and behavioural patterns as reflections of an individual's complex interaction with the environment. This assumption is considered to be consistent with Maori preference for recognising meaning through relationships. Durie stated, "identity is not primarily an inner experience or personal conviction, rather it is a construct derived from the nature of relationships with the external world" (2003, p. 50). The approach is focussed on developing a secure cultural identity and facilitating access to te ao Maori. These are viewed as central tasks for Maori-centred counselling and recommended as a form of counselling applicable to many Maori seeking help. Counsellors have three primary tasks: facilitating access, guiding encounters and promoting understanding by integrating new knowledge and experiences in terms that are relevant. In the first stages Paiheretia incorporates the whare tapa wha

model in assessing health. Clients are then accompanied and assisted in developing connections identified as being critical to well-being.

Te Pae Mahutonga

Though originally presented as a model for Maori health promotion, Durie (2003) argued his latest model has implications for practitioners.

The six stars of the Southern Cross are used to symbolise six fundamental tasks for mental health: “Mauri ora (access to the Maori world), Waiora (access to a healthy environment), Te Oranga (access to institutions and benefits of society), Nga Manukura (strong leadership) Te Mana Whakahaere (autonomy)” (Durie, 2003, p.155).

Te Pae Mahutonga practitioners view mental health promotion as undergirding their practice. Rather than a solution focus, their primary task is conceptualised as “unleashing potential” (p. 155). This model is involved with utilising resources in the community and drawing on community wisdom. Approaches that isolate people from their culture and their communities are seen as obstacles to potential for change. The worker facilitates the mobilisation of relationships necessary for healthy development and to assist people to realise their potential.

BRIEF SUMMARY AND RELEVANCE TO THIS PROJECT

It is generally acknowledged that though there is no universal Maori identity, Maori well-being is strengthened through relationship with one’s communities,

the environment and traditional wisdoms. Concepts specific to Maori culture are utilised in the development of models that have at their heart the health and well-being of Maori people in Aotearoa New Zealand. To achieve health and well-being each of these Maori models of practice privileges working toward developing secure cultural identity through access for Maori people to te ao Maori.

Apart from the obvious richness of the Maori concepts outlined in the models described and drawing our attention to differing cultural realities, in terms of relevance this project, interest lies in how Pakeha identity has developed through Pakeha interaction with te Ao Maori directly and/or vicariously. King was adamant that “while Maori are Maori and Pakeha are Pakeha, each has been influenced by the other and had his or her culture shaped decisively by the other”(1999, p.19). Concurring with King, I argue that it is not possible to articulate Pakeha identity without directly embracing to various degrees, te Ao Maori.

BICULTURAL COUNSELLING LOCALLY

Bicultural considerations in counselling must take into account constructions of biculturalism. I have mentioned previously the difficulties with this concept. While bicultural development at a political level indicates a move towards the ideals of partnership and equality between Maori and Pakeha (Metge, 1990; Thomas, 1992) our attention is also inevitably drawn to ideas of difference and often division supported by binary logic. In this complex milieu, bicultural and

cross-cultural counselling issues continue to be grappled with in Aotearoa New Zealand. Out of this struggle various ideas about identity and how to proceed in counselling in the local context have emerged.

To illustrate the complexities involved Jonson (Jonson, Su'a & Crichton-Hill, 1997) addressed notions of cultural identity and argued for bicultural competence in order to work effectively cross-culturally. Further, to work cross-culturally with Maori requires not only an appreciation and informed knowledge of Maori culture but also of the differences experienced between Maori (Jonson et al., 1997; Waldegrave, 2003). Jonson spoke of Maori identifying to varying degrees with "their traditional cultural background"(1997, p. 21) and proceeded to rationalise cultural identity in terms of degrees or levels.

Referring to the Putangitangi model of Davies, Elkington & Winslade (1993), Jonson (Jonson et al., 1997) described four degrees of cultural identity among Maori. These categories all tend to imply a level of competence in either or both cultures. Renfrey (1992), based on his studies of Native Americans in relation to degrees of bicultural competence of indigenous peoples, proposed three levels of acculturation/ deculturation that he believed were also relevant to New Zealand indigenous people. Firstly, he identified those who are the least acculturated to the dominant culture and have maintained a viable level of traditional culture. Secondly, those who have effectively acculturated to the dominant culture and thirdly, those who are too de-culturated to hold on to their traditional ways, but not acculturated enough to adapt to the dominant culture. Jonson did not appear

to address this third category and yet Renfrey found this was where 65% of the population identified (Renfrey, 1992).

Subscription to such constructions of identity can be understood from the perspective of dominant discourses in relation to identity. Mainstream psychological knowledge embodies the ideas of dominant culture and the assumptions that inform such dominant cultural ideas significantly influence the extent that Maori “draw from indigenous cultural patterns or from those sanctioned as ‘normal’ by mainstream psychology” (Winslade & Monk, 1999, p. 23). Consequently, identity options such as those outlined (Davies et al., 1993; Renfrey, 1992) become more readily available. Likewise, I contend Pakeha New Zealander constructions of identity are constrained by similar sanctioning. It is the intention of this project to consider less frequently articulated constructions of Pakeha New Zealander identity: such constructions that speak to the dynamic production of identity, acknowledging and honouring the rich contribution of Maori cultural knowledges. I also challenge notions that relegate articulations of identity to degrees, levels, stages or statuses (Jonson et al, 1997; Sue & Sue, 1990; Helms, 1995) on the basis that such language fosters ideas of incompleteness and/or completion of some prescribed ideal.

I make a case for the telling of stories using narrative processes as a vehicle for interaction with Maori that is respectful and embracing of Maori ideas and preferences. But more than this, I call forward stories about our interaction with Maori and Maori culture, and inquire into how such stories as these are shaping of Pakeha identity.

The early work of former Maori activist and clinical psychologist Donna Awatere (1981) argued the technologies of psychology serve the interests of those who have developed them. She argued that the history of oppression of Maori by Pakeha, by economic systems and the oppression of Maori women by patriarchal power, cannot be avoided in counselling situations with Maori. Based on a “Personal is Political’ ideology” (p. 201), she called for change in social and political systems rather than requiring change in the individual. Strategies for change involve understanding, confronting and changing societal structures that support oppression. Awatere addressed the issue of hierarchal imbalance in the groups by positioning all members including the therapist as “activists in the making” (p. 201). Awatere recommended forming support groups of people who share similar histories of oppression, which she believed gave the best kind of support to each other.

Turning to narrative processes, support groups can be encouraged by utilising White’s re-membering metaphor drawn from the work of Barbara Myerhoff (White, 1997). Remembering conversations construct identity as a club of life, membered by associations with others. Actual or imaginative communities of support can become audience for challenging structures of oppression and authenticating preferred accounts of identity. A multi-voiced idea of identity (White, 2001) is arguably more consistent with traditional Maori notions of identity than the self as a self-actualised and discrete entity (Burr, 1995), which is idealised by traditional Western psychology and striven for in contemporary Western society.

While there is consensus that practitioners of the dominant culture require appreciation and knowledge of Maori culture, the understandings of how to approach cross-cultural practice are many and varied. Acknowledging partial and dynamic understandings, counselling in a narrative mode invites people to draw on their own wisdoms and knowledges. This research project drew on the same principles and practices, inviting people to draw on their wisdoms and knowledges and of those in their communities so that preferred cultural concepts and values could be privileged.

This chapter has given an overview of the main theoretical concepts on which this project depends: folk psychology and socially negotiated identity; narrative practice and identity; dual landscapes; language as action; colonisation and identity; hybridity; beyond binaries; knowledge. It has also considered briefly Maori models of practice and bicultural counselling in the local Aotearoa New Zealand context

CHAPTER THREE

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METHOD

RATIONALE

In considering an appropriate method for this project it was important to find a way of conducting the research that provided a best fit with the overall objectives of this project, which I summarise here:

- To describe how a group of Pakeha New Zealand counsellors account for the contribution of Maori knowledges and Maori culture to both their counselling practices and their Pakeha New Zealand identities.
- To investigate the way practitioners working in a social constructionist or narrative way articulate ‘new’ stories of identity and generate counselling practices that live out and continue to produce indigenous Pakeha New Zealand identities.
- To be attentive to the spaces ‘in between’ the ubiquitous binary logic that creates self/other, with the intention of assisting in the production and articulation of indigenous identities and counselling practices.
- To contribute to ‘visibilising’ maatauranga Maori in regard to its location alongside Eurocentric knowledge in the shaping of ethical counselling practice that is indigenous to Aotearoa/New Zealand.

- To contribute helpfully to the ongoing struggle of people who wrestle with systems of identification, which categorise and divide.

I proceed here to describe the background to setting up the co-operative inquiry group in which this project's knowledges were produced.

SETTING UP

Generating Data

In her discussion of the ways practice can be theorised in relation to alternative notions of knowledge-making, Jan Fook (2002) turns her attention to what is widely referred to as data collection in research. She argues for reframing this phrase in terms of "accessing experiences" rather than collecting data which she says "does not already exist in the form we want it" (p.86). While this is movement in a direction that is useful for giving attention to the lived experiences of participants, accessing experiences alone is not entirely congruent with the intention of this research project. Rather, I concur with Crocket (2004) in opting to speak about "data generating" (p. 65). While accessing experiences was important to my project it was not the end of the production of data to be considered. Rather, in the very action of accessing experiences we were actively involved in the production of further experience and consequently, co-generating further data.

Secondly, a research group interaction itself potentially provides another highly productive site for the generation of socially-negotiated knowledges. A group

also provides an immediate audience for the articulation of tentative identity claims (White, 1997). Therefore, in terms of the research focus, I opted for group discussion given the potential for group interaction to contribute to the intention of the project.

Group Method

Initially I was drawn to focus group method. This was a method familiar to me in conversation with peers and familiar to me in the context of inquiry group methodology. According to Anderson (1990, cited in May, 1993, p.94) focus groups are said to challenge the “truths of official accounts and cast doubt upon established theories”. Focus groups also appealed to me as compared to some other group interview methods in that the focus group counts as important the interaction between research participants (Kitzinger, 1994). A method that would be facilitative of group interaction is clearly important to this project. However, the limit to this project of focus group methodology is that researcher is positioned as facilitator of the group and not expected to make explicit contribution to the discussion (Bouma, 1996). Given understandings of language as action, including acts of silence as discussed earlier, there is a dilemma for a researcher embracing social constructionist ideas in working within a framework which ignores the impact of the presence of the researcher.

Major Influence on Method and Design of this Project

My eventual decision was to opt to base this project on co-operative inquiry research method and the ensuing design of the project was strongly influenced by

the work of Kathie Crocket (2001). Crocket's thesis design offered a vehicle for me to be able to address the complexity of issues, both of the topic I was exploring and that was consistent with the philosophical approaches that I have spoken of previously. Whilst Crocket's work contributes significantly to all the areas of my choice of research methodology design, of particular note are five key areas: a two-stage informed consent process, managing multiple relationships, establishing dual foci for the group, multiple recording processes and the structure of guidelines and information for participants (Appendices).

Co-operative Inquiry

Further exploration of possible participative group approaches lead me to draw on understandings of co-operative inquiry (Heron, 1996), as I set up a research group. "Co-operative inquiry groups were a deliberate move in the field of humanistic psychology into a post-positivist research paradigm" (Crocket, 1996, p. 4). It was a move towards supporting a worldview that sees 'human beings co-creating their reality through participation: through their experience, their imagination and intuition, their thinking and their action' (Reason, 1994, p. 324).

Co-operative inquiry works to erode the traditional paradigm that separates the role of the researcher from the subject – the one being researched. This split is replaced by a participative relationship that can be experienced to different degrees. One of the defining features of co-operative inquiry relevant to this project is that subjects are involved in all aspects of the research (Heron, 1996). Ideas of a participative relationship between all members of the group including the person initiating the research are consistent with White's (2001) ideas about

alternative identity claims being socially negotiated/constructed, which as previously mentioned, are central to this investigation.

The participative relationship of co-operative inquiry which positions all members as co-researchers, seeks to involve all members in decisions relating to the methods employed in the research. Again this is consistent with an intention to respect and acknowledge the skills and experiences of participants. In this instance participants are also members of a community of professional counsellors and co-operative inquiry enables us to work collaboratively.

Action and Reflection

Another defining feature of co-operative inquiry important to this project is intentional interplay between reflection and making meaning and experience and action (Heron, 1996). In this project members of the co-operative inquiry group joined together as co-researchers and within the context of the group, individuals at various times participated in storytelling, listening, reflecting and inquiring. My intention was to use a structure for each session that would facilitate focussed conversation and provide for action and reflection. As stories were shared, questions were asked by members to further generate purposeful discussion. I also developed a Schedule of Interview Questions (*Proposed Schedule of Interview Questions - Appendix VI*), intended to generate discussion should that be necessary, to be given to participants during the course of our meetings together.

While one member spoke, other group members engaged in listening and then reflected and responded to the counsellor's story, engaging in narrative processes. The reflection and response was intended to join the group in the processes of inquiry which lead to researching the process of knowledge seeking and generating, with the focus on further implication for practice. It was expected that members would identify ideas to take back to their practice and subsequent meetings would provide opportunity to share experiences and knowledges produced.

Procedure for Recruiting Participants

Participants were selected on the basis of previously expressed interest in my chosen field of study. Participants recruited were all professional counsellors with whom I was acquainted in some way, all from within the same local and professional community. In conversations I had participated in some of these counsellors in the course of my usual professional activities, interest had been expressed in the value of exploring some of the Maori cultural ideas that inform the research, to their professional work.

The training backgrounds of participants in this group are diverse. All have some familiarity with narrative practices though narrative is not the primary approach to practice for one participant. Yet all have a familiarity with and embrace the kind of asking or co-researching (White, 1997) that narrative practice supports, which is discussed in Chapter Four.

Multiple Relationships

Crocket noted that “there are particular complexities in engaging a relatively small professional community in this kind of research: the issue of dual/multiple relationships is one of these” (1996, p.9). In my research group, not only did I have previous relationship with participants in this study (such as professional colleagues, supervision/consultation relationships; request for consultation) but participants also had other historical or existing relationships with each other within the local community.

Following in the path of Crocket (2001), I call on the work of Karl Tomm (1993) who, in exploring the issues associated in engaging in dual relationships, provided guidelines that supported me in functioning safely in this project. Further, I expected that we would all bring experience of successfully managing dual relationships to the group and that the dual relationships that exist within the group would be noted and this was accepted by the group and became part of the Agreed Ethical Guidelines (*Appendix IIIb*) (Crocket, 2001).

So with an awareness of these possible conflicts of interest, and appropriate safety strategies in place, I proceeded to invite four counsellors who have some understanding of social constructionist theory and some familiarity with narrative practices to join with me in forming an inquiry group of counsellors and co-researchers. Initially I informally contacted participants to ascertain their interest in the dual foci (discussed further, p. 60) of the proposed group and their availability. The four I approached all were interested in participating.

Consent Process Overview

Subscribing to an ethic of collaboration, I presented a two-stage informed consent process, following Crocket (2001), wherein the research guidelines were subject to the approval of participants as well as to the School of Education's Ethics Committee. In the first stage of this process I requested the endorsement of Ethics Committee for the proposed research guidelines with the understanding that after discussion and amendment by the research group, they would be returned to the Ethics Committee for final endorsement. These were then presented to participants as 'Proposed Guidelines' (*Appendices III, IV, V*). In this second stage of the process I asked participants to actively engage in amending or accepting the guidelines I was proposing and to work together to further develop a proposed working agreement in regard to the project. These became the 'Agreed Guidelines' (*Appendices IIIb, IVb, Vb*) which then received final endorsement by the Ethics Committee (Crocket, 2001).

Risk of Harm

Acknowledging the risk of harm in any inquiry process, I took responsibility to ensure group processes were respectful and followed the ethical guidelines to which the group agreed (and which had the endorsement of the Ethics' Committee). I clearly stated my expectation that all participants would share responsibility for ensuring safe and respectful processes. Also participants were informed of my availability to engage in discussion in regard to any concerns they may have about the project and its processes.

Preparation for First Meeting

Prior to meeting I provided participants with an information sheet, 'Information to Participants' (*Appendix I*) to assist them in their decision to commit to the research group process. In effect this was a letter to participants to formally introduce myself and the project. Importantly, I established myself as someone who acknowledged both Maori and European identities. The letter also outlined the reasons for my interest in the study and the importance of the study to counselling practice. I also provided these prospective research group members with the Research Consent Form (*Appendix II*), together with sheets outlining Proposed Ethical Guidelines (*Appendix III*), Proposed Structural Guidelines (*Appendix IV*) and a Proposed Working Agreement (*Appendix I*). The written consent form clearly informed participants of their right to withdraw or to withdraw specific pieces of information up to the time of agreeing to the draft. In the interests of minimising the impact of withdrawal on the project, following the initial meeting, I asked group members to make a commitment to participation in the group for the duration of the research process. The consent form was to ensure that all choosing to participate in the group were aware of the commitment they were making to the process.

Initial Meeting to Complete Stage Two of A Two Stage Consent Process

A meeting time was established that was mutually convenient to all participants. At this first meeting all proposed guidelines and the working agreement were discussed, and small alterations made which were subsequently returned to the Ethics Committee for their final approval. These became the 'Agreed Ethical

Guidelines' (*Appendix IIIb*), 'Agreed Structural Guidelines' (*Appendix IVb*) and 'Agreed Working Agreement' (*Appendix Vb*). Informed written consent was obtained and the group was formed. Once formed it was a closed group that met regularly, at times negotiated, over a three month period.

Negotiating Dates

In the process of negotiating suitable dates and times there were practical considerations relevant to the project and the research method that needed to be taken into account. The primary concern was to provide adequate space between meetings to allow participants practice opportunities for any ideas that would be produced within the group. This had to be balanced with maintaining the momentum of the group, which became a more obvious issue when the meeting was postponed due to illness on one occasion. There were also dates to meet academic requirements to be taken into consideration.

Internet Issues

Initial contact with participants was primarily through the internet via e-mail. This was the quickest and possibly the most efficient method of disseminating the above information. However, this raised other issues that required clarification and negotiation within the group. Particularly this related to the safety of e-mail addresses. Although various ideas were offered as to how transcripts might be e-mailed from this primary researcher to other group members in the interests of safety, the original idea of posting transcripts to participants was deemed most preferable by members.

Unwitting Participants

Though the inquiry group was a purposively selected group of practitioners, there were further contributors to the project and to generating data. These are the people whose life stories are interacting with the life stories of each member of the inquiry group, whether recent or over time. So in considering methodology, it was important that space to honour and acknowledge the presence and contribution of these people in the generation of knowledge and practice, and therefore to the research, was able to occur. Michael White's ideas in regard to "taking it back practices" (1997, p. 132) support the honouring of such contribution and group participants were encouraged to participate in such practices. This project was intentional in making space for 'taking it back practices' to occur. To this end, co-operative inquiry group members were asked to provide their clients with a Professional Disclosure Statement either written or verbal. As well as being a way of protecting client confidentiality and practising transparent processes, it also informed clients that he/she was engaged in this research project:

JOHN: One of the things I wanted to say about this project is that it's added some really important things to my work to be able to have these conversations. I've had these conversations with some of my Maori clients and said that I'm doing this and so we've had some conversations that we haven't had before.

In this way the Professional Disclosure Statement became useful as a device to open space for the counsellor to engage in specific conversation with their clients. This honours the acts of trust and inclusion the client has already demonstrated by

engaging with the counsellor (White, 1997). The counsellor is also positioned to identify and acknowledge the exponential contribution of therapeutic conversations to his/her life and work and potentially to lives of many others through this research project.

Obtaining consent from clients and others whose stories had influenced the lives of participants required further discussion. There was the probability that some interactions that would be identified and retold in the context of influencing current identity claims would be significantly historical. This was especially so since the research called on participants to consider a broader range of interactions than those confined to their current counsellor/client encounters. Emerging from this discussion was the importance of the intention of the reporting and whether formal consent was possible to obtain or not. It was agreed that the focus would not be on the details of the clients' stories but rather on the influence of elements of stories on the participants' understandings of identity.

Confidentiality

Crocket (1996) draws attention to the possibilities in research to “acknowledge more fully and respectfully the voices of those who participated in it, than some of the traditional ideas about confidentiality of research participants have done” (p. 7). I refer here to the work of White (1995, 1997, 2001) and other leaders in the field of narrative therapy, who intentionally work towards ensuring their clients have public voice. Likewise I believe there have been possibilities in this research project to more fully honour participants' contributions by privileging such ideas

of voice, above the notion of anonymity that some traditional approaches to confidentiality privilege (Crocket, 2001).

My research method supported the ethic of participants being collaboratively engaged in the research and in the dissemination of the research outcomes. As a group we explored both the dilemmas and the possibilities in regard to confidentiality. Clearly the safety of confidentiality was necessary in order to promote free discussion of issues related to our work, however my concern was also that “confidentiality concerns did not disembodify the voices of those who were engaged in rich production, creation and generation of practices and ideas in the course of this research” (Crocket, 1996, p. 7).

It was critical also that the confidentiality of the counselling clients of the counsellors involved in this project were protected as we engaged in this research work and consequently, appropriate safeguards were established.

Bracketing Conversations

There are power relations inherent in the formal roles of academic researcher and primary facilitator of the inquiry group that privilege those positions. Prior to the first meeting with participants I became increasingly aware of the potential these roles that I held, together with my ethnic and cultural backgrounds and identities, had to limit conversation possibilities that a group of Pakeha New Zealanders might otherwise have in this context. In our group discussion to amend and/or confirm the structural guidelines we discussed my positioning within the group in terms of my research responsibilities and also my cultural identities. Particularly,

we considered the possible effects on the group dynamics such as the silencing of some voices that this project was seeking to hear, due to risk of offending. In an effort to pre-empt or at least to minimise this occurring, I offered to the group the idea of creating space in our processes for ‘bracketing conversations’ (personal communication, Crocket, 2004). Bracketed conversations provided conversation space, separate from the main conversation, where its tentative, exploratory nature was signalled. This was intended to potentially enable members to voice their concerns in language that was accessible to them in the moment of speaking. Members readily accepted this idea and its addition represents the main change to the Agreements.

