Māori cultural concepts and service provision for homeless Māori men

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Abstract

Homelessness is a pressing issue for indigenous minorities such as homeless Māori men. Their circumstances are more vulnerable in ways, than other homeless groups given that their lives are impacted upon by ongoing colonisation. Homeless Māori men, like other 'indigenous homeless groups', often find themselves homeless because of social/cultural dislocation where, they are disconnected from their culture and closest forms of support. This study set out to explore how homeless Māori men's circumstances could be improved through administering interventions in the form of Māori cultural concepts like: manaakitanga, wairuatanga, whanaungatanga and whānau. The overall approach used to gather the research was based on hybridisation, where several different approaches were used simultaneously to generate research data. These were participant observation: a kaupapa Māori approach, semi structured interviewing, thematic analysis and the use of a socio-historical context to underpin the entire research process. Two groups of Māori participants were interviewed for this study, one group comprising staff members, and one made of homeless Māori men. Each group had a number of unique characteristics. For example, the entire staff group comprised skilled and qualified professionals, while the men's group was made up of individuals with severely impoverished backgrounds. The study produced several conclusive findings to show how Māori cultural concepts were used successfully as forms of social interventions. Concepts like whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, wairuatanga and whānau, were shown to produce positive social outcomes for homeless Māori men. These outcomes helped the men to stabilise their lives, as they attempted reintegration.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Homelessness is not simply about being deprived of having a roof over one's head. A broader view of homelessness can also include aspects like being housed but not feeling 'at home' (Kearns & Smith, 1994), having a 'home' but harbouring unsafe feelings for a community (Cattell, 2001), and avoiding temporary shelter for fear of one's own safety (Acosta & Toro, 2000). Being homeless is also about coping with deprivation and having a shorter life span (Hodgetts, Radley, Chamberlain, & Hodgetts, 2007; Morrell-Bellai, Goering, & Boydell, 2000), suffering the onset of severe physical and mental illnesses without proper health care (Bang, 1998; Gelberg, Gallagher, Anderson, & Koegel, 1997; League of Women Voters and American Association of University Woman, 2005; Marchetti, 2002; Tosi, 2005), facing dispossession of material and physical resources, and, experiencing severe marginalisation while being physically threatened (Dordick, 1997; Laurenson & Collins, 2007; Shaw, Dorling, & Smith, 1999; Wright, 2000).

Whereas many people view homelessness as simply involving the loss of material resources, impoverishment, and harsh living situations (Morrell-Bellai et al., 2000; Paradise & Cause, 2002; Toohey, Shinn, & Weitzman, 2004), many Māori view homelessness as also encompassing more than just these aspects of deprivation (Kearns & Smith, 1994; Peace & Kell, 2001). Māori homelessness also takes into consideration the wider implications of being disconnected from cultural aspects of a Māori world view (Durie, 1998a, 2001; Kearns & Smith, 1994; McIntosh, 2001; Peace & Kell, 2001). Central to the idea of connection to these cultural aspects is the concept of 'turangawaewae', a place where one calls home and asserts his or her right of say (Durie, 1998a; Henare, 1988; Pere, 1982). A concept of equal importance to the Māori view of home and a sense of belonging is 'whenua' (Pere, 1982; Ritchie, 1992). This word has several meanings. However, for the purpose of this thesis I refer to two meanings: whenua meaning placenta, and whenua meaning land, indicating that the person has a deeper more meaningful connection to his or her home (Pere, 1982). If Māori are unable to apply the meanings of these cultural concepts to a social situation this can increase their sense of homelessness or dislocation from a

Māori world view (Anglican Action n. d.; Kearns & Smith, 1994; Pere, 1982). Literature suggests that homeless Māori men also believe in the notion of Māori homelessness (Kearns & Smith, 1994; Peace & Kell, 2001).

As a particular population of homeless people, Māori men face some of the most impoverished conditions of any underprivileged group in this country. Māori men are more than three times likely to live in a crowded housing situation, perform poorly in educational settings, are unemployed and suffer more from major illnesses than compared to non-Māori men (Ministry of Health, 2006b). They are also likely to represent the highest numbers of any group incarcerated in prisons and hospitalised in psychiatric institutions (Policy Strategy and Research Group, 2007; Te Puni Kokiri, 1993, 1996). Regarding appropriate service provision for homeless Māori men in Aotearoa/New Zealand, research has uncovered that services are relatively sparse, and mainly provided by charitable non-profit organisations helping the men to reintegrate back into society (Prisoners Aid and Rehabilitation Society, 2004, n. d.). The services provided by those organisations also represent initiatives against relapse, which are 'linked' to programmes implemented during a person's period of incarceration in an institution (Bakker, Hudson, Maplestone, & Peeters, 1998; Department of corrections, 2004; Prisoners Aid and Rehabilitation Society, 2004, n. d.). In the Hamilton City area, organisations like Montgomery House, Prisoners Aid & Rehabilitation Society and the Hamilton City Night Shelter operate to provide services to homeless men. At this time, there is virtually no coordinated system in operation for delivering services to this group in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Many successful community services and programmes for Māori men have incorporated Māori cultural knowledge for a time to enhance the likelihood of affecting positive outcomes for homeless Māori men (Bakker et al., 1998; Department of corrections, 2004; Macgregor, 2008; Nathan, Wilson, & Hillman, 2003; Prisoners Aid and Rehabilitation Society, 2004, n. d.). Again however, these services mostly operate in isolation of each other and are situated only in major urban centres (Macgregor, 2008). Some services are also provided by government departments but cater only for the