A bracketed conversation draws loosely on White’s ‘outsider-witness’ practices and effectively makes space for an otherwise ‘too difficult’ conversation to occur or a ‘struggling to be told’ story, to finally be told. In bracketing a conversation we accept that the intent of our conversation is to respect others and the kaupapa of our work. It is an intentional acknowledgement of the struggle that is inherent in the articulating of partial knowledges, in the production of new knowledges and in the revision of identity conclusions.

Even as we engaged in co-researching for the purposes of this project there were times difficulty was encountered in finding language to enter the conversation in a way that adequately conveyed the ideas that were intended. In one instance a member requested we ‘bracket’ a conversation so that space for the difficult conversation could be found more readily.

The discussion between participants generated other possibilities for its usefulness and application. Most notably and very pertinent to our particular group was its usefulness given the complex and multiple relationships held between group members. Bracketing conversations offered participants space to have the conversations that could arise when the complexity of such relationships might otherwise be limiting or silencing.

The 'Bracketed Conversation Structure' agreed on is detailed in the Agreed Structural Guidelines (*Appendix Vb*).

Dual Foci and Recording Processes

This co-operative inquiry group was established with dual foci (Crocket, 2001). It was structured to provide professional development for its members in a group setting as well as maintaining a research focus, within informally structured sessions. Members participated in peer consultation in respect to working and growing work reflecting Maori understandings in their practice. It was expected that members would bring experiences of practice that would contribute to professional practice and identity.

Crocket draws attention to the potential conflict of interest where a group is established with dual foci - in this project the foci being research and professional development. The methodology adopted resists the bifurcation of research and practice but the responsibility was still mine to ensure both were given appropriate consideration and that the balance was acceptable to participants (2001).

Again guided by Crocket (2001), a variety of methods were utilized to assist in recording both the process and the knowledges produced. The primary method was to audio record all meetings of the group. Prior to the subsequent meeting occurring, all group members were provided with two copies of the transcripts. Participants were asked to record written comments on one of these copies, which was to be returned to me. The second copy was retained by the participants for their own use. I also asked for further verbal comment at the following meeting.

Additionally, I recorded some written notes in the meetings to help with recalling some details of conversation not readily observable on audiotape. Members were also accorded the same freedom to take notes written notes with the responsibility being theirs to ensure the safety of such notes. They were also asked to diarise “their experiences and learnings” (p. 5) from both within the group and within their professional practices, where these related to the focus of the group.

In the interests of recalling and recording as much of the non-verbal language that was available in the context of the meetings, I chose to transcribe the audio tapes rather than to engage an external transcriber. These tapes were transcribed within as short a timeframe as was practicable and distributed to members as described.

Inviting members to make written comments on the transcripts to contribute further to discussion resulted only in the identification of speakers where this, at times, was difficult to discern. The request of members to diarise ideas and practices arising from meeting discussions did not result in any further written

data being collected. However, the request to make diaries resulted in participants intentionally making notes, either written or mental, to bring and to share, which were generative of further discussion.

The tight timeframe and the time of year the research was conducted were contributors to the difficulty for participants to engage in these processes more fully. The demands of the research project needed to balance alongside the significant demands of their professional worlds, together with their personal circumstances and for some, academic demands. Another factor to be considered here was the struggle members had in seeing their verbal comments, reproduced in written form. This is discussed further in the data analysis.

Discussions Between Members

Also arising from the participants being members of a local community and having multiple relationships with each other, was the possibility of discussion between two or more participants, related to the project outside formal meeting times. Since ongoing discussion is highly relevant to the project, such conversations were agreed to and encouraged. The prime concern for this researcher was that relevant ideas would be noted and feedback brought to the group for ongoing consideration. The various reporting back structures for this project supported this occurring.

Data Analysis

My research has not been a search to uncover pre-existing truths about Pakeha identity or Pakeha society. Rather it has been an endeavour to appreciate the social and relational histories that make certain discourses available to members of this society, whereby identity is constructed.

In this way, the approach I have adopted in the analysis of the data could be loosely labelled as discourse analysis. Such an approach mirrors the approach to conversation that the research group engaged in. Space was made for stories to be told and then members worked at deconstructing these to make more visible how knowledges and practices are constructed historically and culturally. Our questioning was guided by the landscapes of action and of identity (Bruner, 1986; White, 1991). Briefly, landscape of action questions work to plot sequences of events through time and landscape of identity questions work to explore the meanings and values that people give to their experiences. In drawing from the data, my intention has been to further emphasise this approach and its application to understanding current identity claims and to support ongoing identity constructions.

Ethics of Representation

One of the struggles experienced by participants was the struggle to give an accurate representation of their work with others given the limitations of the research agenda. The issue of teasing stories out of their context (addressed in other places) leaves participants words potentially vulnerable for interpretation,

which was not necessarily intended. Also ideas offered at the time our research meetings occurred were representative of some of thought of participants at that particular moment in time. Participants were calling on discourses that were available to them at a particular time in history.

The issue of transfer between the spoken and the written word is also significant in creating further potential vulnerability for participants. This is particularly pertinent since I have intentionally selected pieces of transcript to support the purposes of this research project. This further isolates these stories from the context in which they were experienced.

In writing this research project, through ongoing consultation with participants, I have taken up the responsibility to ensure that participants' work is represented as accurately as possible and that potential vulnerability is made visible. In particular, as well as having opportunity to comment or withdraw at the draft phase of writing, I also readdressed the issue of anonymity or identification with participants. This offered participants further opportunity to discuss and reconsider their earlier decision to be identified should potential vulnerability be of concern to them.

I forwarded a letter to all members requesting they consult with each other and then to inform me of their final decision so that appropriate changes could be made should that be required. A copy of this letter was then forwarded to the Ethics Committee (*Appendix VII*). The decision of participants was to remain anonymous and therefore pseudonyms to protect anonymity have been assigned and used within this work.

OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH METHOD

Throughout discussions we regularly grappled with identifying the knowledges and practices arising from exposure to Maori knowledges and in the articulation of Pakeha New Zealand identity constructions that were being produced. Also, in the latter part of the inquiry, we considered what we would like to communicate to others about the knowledges and practices we had been generating, exploring and struggling with together. The co-operative inquiry group was also intentional in reviewing members' experiences of the group and reflected regularly on the research focus of this project. Using the structure outlined and utilising narrative approaches to engage in discussion, the group provided peer consultation for its members as well as maintaining the research focus. In holding these dual foci we opened space for possibilities for practice to emerge that reflected rising identity claims. Even so, with this structure in place to maintain the foci of the group, in reality our experiences also mirrored those that Heron described when he noted: "what happens in the living presence of a group will be much more creatively delightful, disorganised, incomplete and distraught" (Heron, 1996, p. 62). My work has been to take the creativity of ideas that is produced in such a milieu and utilising the methods described, tell a story of identity that is dynamic and compelling.

CHAPTER FOUR
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STORIES FROM THE GROUP: PART ONE
CONTEXT AND TIME

INTRODUCTION

I have been intentional in making my activities visible throughout this project, an orientation which is consistent with my chosen research and theoretical approaches. This position is also evident throughout this section, where as a co-researcher/ participant, my voice is heard along with my colleagues as I join with them in discussion and contribution. Drawing on Squire's work, Burr (1995) pointed out that the traditional language of psychological research reports "obscure(s) the activity of the researcher" and the passive language of the "absent investigator" works to establish "scientific order and truth at the expense of chaos and errors in the field" (Squire in Burr, 1995, p. 165). From the outset it was clear that such an absent investigator approach could not do justice to the complexities and contradictions that are woven through the multiplicity of ideas about identity. In as much as chaos is a part of the fibre of lived human existence and experience, it is welcomed and celebrated in this project at the same time as I offer a particular 'order' in the presentations offered here.

I have begun with taking some of the claims I have made about identity differing to that of our colonial forbears and listening for participants responses to such a claim. A larger claim, that ‘we are all impacted by Maori culture by simply living in this nation’, is also explored and ideas about how identity has been and is being produced, are teased out.

In the analysis I trace with participants their journeys through time to the present. Stories are told of historical struggles, both ancestral, and also their own, particularly through the last three decades. I draw attention to the discourses that shaped previous understandings of identity through to current understandings and discourses. I highlight the discourses that have become available over time to participants and how such discourses have challenged dominant societal assumptions about the ‘way things are’. Throughout the analysis, the struggle or resistance against power relations that support ‘unfairness’ is highlighted. The purpose of such an analysis is to emphasise the notion of identity being socially-constructed and dynamic. I intentionally work toward subverting “naturalistic accounts of identity and of life” and the idea that we are bound to the “unquestioned reproduction of them in our lives and in our work with others” (White, 2004, p. 132).

Research as a Record

In social constructionist terms, identity is socially-negotiated and therefore constructed in communities of people (White, 2001). Among the many possible sites for identity construction, traces can be found where “inscriptions are entered into public files” (White, 2001, p. 12). Recording is part of the process of

research where thoughts and narratives are given longevity by the written word, becoming part of the 'public file'. The recording process sets them apart from the myriad other stories that in life they sit amongst.

This following piece of conversation occurred in the third meeting. In giving particular stories attention in the research process, further meaning-making and identity is created. John highlights the struggle he has with selecting and telling any particular story recognizing that other meanings are being ascribed. In selecting out a story, a single strand, meanings that might otherwise be available if other stories that are woven about it were to be told, are unexplored. Turning to the language of poetry, John sees it as a vehicle that supports his desire to imagine or think beyond the "*particularities*" of an experience as contrasted with the starkness of other spoken or written statements.

JOHN: I was thinking that the language of poetry is more suited to making these kind of descriptions, that we've been talking about. It isn't like some reductionist kind of statement about this – it's evocative and it suggests more than what is stated... I think you can [tell a particular story] as long as it isn't a claim that it's the only story. When I was reading the transcripts and it's written down, it looks really frightening – wow, it's frozen there written down.

John voices the dilemma that all members expressed in various ways during the course of the research meetings. So it is with this in mind, I acknowledge that the stories and ideas that follow are told and selected for the re-telling, to serve the purposes of this research project, and that many other stories, though significant, are necessarily omitted.

The Context of Our Conversation

The conversations in this project took place in 2004. Apart from myself, all participants practise counselling locally in a provincial town in the North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand. In the latter part of 2004 we joined together as a small community of social practitioners for the purposes of my research project. The comments expressed here are representations of views articulated by the speakers at that particular point in time. The speech selected has also been subjected to the rigours of analysis, and though much dialogue is unable to be included, care has been taken to attempt to accurately represent the intention of the speakers. The group was made up of four women and one man.

CONTEXT

CONTEXT: DISTINCTIONS ABOUT PLACES

Participants shared stories of leaving Aotearoa New Zealand for England (referred to later as the “*mother country*”) and other places, where they expected to find significant similarity in culture and identity, but were struck instead by the difference they encountered. Their narratives indicate defining moments of awareness for them of the distinctiveness of Pakeha Aotearoa New Zealand culture/identity from the way identity is performed in the current cultures in the places from which their forbears originated. These stories also demonstrate the struggle involved in articulating that distinctiveness.

Distinctions Between Aotearoa New Zealand and the United Kingdom

Recalling her first visit to the United Kingdom, Jill speaks of her response to her first experience of being immersed in British culture:

Jill: ... when I was in England I had made the assumption that because we were from British stock, I would go there and it would be quite the same and it wasn't! At all! It was really different. The culture's really different to Pakeha or white culture. ... At the time I thought well what an assumption to make! I thought why did I make that assumption? And how come I thought that I would go there and think it would be quite similar and I would know the rules. But the rules were quite different. The cultural rules were quite different and the way you went about things was quite different, in all sorts of ways. Social work, counselling, was quite different; how you would approach people. I hadn't accounted for the change or what might have happened along the way for Pakeha culture here – it's different'.

John too speaks of noticing difference to his British forbears and describes his comfort with emerging Pakeha identity. In this context these two notions are interwoven: recognition of difference to forbears and recognition of alternative identity options. John questions the contribution of his European forbears to his identity as he notices the contribution of Maori culture/ knowledges both to his Pakeha identity and a national identity.

JOHN: I would have thought until recently that European would be what one of my identities was and then talking to European people I'm thinking "no, shit no, I'm not English so I have to be something else". I'm really happy with the Pakeha identity because it's attached to this place and to some values. Michael King talked about some of those particular values that he

saw being attached to New Zealanders. Not just Maori or Pakeha but to New Zealanders. And you could probably trace some of them, I'm sure, back to communities in England or Ireland and, Scotland, as well as the influences of Maori culture.

John calls on historian Michael King's research in regard to values held by some of the early settlers to this country and the ongoing influence of those values in relation to unique Pakeha identity. However, John notes that his English connection is no longer accurate enough for him to identify himself as English. Rather Pakeha identity, which is identification in relation to Maori, is more relevant to him.

Distinctions Between Australians and Aotearoa New Zealanders

Australia was another location where some participants felt it might reasonably be assumed there would be significant similarity in "white" identity given that "we come from similar stock". Meg continues with this thought as she reflects on her impressions of difference when visiting Australia. In her response, Meg attributes this difference to interaction with Maori culture:

MEG: I've always sort of thought Australians and New Zealanders would be pretty similar, because we come from similar stock, and we're in a similar area. I think New Zealand's identity is shaped by Maori culture. When I was in Australia I was thinking, you know this is kind of like Pakeha New Zealand but it's much more cosmopolitan but there is something else that isn't [in Australia], that's in my daily living in New Zealand, which is pretty Pakeha. My world is pretty Pakeha.

In the segments we have considered, Natalie, Meg and John all allude to a national ‘Pakeha’ identity and culture, shaped uniquely in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Distinctions Recognised by Outsiders

Picking up this notion of unique Pakeha identity, like Natalie, John also speaks of dismantling assumptions of ‘sameness’ with colonial origins. He speaks specifically of the recognition of difference being two-way – experienced both by those who are from places outside of Aotearoa New Zealand, such as the UK and Australia, as well as by ‘multi-generationed’ Pakeha Aotearoa New Zealanders.

JOHN: ...there is a distinction that outsiders recognise and that we recognise with people outside of New Zealand. Not so long ago you would have been the same thing, identical.

However, recognition of unique identity continues. It is also noticed by groups of Aotearoa New Zealanders, other than those who can stake claim to generations of belonging to this land, and who are considered by some ‘multi-generationed’ Aotearoa New Zealanders to be outsiders, that is, ‘first generation’ Aotearoa New Zealanders.

Distinctions Experienced by First Generation Aotearoa New Zealanders

It is not only migrants and visitors to and from places such as the United Kingdom and Australia whose experiences of difference reflect and support the notion of the dynamic nature of identity. John continues by recounting a story that demonstrates how quickly alternative constructions of identity are produced,

alternative to those that are continuing to be produced in a ‘mother country’. He shares a story of first generation Asian Aotearoa New Zealanders who return to their parents’ country of origin to find themselves significantly different to their family there. Meanwhile they continue to struggle to find a place of acceptance in Aotearoa New Zealand, their country of birth.

JOHN: There was a documentary on Asians in New Zealand. They were talking about the same thing and they went back to China or Japan and they didn’t belong. They weren’t the same as Chinese or Japanese. When they were here they weren’t seen to be New Zealanders either.

The young people in the documentary considered themselves to be Asian New Zealanders however, it would seem apparent from this story that alternative constructions of identity are not paced by dominant culture’s admittance of these identity claims to society. Referring to Foucault’s ideas of power and knowledge, the story of struggle and resistance appear to be an inevitable feature of people’s stories of ongoing identity construction and particularly as they work toward the “authentication of their preferred identity claims” (White, 2001, p. 22) in society.

I now consider another site of distinction that was identified in our conversations, existing within the shores of Aotearoa New Zealand, which Natalie takes up in this next discussion.

Distinctions Between North Islanders and South Islanders

“...talking about Pakeha New Zealand, it is constructed in connection with Maori ways. As if we could even think one could be existent about without the other...”

(Anne Geroski, personal communication, 2004)

I offered the above statement as an invitation to group members to consider how their identities might have been shaped by interaction with Maori knowledges.

Natalie made the following response:

NATALIE ... I came from the South Island and my first experience of living in the North Island was on a marae for a weekend and I had no idea of what the reality of that would be even though I'd read and studied when I was at the College of Ed. It was completely different. And I don't think that my mother and her friends [in the South Island] have any idea about that.

From a social constructionist position, identity is “constructed out of discourses culturally available to us, and which we draw upon in our communications with other people” (Burr, 1995, p. 51). In the environment that Natalie describes there is significantly less physical interaction with Maori and overt Maori practices, and therefore less interaction with Maori ideas in the construction of Pakeha identity. Natalie’s recollection of her experiences in the South Island in the 50s and 60s and the relative absence of interaction with Maori meant that Maori cultural discourses were not as readily available to her generation or earlier generations of Pakeha in that location. Yet identity is not static and White (2001) contends people hold a range of identity conclusions that are constantly being negotiated and renegotiated and “filed into the identity categories of the mind” (p. 19).

Further he states that people's actions and responses are shaped by these identity conclusions "which are circumscribed by contemporary culture's favoured notions of identity" (p. 19). The discourses most readily available in this instance are those of dominant Pakeha Aotearoa New Zealand culture. Though significant progress has been made in some quarters in recent times towards more honouring positions, these dominant discourses continue to be marginalising of Maori knowledges, and in the 50s and 60s this was particularly so.

Geographically, there are still many areas, and people, that are relatively isolated from physical interaction with Maori. However, the process that allows the construction of the Pakeha identity continues, and necessarily differentiates between that which is Pakeha and that which is not, as alternative ideas become available. This interaction is visible or invisible to varying and significant degrees. Burr says that "people's identities are achieved by a subtle interweaving of many different 'threads' ... through the discourses that are present in our culture" (p. 51). Consistent with Burr and in further response to Geroski's statement and Natalie's observations, Meg offers the following:

MEG: I actually think that we're all affected by Maori knowledges whether we know it or not because now it's in our social policy. It is actually worded in our laws and things. So that whether we live in the South Island or not, there perhaps might be ways of speaking we might not have done previously.

Natalie continues on to describe the point where she was 'immersed' in Maori cultural ways of experiencing the world. This is a significant demarcation point for Natalie. It is the point at which alternative discourses (regarding Maori

constructions of knowledge) now became readily available to Natalie to draw from in the construction of identity.

NATALIE: I've found Glenn Colquhoun's writings so powerful because my experience of moving up to Opotiki was a bit like what he was describing in that book, 'Jumping Ship'. Going to a small area that was largely Maori that operated on all of the things that were there. And I had to fit into it. It was immersion, that's what it was.

Continuing, Natalie speaks of the challenges of interacting with te ao Maori and differing cultural ideas. Natalie begins by noticing the difference to her work as a social practitioner, then describes the impact of interaction with the world of Maori on her identity and how she is impacted by the growing differences she experiences, from family and friends who continue to have less access to Maori cultural discourses.

NATALIE ...but also in the job that I'm in now and I think that I might know something or I think that I might have a bit of an idea how do go about something then I have to learn again because it's not about a one size fits all kind of idea ... It was a marvellous challenge in that my interaction with this world that I hadn't encountered before in ways that it functioned there, threw up lots of challenges for me about how I saw myself and what I thought the world was like.

And there were just new things about that, that I had not even experienced before that it helped to make me more of myself I guess. But also I just found out a lot more about other ways of being that I didn't really know about that I hadn't experienced. I think that my experience now is that I have an experience of 'not knowing' and having come face to face with assumptions that I might be making, that I know what that person [is about]. I don't. And

[I'm] learning to be comfortable with the fact that I don't know. I don't have to because I can interact with whatever's happening and find out about it that way.

And those things change me all the time - change me forever because there's nothing to take for granted. The more I find out, the more I experience, the richer it is, I guess. That's been my experience and once you've kind of headed into that direction, you can't go back.

So it's sort of a shock to go and spend time down with my mother and her friends. It is just a hugely different way of looking at the world that it is difficult to mount an argument because it is just quite strange and different.

But I guess it's possible to kind of just sort of look through one eye or something... and so that's a whole experience I guess I'm talking about and thinking about. [People] think that they have the whole picture and it's a completely different one to the one I have. [It's] a whole different shape. And it's changed me. I can understand a bit about what [Colquhoun] is saying when he says these things. I can't live there anymore. It's just not the way that I see myself as a New Zealander any more.

Natalie has been impacted by her engagement with Maori culture and this has presented her with options for identity negotiation that were previously less available to her. Natalie says “*it is difficult to mount an argument*”, acknowledging the many strands there are to her identity claims and to those of others who make claims vastly different to her own. It is not to say that one understanding of identity replaces another but rather that there is a complex weaving of strands as other cultural discourses become available, with people's lives becoming “multi-purposed and multi-layered” (White, 2001, p. 20).

John earlier alluded to Aotearoa New Zealand's British colonial history, which historically made British, and particularly English discourses readily available. This history has provided the cultural material for the early identity claims that participants refer to, and the material from which many of the 'ways of doing things' in this country have been constructed.

The following are two significant and specific sites within Aotearoa New Zealand society identified by participants for discussion: education and grieving. Whilst not geographical places, these sites demonstrate both colonial origins and movement that has occurred that is producing expression unique to Aotearoa New Zealand identity.

Distinctions In the Site of Education

Natalie relates a story that draws attention to what has become the traditional 'way of doing things' in the site of formal education. She describes her graduation experience within Aotearoa New Zealand in the 70s as strongly demonstrating links to English ceremonial proceedings. Particularly, Natalie speaks of noticing her disconnection from the proceedings and how at the time she struggled with making sense of that disconnection:

NATALIE: I just keep remembering the graduation ceremony when I got my masterate. It was very medieval England, very processional and it didn't do anything for me and I couldn't quite work out why it failed to make it kind of special but it really didn't – it was a strange kind of process. The medieval procession which I thought I would be able to identify with and that somehow

was going to reach into me and touch my heart with some kind of connections with my ancestors, didn't.

Natalie then contrasts this early graduation experience of the 70s with one she later attended in the 90s and describes the marked difference between the ceremonies. This latter graduation, which incorporates strong Maori expressions, made other ideas available to Natalie to draw on that have helped her to have more understanding of her earlier disconnection. Though these ideas of Maori celebration and ceremony were not unfamiliar to Natalie, from this point she was able to describe them as “*a part of who I am*”.

NATALIE: ... I went to a friend's ceremony and there were a number of Maori who were graduating as well. And when they came up, the chant came through, and the haka. And all kinds of things happened and they came up with cloaks on. And suddenly it transformed the whole ceremony. I was watching from the audience and suddenly it made a whole lot more sense for me. It was really moving and I wish that we'd been able to do that for the other ceremony. This is recent. This wasn't in the 70s when I got my other degree, but this was in the 90s and it was so much more. It was so relevant I suppose. It was the whole process. I remember, the people around me. We all leapt to our feet and joined in the waiata and I thought great! Those were the kinds of things that made me realise that actually it's a really important part of who I am.

We might ask here what has made the shift towards Maori ideas and expression more available for spontaneous access in mainstream ceremony, possible? We might further ask how Maori ideas and expression have contributed in the production of Pakeha identity? Drawing on Foucault's understandings of power and knowledge, Burr (1995) says “the power to act in particular ways, to claim

resources, to control or be controlled depends on the ‘knowledges’ currently prevailing in a society.” According to Foucault, the other side to this idea about power is that every “dominant or prevailing discourse is continually subject to contestation or resistance” (p. 64). These ideas about the way in which knowledges become acceptable in a society and how alternative knowledges are admitted, through resistance, unfolds as our participants continue to tell their stories about the way Pakeha identity is being produced.

Distinctions in the Site of Grieving

The ceremony and protocols that surround grieving in Aotearoa New Zealand have traditionally been strongly linked to a British colonial heritage. As with the site of education, participants relate experiences and expressions of grief that are consistent with our colonial ties. They also tell of other grieving experiences that have been influenced as strongly by Maori ideas demonstrating a shift towards unique Pakeha expression.

NATALIE: It was pretty amazing, and when the body arrived, because the people were supposed to be there from 4 o'clock onwards and the body didn't arrive on the school marae until about 6 o'clock so some people sat for two hours waiting and that was a really good time for people to talk. And they talked about it afterwards that at a Pakeha funeral you know, it's at 11 and you turn up at 'twenty to' and find a seat and sit quietly and talk to people on either side of you. At this one the people waited because there wasn't a time. It was going to happen when it happened. And they also had, the first part of the service was following Maori tikanga and the second part the revivalist church came in and did some of the service so it was the two different services once again. And there were Maori kids and Pakeha kids who both were able to stand up and say things. But some of them hadn't been on a marae before

and I didn't realise that until the teacher that took them said that they didn't know what to do when they got on the marae they hadn't been schooled in the protocol but the fact that they were going [because their view was] you just go and do that, that's what you do.

An important idea is raised in this continuation of conversation in regard to differences in processes surrounding death. In contrast to Maori ceremony, it is noted that traditional English processes appear stark and devoid of emotion. At first glance one might conclude there is little ceremony involved. However, as this conversation between Meg and Natalie demonstrates, there is ceremony of a different nature with clear protocols to draw on. The issue is perhaps whether this is now satisfying enough to a growing number of Pakeha New Zealanders. The idea of a “self-contained”, individual response is brought into question in favour of a “community” response.

NATALIE: There was a student who died when he was overseas and they brought the body back. [I offer this] as an example of something that was quite different: they drove the hearse through the school and the boys all lined up and that was it basically. They drove the hearse past the boys and on to the funeral home and the boys all stood. There was no preparation, no taking care of them and there was nothing for them to say or do in relation to the boy who had died. I was really concerned about taking all the kids out of class and getting them to stand in line and then putting them all back in class and getting them on with their maths or whatever – how that would be for them. I don't know how it was actually because the boys probably got all staunch about it and didn't react at school. That's a completely different way of doing something. I suppose it has its origins in the same sort of idea about leave taking, paying respect and being able to say goodbye and so on. But it just didn't have any kind of thoughtful process behind it or any protocols to follow.

MEG: I have an idea it did but [the protocols] were quite different. That's quite an English tradition when you think about it. You drive the hearse. You know, the Queen dies, you drive the [hearse]. And I was thinking about the military, military funeral and the guards of honour etc, etc.

NATALIE: Yes, that's true. I was actually thinking about Anzac Day because they make a big deal out of Anzac Day at [that high school]. It was like that. I guess there's nowhere for people to put themselves in relation to it. It's very private isn't it, whatever you think as it drives past? Very self-contained it's not a community response.

MEG: In that book [Jumping Ship] [Glenn Colquhoun] was talking about Celtic traditions and I always think of the starchy Pakeha funerals as being in that stiff upper lip English tradition and then these things that I don't know much about apart from reading Irish novels... wakes and some more noise and talking and celebrating and arguing and drinking.

John also questions his responses to various expressions of grief, which strongly show a preference for some Maori ways of expression. There are other expressions of grief and grieving available to John as a Pakeha New Zealander that would not be available to English culture.

JOHN ... in that English programme on TV, William and Mary, did you see that one where the woman killed her children and it was at the funeral? I remember thinking what that needed was a haka. They were standing around there and they were really angry and they were sad. There was nothing to do but to stand there quietly. And it was like it needed something else that wasn't within the grasp of their culture. It was really curious to me to find that as a Pakeha New Zealander, I would have been thinking that people should have been bursting into a haka.

JOY: So [are you saying] there are more things to draw from? There are more ways of expression to draw on [that are] available?

JOHN: Yes.

NATALIE: [Yes], and much deeper too. I mean my experience of a boy dying at this school and my last experience of a boy dying when I was a trainee counsellor, was just completely different. [This time it was] a much deeper and richer experience. The last time we tried to do a kind of tangi of our own, decades ago now, and it worked but it wasn't quite as good. We didn't have all the elements.

The story so far has taken our attention to the uniqueness of identity between Pakeha and those of the descendants of our early European forbears. We have touched on the dynamic nature of identity and the rapid movement in the ongoing production of identity as experienced by first generation Aotearoa New Zealanders. We have looked at distinctions in identity within our own shores. We have also noticed strong threads of our colonial past traditionally expressed in the sites of education and grieving. We have also glimpsed the admittance of some expression of Maori cultural ideas of celebration and ceremony into these sites that is contributing to unique Pakeha identity.

CONTEXT: DISTINCTIONS OVER TIME

We have considered to some extent the distinctions in identity that occur, which effectively owe their uniqueness to interaction within a particular physical context or defined sites of ceremony. Another significant factor in identity construction involves strands being woven in complex and unique ways over time as people

interact with discourses within their social and cultural contexts in particular points in history. In telling stories of identity in this project, participants trace their journeys through time. The stories told represent their histories of events, recalled some decades later, as viewed through their eyes and told in their words at the time these conversations occurred in 2004.

Time: Distinctions in Response to Cultural Material

Diminishing claims Still Surfacing

A prevalent theme in our discussions was that conversations are now possible which were not possible in earlier decades. Members compare early experiences to the possibilities that now exist, which allow for richer identity claims. However, again we are reminded that there are multiple stories of identity. These stories of identity include those that continue to be diminishing of Maori knowledges and culture. Considered by participants to be outdated and prevalent three decades ago, Natalie gives examples of the performance of diminishing claims, still being performed.

NATALIE: I was very surprised to hear both of those conversations again and particularly that one about the women don't have a role on the marae which is just laughable. I just thought it was so ridiculous this would be coming up again and that there would be such a lack of understanding about it and so there are those little pockets. And the conversations that I've had that are about those kind of institutionalised racism things. One of the women that I spoke to was talking about going into a shop with a friend, a Pakeha friend and she was wandering about looking at things and my Maori friend had someone standing next to her because she thought she was going to shoplift. She realised that that was what she was doing, following her around. She

thought she was going [to shoplift]. I just found that absolutely crushing and terrible that that would be still happening. That's something that would have happened over 30 years ago.

Natalie's response to encountering views that she considers to be outdated and which produce Maori as subjugated subjects, begins to highlight the ongoing impact on Pakeha New Zealanders who find themselves positioned as compassionate witnesses (Weingarten, 2003b) to Maori who experience such dishonouring events.

Time: Distinctions in Access to Cultural Material

Exposure to 'Maori' Over Time producing Pakeha identity

However, alongside the stories that are subjugating of Maori identity and marginalizing of Maori culture, there are also stories that tell of a growing honouring of Maori culture. Meg considers the history of the struggle she has experienced that has led to the increased availability of Maori language and knowledges in Aotearoa New Zealand society. She also highlights the differences in appreciation of things Maori and in identity claims between various individuals including family members. Meg gives an account that draws attention to the varied access over time for family members to alternative cultural discourses from which their identity claims and views of others are constructed.

MEG: I heard on the radio this morning Paul Revere and the Raiders singing The Cherokee Nation Song, and saying, 'one day the world will be ready for the Cherokee Nation'. Maybe it's that. The children of the 60s and the 70s are the grown ups of this country and the fact that we came through that time which was about breaking some of the rules, created some of the possibility in

our lives that isn't so creative in the [lives of others]. I have brothers and sisters who were not as influenced by some of the things that were happening in those times as I am, and their lives are very different to my life. Their Pakeha identity is very different to my Pakeha identity and is much more in the English tradition. And I'm not saying they're not proud to be New Zealanders. They would not say they were not New Zealanders but their Pakeha identity - I sort of think about it like a little jigsaw puzzle or something - it's got less of a whole lot of other cultural identities in it than I experience mine as. And it's sort of like, 'who did you rub up against? Where have you been?' And if that's what is shaping of us then if you've rubbed up against Maori culture and you have been [interacting with life] on the marae then that's got to become part of who you profess to be really. And if you haven't, then it's all around you but it's not going to be so much part of [your identity].

As well as demonstrating ongoing revision of identity, Meg's narrative further highlights the multiplicity of current Pakeha identity claims – all strands of a larger identity story that are woven together in the fabric of Aotearoa New Zealand society. Yet, perhaps most relevant is that Meg and others actively engaged with issues of justice and fairness and the valuing of marginalised cultures as demonstrated in 'The Cherokee Nation' song. In effect this meant 'breaking the rules' as prescribed by dominant culture. Effectively, Meg offers resistance to the 'rules' as one account of understanding the greater space that has been created over time towards walking more meaningfully in partnership with Maori.

Time: Struggle with Pakeha Guilt

‘Pakeha guilt’ is another strand that Meg raises as being woven into the history of the struggle toward understanding and appreciating Maori culture and knowledges.

MEG: But I think back in the days when, because I came through the whole Pakeha guilt thing. You know the land grabs and my ancestors and all that. And I was a Treaty trainer in the days of Pakeha guilt and you wouldn't ask those questions [exploring Maori knowledges] then because you were being so sort of respectful: and I'm not allowed to know anything about that and, sort of like being so conspicuously, 'I'm not intruding on your culture'.

John also speaks of the attempts in the 80s to redress some of the issues of the historical and ongoing injustices toward Maori, which created another deficit position:

JOHN: [It was a] deficit position [and I felt] I needed to atone for some of those things. ... I think I've found a way to step outside of that story. It was an unhelpful binary and so now there are things that can be celebrated... a place to stand.

There is now a place to stand in 2004 that John alludes to as a Pakeha New Zealander and also as a social service practitioner, that was previously not available on the terms of an atonement story. It is territory that lies outside the deficit story, yet still in view of it. I will discuss the kind of place that John is speaking of and what makes this space available, later in this chapter.

Time: Charge of Co-opting

There was a heightened awareness amongst members of the dangers of ‘co-opting’ Maori language and knowledges and thus further participating in the colonising of Maori. In the following conversation members trace a progression over time in the move from colonising practices, that produce Maori as subjugated subjects, toward practices that open space to negotiate meaning as a way forward, to produce mutually honouring relationships between Maori and Pakeha.

John, Jill and Meg continue the conversation that demonstrates changes that have become available to Pakeha social service practitioners over time:

JOHN: I was thinking about that question, “What difference as a Pakeha, has Maori culture made?” And it seems a really striking thing that as a Pakeha counsellor that you have supported that Maori woman in those ways that are about stepping into her culture. I don’t know if that’s how you would describe it. Do you think it’s different to what you were already doing, 5 or 10 years ago?

JILL: Yes, I do. But I think that maybe the change is more negotiated now. I would negotiate things more [now] or have the conversations more [now] rather than have ideas in my mind about how this should be. Those ideas being informed by things that I’d learnt from people or experiences that I’d had like at DSW, ‘this is how we go about things now’. Sometimes they didn’t fit or they wouldn’t work. Yes, well I’m not really sure why, but I wouldn’t have had those conversations [before] that [now] some people have talked about, about the Treaty, about the injustices that their ancestors were subjected to, like the abuse. [Before] I would have had some ideas in my own mind what it might have meant and not explored it.

MEG: I think there are more possibilities to have those conversations now, than before. We see things like the haka - where does it sit?

JOHN: I think there's a difference. I think there's a difference in Pakeha saying. "kia ora" now than there would have been 5 years ago say. I think you and I were talking about the Olympics. Pakeha, some of the gold medal winners, said the most moving thing was when they came back and the haka was done. I think that's a shift. I think that is a change.

MEG: Is it just about how inquiry processes or indigenous processes are likely to be co-opted into Western culture? I've always got that in my mind, how I'm working, whether I'm just co-opting that information in there to make it appear culturally appropriate or [a genuine interest].

In this previous comment Meg is drawing our attention to thinking about the way Maori knowledges are taken up and utilized in our society. She agrees change has occurred over time that has created space to be able to have conversations that were less possible to have in previous decades. She also does not assume that the space is always available. Also, she makes no assumptions about whether the space for conversation automatically means Maori knowledges are not being co-opted or that Pakeha practices in integrating elements of Maori culture are not colonising.

Time: Charge of Shaming

John draws from his experiences in the 70s and 80s that demonstrates more of the struggle of Pakeha and Maori to move towards a place of respectful partnership. He speaks about the risk of 'shaming Maori' by speaking of Maori knowledges, an issue that was particularly relevant twenty years ago.

JOHN: ... I think as a Pakeha saying, “kia ora” and calling forth Maori knowledges with Maori clients [in the 70s and 80s] there was a danger that you as Pakeha thought you knew what Maori were about, or you would be shaming Maori who didn't have some of those knowledges. As opposed to that [idea] that it could just be an everyday thing that New Zealanders do.

Twenty years have made saying “kia ora” an ordinary thing, a more widespread practice. John is drawing attention to the idea that there are now other available identities to inhabit than those that were available in earlier decades. He elaborates on this in the following discussion about the difficulties he experienced in attending some conferences in previous decades.

Time: Conferences

John describes prescribed ideas of practice for Pakeha practitioners in the 80s as positioning them in such a way that either asking or not asking about Maori knowledges was experienced as problematic. He tells how these ideas resulted in the exclusion of Pakeha therapists from work with Maori and their withdrawal from conferences:

JOHN: It wasn't that long ago was it that at [certain] conferences that certain correct ways of being for Pakeha therapists with Maori was specified and no alternatives were allowed? It brought all [of those] conferences to a halt. [They were] saying that Pakeha can't work with Maori.

It wasn't acceptable to not know either. You couldn't be in a position that you didn't know and you were asking because that was the evidence that you had failed to learn as a Pakeha. And you couldn't be in a position where you did

know, because you weren't entitled to know. It was almost impossible to take a position and it also put you in the position of not consulting the Maori people who came to see you because they were mistaken. In their desire to come and see you they had made a grave mistake because they should have been seeing Maori people and you should tell them that.

Maybe there's the space to do that [now]. I think that at those conferences, some people were so silenced [because] what was being made was a claim of authority, from a Pakeha point of view. It was an argument from an authority, that [they] knew what was best and [they] knew what was better than Pakeha therapists. They knew what was better for Maori who were seeking Pakeha therapists and they did so on the basis of their 'knowledge of Maori'. And from a narrative point, that was an unacceptable claim. So I don't know whether people just quietly went about doing the 'backing away from' [attending these conferences]. It was like the ultimate of that idea that was current at DSW at the time too. It was such an exaggerated version of it that there couldn't be any speaking about it and people went away. In saying that, I certainly don't want to support the alternative kind of line: that it's just as good for Maori to see Pakeha.

John's narrative demonstrates the extreme struggle experienced by some practitioners in their endeavours to find space to step into that would be honouring of both Maori and Pakeha knowledges.

Time: Knowledge Available Over Time

Participants through the course of our conversations referred often to a workshop that had been presented by Mason Durie, which is discussed in several places throughout this project. One of the significant outcomes that Natalie draws our attention to is the knowledge it made available for to Pakeha practitioners as well as Maori. This is knowledge that was not easily made available in earlier decades.

It was also significant that a well-respected Maori leader was offering the knowledge. In this sense there was a welcome, experienced by those amongst the group who had attended, to step into the space being offered.

NATALIE: Mason Durie talked about effective ways of working with Maori and talking about using being welcomed onto the marae like a metaphor for bringing some space, physical space to see if you're a safe person to be with. [He] compared the way people are brought onto the marae with the way that you might work in your counselling room so that you gave some space and welcomed people fully in and allow yourself to be seen for who you are.

I guess it really resonated with me that it isn't about binary things: that either you do it, you try and speak in Maori and do what they normally do, or you do it in a way that understands that these are things are called particular things in Maori but they make sense in other cultures as well. It is about the way we make connections with one another; the way we work out whether we are like or unlike or if this person can be trusted or those kinds of things. There was kind of a level of humility about that which wasn't about being politically correct or anything kind of superficial. It was a much deeper awareness of the sorts of things that happen when people come to counselling and when you meet them. It takes account of the power differences that could influence the way we work.

Effectively, offering knowledge represents a dramatic shift in thinking from the earlier ideas that participants spoke of in relation to conferences in the 80s and 90s that promoted separation of Pakeha and Maori in therapeutic spaces. Specifically, Durie offered the Maori process of powhiri to emphasise the importance of creating space for connection. In this next piece, John speaks of possibilities for testing the opening of space for conversation that might not otherwise occur. Specifically, he draws on narrative ideas of co-researching (Epston, 1989, 2004).

JOHN: I was talking to this Maori woman this week about this group and getting permission and we sort of had a discussion about the Treaty of Waitangi and also those little cues like, this time she didn't take her shoes off when she came and usually she does... and what did that mean that time? And that I would say, "kia ora" to Maori people who are coming to see me and what contribution that makes to opening up some space, that they would read that and think there is more room for me to bring different aspects of my life to the work. I guess the thing I was thinking about, about that was that at Social Welfare I was taught like they were binaries: there was Pakeha culture and there was Maori culture. When you see Maori people this is what you do irrespective of whether that was what the Maori person you were talking with thought was appropriate or not. That kind of co-researching. To me that is the kind of new form I suppose, that's the difference in my work. It used to be I'll just be myself and people will come and see me and that's their choice and then there was a piece at DSW about Pakeha have to do things in Maori ways when they see Maori. And then there's this kind of entering into a kind of conversation about what's going to happen.

In these accounts there is a definite shift over time for social service practitioners from the days when binary notions controlled and limited the ways that Pakeha practitioners were able to work with Maori clients. There was also limited access to knowledge and in invitation to take up Maori knowledges. From these excerpts there are voices such as Durie's in recent times that have beckoned Pakeha and Maori towards partnership and sharing together with honourable intention. There are also narrative ideas such as co-researching available to this group of participants that help to create and maintain the space for ongoing conversations to occur. These are ideas that are elaborated on further in this project.

Time: Identities Available Over Time

We have looked at the struggles participants have encountered in the production of identity over time as they have interacted with Maori knowledges and culture. In this next statement John speaks of “changing identity” and of the identities that are now available, which have been produced through struggle over time.

JOHN: And that's one of the things about the changing identity: that makes it possible to inhabit different identities now. What I can claim now is different to what I could claim without being challenged, say, 10 years ago.

John draws attention to the idea that available identities are situated in particular dimensions of time. This is not to say earlier constructions of identity are no longer available to others, as witnessed by participants earlier. However, it would suggest that further identity claims continue to be produced in the crucible of time and struggle which are not dependent on ‘outdated’ claims being non-existent.

Time: From Deficit to Honourable Tradition

So far I have highlighted the struggle participants have spoken about as they draw on narratives of history that position them as complicit in the colonisation of Maori.

I offered the following quotation from Pakeha New Zealand poet and author Glenn Colquhoun, to whom participants had earlier referred:

To be Pakeha in this generation is sometimes to stand behind the goal line scratching our heads... What we do next will define us. Accepting a loss could be good. We may discover a way of being we had forgotten. (Colquhoun 2004, p. 54).

John and Meg pick up the conversation that demonstrates a journey through time from charges of deficit to claims of honourable tradition.

JOY: Are there ways of being that [Pakeha] may have forgotten about that have been obscured by guilt and those kinds of ideas?

JOHN: I wonder if one strand is that an acquaintance with Maori culture reminds Pakeha people about things in their own culture that they want to pick up again? It gets them away from being the child country.

MEG: That's a really interesting idea because of those other links that we were talking about. Those kind of shadowy Celtic links with some of the ceremonies and protocols and tikanga that have a resonance, like a really good way to be doing things ...

John and Meg suggest that the idea of more 'honourable' European traditions, which have been largely obscured by the story of the 'coloniser', may be becoming more available as Pakeha interact with similar aspects of Maori culture. Further, Meg speaks of some European and Maori ideas resonating with each other and Maori ideas offering a preferred "way to be doing things". The ideas raised in this small piece of conversation speak very powerfully to the notion of contribution of te ao Maori to Pakeha identity.

NATALIE: You were talking about the delight in being able to embrace some of those new ideas that came from [embracing honourable intention], instead of being one step back and coming from a position of deficit.

Whilst celebrating the possibilities of stepping into the territory made available by stories of ‘honourable’ intention, the group is not contending that the ‘new’ story replaces the stories of injustice, but rather presents other options for action that would otherwise not be available. The importance of not displacing one story with another continues to be addressed in this section and later in the final discussion.

CHAPTER FIVE
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STORIES FROM THE GROUP: PART TWO
CONVERSATIONS IN 2004

WHAT CONVERSATIONS ARE POSSIBLE IN 2004?

SPACE: VALUE OF FAIRNESS

I have considered the significance of ‘place’ in the story of Pakeha identity construction. I have traced the movement through ‘time’ and identified various articulations of Pakeha identity. And importantly, I have considered the tensions since early colonial times as Pakeha New Zealanders have struggled to articulate accounts of identity, especially those that stand outside of accounts currently favoured by society and in some instances, therapeutic communities. Participants tell stories that historically have been obscured by other powerful stories. Binary notions, which work to create good and bad accounts, have supported the obscuring of stories. In these conversations, alongside stories of deficit, participants also offer alternative accounts that together bring hope for the rich interweaving of Maori and Pakeha knowledges. Participants suggest the value of fairness makes possible and undergirds the spaces within which alternative accounts are made visible.

Also to be noted is the celebration and delight in exploring identity that is possible by stepping into the space that fairness creates. It is the value of fairness that leads me to ask, “What is it now possible to say about Pakeha identity and Maori knowledges in 2004?” How might we describe the space that the value of fairness creates?”

Space to Explore

The first point to note is that ‘fairness’ opens space to explore.

John spoke earlier, of the evocative language of poetry being more suited to the telling of vignettes in stories of identity in that it encourages one to think beyond the obviously stated. If we consider this notion in terms of creating space, we could say there is space between the words for alternative possibilities to be imagined. The language of poetry was further pursued after the following excerpt from Glenn Colquhoun’s book ‘Jumping Ship’ was offered for discussion:

For me to be Pakeha now is to be in part Maori... For Pakeha in this land our border is Maori. In that sense Maori are inside of Pakeha and Pakeha are inside of Maori. We are rhyming cultures. Something similar in each of us is echoed in our differences. (Colquhoun, 2004, p. 53)

Participants recast Colquhoun’s ‘rhyming cultures’ as ‘rhyming couplets’ and continue the discussion:

JOHN: I really like that idea about the rhyming couplets. I have an idea that each piece of it is well-crafted and fits with the other piece of the couplet. Pakeha has some meaning of Maori in it. I mean it's a Maori word. But I don't know about the, inside of, piece. But that's a part of it, that you can't have Pakeha without Maori. You can't have Maori without Pakeha. Like a rhyming couplet, both pieces of the couplet are strong. They've had attention given to them to bring out the best message. And I suppose that's a radical difference from the Pakeha guilt or European kind of guilt [where], one side's wrong. It's sort of been a binary. Maori good, Europeans bad, or Europeans good, Maori bad. There's a change from that I think.

MEG: The thing about a rhyming couplet is that both lines probably make sense on their own and most lines can stand totally separately. But unless you put them together, you don't get the full sense that there could be of them. Each line has to make sense separately. [Together] they make something other. Not something the same. Not something overlapped. Something different again.

In calling on the term 'Pakeha' and considering its origins in Maori language, John echoes something of Homi Bhaba's notion of hybridity, referred to earlier, where the hybrid subject is created in "the moment at which discourses of the coloniser embrace traces of the language of the colonised" (Seuffert, 1999, p. 10).

Whether the Pakeha subjects produced are considered 'hybrid' or some other, Meg and John are drawing our attention to there being space available now for exploration of alternative articulations of Pakeha identity, which have the possibility of standing in partnership with articulations of Maori identity. This is a partnership where each is honoured for their contribution to the other.

JOHN: [Then] there's the story about women coming from Adam's rib or whatever, eh? Deficit stories that have been overturned and there are similar stories aren't there about indigenous cultures being assimilated because they were inferior. For me those ideas [of overturning deficit stories] came first from feminist ideas that Michael White had taken up into narrative. That's the other rhyming couplet isn't it?

John draws attention to the operation of fairness in respect of feminist ideas. He also draws parallels with ideas of fairness being embraced in respect of culture. John notes that feminist ideas are another significant strand in the story of the creating of space to be able to explore ideas of fairness and partnership. He continues:

JOHN: ...feminist ideas haven't been attractive to a lot of men because they are less well off by taking up feminist ideas unless they have an idea about justice or fairness cos they'll have to do more work around the home – you know what I mean. In practical terms that will be, there will be disadvantages unless they have a value about fairness. And I wonder if it's a bit like that with culture. ... it's about a celebration of difference so that we're not making up for a deficit as a Pakeha person, by learning Maori, that you're stepping further into that Pakeha/Maori identity or something to delight in, if that makes sense. I think that's a significantly different position.

John is drawing our attention to positions that are now available for Pakeha to take up in 2004, which were and are not available in the site of deficit. They are footholds for Maori and Pakeha to stand together in Aotearoa New Zealand. Such a repositioning of Maori/Pakeha relationships depends upon the value of fairness. We will explore further, later in this chapter, the concept of Pakeha having a place

to stand in Aotearoa New Zealand that is about now having available a landscape of ideas within which to roam.

Space to ‘Say Who You Are’

Amongst the weaving of strands of identity, a critical space to ‘say who you are’ is created by the privileging of the value of fairness. This is the space where Pakeha can begin to articulate preferred identity claims in relation to Maori. Echoing the idea of the couplet, Meg speaks of the importance of saying ‘who you are not’ in the construction of identity, and to the attempt to articulate ‘who you are’.

MEG: The thing that I probably most took from [Colquhoun’s ‘Jumping Ship’ book] in terms of an idea, is that the more I try to find out about difference, the more I also find out about me. And who I am. [It’s about] defining yourself by what you’re not as well as by what you are.

Space to Stand

Another important concept that participants identified as relevant in the story of identity claims in 2004 was the notion of having space or a place to stand. This is made possible as participants step into the philosophical territory created by ideas of honourable intention. The notion of a place to stand is evidence of the contribution of Maori cultural knowledges in the construction of Pakeha identity. This concept is developed further later in this chapter.

Space to Ask

The narrative practice of co-research (Epston, 1989, 2004), that also privileges the value of fairness, positions practitioners to 'ask'. White, drawing on the work of Bordieu (1988, cited in White, 2004), speaks of "exoticising the domestic" (p. vi). That is, it is movement away from accepting the "unquestioned cultural practices" that channel people into the moulds of "socially constructed norms of contemporary western culture" (p. vi). Co-research is an opportunity to work collaboratively with another person to investigate the particular and possibly unique meanings and values that inform and construct the client's world. Co-research makes it possible for new knowledges about life and living to be produced and acknowledged.

Meg is joined by Natalie as she speaks here about specific therapeutic shifts she has made since learning "*how to ask*" and the contribution that has made in opening space for clients to share their stories where once they may have been without a voice in a therapeutic context, silenced by therapeutic practices that positioned the practitioner as the primary authority.

MEG: I feel almost like I'm more allowed to do that sort of co-research now more than I used to be. Like it's alright to ask.

*MEG: ...partly that's because I didn't know **how** to ask maybe. I know with one person that I [have ethical permission] to talk about, he says, "for me it's noticing little tiny language things" and that I ask about them and he says, "our wairua has mingled." And, that's because I cried when he was telling me something and he said, "now our wairua has mingled."*

MEG: You said that it must be something different in you that you're hearing more stories now. I'm just trying to think for me what that difference would be and part of it is I don't feel like I'm not allowed to ask anymore. And there's something about asking that positions me as an asker, you know, as a person who really wants to know. And there's something about maybe being positioned as an asker. I'm not trying to colonise anything.

NATALIE: What you were describing in the old days, when you asked a question it was because you actually knew the answer already and so it wasn't a genuine, naïve inquiry, which is what you are talking about now. I think you ask that question because you really want to enter their world, and know about these things and that's the difference.

Ideas about asking such as those discussed above are far removed from those described that in the past that some participants have experienced as censoring them for asking. In the account above, 'asking' allows Meg and her client to step very respectfully into some 'sacred' space together. The points to notice here are that co-researching creates space to 'learn' about asking, which in turn enlarges the space to step into as an 'asker', and thus learn more about the other person's world.

John also speaks of stepping into co-researching space that is now available to social service practitioners in 2004.

JOHN: I remember a [more recent] conversation with a Maori man and he was saying how it was helpful and at the end I asked him what it would have been like if he'd seen a Maori counsellor. He said, 'it would have been a lot better if they'd asked the same sorts of questions as you and they'd been Maori.'

This signals a huge shift from the earlier prescribed positions available to Pakeha practitioners. This man was expressing appreciation of the effectiveness of the interview approach, which was strongly drawing on narrative ideas of co-researching. In this piece of transcript John was further joining with the client in co-researching ideas around effective practice. By stepping into an asking position John makes it possible for this man to step into a position that is respectful and honouring of the knowledges that he has about his understandings of the fit of culture and therapy, as well as respectful and who John is as a Pakeha therapist.

GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETAL CHANGES

In the last three decades there has been a dramatic shift within Government to embrace and uphold the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. Faltering though this may seem at times, there have nevertheless been significant steps taken towards an intention to articulate and demonstrate partnership, one of the commonly named principles of the Treaty.

It is worth drawing attention again to Meg's statement that acknowledges evidence of steps toward partnership now demonstrated in social policy:

“ we're all affected by Maori knowledges whether we know it or not because now it's in our social policy now. Like it's actually worded in our laws and things.”

John notes changes at a societal level, again linking this to space that is now available to Pakeha to be able to ask.

JOHN: I think there were a lot of things happening. I think there were shifts there. Shifts at a societal level that make those binaries less applicable.

Movement in society away from binaries, where one is good and the other bad, begins to open space for both Pakeha and Maori to have a voice and for celebration. John considers the space this creates again linking it to the rhyming couplet metaphor:

JOHN: It was an unhelpful binary and so now there are things that can be celebrated and whether people think that I'm being politically correct or not, that place to stand bit, that was a place to stand, as one of the rhyming couplets from this part of the world, which I think is great. I am delighted in it. It's about a celebration of difference so that we're not making up for a deficit as a Pakeha person, by learning Maori, that you're stepping further into that Pakeha/Maori identity or something to delight in, if that makes sense. I think that's a significantly different position.

Government policy which now officially recognizes te reo Maori as the second official language of this country has made access to Maori language increasingly available in the educational system, from pre-school through to higher education. This means there is a greater familiarity with Maori language for a new generation of young people, both Maori and Pakeha. Jill considers this a factor that makes alternative understandings of identity available to this generation.

JILL: at the day care that [my son] goes to Maori language is used a lot. You know they say “titiro mai” and stand up, sit down and “kai” and he comes home and uses them himself. I don’t know what that means [that he does that] but I like the mix anyway. I don’t think it’s an appeasement thing, I think it’s like what you were saying, those young people [are] helped by Maori... rather than struggle and [they are not in the position of] correcting bad pronunciation and feeling self conscious about it.

Jill also speaks of her observation of a small interaction in a Parliamentary debate. She comments on the observations of someone from outside Aotearoa New Zealand on differences noticed in relationships between the main cultural groups in the States as compared to the way things work here.

JILL: I noticed some things that were interesting to me in relation to a conversation that we had last time or the time before about our understanding of how Maori culture influenced our own identity and it was in particular in relation to language and when I was driving the car I was listening to the round up of, it must have been Wednesday in Parliament, ...of some debate going on and Jonathan Hunt said, “order, order!” And then they carried on and he said, “whakarongo mai, titiro mai!” It was just really fleeting but it was in there and I think it was one line.

Then the person I met up with yesterday, she’s American and she was talking about how she thought Maori ways were just part of Pakeha society and she noticed that particularly in contrast to when she went back to the States how the different ethnicities in the States, didn’t operate in those same kind of ways as the two ethnicities in New Zealand. I knew what the words meant. I knew what he was saying so there was a certain understanding and it came out quite fluently. It didn’t sound contrived.

Natalie and Meg also speak of other instances of the use of te reo Maori in small pockets of mainstream society. They speak of this in the context of such usage being ‘out of the ordinary’ and therefore ‘newsworthy’.

NATALIE: And the other piece was two bits on the news. There’s a service station in Auckland that’s labelled it’s, a BP station, but it’s got all their labels in Maori. With the English underneath it. And they were also referring back to that news item [about] that supermarket in Northland that’s got everything labelled in Maori first and the English subtitles underneath.

MEG: There’s one in Tolaga Bay that does that too. Owned by a Pakeha.

The participants spoke of these research meeting discussions having contributed to a greater awareness for them in their daily interactions, of the increasing availability and admittance of Maori language into society.

PUBLIC VOICES: PEOPLE

The research group also identifies three Aotearoa New Zealanders whose public voices have been significant in supporting them in the move from being silenced to having voice.

People: Mason Durie

Group participants told of a Treaty presentation by Maori leader Mason Durie (2004) that offered another strand in understanding this significant event in our early colonial history. John spoke of this as significant in contributing to revised

ideas of Pakeha identity in that Durie was authorising a shift that allows stories of ‘honourable intention’ to be told in history of the colonisation of Aotearoa New Zealand.

The following conversation between Meg, John and Natalie further elaborates on the ideas presented by Mason Durie, in regard to egalitarian ideas in the settling of New Zealand. John points to the power of the voice representing the oppressed to make, in this instance, hopeful identity available to members of the most historically oppressive group: white males. John believes the space to step into these alternative identities might not otherwise be so easily available if similar ideas came from the ‘oppressor’. Specifically John speaks of the impact of Durie’s perspective on him, being that Durie is Maori and therefore a member of an historically “oppressed” group.

John views Durie’s offering the possibility of ‘honourable intention’ as contributing to him being able to find a ‘legitimate place to stand’. In Meg’s words, the re-telling of the settling of New Zealand effectively “changes the whole lineage” of the philosophical place to stand that John was speaking of earlier: the place of values; the landscape of ideas.

JOHN: That was a very significant experience for me, listening to Mason Durie talk about the intention – the unique aspect of the Treaty of Waitangi from a Pakeha, from a European point of view. There was an intent to protect indigenous people that was really unique at that time. Because that was completely different to the other story that all of us shared a part in, the Pakeha guilt of the exploiting and colonising. [Mason’s perspective] was very significant. It makes other positions possible [for Pakeha] to take up.

MEG: I was just wondering how that makes you think of yourself now, as Pakeha, as opposed to how you might have when you were feeling Pakeha guilt?

JOHN: That's really significant that I can locate myself in a really honourable tradition. My ancestors left a really oppressive situation and came somewhere else and were a part of constructing something more egalitarian... that idea about being part of a hope. For the first time in British colonisation there would be some respect for indigenous people and that's the marvellous thing. Instead of stepping into automatically white, middle-class male – the most oppressive group on the planet ... it's really important... that's the piece of identity... like there's opportunity to be [honourable] here, that wasn't there before.

JOHN: The fact that it was Mason Durie [giving that speech] I think is quite significant.

MEG: ...really it changes the whole lineage of that aspect of that identity, doesn't it?

JOHN: ...maybe it wouldn't have changed it that much if it had been Claudia Orange giving that speech [that Mason Durie gave about honourable intention]. Because when you're the oppressor there are things that you overlook and misinterpret. You know even if it's your best intention and there's plenty of evidence in my own life available in looking back. But if you've been in the position of being oppressed, then some of those things will be more obvious.

NATALIE: It's interesting that [Claudia Orange] is quite aware of that. She had her photograph taken – there was an article in the Dominion Post in the weekend and they took it outside the marae at Te Papa and she was really uncomfortable about that. She told them actually she didn't want to have her photo taken. She thought it should be taken somewhere else. It might give

people this idea that she was being an expert on [Maori culture] but the photographer took it there anyway but they did actually stay true to what she said by putting it in the article, that she didn't want it taken there.

With the understanding of an honourable tradition standing alongside deficit stories of colonisation established, the context was available for Meg to share a story of her family's colonial past and the journey through time that makes it possible for her to trace her roots to this land:

MEG: My family reunion ... it's on the marae because my land-grabbing ancestor established two lines – a Pakeha line and a Maori line in the Bay of Plenty ... [The reunion has] been planned by the Maori and Pakeha descendants... I always think that's quite a neat story because having gone through all the Pakeha guilt – and we certainly did come in here and take a lot of land in the Bay of Plenty. It was before the Treaty, and it kind of gives a slightly different complexion for me now having that history - knowing what's happening between the descendants.

To be noticed is the way Mason's perspective of honourable intention as a strand in the history of colonisation, and as a way to proceed, opens space for Meg to have a voice to share things that the deficit story alone did not allow.

People: Michael King

From the ideas of Mason Durie, I turn to the ideas of Michael King who has written about both things Maori and things Pakeha. References to, and contributions from, historian Michael King were woven throughout our conversations. Participants speak of King's idea that for many early British

settlers, this country offered an opportunity for richer identity, based on egalitarian principles, than that which they experienced under a rigid class system.

Participants also speak of values that New Zealanders in general espouse, based on honourable values and traditions that have their roots in their early European ancestral histories. Calling on King, John says the early settling of Aotearoa New Zealand by British gave people “*an opportunity to have a more egalitarian existence*” and that in the main “*they were rejecting the class system*” and “*people came to better themselves. There were things they particularly wanted to leave behind*” and wanted to establish a society that was based on “*fairness*”.

Further, participants support King’s view that Pakeha New Zealanders have become distinctive and recognisable apart from other European peoples:

JOHN: Michael King...[through the way New Zealand was settled], suggests there is something of New Zealand culture that was able to be different [to other European peoples].

People: Glenn Colquhoun

Again, ideas drawn from the work of Glenn Colquhoun have been an integral part of this conversation of the story of Pakeha identity. The couplet metaphor, drawn from Colquhoun’s idea of “rhyming cultures” (2004, p.53), challenges both Pakeha and Maori New Zealanders to consider the possibilities that exist for identity as they walk in partnership with each other. But more than that in his book ‘Jumping Ships’ it is as though Colquhoun challenges Pakeha to begin to

imagine the richness of identity that embracing elements of Maori culture might bring.

Speaking of people he calls Pakeha Maori, that is Pakeha who have significantly embraced Maori culture and reo and assumed Maori tikanga, he says, “they remind us that Pakeha have also been colonised by Maori. Not all of them tell love stories, but many of them do” (2004, p.26). Offering less definitive identity possibilities he makes the following observation:

The physical journey itself seemed to mirror a larger journey we were both part of. All roads seem states of in-between, gaps separating what has been left behind from what has yet to be arrived at. Aunty Rongo and I recognised early that we somehow belonged in-between. (Colquhoun, 2004, p. 40)

DISCURSIVE RESOURCES

Durie, King and Colquhoun all offer hopeful ways forward as Pakeha New Zealanders consider who they are and who they are becoming in 2004. I now consider the discursive resources that are available as participants draw on ideas such as those offered by Durie, King and Colquhoun. I consider what discursive resources are available to participants that support them in their engagement with Maori and Maori knowledges.

Durie, a respected Maori voice in 2004 amongst both Pakeha and Maori, has promoted ideas of honourable tradition in the story of colonisation. These ideas

of honourable tradition effectively gives permission for both Maori and Pakeha to consider ways of being in partnership with each other which have previously been obscured to a large degree by stories of Pakeha deficit. Caution of course must be ensured that stories of pain experienced by Maori are not displaced by the emergence of a story that finds preference with Pakeha society. So these stories are to be held in tension with one another. Alongside Durie, King and Colquhoun, both Pakeha New Zealanders, also offered both challenge and permission to Pakeha New Zealanders to consider identity possibilities.

Natalie tells here of the effect of Colquhoun and Durie to the way she chooses to go on and intentionally engage in the construction of Pakeha identity:

NATALIE: I think that Glenn Colquhoun said a whole lot of things that I would like to adopt and say. Like being Pakeha is a Maori word and has Maori in it and so that other idea right at the beginning of the book where he says that the Maori friend of his had said to be Pakeha you had to live, you just had to be Pakeha, you just had to get on with it. But to be Maori you had to learn about Pakeha as well and that by the end of the book ... what he's talking about is [how to be Pakeha by learning about Maori]. The ways to do that. [I want] to take that idea to step forward into being able to be delighted by the richness that we have and to become more aware of what is there already. ... I can't see myself being without them. And [I'm] becoming more aware all the time of other things. Like this year I've become much more aware of a lot of things. Going to Mason Durie's seminar and taking this job and working with a largely Maori population has deepened and broadened my understanding of what that was and all the other things that I learnt before that have kind of become deepened and enriched as well.

Yet all these possibilities of partnership and re-imagining identity continue to come at a cost. The story of struggle continues with ongoing charges of co-opting and colonising occurring as some Pakeha New Zealanders choose to take the risks required to step into more honourable places. Natalie shares the effect in 2004 on a Maori colleague who experiences the pain of marginalisation as Pakeha and Maori struggle to find their way forward:

NATALIE: I guess the other thing that [my Maori colleague] and I have talked about is Pakeha claiming Maori knowledges or even having them but sort of being expert over the top of, in the face of, other Maori who may not have that kind of knowledge or didn't grow up speaking the language for instance – and suspicion and bad feeling that happens when that emerges.

In the face of such opposition what are the discursive resources available that support movement from some positions to others?

Participants have described experiences of Pakeha *guilt* as they have examined the history of the early years of colonisation. They have their own histories of *struggle* through the 70s-90s to hold positions they have moved to that have resisted and '*broken the rules*' produced by dominant Pakeha society. In 2004 this group of social practitioners are acutely aware of the ongoing *marginalising* of Maori and how that positions Maori as subjugated subjects. They stand as *witnesses* to both the historical and ongoing struggle and pain experienced by Maori. They are also aware that there are immense possibilities available for Pakeha identity in the ongoing *valuing* of Maori knowledges and culture.

Along with the experiences of struggle that have been woven throughout this work there is another thread that brings depth and relief to the stories of identity construction. This is the experience of delight and celebration. Participants are now able to step into the space made available by the telling of alternative stories. They speak about a “*celebration of difference*” that is available through “*stepping further into Pakeha/Maori identity*” and finding it “*something to delight in*”. The experience of the group members is that as they are stepping forward into stories of honourable intention they are “*delighted by the richness that [they] have and [becoming] more aware of what there already is*”. Ideas of delight and celebration appear to be critical resources to sustain participants as they continue to engage in the ongoing struggle to live in honouring ways with Maori in Aotearoa New Zealand.

THE KNOWN AND FAMILIAR:

PARTICIPANT RENDERINGS OF MAORI KNOWLEDGES

Though there is much territory uncharted in the ongoing story of Pakeha identity construction, participants have identified some aspects of Maori cultural ideas that they recognise as having contributed to their understandings of Pakeha identity.

There is no doubt difficulty and struggle are the background in the ongoing story of Pakeha identity construction. However I take hope calling on Michael White’s ideas of what is “known and familiar” (2005). There is much contribution of Maori knowledges to identity that participants in this project work to articulate and honour. There are some Maori knowledges that have become ‘known and

familiar' to participants which provide further discursive resources from which identity is constructed.

Whilst recognising that the understandings they have of Maori knowledges are partial knowledges, participants nevertheless speak of territory that is 'known and familiar' to them. These knowledges that we now discuss are participants' renderings of Maori concepts, which they seek to honour in these stories.

I begin with Meg's story of the Maori concept of 'awhi' which is now a significant knowledge in shaping the way she takes action in her world.

Known And Familiar: Awhi

MEG: I'm just thinking [Maori language/concepts] are part of who I am as well. Someone tried to explain the huge concept of awhi to me, a Maori person. I can remember I was on this email list and someone had decided they were leaving the list and everyone else was going, "no, no you're not allowed to leave, you're not allowed to leave" and I'd just had this big talk about awhi and I said, "well, I don't want you to leave but I'll stand beside you while you leave." And someone else said, "wow, how come you said that?" And I said, "Well, because it seemed to me to part of this whole concept called awhi." I said, "I'll support you even if I didn't agree with you, I'll still stand beside you and support you."

It's just a little experience but I think it has changed me, a lot. But [it's] something about the whole spirit of connection, that I think we are influenced by Maori. And I'll claim my Celtic roots, but I don't know them. But I do know about my connection with those rural Maori people and urban, very urbanised, very, very poor Maori people where there was that huge sense of supporting each other, sticking up for each other and standing by each other –

maybe in the same instant that you were punching them in the eye! That somehow I felt like I had some understanding of and it was a feeling of, it was almost like, obviously not being in, not, not.... I can't find the right words for it. Not that I didn't have any right to my individual opinion but that my individual opinion was actually of no matter here - which in many ways I don't feel very often in my life. It's sort of one of the things you're entitled to, you're allowed, if you come from European stock, is your own opinion. But it wasn't about putting aside my own opinion, it was more that my own opinion didn't matter. What mattered was, more about the connections, which for me came because I'd been lectured, if you could call it a lecture, about awahi.

Meg acknowledges that the values informing awahi may be similar to values that spring from her Celtic roots. However she states “*I don't know [those roots]...*” but that she does know about her connection with some groups of Maori, and from them, the importance of connecting. Again, it is the known that provides the discursive resources from which her identity is constructed.

Natalie takes up the conversation:

NATALIE: I really like that idea. The other thing is that they're not being banished or just drifting off and lost, that [they're] still part of that community that recognises that they want to leave and so there's a process that handles that. It is very part of a community isn't it? That at some stage people might want to leave and that you can be sad about that and also support them to do that.

Natalie demonstrates an application of the concept of awahi that makes sense to her. This does not necessarily mean the concept is new to Natalie but the sharing together enables Meg and Natalie to affirm the value of this concept to them.

This reminds me of White's claim that "people are dependent upon social processes of acknowledgement for the 'authentication' of their preferred identity claims" (White, 2001, p. 22).

Throughout this project I have encountered difficulties in teasing out the strands of contribution in the story identity in the overlap of ideas and values. Already Meg has drawn attention to the possible overlap with Celtic ideas. Further interweaving of ideas is demonstrated in the following piece of conversation where a Maori client makes a connection between Michael White's ideas and Maori values. John speaks of the value of respect as he considers Meg's story of leaving:

JOHN: I was thinking if somebody wanted to leave it would be an issue of respect. When I was teaching social work students, one of the Maori women said that Michael White must have stolen those ideas from Maori!

Obviously [the Maori social work student] made a connection with [White's ideas]. But [White] talks about them being folk psychology anyway, doesn't he? They go way back, those ideas about respect.

MEG: But it's how you do respect in the moment, out of those ideas.

JOY: And why things are available. That [concept of awahi] was very available for you at that moment.

MEG: Yes it was and I know my response was really different because of it. It was very interesting. I was thinking I've had quite a few experiences like that where there have often been more ideas about joining than are common in Pakeha culture.

In this conversation there is invitation for Meg to consider other ways of making sense of what shapes the way she acts. Whilst agreeing with John's ideas about the larger notion of respect, Meg in reference to her drawing on ideas of awahi, again speaks more specifically about the ways that respect is performed is due to the availability of ideas that can be drawn down and acted on. In this instance, it is a specific Maori knowledge that had become more significantly known to her.

Meg and Natalie have spoken about the importance to Maori and to themselves of being connected. The story of interconnectedness has many strands, three broad strands of which were spoken about in our conversations. These identified strands of interconnectedness are with people, the land and with values. The following stories demonstrate an interweaving for this group of practitioners with Maori cultural ideas, which have produced these important strands of connection for them as Pakeha New Zealanders, to this nation.

Known And Familiar: Connecting

(i) Interconnectedness: With People

Meg reflects on her observation of Pakeha New Zealanders' interest in establishing links with one another that she has not noticed in cultures where because of historical and/or geographical links one might expect to notice something similar. Without naming it, she makes the link back to Maori values.

MEG: There is some sort of different sense of connection that I feel in New Zealand Society that I think might be influenced by Maori. I don't experience New Zealanders, Pakeha New Zealanders or Maori New Zealanders as people

who aren't interested in other people or not interested in where they come from and who they know. My partner's family is English. They're not so interested in that. How did we come from England and become so interested in that? Australians don't seem to be so interested in that so I tend to think that maybe that is something that came from Maori.

John agrees with the idea of connectedness to one another as being something that is integral to Aotearoa New Zealand identity.

JOHN: ... when people go overseas and they catch up with all these other Kiwis. It's like there's a connection together not just you're in your own individual world and you have a stiff upper lip and you get through it. I think that's something that's really different.

In the story of connection with others, Meg shares a story of powerful interaction with a distant Maori family member that made alternative identity possibilities available to her.

MEG: I can still remember when I first met a Maori [family member] and we realised we were related. It was in the middle of the 80s and I was doing life in that 'Pakeha guilt' thing and she was all over me because I was her cousin. She didn't have the same picture of my 'dishonourable' identity. The historical facts are the historical facts but for her it was, 'we were cousins.' So I was thinking it sounded like there were different [identity] possibilities [available to me] out of that.

The Maori woman is privileging the value of interconnectedness, in this case through a blood tie relationship, above historical injustices. Occurring in the era that Meg describes, the woman's response was unexpected and had a lasting

effect on Meg. Meg's relative had offered her space to step into to re-consider the identity conclusions that were current for her at that time. In Maori terms, the concept of whanaungatanga is being demonstrated. The value of connection with others that is implicit in whanaungatanga, reaches well beyond blood ties.

(ii) Interconnectedness: the land

Meg has already shared stories of ancestral involvement in the early colonisation of Aotearoa New Zealand. Yet stepping into more honourable space that is now available, she and her family/whanau continue to participate in the writing of their history and the shaping and reshaping of their identity. Given that Meg is able to trace her connection to this land through several generations there is considerable significance for her to understand others in relation to their geographical location:

MEG: I like to know where people come from and what part of the country they come from and whether they've always lived there.

Natalie links the situating of oneself in time and place to the Maori concept of whakapapa. The reference to whakapapa relates to the process of mihimihi in which Maori will begin with pepeha, which situates Maori people in relation to geographical features as well as tribal and familial links.

NATALIE: It's reminded me of (husband's) mother working out who you are and where you come from and what family you're from, and, "are you one of the something or others, from such and such a place", and all that kind of thing. I was thinking that's quite a lot like what happens when you do your whakapapa – you know, you situate people in time and place.

Though for the purposes of this project I am teasing apart the strands of interconnectedness for discussion, as Natalie points out these elements of relationship to other people and to the land are interconnected.

Further, demonstrating the importance of connection to the land for Maori, Jill offers a story of her work with a Maori woman whose narrative began by locating herself in relation to a geographical area and her marae.

JILL: I just happened to have a map in my bag and I pulled it out because she was talking about an area, and I said, "oh, can you show me where it is on the map?" and she pointed out her marae and where she was from.

Though there is a sense of happenstance in that the map was available, Jill's option to pause and stand alongside her client to further explore the geographical location result from strands of knowledge of Maori cultural ideas and experience that are woven together to produce such an event.

JOHN: So did you have a sense ... that it was important to attend to it geographically?

JILL: She was talking a lot about the area and I thought, "yes, this is important." And if I didn't maybe I wouldn't be any more appreciative of what she was talking about. So it was something that would help me as well.

Jill was aware of the benefits of proceeding to work with the ideas of location, both to her client, and to her as a practitioner in her work with this client. As the conversation continues below, Jill identifies this idea as having possibilities for contributing to ongoing client work.

Further, the strand linking Jill's decision to attend to the geographical positioning for the Maori client in their particular conversation, to her historical knowledge of the importance of whenua (land) to Maori in regard to identity, is implied. Jill draws on this experience with her Maori client (and not discounting her vast repertoire of experience with other clients Maori and Pakeha) to identify possibilities for similar conversations that are available when working with Pakeha that spring from the idea of their connection to a geographical place of origin:

JOHN: I wondered if you had a sense of that because it was a Maori woman... that it was something informed by Maori culture? Like if it was a Pakeha person would you get your map out again if you had it?

JILL: I might now! If it was a Pakeha person I would be interested in where they come from. "I've been there – is that where...?" So I might have that sort of conversation with them.

Jill's narrative was important in opening discussion for members to further discuss the significance to them, as Pakeha New Zealanders, of their connection to the land. Further to be noticed is the contribution Jill's Maori client has made to the way Jill is not only considering approaching her work in this respect but also contributing to ideas for consideration in constructing future identity claims for Jill and for those of us who were able to participate in this ongoing conversation.

Discussion continued that emphasized the importance to participants of coming from a particular geographical location that reflected not just a physical connection but also encompassed a more emotional or even spiritual connection: belonging to the land.

JOHN: ...in identifying who you are in terms of geography, would be Pakeha New Zealand, or Aotearoa. That's the new identity in this place. [It is not European or Scottish].

There is a distinctiveness that John speaks of that comes simply from relating to this geographical location. Situating oneself within these borders and identifying with the land sets people apart from those from other locations. John contends that this in itself creates a sense of Pakeha identity and belonging. Therefore, on this basis Pakeha New Zealanders are people who belong to this land and no other, the country gives them an identity.

This is similar to the Maori notion of 'tangata whenua', the people of the land. Many Pakeha New Zealanders can now trace generations of connection to the land of Aotearoa and the stories of those connections are readily available to them. Some of these stories have not been easily told in previous decades, as through the cautious 80s and 90s, those willing to listen to Maori pain and anger held back from such claims.

iii) Interconnectedness: A Place of Values

Identifying and exploring Jill's appreciation of this specific Maori cultural knowledge and practice of connecting physically to the land, had the effect of identifying and/or producing other similar ideas of practice deemed relevant to Pakeha. However, there is a further dimension that is interconnected with belonging spiritually and physically to this land and to the people. John speaks of there being a "place of values" which is critical for him in creating a "place to stand" which he calls on in this next piece:

JOHN: There's a place to stand – and that's another idea from Maori culture. There's a place to stand whereas before there wasn't any place to stand. It might not be a geographical place for me to stand but there's a place in values to stand. That idea that I could think that I could have a place to stand, is a Maori idea.

JOY: Your 'turangawaewae' in terms of your philosophical place at least...?

JOHN: [Yes], and that if there is a geographical place it's not my marae or where I live, it's this country, to roam about it, including the landscape of ideas. This is where I belong. And it's more and more acceptable to have Maori aspects. [That I can claim] not as Maori, but I can claim it as being a New Zealander.

Referring again to Durie's ideas about honourable intention in the settling of Aotearoa New Zealand, and the value of fairness that was implicit in that, John connects this value to contributing to having a 'place to stand' that is to do with value positions, and to producing other identity possibilities for Pakeha men in particular.

JOHN: I don't have the words for it but I think it's something about now there's a legitimate place to stand. Maybe part of that was from narrative ideas and Michael White recently saying, "we're not available to be demeaned". Instead of that other idea that you have to be available to be demeaned because of what's been done by Pakeha, men in particular. So that makes different kinds of collaboration possible – different identity.

In the context of acknowledging and negotiating difference Jill questioned how Maori and Pakeha endeavours to gain knowledge, to learn and to understand at times, are judged inadequate, or inappropriate in regard to notions of who has a right to knowledge. John takes this up and celebrates what he sees is a feature of Pakeha culture, the “*entitlement to question*”. He locates this in the landscape of ideas that contributes to giving him a ‘place to stand’.

JOHN: I think about the other place to stand in terms of that idea, I think one of the things from Pakeha culture, I feel there's an entitlement to speak out, to question. I don't necessarily mean to question in a disrespectful way, but like Michael White says, you know, that's part of the post-modern thing, is you ask questions about everything. You're always asking questions. So I think that's where the outsiders, if you like, outside another country, and that means Pakeha New Zealanders – there's that questioning authority and privilege. In the past, there was a version of history given to us, we went to cultural awareness courses, that this is the correct, the truth of the matter which could really be summed up as Maori good, Pakeha bad. It wasn't a sophisticated analysis at all...

So what it's possible to do now is to question everything... I don't accept anything as the truth and not able to be questioned ... So, you're not allowed to talk about this and this is what you must do –there is a position that I think is terribly important about Pakeha society, maybe that's why these ideas thrive, that it's a really good thing to question. And particularly to question claims about privilege and access to knowledge... you're allowed to be curious

and explore and that you're not an outsider– there's that idea about Maori culture that certain knowledge was passed on to certain people and other people wouldn't have it. There's a different idea that I'm really pleased to have – that Pakeha kind of idea that you can have whatever knowledge. That you can go and ask why some people were being given knowledge and other people weren't. Was that on the basis of gender or privilege – and in asking about it, is different from making the decision about- that you would be able to ask, that would be a worthy thing to do.

Again there is another story that is woven alongside, that Jill offers to the discussion:

JILL: I keep going way back [thinking about] the things that have informed me, and the effect of stereotyping. So I'm just interested in where those stories of oppression fit with the new identity or the imagined identity that we're able to understand and claim as Pakeha. What do we do with those stories of oppression? I find that interesting. I find it hard to not have that in my mind.

JOY: I'm wondering then is there something about Pakeha identity – is there something about the restlessness of knowing stories of oppression and finding ongoing responses to those stories?

JILL: I think that's a good word. I was thinking of the word tension but there's something there all the time. But I wouldn't be comfortable claiming to have a place to stand ... as easily as what John was describing. That's not to say I don't think that I have a place to stand but there's a tension there for me.

In 2004 participants are finding places 'to stand' that contribute to a sense of belonging to this land in diverse ways. Although there is an ongoing tension as Jill describes, places to 'stand' and 'roam' are more readily available to them than in previous decades.

Known And Familiar: Grieving

We have explored previously expressions of grieving that demonstrate firm links to a British colonial past. I turn now to consider what is 'known and familiar' to participants in 2004. John commented on the differences he noticed between current expressions of grief in England to the demonstrations of grief that a growing number of Pakeha New Zealanders are now finding relevant. The site of grieving is now one of the places of ceremony where Pakeha are now becoming familiar with elements of Maori ideas of attending to grief.

Natalie shares a significant and recent experience where there was a demonstration of both Maori and Pakeha young people's ease with elements of both Pakeha and Maori culture. For those Maori rangatahi who have been raised with access to Maori cultural ways, this is a familiar story. However, what this story may also demonstrate is the growing comfort of a generation of young Pakeha New Zealanders with Maori processes. There are both elements of accounts sitting alongside one another as well as indications of Pakeha young people incorporating very naturally, Maori cultural ideas, specifically, in their grieving experiences.

NATALIE: We had the death of a student at school last Friday and he was Maori. He had a Maori mum and a Pakeha Dad. We had Maori and Pakeha ceremonies. There was a lot of understanding about what a tangi was, what people did. Kids stood up on the marae at school and did a poroporoaki piece. And they also did it at the tangi as well. Pakeha and Maori kids. So that was a natural flow. Nobody had to coach them or decide what to do or any of those things.

Meg also speaks of the ‘melding’ of ideas. This story again has elements of accounts standing gracefully alongside each other as well as processes created that strongly demonstrate interaction with Maori cultural ideas.

MEG: Steiner is kind of a Christian/pagan tradition, which just melded because that's what happens when anyone dies in that community. And when [he] died because he was Maori it [was] melded with part of the tangi process. And then the protocols that fit in the Steiner setting were very easily put together with the Maori protocols. The influence has been quite formal, following round the school after his coffin. That was part of the way and it just seemed like a really good idea, I quite like this.

And then one of (my husband's) friends Dad died, and they were Pakeha and they put him in the back of the ute and took him for a last drive around the farm. Sat up on the hill with him and the boys took Dad – and that's a Pakeha family. And that was at Ngaruawahia and he was buried there. Lots of people he knew were Maori and they came and did a haka as he was taken out. It was a real bicultural farewell, partly by his family who are Pakeha.

These stories suggest that as Pakeha continue to interact with Maori grieving processes, there is an increasing familiarity and over time people are drawing and privileging these experiences in the storylines of their lives.

Known And Familiar: Te Reo

Participants have spoken of the struggle to articulate their ongoing struggle to walk in partnership with Maori. They have spoken of their struggles in countering charges of co-opting, as they continue to embrace societal and personal shifts towards honouring Maori culture and knowledges. Participants in this project have spoken already of the tensions they sometimes experience in using

Maori language in that it opens them to charges of colonising. It must be mentioned here that the charges of co-opting and colonising do not necessarily come externally, but to some degree the charges have been internalised, as self-policing processes occur (see White & Epston, 1989, Paper 29 for a discussion of this self-evaluatory behaviour as a form of modern power).

We have glimpsed already the growing usage of te reo Maori in schools, Parliament, and in other domains of society. We have briefly considered the possibilities for identity conclusions for the next generations of young New Zealanders. Whilst referring to some of these domains again, participants now speak of the contribution Maori language makes in constructing their view of the world and in re-constituting their identities. In respect of te reo Maori, there is much that is outside current understanding, but we focus on what is known to participants and what it is they count as significant in their own identities as Pakeha New Zealanders: the rulebreakers of the 70s, the guilt-laden of the 80s and 90s and now the compassionate witnesses of the 21st century.

John takes up the idea of valuing language in the process of movement away from colonial roots and towards the production of Pakeha New Zealand culture. In the reclaiming of some indigenous language to rename particular landmarks and in using Maori language in greeting, he suggests there is a carving out of an identity that is distinctive and unique to the people of this land.

JOHN: I wonder if it's also that kind of piece about belonging here. You know like here, [it's] Mt Taranaki rather than Mt Egmont. You know, this is our place, that is a unique and distinct kind of an expression of it. Saying,

‘Kia ora’ also. I’ve started writing in letters to people, ‘Kia ora’, whoever it is, not ‘Dear’. I think ‘Dear’. What a stupid thing writing to the bank or ACC and saying ‘Dear’!

Natalie also speaks of the familiarity of Maori language and processes that have become part of the storyline of her life:

NATALIE: There are some things that we do without even thinking about. Like using some Maori words. Pronouncing Maori words correctly, participating in a lot of tikanga Maori without thinking that we’re doing something special or different.

Both John and Natalie are indicating that there is a growing repertoire of Maori language and process drawn down into everyday usage that is distinct and familiar and which is finding increasing resonance within dominant Pakeha society.

Meg shares something of the movement from early and intentional endeavours to act in ways that were honouring of partnership values. She discusses the movement over the space of two or three decades and the difference in “purpose”. Meg’s narrative is indicative again of the availability of Maori language and concepts in today’s society but also tells of the struggle and time involved in changes becoming apparent at a wider than personal level.

MEG: I was thinking, there are a lot of things that are possible for me to do as Pakeha and remain Pakeha. And especially when I was teaching kids and I [thought], “that’s something that we need to know” and, “ that’s something from Maori” and it was like it was done with good intention in that respect. But it was like a ‘try-hard’ sort of thing that I was doing and I was being very,

very consciously politically correct. And these days I don't do it for the same purpose. I do it because it's available, because I know the words, because I know that a lot of the people to whom I'm speaking, Pakeha and Maori, know the words and the concepts and it's not consciously thought out sometimes. It just happens. You know I was thinking about bilingual kids, who talk in two languages at once because that's how they've learnt it. And some of the very common Maori phrases are almost becoming a bilingual part of the way the speaking is readily available to them. They don't have to reach for them. They're there. And my children will sometimes say, "Oh, kapai, how're you going? Oh, kapai, she's sweet." And they sort of have this slang Maori talk as well as real Maori talk, like instantly [available].

JILL: That struck me too. Hearing the younger students and they pronounced Maori names correctly. And didn't have a second go at it they just said it which is not part of my upbringing. I've just had to learn to pronounce names properly. So I imagine their outlook, their identity might be different. Their understandings might be different to mine.

Maori language has become more available to Pakeha New Zealanders over time. As Jill and Meg's narratives highlight, a younger generation of Pakeha New Zealanders, are becoming much more comfortable with the usage of Maori language due to the everyday availability and acceptance of it in their educational surroundings, so that for them there is evidence that a kind of 'bilinguaton' is occurring.

So what Jill and Meg are saying here is that whilst people of the generation that this group represents, experience significant struggle and tensions with the usage of te reo Maori, the way has been carved out for the next generation to walk more confidently into the future embracing the use of Maori language.

Known & Familiar 2004: Adequate Language

One of the challenges facing Pakeha is the struggle to articulate ongoing revisions of identity and to do this in a way that is honouring of Maori culture and knowledges. In her narrative in regard to ‘awhi’ Meg has demonstrated stepping into Maori language and taking up the Maori concept this makes available to her. In doing so, she and others like her are at risk of being charged with further colonising. Natalie follows this thought:

NATALIE: I wondered about that kind of binary thing that was suggested by either ‘you’re colonising and it’s a good thing’ or ‘you’re colonising and it’s not a good thing’. How do you know when you’re using Maori language whether it’s about colonisation? I think that that’s a really interesting question.

Yet as we have discussed so far, whilst risk and struggle continue to be strands woven through the story of Pakeha identity construction, participants have found that greater space becomes available as values such as fairness and notions of honourable intention and being available to learn rather than positioning oneself as an authority, are privileged.

Still the struggle continues at another level. Participants speak of the current language options or acts that have or have not been admitted into general usage. They speak of outdated language and other signifiers such as the national flag as reproducing outdated and limited identity options at the same time exploring possibilities for the future.

The following piece of conversation drew animated agreement from all participants:

JOY: I was looking at a form you could tick Maori or you could tick New Zealand European or Samoan or whatever but it didn't have Pakeha New Zealander on it. And that piece I find quite intriguing. But none of them were fitting with how I was seeing myself really. Well, the New Zealand European piece didn't work, in actual fact.

JOHN: it's almost like there should be a term – I was thinking that could be Maori-Pakeha Aotearoa or NEW ZEALAND and it covers the location as well. Like Pakeha, if it was consistent, would be Pakeha Aotearoa. New Zealand's a stupid term in what it represents. A new branch of Holland. It's a [colonising] kind of term isn't it. Maybe in the future, with the new flag all of that will change.

In this previous piece, John again is clear that physical location is integral to alternative and 'new' articulations of Pakeha identity. However, he makes that point that *how* we name that location is critical to the production of preferred identity claims.

There is much that continues to produce pain for both Maori and Pakeha. Partial understandings and translations and unfamiliarity with practices and cultural expectations are all part of the story. Meg and Natalie speak about the milieu of complex relationships within which Pakeha identity claims are being formed and the difficulties experienced as meaning is ascribed to difference. Again limited available language options contribute to the struggle:

JOY : But I have a sense of there not being the language yet to be able to articulate [articulate who we are becoming].

MEG: A 13 year old girl I know is doing Maori in her option at school. It's a language that she wants to learn but she still doesn't want to be the blonde in the kapa haka group. She said, "I know there are other blondes but they're Maori blondes and I'm a Pakeha blonde and I'm the only Pakeha blonde in the kapa haka group". And so there's still a line somewhere.

NATALIE: I was listening to an interview with a young woman and a mother and she was saying that she was a white-skinned Maori in a kapa haka group and she got evilled out of it because of her white skin.

MEG: there's not a word for all of those relations of New Zealand...

NATALIE: it raises the question too, [that] at some level it is still operating a binary – you're either Maori or you're Pakeha and you've got to choose or someone chooses for you.

An unbending view of who we are is reflective of essentialist ideas that confines people to prescribed ways of being based on “having their own particular essence or nature”. Whilst this view can be useful to some in making sense of the world, it does not allow for the contradictions and exceptions that are continually produced.

Known And Familiar: Co-Researching

We have heard participants speak about learning how to ask. We have heard how the intention in asking has changed from earlier decades where asking was most often to confirm already claimed ‘universal’ knowledge about the way things are. The asking that participants are speaking of in 2004 signals a significant shift in intention and in narrative terms is referred to as ‘co-researching’. Co-researching

has been taken up by this group of practitioners as a way to move forward with the people they work with so that together they can respectfully research the ideas that are held by them.

John again draws attention to a place of values. Embracing ideas of fairness rather than ideas that would continue to impose and colonise, John makes space to join with a client in co-researching the client's values:

JOHN: Instead of the idea that Maori culture could be completely be, you know, viewed as completely separate from Pakeha culture, that brings me back to the co-researching kind of piece. Making space. My job is to assist [clients] to have a life that fits with their values not mine.

John also speaks of taking the risk to use Maori greetings in his work with people and how co-researching the idea of greeting has opened space for conversation:

JOHN: just saying, "Kia ora" to people, even including Pakeha, to say, "kia ora" and see what happened. Some of the people I've talked to recently, talked about that idea. [They] had a sense there was more space available and they stepped into [the space]. I think the co-researching has made some space. There was some space about, not that I had the idea that it was right or wrong, but that we would find out what suited them. I'm curious about whether they would have stepped into that space if I hadn't made it available.

Co-researching works toward eroding power imbalance but there is the need to continue to pay attention to ensure therapeutic practices do not unintentionally create further unhelpful power relations. Meg and Natalie continue:

MEG: ...this is a position of huge power even to ask, “what is your preference?” is starting to strike me as a position of power. Even though it is like trying to lessen the power ...

NATALIE: I was thinking how interesting it was when you said that it’s a position of power because then when you say that to someone they’ve got to think well, I don’t know... how DO I want to start? So I’m really interested in that idea that in trying to be accommodating you can actually do that from quite a powerful position.

MEG: It struck me as a real danger... a sort of reversal of what you were trying to do... to do really effective co-researching you have to know something about what it is that you’re co-researching. [And] not just waiting to see what they do but to give some indication that it’s alright.

John further discusses the familiarity with narrative ideas that supports the kind of co-researching that participants are stepping into in their work. He points out the “*connection between gender and ethnicity and culture and the operation of power*” and the significance of co-researching these domains in the search for understanding how problems are constructed:

JOHN: So there is some room, whether we’ve made some room because of some narrative ideas... from a narrative point of view it would be inconceivable to think that you could talk with someone and that conversation would be independent of gender or culture, or that you would have conversation that was disconnected from those persons’ values. It’s just not possible to do the work... and I think in the past, even when I started with narrative, I would have been one of those people that Johnella Bird talked about who said well, I’ve done gender now, I’ve done the workshop, and I’ve done a cultural awareness one so I don’t need to do that anymore. I think that would have been... I didn’t see the connection between gender and ethnicity and culture and the operation of power in my work. I knew it was important

but it wasn't an everyday part of my work. I think that's hugely significant – a kind of co-researching... in those domains, not just researching someone's 'acting problematically' and let's find out the times when they resist that [rather] how the whole problem got constructed in the first place.

The kind of asking or 'co-researching' that has been discussed in this section honours and respects the diversity of knowledges and understandings of all who participate in these conversations.

CHAPTER SIX

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CRAFTING SPACES FOR DIFFICULT CONVERSATIONS

INTRODUCTION

Michael White (1995) asks how is it that we start off as copies, produced by our social, cultural and historical environments, and wind up as originals? Embracing social constructionist ideas, I agree with White that there is no vacuum, no way of standing outside of the shaping effects of language and culture. Everyone is involved in an ongoing project of identity development.

This research project has been about creating space for a group of Pakeha social service practitioners to embark intentionally on an identity project, specifically to explore Pakeha identity. We have created space to have conversations, which have explored actions and language that are shaping of lives and which has made these and their effects more visible. I now discuss the kind of space needed to ensure ongoing conversations about Pakeha identity are possible. To assist people to explore richer options for their lives, White (2005) proposed the metaphor of scaffolding. So calling on the scaffolding metaphor, I now consider what scaffolding elements are required to actively and intentionally work towards creating the space for conversation that is critical for richer description of Pakeha identity.

In the discussion that follows I call on the work of Kaethe Weingarten (2000) in particular in regard to witnessing pain and struggle. I also draw on Weingarten's (2001) work where she specifically addresses the culture of illness. In applying her ideas to conversations about identity it is not my intention to diminish in any way the context of which she speaks but rather to honour the compassion and sensitivity she identifies that is required to create space for some of the most difficult conversations to occur.

CRAFTING A SPACE FOR DIFFICULT CONVERSATIONS

This chapter goes on to consider the following elements of spaces which make possible difficult conversations: the value of fairness; an acknowledgement of partial knowledges/translation; theoretical ideas about identity; witnessing pain and struggle; fun, delight and enrichment; the shaping effects of cutting ties; what is available for knowing and identifying with; and acts of language.

Value Of Fairness

“The latent voice may speak the unspeakable, know the knowable, if the voice feels welcomed” (Weingarten, 2001, p. 120).

John spoke of a “*landscape of ideas*” that is available for exploration and of having a “*place in values, to stand*”. Participants have identified fairness being integral to creating space to explore, to ‘say who you are’, to ‘stand’, and to ask. Therefore I propose the value of fairness as a foundation, and continue with the discussion of scaffolding of space for conversation about identity: where people

can tell the stories that fit their experience and that calls forth the kinds of listening that serve “the purposes of knowing and being known” (Weingarten, 2001, p. 120).

Acknowledgement of Partial Knowledges/Translation

A distinction recently made between speaking of ‘maatauranga Maori’ and ‘Maori knowledges’ created some space for a classroom group of predominantly Pakeha New Zealanders to more easily speak of their understandings of Maori realities (personal communication, Crocket, 2006). This shift from Maori to English, was perhaps important in acknowledging that what can be hoped for in Pakeha understanding of Maori knowledges is a partial translation. Likewise, research participants, in the context of acknowledging that all knowledges are partial and situated, offered ideas tentatively. The narratives were not intended to prioritise one knowledge over another or to assume understandings represent accurately those held by Maori or by others.

Participants were able to take up positions of tentative inquirer that the claim that all knowledge is partial and situated creates. In doing this they were able to distance themselves from being voices of authority that is offered by membership to dominant culture and particularly by male membership. Stepping into the tentative inquirer position, we have seen demonstrated examples of space being created by practitioners learning to ask in ways that Maori people are able to say what knowledges are important to them and for Pakeha to be honouring of those knowledges. We have traced a story with many strands in the construction of Pakeha identity. Some of those are created from a history of colonisation and

injustice while others offer hope based on honourable intention and fairness. Conversations will continue to have difficulty and struggle woven through them while others will have shining threads of delight and celebration. Acknowledging and acting on the basis of the possibility of speaking from a position of having only partial knowledge and translation of Maori culture and knowledges, is critical in the scaffolding of space for rich and respectful conversations about Pakeha identity.

Theoretical Ideas About Identity

Throughout our conversations, a theme that continued to develop and that thread its way throughout ideas about identity was that of lives being multi-voiced and multi-storied. The idea of multiplicity in relation to identity and the meanings that we ascribe to our experiences is based on White's (2001) ideas, informed by a tradition of folk psychology, that "identity conclusions exist within the context of multiplicity" and that "as an outcome of the ongoing social negotiation of these identity conclusions, people's lives become multi-intentioned" (p. 19). White emphasises that these identity conclusions are multiple as people negotiate and renegotiate conclusions about their lives and others. I have spoken previously of the great temptation to step into binary ideas that begin to "contrast stories as oppressive and authentic or as false and true" (p.21) and the invitation we have to displace one story with another. It is the idea of multiplicity that provides the context for people to explore the shaping effects of the multiple stories of their experience, as the research participants did.

Inviting the telling of multiple stories in the story of identity negotiation has provided this research group with the space to speak both of the deficit stories that have been limiting of “options for actions” as well as the stories that “open more options for action rather than fewer”. For example being confined to ideas of injustice in the story of colonising has in the past silenced participants whereas ideas of honourable intention now opens space for conversation to occur that might otherwise not. The group has provided a social forum in which to continue in engaging in the renegotiation of identity and in which “preferred identity claims [could be] acknowledged” (White, 2001, p. 21).

Jill reminded us of the importance of not forgetting “*stories of oppression*” by displacing one story with another. White speaks of the practice of “remembering to forget” (1997, p. 140) as supporting the continued existence of inequalities and injustices that people are subject to. He states, “forgetting practices have a cultural dimension, and the inverse relationship between privilege and memory... is an outcome of these practices” (p.140). He calls us to “challenge aspects our own participation in the reproduction of dominance” so that we can step into ways of acting in the world that would begin to address “disadvantage and inequality” (p. 141).

The importance to the group of multiplicity and diversity to opening space for rich conversations, is taken up and described by John:

JOHN: One of the things I want to communicate is to preserve the diversity and allows you to say something different. And I'm also really aware of, even in these meetings, about how tempted I am to make it a single storied thing. I

so easily slip into trying to describe what's happening in terms of, "Maori and Pakeha men and women are like this". I don't know – there's some kind of intellectual comfort in it – certainty. But that's one of the things I want to communicate, is to be, to have more delight in the contradictions and the multi-voiced kinds of stories.

The shift from the notion of traditional psychological thought of a fixed, essential self or self, to a “multiplicity of different selves” (Burr, 1995, p. 30) allows for an exploration of lived experience that might otherwise remain obscured since it is outside the coherence of a dominant story. Embracing multiplicity in the story of identity creates a context for exploration, which is critical in the scaffolding of space for the kinds of conversations to occur that richly describe lives and identities (White, 2001).

Witnessing Pain And Struggle

We have already discussed throughout this project the pain and struggle experienced by this group of Pakeha New Zealanders as they actively engage in the process of identity construction. The other very powerful story that has followed this story of Pakeha pain has been the story of the pain and struggle of Maori New Zealanders as they face ongoing acts of marginalisation that position them as subjugated subjects. The story yet to be told in the story of Pakeha identity, and which links both these stories, is that of Pakeha being compassionate witnesses to the pain and struggle of Maori. In discussing witnessing and being witnesses to another's pain and struggle I call heavily on the work of Kaethe Weingarten (2000). She reminds us that there is never a time that we are not witnesses, “People speak, we hear, whether we choose to or not. Events explode

in front of us, whether we want to see or not” (p. 92). With the inevitability of witnessing as our premise, then it is imperative that we find ways to have conversations about the pain of witnessing and the risks that witnesses who choose to speak out assume. The voice of the witness becomes a critical piece of the scaffolding toward creating space for the rich conversations required toward constructing identity that is more richly descriptive of lives.

The following transcript alludes to an event that “explode[d] in front of us” (p. 92) earlier in 2004 where we were witnesses to the pain and struggle of Maori people. It testifies to the pain shared by some Pakeha New Zealanders as they witnessed the acts of injustice and unfairness towards Maori New Zealanders. In this conversation I share from the position of Maori identity and seeking out other Maori colleagues for support. It continues with Natalie sharing experiences as a Pakeha witness to the event and her description of the effect it had on her. The event is a political speech made by the leader of the National party. It has become known as the Orewa speech for the place where it was given.

JOY: I know that when that Orewa speech came out, I was profoundly affected by that, profoundly disturbed. And I went to work and we just needed to mention Orewa and we didn't need to say anything. It was like there was a lot of silence and I haven't experienced that before. But I just needed to be with my team because we just were all aware of the profound effect that it had on us. So now I'm wondering, what about for Pakeha [how do you deal with these disturbing events] ?

NATALIE: ...with the Orewa speech I got together with friends. I was actively sick about it. I just kind of worried away at it in an active kind of way. I just couldn't believe that [Don Brash] could say the things that he was saying and I

worried about what effect it was having on people and I worried about all the kind of rednecks that were coming out of the woodwork and I just worried about everything. So with my friends, most of them were Pakeha actually, we just talked about it and worried about it and wondered what to do about it and raged about it. And it still makes me feel sick when I think about it. I'm just glad it's sort of, people stood up and attacked various bits of it and so it kind of got deconstructed and Don Brash is sort of dissolved away a little bit.

I went to Mason Durie's seminar, I wrote that up for a newsletter that I was editing, and I just profoundly wished that Don Brash could have listened to Mason Durie talking about the Treaty there – for the whole day. I actually went for the whole day, and I just couldn't resist putting that in there because it was such a relief to hear Mason Durie talking about the things that he talked about at that seminar and it was a very healing process for me. I wrote in that article, a bit that took place, it's all still very much on my mind, and that was March wasn't it?

For me, being with others [Maori] was a way of witnessing to the painful effects of the Orewa speech. Natalie speaks of witnessing actions – sharing with Pakeha friends and listening to an alternative story about Maori and about the Treaty told by Mason Durie, a Maori of great mana.

As well as being impacted by larger events, Weingarten reminds us “there are consequences to witnessing the small and ordinary forms of violence that occur in our lives” (2003, p. 58). Natalie speaks further of being a witness on a daily basis to social violence, acts of marginalisation of Maori and the impact of witnessing on her:

NATALIE: I was looking at, today before I left school, the kind of institutionalised racism that is so endemic, not just in my school but in other

schools as well. And that sometimes I just despair of ever being able to kind of get a handle on all of it. There are just small things that I can see. Because I work really closely with [my Maori colleague], I can see there are things that just whittle away at her in the day. She says that she kind of just gets used to it but I'm really sensitive to it and I notice it all the time and I just kind of creep away from school at the end of the day, thinking, "oh God what can I do about this? Where do we start?" It's really painful.

Weingarten speaks of the difficulties for any observer to another's pain to retain a position of emotional separation from the events. She asserts there is difficulty for witnesses to be able to see more than a "few fragments of the picture at one time" and to make sense of them. Added to this is the difficulty in finding the language to adequately convey the experience of what has been witnessed.

Weingarten also speaks of the risks of being a witness:

First, there is the risk that attends grasping--even for a second--the experience of another. Then, there is the risk of staying with the other, extending the moment of perception until another reality circulates coterminously with one's own. Finally, there is the risk of attempting to share what one has learned from a perspective that is at once one's own and another's. (Weingarten, 2000, p. 92)

When speaking of her experiences of witnessing injustice, Weingarten says, "I was unprepared for the layers of identification and connections I experienced." (2000, p. 90). All of the participants in our group have spoken of having been Pakeha witnesses of Maori pain and suffering, both historical and current, and of the ongoing struggle to stand alongside those who are suffering. Weingarten goes on to say that for witnesses to speak publicly of their responses to the pain and

suffering of an oppressed group, is to risk their own credibility. There has been much disconnection between Maori and Pakeha as stories of injustice have been routinely withheld. However, many stories are now being told and heard that were not being told and heard previously. Meg's story mentioned earlier, of working with a Maori man who dares to tell his story is a demonstration of assuming risk in the interests of building connection with the other (Weingarten, 2000):

MEG: "our wairua has mingled." And, that's because I cried when he was telling me something and he said, "now our wairua has mingled."

Implicit in this story is a willingness to enter into a relationship together. This is beautifully stated by Weingarten. In quoting Arthur Frank she says we, "enter into mutual storytelling as a 'gift relation'. That is, 'stories are not material to be analysed; they are relationships to be entered'" (2001, p.116).

John also shares his experience of creating space by being willing to be a witness to Maori pain:

JOHN: We were talking about... Maori people talking about their experiences of racism in everyday life, you know things that I thought wouldn't happen in New Zealand, [that] might only happen to Maori gang members. [I have been] trying to make space so that people would feel able to say to me as a Pakeha they had experienced racism and that [my response] wouldn't just be 'oh no that wouldn't be happening!' And since we've had those conversations, I don't how it's happened, whether I'm just paying attention to them more or not, but people have related more of those conversations. Like when the

person was told the motel had no vacancies when it did and those sorts of things.

Weingarten sums this up:

I saw voice not as an individual's achievement of self-knowledge but, rather, a possibility that depends on the willingness of the listeners that make up the person's community. In this view, voice is contingent on who listens with what attention and attunement. Voice depends on witnessing. (Weingarten, 2000, p. 92)

The stories shared by participants demonstrate not just their witnessing events but witnessing with the particular “attention and attunement” of compassionate witnesses. By witnessing in these ways Maori voice is strengthened. But every interaction is a two way process and as Maori find the space to speak with Pakeha, and Pakeha become willing to be witnesses, together they assume risk in exchange for deeper connection (Weingarten, 2000) with one another. The voice of the compassionate witness is critical to the scaffolding of rich conversation.

Fun, Delight, Enrichment

The story we have told has testified to the struggle and pain as participants have reflected on the history of Maori and Pakeha relationships in this country and the challenges experienced in working toward honourable relationships. The next piece of conversation speaks more about that pain, and honours it, but it also touches on the need for fun in order to be able to continue to do the “*painful and*

serious work” of intentionally engaging with Maori in the business of Pakeha identity construction:

*MEG: I was thinking that this was a very serious topic, but I actually think that it's quite a fun topic. Maybe **having fun with it [is important too]**. It's been quite serious work, trying to figure this thing out – how to be in this country. It's actually been painful and serious work. I was sitting there and thinking, “why?”, because it's been so painful and serious. And my friends and I and my non-friends have been really hurt in the process of it. And [so I was thinking] maybe **a little levity is a good idea** because otherwise it's very serious and tragic.*

John speaks of finding delight and celebration an integral part of the stories of relationship with Maori and to identity as a Pakeha New Zealander.

*JOHN: ...it's about a **celebration** of difference so that we're not making up for a deficit as a Pakeha person, by learning Maori, that you're stepping further into that Pakeha/Maori identity or **something to delight** in. I think that's a significantly different position. I think I've found a way to step outside of that story. It was an unhelpful binary and so now there are **things that can be celebrated** and whether people think that I'm being politically correct or not, that place to stand bit, that was a place to stand as one of the rhyming couplets from this part of the world which I think's great. **I am delighted in it**... And to me, that's part of **the place that's so delightful** that this has kind of given me a **better appreciation** of, has being able to stand as Pakeha with things that are Maori and that tradition of fairness and challenging authority and deconstructing it with feminist ideas. I mean that's just amazing to have that available, to have that position available, so readily available.*

When asked which ideas participants identify as important to take forward from this project, Natalie also affirms the delight that John was speaking of:

*NATALIE: You were talking about the **delight** in being able to embrace some of those new ideas that came from [honourable intention], instead of being one step back and coming from a position of deficit. And... to step forward into being able to be **delighted by the richness** that we have and to become more aware of what is there already.*

In her narrative of grieving experiences and the interweaving of elements of Maori cultural ideas of tangi, Natalie makes the following statement:

*NATALIE: A much **deeper and richer** experience.*

White (1995, 2001) and Burr (1995), along with others, have spoken about the inevitability of our lives being shaped by the cultures we stand within. Yet the way lives are shaped are diverse. In listening this group of Pakeha New Zealanders, who dare to resist dominant ideas that support the binary of Maori or European identities, it is evident that they intentionally take up interactive positions. It is out of this intention to understand, to learn and to honour, that rich experience occurs and is noticed. The following pieces of transcript demonstrate participants actively participating in the construction of identity:

*NATALIE: I can **interact** with whatever's happening and **find** out about it... that way... those things change me all the time, change me forever, because there's nothing to take for granted. And the **more I find out, the more I experience the richer it is.***

*NATALIE: **Going** to Mason Durie's seminar and **taking this job and working with** a largely Maori population has just made me ... there's some things that I knew but it's just kind of deepened and broadened my understanding of what*

*that was and all the other **things that I learnt before** that have kind of **become deepened and enriched** as well.*

*JOHN: [It's] about being part of a hope. For the **first time in British colonisation** there would be **some respect for indigenous people and that's the marvellous thing instead of stepping** into automatically white, middle-class male – the most oppressive group on the planet ... it's really important... that's the piece of identity... like **there's opportunity** to be that here – that wasn't there before.*

*But that's one of the things I want to communicate, is to **have more delight** in the contradictions and the multi-voiced kinds of stories.*

*JOHN: Really interesting and stimulating ideas and experiences in this group and when we have a conversation, **I have a memory about that that's inspiring** and it **has me looking** for things.*

The idea that Natalie speaks of, of becoming “*more aware of what is there already*” is important in the story of delight. As well as being participating witnesses to pain and suffering, another important piece in the scaffolding of identity conversations is to participate with others in noticing and delighting in the richness that is already available.

Shaping Effects Of Cutting Ties

Early in the story of our research conversations I highlighted participants' experiences of noticing difference between them and their colonial forbears. Effectively, they speak of noticing difference to others and that difference also being noticed by others. They speak of the effect of noticing and being noticed

as different and the initial confusion as they set out to further understand what it means to be a Pakeha New Zealander.

The noticing and being noticed has been a part of the process of cutting ties with the ‘mother country’ and beginning to move out of the seeing oneself as the ‘child country’. The other important strand in the recognition of difference too has been the recognition of unique Pakeha identity. Participants speak of a preference to name themselves ‘Pakeha’ as opposed to European, which is now redundant of meaning to them to a large degree. That is not to say that they do not honour their histories of European descent but simply that to tell stories of uniqueness presents options for richer identity description and action in Aotearoa New Zealand, than would otherwise be available.

I began this research project making the following statement:

Specifically, my research investigates how a group of Pakeha New Zealander counsellors have begun to embrace Maori culture, knowledge and values in their work. Significantly, I explore which ‘knowledges’ are perceived to be important and how those ideas are ‘translated’ and drawn down into the storylines of this group of Pakeha New Zealanders. In doing so I consider how these understandings contribute to the production of indigenous Pakeha New Zealand identities and of counselling practices.

Participants tell stories of identity that set them apart from any other group of people. They speak of now belonging to this land, Aotearoa New Zealand. They

make physical, emotional, spiritual and philosophical connections to the land. In acknowledging disconnection from European roots they claim increasing connection with Maori culture and ideas. They speak of rising generations of young Pakeha New Zealanders for whom connection with Maori culture and language has increasing familiarity and is a part of their everyday understanding of the 'way to do things'.

Notions of Pakeha indigeneity may evoke highly emotive responses. It is not a term enlisted by this research group to describe themselves and in this current political climate is perhaps imbued with meanings that are unhelpful as Maori continue their struggle against marginalisation and injustice. However, it is nevertheless apparent from participants' responses that Pakeha are a group of people with identities unique to Aotearoa New Zealand. They are identities that are produced in the physical environment of this land and through connectedness at many levels with Maori culture. It may be that we have not yet found or agreed on the language that would speak to the identities that are being produced in this country. But I draw attention again to Meg's words, which offer us hope and determination to continue the struggle:

MEG: The thing about a rhyming couplet is that both lines probably make sense on their own and most lines can stand totally separately. But unless you put them together, you don't get the full sense that there could be of them. [Together] they make something other. Not something the same. Not something overlapped. Something different again.

I have spoken here and earlier of stepping out from the patriarchal notion of parent/child countries and it is important to remember what is being stepped in to.

Raising again the metaphor of the couplet, in cutting ties with the previous, it is possible to forge connection with Maori and of identity in relation to Maori that would otherwise be very limited.

What is available for knowing and identifying with?

I have discussed previously those elements of Maori culture and knowledges that are most readily identified by the participants as the known and familiar.

Participants have shared stories of celebration and ceremony in the sites of education and grieving; they have spoken of Maori cultural knowledges that have provided them with discursive resources that shape the way they act in the world, that is at once indicative of unique Pakeha identity and part of a continual shaping process. They are now familiar footholds that have been carved out amidst pain and struggle and delight and celebration. As ways of acting and being in the world become increasingly familiar “cultural resonance” also increases and others endorse and authenticate the narrative in a person’s life (Weingarten, 2001, p.115). Therefore in order for such endorsement and authentication to occur there are narratives that must be told. These narratives will carry the constructs that people call on to account for their efforts to subvert dominant discourses that would silence or marginalise them or others. These narratives will also carry the constructs people can call on to make new identity claims (2001). It is with this in mind that the struggle to find language to engage in conversation becomes critical.

Acts Of Language

For now occasional and tentative use of Maori language and partial translation makes it possible for the youth of the 60s and 70s to continue to forge space for conversation. There is space that has already been forged that our children and their children are able to step into with ease. Now, each day they demonstrate an ease and familiarity with Maori cultural ideas and language, that surpasses their parents. In this the youth of the 60s and 70s are learning from the youth of this decade. These young people are making a contribution back to those generations that engaged in the struggle to make this space available. This is not to say they are without their own struggles. For example Meg's story, where others impose categories of identity on another based on skin or hair colouring indicates ongoing dilemmas for Pakeha youth as well as for some Maori youth, and the default in society to essentialism. However, there is a broader place for young people to stand and to articulate identity claims.

It is the 'performative' role of language that is of particular interest to me. It is the view that language is more than self-expression but rather when we engage in talking we are engaged in constructing the world (Burr, 1995). Therefore it is the notion of the importance of "language as a form of social action" (p.7) that is the lens through which I view the following: "Without language, experience dissolves. Without language, experience cannot be shared and community cannot be formed" (Weingarten, 2001, p. 114).

I find myself caught up with a sense of urgency as I ponder Weingarten's statement and consider the acts of language that we engage in. There is an urgency to continue to take up the struggle to work to find the language that continues to make the new possibilities for acting in the world, available to people. On these terms language is critical to conversation that is conducive of sharing experience and building community of the kind that is supportive of identity claims that are constructed on a foundation of fairness and honourable intention.

Our ethical response as a group of social service practitioners must then be to consider the language and therapeutic practices already available and that are continuing to be produced, that would contribute to the scaffolding of conversation.

We have seen in the course of this project practices that work toward scaffolding rich conversation. We have explored familiar ideas such as co-researching and refining of questions that connect people's actions to the values they espouse. We utilised, although I have not reported, the less familiar idea of bracketing conversation to intentionally provide safe space for conversations as we continue to struggle to find adequate language to construct the world in ways we prefer. The group has provided a context to intentionally discuss stories of identity. It has provided a space where identity claims can be articulated and renegotiated, and authenticated in a community of people. Participants have taken time to tease out and struggle with both the known and the unknown. The group has been willing to question the boundaries and to consider what might be possible in the

terrain that lies at the 'hyphen' between Maori and Pakeha. Members have shared stories with each other of witnessing another's pain and of being willing to enter another's story and have joined with others in their work and within the limits of this project to struggle and to delight together.

These are all acts of language that offer hope that broader space will be available for ongoing conversation in the construction of honourable relationships in this country.

PARTICIPANTS' EXPERIENCES OF THE PROJECT

Various practice ideas were discussed in the course of our discussion and these resulted in participants taking ideas back to their practice. Meg and John enter a discussion about an idea that was raised and the space that opened in a later work:

M: John do you use like do you use 'kia ora' on your pamphlet or...

JOHN: No. But I was thinking about that. That's one of the things that has happened because of this group. 'Taking it back' practices. I had a conversation with a Maori woman about what I could have done that would have made more space for her and that's one of the things that she suggested. And the other thing that she suggested was that she would have wanted to know more about me to be able to trust me. Not just the information that's on the pamphlet, I've got x number of children, but that kind of stuff which from a narrative point of view...

Making participation in the project visible to clients opened space for conversations to occur that might not otherwise have occurred:

JOHN: One of the things I wanted to say about this project is that it's added some really important things to my work to be able to have these conversations. I've had these conversations with some of my Maori clients and said that I'm doing this and so we've had some conversations where we haven't had before... [As a result of being involved in] this process that I found myself stepping into these [places of witnessing painful stories] ... [Instead of] that [binary of, "this] is what Maori is", and "this is the way Pakeha culture" is, there's a risk in there too. It's not about, "this is Maori culture bad or good" or, ["Pakeha culture bad or good"], it's that co-researching thing.

And we had that conversation that we wouldn't have had that before and I was explaining to [my Maori client] about the project. And I noticed in the process where I found myself taking up [a knowledgeable position of] "this is what it means", not multi-storied, but this is the single story, and trying to resist that. So, it's really important this project. Even the discipline of us meeting, I'm thinking of all the difference it's made already to the conversations that I have in terms of assumptions being overturned and the questions I've asked that I wouldn't have otherwise asked... It certainly got me thinking and noticing things that I'm fairly grateful for... And since we've had those conversations, I don't know how it's happened, whether I'm just paying attention to them more or not, but people have related more of those [witnessing Maori pain] conversations.

JOHN: and to me, that's part of the place that's so delightful that this [research project] has kind of given me a better appreciation of, is being able to stand as Pakeha with things that are Maori and that tradition of fairness and challenging authority and deconstructing it with feminist ideas.

Natalie speaks generally of ideas catching her attention and the challenge there is at times in taking the time to examine them and to think about them in terms of identity. She has also spoken of a number of specific ideas that she would 'like to

adopt and say” that have been brought to and produced in the project, which have been mentioned previously:

NATALIE: There are so many ideas that I’ve just found sort of bouncing round in my head that people have been talking about ... some of the ways that we make connections with Maori and Pakeha clients and being much more aware of my power position that you were talking about and how we can bring ourselves fully to a relationship with a new client and the sort of thing that we do with that. Just heaps of ideas. I feel really excited about thinking about it some more... I found it really challenging because there’s been so many ideas that I found deeply embedded and chiselling them out and working out where they came from and then kind of plopping them back in again.

I think that Glenn Colquhoun said a whole lot of things that I would like to adopt and say. Thoughts were about the things we have already talked about, like being Pakeha is a Maori word and has Maori in it and so that other idea right at the beginning of the book where he says that the Maori friend of his had said to be Pakeha you had to live, you just had to be Pakeha, you just had to get on with it. But to be Maori you had to learn about Pakeha as well and that by the end of the book that’s really what he’s talking about. The ways to do that. And... to step forward into being able to be delighted by the richness that we have and to become more aware of what is there already, that there are some things that we do without even thinking about: like using some Maori words; pronouncing Maori words correctly; participating in a lot of tikanga Maori without thinking that we’re doing something special or different. Because my journey has been realising that there are a whole of those things. [They are] a part of my life that just have to be there. I can’t see myself being without them, and [I’m] becoming more aware all the time of other things. ... There’s some things that I knew but [participating in these conversations] just kind of deepened and broadened my understanding of what that was. And all the other things that I learnt before that, have kind of become deepened and enriched as well because [of being involved in this project].

Jill speaks of ideas discussed in the research conversation as stimulating further interest to continue to research beyond the project.

JILL: I was thinking about the idea of fairness and what we value and connecting that back to what early people leaving Britain, Europe, what they left. Were they leaving behind unfairness? And there was definitely a system of privilege and it exists still. It would be kind of interesting to read more.

As a result of these discussions, Jill also is now raising questions for us to consider the conversations that might be possible to have with people of a younger generation in relation to the issues of pakeha identity that we have been discussing. This raises further space to investigate Pakeha identity that is likely to be more apparent in the years beyond 2004 as the youth of today become the leaders of another generation.

JILL: I was just sort of thinking too, we're all of a similar age, the changes that have been, that we've been through. It would be interesting to know what kind of conversations that some people, 18, 19 or some people in their 70s, whether, you know if you were asking them, if you were doing your research with them, what would they say?

Like John and Natalie, Jill also speaks of her attention being drawn to attend to things she might not otherwise have noticed, prior to engaging in the project. She also highlights the struggle that engaging with these ideas produces, both in finding a “*place to stand in this country*” and which is paralleled in attempts to articulate the struggle, called for in participating in this research group:

JILL: I found [the research project] interesting in all sorts of ways, and one of the ways has been that it has drawn my attention to things; listening for the way our identity has been constructed. In my work the ways these things are

operating and the kind of values that are informing that as well. That has got me thinking and watching out for those sorts of things and the ways of speaking that make a difference, I suppose. And also I found it difficult as well. I found it really good but I found it [difficult]. Maybe that's just the tension that there is with discussing these kinds of things, that trying to find a place to stand in this country has been a struggle.

Participants' words all convey something of the complexities, difficulties and joys of engaging in the story of Pakeha identity construction in Aotearoa New Zealand.

CHAPTER SEVEN

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HE TAONGA

SUMMARY

This research project began by asking, *“if indigenous Pakeha identity is recognized as being significantly influenced by te ao Maori, ... how relevant [are] traditional Western psychological therapeutic approaches, based primarily on white North American and European psychological theories, to Pakeha New Zealanders”?* I also stated that *“the aim of this research, therefore, [was] to explore the possibilities for practice by, and with, Pakeha New Zealanders where there is an intentional endeavour to understand and honour maatauranga Maori alongside dominant Western knowledges.”* (p. 5). The findings in relation to these aims of my research project are embedded within the larger structure of this work. I refer back to my introduction and the metaphor I drew on there of ‘kono’ weaving. Prior to any weaving beginning there is always the work of selecting, cutting, and working the flax until it is pliable and ready for the hands of the weaver. It is appropriate that I summarise this work by beginning with the first utterances of this project, the things of importance that come before the weaving begins.

My first statement in this project is a dedication to *“giving the silent a voice”*. Prior to embarking on the project I felt a growing urgency to make space for voices to be heard that are often lost or silenced in the clamour of political agenda

and outdated ideas about identity. As the work has progressed, knowledges have been produced about the need to carefully craft space so that conversation can occur and voices can be heard. Significantly, knowledges have been produced in regard to what is required to craft space for Pakeha identity conversations to occur.

The second statement of significance in this project is the acknowledgment of a few of the people who have made contribution directly and/or indirectly to this research project. In these ways people have also contributed to the ongoing identity project that I am engaged in. We have engaged in conversation, sometimes intentionally in regard to this project and at other times in regard to the usual stuff of life. We are often ‘unwitting participants’ in each others’ identity projects. Likewise, in our stories of Pakeha identity construction that this project has made space for and also produced, the contribution of other people to participants’ identity claims is acknowledged. Specifically, my focus has been to honour the contribution of Maori cultural knowledges to Pakeha identity. This project has made visible the more direct influence of Maori cultural resources such as in marae visits and ceremony, and also the sometimes less visible but as powerful influences, such as witnessing Maori pain and struggle on a daily basis.

The conversation required in the production of Pakeha identity is that which promotes respect and honouring of both Maori and Pakeha. Findings have demonstrated that respect and honouring is established and generated on the value of fairness and occurs where Pakeha and Maori find spaces to walk and talk together. Further, findings suggest that contribution to identity is a mutual

process and forums to continue the conversations and to acknowledge contribution are critical.

The third statement that I draw attention to prior to the weaving beginning is my pepeha. I locate myself in relation to my identity as a wahine of Ngati Raukawa descent. I acknowledge geographical and historical strands that contribute to my identity. In the course of this project, participants have also identified significant voices that support them in telling stories that connect them historically and geographically to Aotearoa New Zealand. But beyond historical and geographical connections they have also produced ideas about Pakeha identity that are connected to having a place of values in Aotearoa New Zealand to explore and to roam. It has been suggested that the place of values is supported by practices that are offered by narrative approaches to practice, particularly co-researching.

My pepeha also acknowledges those who have come before me and therefore the contribution their exploits make to my identity. This also includes those people who are not specifically mentioned in my pepeha but to whom connection is implicit. Again this relates to a finding of this project. As strands are teased apart, participants have identified that simply by being located within the complexities of this particular society that we experience in Aotearoa New Zealand, we are connecting to and being influenced in myriad ways by Maori people, their culture and their knowledges.

Though locating myself in my pepeha to Ngati Raukawa, I now acknowledge that I also connect to iwi in the Taranaki about whom my knowledge is very limited at this time. So I have offered only partial understandings of my Maori identity. There are gaps. There are knowledges yet to be stepped into. There will be others that will guide my steps and there will be the time and space for this to occur. It is the same with the narratives offered in this project. One of the statements participants requested was brought forward was their acknowledgement as Pakeha of claiming only partial understandings of Maori knowledges. This is one of the key findings for the crafting of space where Maori and Pakeha can continue to have respectful conversation. This is space where alternative articulations of identity may be possible as exploration occurs of the ‘in-between’ area situated at the “hyphen” (Fine, 1994, p. 70) created by the dichotomising of Maori and Pakeha identities.

Again supported by the narrative practice of co-researching and the value of fairness (informed in part by feminist ideas and drawn down into narrative theory and practice), participants identify the dynamic nature of identity production.

Returning to the kono-weaving metaphor, when the preparation was complete, then “*it was time to let the weaving begin!*” (p. 3).

In summary, the weaving of this research project created an important space for conversation to occur where participants could tell the narratives of their struggles over time to articulate Pakeha identity. At the time of the research conversations participants gave their current renditions of how they made meaning of historical

events that affected them as Pakeha New Zealanders and as therapists. They also emphasised that all meaning-making and identity claims are in relation to partial knowledges, which are situated in particular times and locations.

Engagement in the project by participants has produced significant ideas about intentionally crafting space for ongoing conversations to occur. The project also makes strong links to post-modern ideas, which participants say give them '*permission to ask*', and to narrative practices that support asking through intentional and carefully crafted questioning and co-researching.

Participants also offer suggestions about what they have found that has supported them to step into places made available as stories of honourable intention are told. The stories of honourable intention sit alongside the stories of colonisation and injustice, emphasising the multiplicity of strands that contribute to stories of identity. Also supporting participants to continue to engage in the struggle to intentionally explore and honour Maori knowledges are public voices such as Mason Durie, Michael King and Glenn Colquhoun. Of particular note is Durie who one participant says, has greater effect as he represents the voice of the oppressed. As well as the struggle that is woven throughout the narratives, participants speak of the joy and delight they have also encountered.

In relation to the validity of these findings I acknowledge the limited scope of this research project. It has been conducted with a small group of people and therefore the findings are presented as produced by this small group at the particular time and place these conversations occurred. Also participants in the

project were already engaged in actively honouring Maori cultural knowledges and in taking up opportunities to avail themselves of space for conversations in regard to their work with Maori clients. However, they are also a group of Pakeha New Zealand social service practitioners with diverse experiences, historical, social, academic and therapeutic and therefore representative of many of the people for whom this project is intended. It is from this position that I offer the following suggestions that were discussed and/or produced in our meetings.

Participants have expressed interest in some of the ideas that have been produced in this project being taken forward in other arenas. These include taking Maori language into greetings with clients; the importance of, and ways of connecting with clients; honouring Maori principles in Professional Disclosure Statements alongside Pakeha principles.

Intentionally taking the time out to consider questions of personal identity and identity as a Pakeha New Zealander in respect to interaction with Maori knowledges has been highlighted by participants as important to take forward into educational arenas for therapist training. For some, exploring and articulating professional identity tended to “*obscure*” the exploration of personal identity, though it is acknowledged there is no intention to attempt to create each as a separate entity. Rather in respect of Treaty principles, the idea was to promote the possibility of intentional conversations within Aotearoa New Zealand counselling arenas to explore and honour the mutual contribution of Maori and Pakeha to identity.

A possibility for further research, generated in our conversations, would be to conduct a similar project with a group of youth of the 21st century. The experiences of the youth of today in regard to their interaction with Maori cultural knowledges and language, is likely to differ significantly from those of the generation directly involved in this research group. This project has also drawn attention to the importance of language in ascribing meaning to our experiences and in constructing our realities. It has highlighted the difficulty this group of participants has experienced in the use of te reo Maori. A further difficulty has been finding the language to story the complexities involved in storying Pakeha identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. It would be interesting to engage in similar conversations with the youth of today who have benefited from the contribution of their parents' generation in making language more readily accessible, such as Maori language being available in schools.

Further research in relation to this project will continue as intentional engagement with ideas about Pakeha identity and Maori contribution to Pakeha identity occurs in counselling and other formal forums, and as therapists participate in co-researching with their clients. Research will also continue as people interested in these ideas continue to engage in conversation with others in the ordinary spaces of their lives.

Finally, although I physically present this project, I wish to acknowledge that this project is the work of the group who engaged with me as co-researchers. On behalf of the research group I offer this project, with all its gaps and partial knowledges, as our contribution to ongoing conversation about Pakeha identity.

On a broader level, it also is significant in our identities as ‘inquirers-into-questions-of-identity-and- the-valuing-of-Maori-knowledges’. It signals our ongoing intentional engagement in identity construction, claims which will be revised many times along the way. Like the imperfect kono this project testifies to the intention, the struggle and the aroha that has been an integral part of the process. I bring it as our gift, a taonga with all its gaps and its richness, to contribute to the ongoing conversations that are critical for Maori and Pakeha to continue to move forward together in Aotearoa New Zealand.

There are thousands of love stories between Pakeha and Maori. Sometimes we forget to tell them... Pakeha and Maori are joined at the historical hip. We will trip and we will dance. We must argue and we must love. (Colquhoun, 2004, p. 53).

Haupane! Kupane!

Whiti ra!

No reira, tena koutou, tena koutou, tena tatou katoa.

GLOSSARY

ao	world
awhi	help
haka	‘posture’/war dance
harakeke	NZ flax
hapu	subtribe
hui	meeting
iwi	tribe
kaiako	teacher
kaimahi	worker
kaitiaki	guardian
kapa haka	Maori performing arts
kapai	good
kaumatua	elder
kaupapa	purpose
kono	four cornered woven basket
maatauranga	knowledge
mana	power/prestige
mihimihi	speech
mihi whakatau	greeting process
motu	island
noa	common/usual
noho marae	stay on marae
Pakeha	commonly understood to be New Zealander of European descent
pepeha	a saying connecting one to a region
poroporoaki	final farewell
powhiri	Maori welcoming ceremony
rahui	prohibition
rangatahi	youth

Raukawatanga	the customs of iwi, Ngati Raukawa
reo	language
rohe	region
taha Maori	Maori side/way of doing things
tamariki	children
tangihanga	funeral
taonga	treasure(d)
tapu	restricted/protected/sacred
Tauiwi	outsider
tikanga	customs
tupuna	ancestor
turangawaewae	'standing place'/home
tuturu	pure/purity
wahine	woman
waiata	song
wananga	place of learning
whakapapa	genealogy
whakatauki	proverb/saying
whanau	family
(whaka)whanaungatanga	relatedness
whare tangata	womb
whare tupuna	ancestral meeting house

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APPENDICES

<i>Appendix I</i>	INFORMATION FOR PARTICIPANTS
<i>Appendix II</i>	RESEARCH CONSENT FORM
<i>Appendix III</i>	PROPOSED ETHICAL GUIDELINES FOR GROUP
<i>Appendix IIIb</i>	AGREED ETHICAL GUIDELINES FOR GROUP
<i>Appendix IV</i>	PROPOSED STRUCTURAL GUIDELINES
<i>Appendix IVb</i>	AGREED STRUCTURAL GUIDELINES
<i>Appendix V</i>	PROPOSED WORKING AGREEMENT
<i>Appendix Vb</i>	AGREED WORKING AGREEMENT
<i>Appendix VI</i>	SCHEDULE OF INTERVIEW QUESTIONS
<i>Appendix VII</i>	LETTER TO PARTICIPANTS: IDENTIFICATION OR ANONYMITY

UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO

DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND COUNSELLING

M. Couns. Research Project:

An investigation of the influence of Maori knowledges on the production of counselling practice that generates and reflects indigenous Pakeha identity

Joy Te Wiata

INFORMATION FOR PARTICIPANTS

Locating Myself and this Project

Tena koutou katoa

Ko Tainui te waka
Ko Tararua te maunga
Ko Otaki te awa
Ko Ngati Raukawa te iwi
Ko Ngati Te Horu te hapu
Ko Raukawa te marae
Ko Te Wiata Te Horu te tupuna
Ko Tauhia Te Wiata toku Papa
Ko Mavis Phillips toku Mama
Ko Joy Te Wiata toku ingoa

I also locate myself in this work as partner and wife, mother of three children and two stepchildren, and 'Kui' of one mokopuna. Further, I acknowledge the cultural and ethnic identities of my European ancestors who came to Aotearoa/ New Zealand from Scotland, Sweden, England and Germany.

Professionally, I come to this research project as a counsellor and with beginning experience as a supervisor and cultural consultant. In terms of theoretical orientation, I work from a social constructionist framework which is demonstrated primarily in the use of a narrative approach in my practice.

As a practising counsellor, supervisor and consultant, I am guided by the New Zealand Association of Counsellors' Code of Ethics. I am also guided by the Code of Ethics of the Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Workers, of which I am a Full Member. Adhering to these Codes of Ethics supports me to undertake my work in a way that is tika (in-line) with Maori values, pono (authentic) and demonstrates aroha (generosity of

heart). Working with these values enables me to uphold the principles of mana, mauri and tapu in relation to safe and ethical practice.

I began my counsellor education in the counselling programme at the Bible College of New Zealand where I now occasionally contribute as a workshop facilitator. I am currently a student in the counsellor education programme at the University of Waikato.

I work as a counsellor for Toiora Whanau within Te Runanga O Raukawa. Toiora Whanau is the social services division of Te Runanga O Raukawa which represents and co-ordinates services for all the hapu of Ngati Raukawa ki te tonga in the rohe of Manawatu/Horowhenua.

I have been touched and shaped by Raukawatanga and maatauranga Maori: the wisdom and knowledges that guided and shaped my tupuna and continue to influence members of my whanau, hapu and iwi, to varying degrees, today. Consequently, I no longer choose to occupy a position that would allow me to ignore, reject or simply give a nodding acknowledgement to these 'other' knowledges that I have encountered.

My ethnic and cultural identities together with these roles and experiences inform my interest to engage in this research project. Particularly, the University of Waikato, Counsellor Education programme, located in social constructionist ideas, supports me in the exploration and generation of alternative articulations of identity. Central to this investigation are White's ideas about alternative identity conclusions which he proposes are: 'socially negotiated in communities of people, and to be the products of history and culture' (2001, p.20).

This project also springs significantly from my present understanding of the richness of maatauranga Maori and its growing influence on my own values, practice and identity. My concern is for the possibilities for practice where there is an honouring of marginalised bodies of knowledge such as maatauranga Maori within the mainstream counselling profession, or particularly within counselling approaches such as narrative therapy, that seek to honour local knowledges. Ritchie (1992) is adamant that society has not even begun to embrace the richness that Maori values could offer to dominant culture, and stresses to do that we need to have an appreciation of what they are. The question remains for me of how, within Aotearoa/New Zealand, maatauranga Maori can be given greater visibility so that it can be seen to stand alongside Eurocentric knowledges in the shaping of ethical practice and indeed contributing to creating and shaping practice that is indigenous to Aotearoa/New Zealand – reflecting rising indigenous identities.

This has led to my proposal to establish a co-operative inquiry group to:

- provide professional development for its members in regard to production of counselling practice that reflects indigenous pakeha identity
- research that process

My intention is that the group will provide rich professional development opportunities for us all along with rich material to inform my research.

I am interested in and willing to answer any further questions you may have.

No reira, tena koutou, tena koutou, tena tatou katoa.

UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO

DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND COUNSELLING

M. Couns. Research Project:

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Joy Te Wiata

RESEARCH CONSENT FORM

I have provided you with my ideas and aspirations for this research project, both in informal conversation and in the 'Information for Participants'. I now need to request your formal assent to participate in the project. You are aware that I will be conducting this research within the context of both the professional ethical codes and the University of Waikato procedures and principles for conducting research. Signing this consent form is not intended to detract from the collaborative intention of this project but rather to propose a clear starting point from which I can gain approval from the School of Ethics Committee, in order to begin to formally negotiate within the group, working documents that will give account of the ethical context in which we all agree to situate this project.

I enclose:

- i. Proposed ethical guidelines for the group.
- ii. Proposed structural guidelines for the group.

I am willing to answer any questions you have now or at any time.

Please answer the questions below and sign both copies of the form (one for each of us) if you are satisfied to do so.

Many thanks

Joy Te Wiata
August 2004

To Participants:

Do you understand that I am undertaking this project partly in fulfilment of an M. Couns. degree, and so am subject to university requirements and to oversight from the nominated university academic staff, Dr Kathie Crocket?

Yes: No

Have you read the 'Information for Participants'?

Yes: No

Do you have sufficient information to make a decision to enter into the first stage of involvement in the research process?

Yes: No

Do you agree to meet with me and a small group to consider the possibilities that this project offers and the commitment that you are willing to make to it?

Yes: No

If you wish to participate in this inquiry group, do you agree that at that meeting to negotiate or approve or to amend the attached proposed ethical guidelines for the group in its work and to participate in the project within the context of those guidelines?

Yes: No

If you wish to participate in this inquiry group, do you agree that at that meeting to negotiate or approve or to amend the attached proposed structural guidelines for the group in its work and to participate in the project within the context of those guidelines?

Yes: No

If you wish to participate in this inquiry group, do you give consent for Joy to put the material to any other uses that may arise such as writing, workshops or teaching activities?

Yes: No

Do you agree to the taping of the initial group meeting?

Yes: No

Signed:

Name:

Date:

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Joy Te Wiata

PROPOSED ETHICAL GUIDELINES FOR GROUP

These guidelines are to be read alongside the Code of Ethics of the professional body, to which you adhere.

- We intend that this group will provide a safe forum in which participants are able to discuss all material relevant to this project.
- All notes produced within the group sessions and transcripts of sessions will be treated with the standard of care of other professional practice material, and kept secure.
- Any concerns group members have about the group or aspects its processes will be brought to the attention of the group.
- We will disclose the nature of the group members' other relationships, past and continuing, with each other at the outset of the group.
- Group members will provide professional disclosure to clients of their participation in the inquiry group, preferably through a written professional disclosure statement.
- While being free to discuss in appropriate professional contexts the learning and practice developments in the group, we will do so in a way that protects other group members from harm.
- The usual standards of care in regard to confidentiality for counselling clients when we speak in supervision will apply. Group members will take responsibility for informing Joy as the researcher, where transcripts need amending of audiotapes need editing in order to protect counselling clients from being identified in the dissemination of information through the formal research stage of the processes.

- While it will be Joy's responsibility as researcher, to ensure that group processes are respectful, all group members share responsibility for ensuring that group processes are safe and respectful.

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Joy Te Wiata

PROPOSED STRUCTURAL GUIDELINES – CO-OPERATIVE INQUIRY GROUP

Group members agree to being involved in the following professional and research activities:

1. Initial formal group meeting to:
 - i. formally propose my ideas to potential participants
 - ii. negotiate working agreement
 - iii. negotiate ethical guidelines
 - iv. negotiate structure for group meetings

2. First meeting to engage in inquiry:
 - i. a question will be addressed to the team and while a member speaks, the other team members will listen.
 - ii. group members respond to the material offered.
 - iii. all members engage in dialogue and generate other inquiry
 - iii. the final part of the session will used to review and reflect on:
 - ideas to take back to day to day practice
 - members' experiences of the group
 - the knowledges and practices around working with Maori knowledges and in the articulation of pakeha New Zealand identity that are being generated.
 - the research focus of this project.

3. Subsequent meetings:
 - i. members will feedback experiences related to ideas taken back to their practice.
 - ii. questions may be addressed to the team or inquiry generated within the team.
 - iv. all members engage in dialogue and generate other inquiry
 - v. the final part of the session will used to review and reflect on:

- ideas to take back to day to day practice
- members' experiences of the group
- the knowledges and practices around working with Maori knowledges and in the articulation of pakeha New Zealand identity that are being generated.
- the research focus of this project.

4. The final meeting:
 - i. the first part of the session will be given to review and reflection as above.
 - ii. the latter part of the session will give attention to the question of what we would want to communicate to others about the practices and understandings of identity we have been generating, exploring and struggling together with.

Joy will take formal responsibility for facilitating the group process, recognising that group members bring skills and experience to share that task.

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Joy Te Wiata

AGREED STRUCTURAL GUIDELINES – CO-OPERATIVE INQUIRY GROUP

Following the initial formal group meeting, group members agree to being involved in the following professional and research activities:

1. First meeting to engage in inquiry:
 - i. a question will be addressed to the team and while a member speaks, the other team members will listen.
 - ii. group members respond to the material offered.
 - iii. all members engage in dialogue and generate other inquiry
 - iv. the final part of the session will used to review and reflect on:
 - ideas to take back to day to day practice
 - members' experiences of the group
 - the knowledges and practices around working with Maori knowledgesand in the articulation of pakeha New Zealand identity that are being generated.
 - the research focus of this project.

2. Second meeting:
 - i. members will feedback experiences related to ideas taken back to their practice.
 - ii questions may be addressed to the team or inquiry generated within the team.
 - iv all members engage in dialogue and generate other inquiry
 - v the final part of the session will used to review and reflect on:
 - ideas to take back to day to day practice
 - members' experiences of the group
 - the knowledges and practices around working with Maori knowledgesand in the articulation of pakeha New Zealand identity that are being generated.
 - the research focus of this project.

4. The final meeting:
 - i. the first part of the session will be given to review and reflection as above.
 - ii. the latter part of the session will give attention to the question of what we would want to communicate to others about the practices and understandings of identity we have been generating, exploring and struggling together with.

Joy will take formal responsibility for facilitating the group process, recognising that group members bring skills and experience to share that task.

The formal roles of academic researcher and primary facilitator of the inquiry group inherently present power relations that privilege that position. These together with the researcher also being of Maori identity, may contribute to silencing some of the voices that this project seeks to hear, due to risk of offending. In an endeavour to pre-empt or at least to minimise this occurring, a 'bracketed' conversation structure is available within the group meetings where 'struggling to be told' conversations can take place. This structure is also available to group members for other conversations that might otherwise be difficult such as due to complex and multiple relationships.

Bracketed Conversation Structure

- i. the 1st member signals their interest in a bracketed conversation
- ii. researcher (A) (or other person to whom the conversation is pertinent), sits to one side with another member to be silent witnesses to the conversation
- iii. the 1st member participates in a conversation with the other team members, with the intention of moving toward respectful articulation of the issue
- iv. at the conclusion of the conversation, the two witnesses to the conversation have the opportunity to reflect on the conversation while the rest of the team become witnesses.

This process may be repeated as considered appropriate by all parties.

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Joy Te Wiata

PROPOSED WORKING AGREEMENT

- We agree to meet as a co-operative inquiry group that will provide professional development for us a its members.
- As members of Professional Associations, we adhere to our respective associations' Codes of Ethics.
- We will meet at premises that are amenable to all members of the group.
- We will meet ondays at , for approximately two hours.
- Joy will make audio equipment available. Tea, coffee and biscuits will be available in the 15 minutes before the group begins.
- We agree to participate in the research context of this group as outlined in the *Information for Participants* and in the *Ethical and Structural Guidelines*.
- We agree to each session being audiotaped for research purposes and to either
Joy or a professional transcriber, transcribing the audiotapes.
- The professional transcriber will be
- Joy will post each group member 2 copies of the transcript, one for the member to retain and another which members each agree to comment on
and
return to Joy.
- Group members will expect to attend every meeting of the group.
- The groups begin with the expectation that members are committed to participating from September to December 2004.
- Group members with any concerns about the group are welcome to raise these

in the group, to speak with Joy, or to approach her academic supervisor.

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- We agree to meet as a co-operative inquiry group that will provide professional development for us as its members.
- As members of Professional Associations, we adhere to our respective associations' Codes of Ethics.
- We will meet at premises that are amenable to all members of the group.
- We will meet on negotiated and prearranged days at negotiated and prearranged times, for approximately two hours.
- Joy will make audio equipment available. Tea, coffee and biscuits will be available in the 15 minutes before the group begins.
- We agree to participate in the research context of this group as outlined in the *Information for Participants* and in the *Ethical and Structural Guidelines*.
- We agree to each session being audiotaped for research purposes.
- Joy will transcribe the tapes.
- Joy will post each group member 2 copies of the transcript, one for the member to retain and another which members each agree to comment on and return to Joy.
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Joy Te Wiata

SCHEDULE OF INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Possible Questions

Maori Knowledges/Values & Practice

1. How are you aware of the influence of Maori knowledges on your work?
2. What are the Maori knowledges that have become important to you in your work?
3. How have you come about these knowledges?
4. How do these Maori knowledges fit with knowledges they are generally considered to be traditional Eurocentric knowledges/ Pakeha knowledges?
5. In traditional Eurocentric thinking, difference been historically taken to mean deviance – what is your current understanding of difference that you have encountered in your work with people?

Hybridity

6. How would you describe the differences if any, between PNZ knowledges and Eurocentric knowledges?
7. How do you account for this?
8. Homi Bhaba uses the term hybridity to describe ‘the moment at which discourses of the coloniser embrace traces of the language of the colonised...’ (Seuffert) - what are your thoughts about this?
9. In what ways if any, do you perceive the influence of Maori culture and knowledges to be on your understanding of Pakeha New Zealand culture/knowledges today?

10. The affinities spoken of earlier, and in light of the hybrid subject - are these affinities to Eurocentric knowledges/values, or to Pakeha New Zealand knowledges/values, or to both?

Identity

11. What are your responses to Homi Bhaba's notion of cultural hybridity?
12. How does this fit with your understandings of identity?
13. What is this new identity category that has emerged/emerging that reflects interaction with Maori culture/values?
14. How is this reflected in our approaches to counselling?
15. What are the ethical implications for counselling practitioners?

Generating Indigenous Counselling Practice

16. In what ways are you aware of having worked intentionally to incorporate these knowledges in your practice?
17. When are you aware of drawing on these knowledges in your practice?
18. With whom are you most likely to be doing this?
19. To what extent do you think the person is aware of your intention and purpose in honouring these knowledges in the conversations you are having?
20. How do people act when you draw on these knowledges?
21. Is there a metaphor that would help you to understand/appreciate your efforts to work intentionally in this way? (maybe: quest; journey; exploration; struggle; etc)
22. What have you found useful on your journey? Quest? Struggle? Etc.
23. Do you have some ideas about what might be useful in the future?
24. As you think about your practice, are there times that you find your work being informed by Maori knowledges in ways that are less intentional?
25. What are these knowledges that have crept up on you?
26. Drawing on Foucault's ideas of 'knowledge is power' – how do these alternative ideas of identity become more accepted – become customary knowledge?
27. What is personal responsibility and what is institutional responsibility? What are the ethical implications for counselling practitioners?
28. What is the ethical obligation of educational institutions?
29. Do our counsellor education programmes go far enough in addressing this issue?

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Joy Te Wiata

Letter to Participants: Identification or Anonymity

June 2, 2006

Jill, John, Meg & Natalie,

Tena koutou katoa!

Quite some time has passed since we met for the final discussion for my research project. I am very pleased to be able to tell you that I am now in the process of analysing the data in my work towards completing the project. As soon as I have written the draft of the data I will forward you each a copy as agreed in the terms of the ethical requirements for the project. I would expect this to be ready for you to read about the beginning of July. Should you request changes to be made at that point I will need to be advised within a week of receipt of the draft, as I am working to a tight time frame in terms of university requirements. I hope it will be possible for you to plan ahead to give it your attention at that point. Kathie will also be reading it during that week, and she is likely to also make some suggestions for change.

At the end of our last meeting together we discussed the question of identification or anonymity of members within the transcript that is to be quoted in the thesis. At that time all members expressed their comfort with their real names being used. However eighteen months have now passed and before moving forward on this, I am offering you all the opportunity to discuss this amongst yourselves to either reconsider or affirm this decision.

One of the issues we discussed was how stories are necessarily selected for telling for a specific purpose such as this project. This tears them apart from the multiplicity of other stories that they are woven within that creates rich meaning. I am raising this point for your further consideration as I am noticing that, given the vast repertoires that participants have to draw on, many of these stories within these repertoire, cannot be told adequately within the confines of this project.

Readers of this project are not privy either to the context in which comments were offered within our meetings or to the knowledge that we share about each other that gives further context and meaning to stories shared.

Therefore, my primary concern in raising this issue of identification or anonymity is the potential for vulnerability this may create for any of you in the future both professionally and/or personally. Each of you has made this project possible and my ongoing hope is that your contribution will continue to be honoured appropriately in all of these processes.

We have discussed and agreed on all the various aspects of this project to date and so I ask that you discuss this together by email and advise me of your joint decision on whether you prefer identification or anonymity, the same week that you receive the draft.

Thank you for taking the time again to walk this final phase of the project with me and I look forward to hearing from you in the very near future.

Naku noa na

Joy Te Wiata