needs of certain individuals likely to be homeless and a danger to society (Bakker, Hudson, Wales, & Riley, n. d.; Nathan et al., 2003). There is no single solution for addressing homelessness (Atkinson, 2003; Brinegar, 2003; Paradise & Cause, 2002). For that reason, all approaches aimed at addressing homelessness should comprise appropriate services to meet the needs of different homeless groups' including ethnic homeless people (Department of Communities, 2008; Peace, Kell, Pere, Marshall, & Ballantyne, 2002; Sisters Inside Incorporated, 2008).

The aim of this study is to explore how Māori concepts are made sense of, for and by programme organisers and recipients, involved in a 'wrap-around-programme' for homeless Māori men. Moreover, I will explore the use of Māori concepts by a non-profit Bi-cultural service Manaki Mai Te Ara Ki Te Māramatanga in its delivery of wrap-around-services to homeless Māori men. The service uses a well known Māori health model Te Whare Tapa Whā (Durie, 1985) to guide the delivery of services to the men. The model is seen by the organisation as an appropriate framework for operationalising positive social outcomes toward reintegrating these men back into the community. A special focus for this study is to observe how those social outcomes are being operationalised for the benefit of the men and whether they are reflective of positive reintegrating processes.

This introductory chapter is divided into six sections. It includes an overview of the topic of homelessness and information about the service provider at the centre of this study. Section one focuses on issues of stigma and homelessness and how this relates to the 'exclusion' and marginalisation of homeless people in society. Section two explores the negative consequences of homelessness, including a range of health concerns. Section three highlights the different policies, programmes and services intended to provide assistance to homeless people. Section four will cover the need of Māori men released from prison and considers how programmes in institutions like prisons use Māori cultural knowledge to engage prison inmates and enhance attempts at community reintegration. Section five presents Māori cultural concepts and models of health and provides an understanding of how these elements are important to the research. The final

section describes how the wrap-around-support system is structured and how the service uses this approach to assist the men with reintegration.

The wider symbolic context: Public representations and stigma

Life can be difficult for homeless people in the wider community, because of the poor treatment they often receive from institutions, and the general public (Brinegar, 2003; Campbell & Deacon, 2006; Wright, 2000). This poor treatment toward homeless people is particularly evident through processes such as spatial stratification (a sophisticated process of social planning). Spatial stratification has been used to victimise the homeless in purposeful ways such as outlawing begging and removing people from public spaces (Brinegar, 2003; Wright, 2000). Citizen groups have been known to take a stance of *N.I.M.B.Y* (not in my back yard) to influence policies, which have made life difficult for homeless people (Brinegar, 2003; Campbell & Deacon, 2006; Lawrence, 2005). Such groups have 'lobbied' to impede the development of homeless shelters in urban neighbourhoods, insisting that homeless shelters be situated in other areas that are difficult to access (Brinegar, 2003; Wright, 2000). These policies have created additional problems for homeless people through limiting the types of services intended for use by them, while ensuring they remain impoverished and marginalised as a group in the community (Laurenson & Collins, 2007; Miller & Kaiser, 2001; National Health Care for the Homeless Council, 2008; Shinn, Baumohl, & Hopper, 2001; Wright, 2000).

Although this scenario shows what has been happening to homeless people internationally, homeless people in this country have received much the same treatment from our institutions and general public. Throughout the last decade, homelessness in Aotearoa/New Zealand has featured prominently in media reports highlighting public concerns about the topic. These media reports have tended to follow trends shown in other countries, by providing an overview of the numbers of people who are homeless: facts about life in a shelter and rough sleeping, an overview of supportive organisations, locations where homeless people frequent (mainly hostels, city streets and parks), and the effects of policies addressing homelessness (Hodgetts et al., 2007).

This type of reporting has put homeless people into two groups based on social worth: accepted or 'safe homeless people' (Bunis, Yancik, & Snow, 1996), and demonised or 'bad and lazy homeless people (Brinegar, 2003; Laurenson & Collins, 2007; Wilkinson, 2001; Wright, 2000). Safe homeless people are portrayed as being 'safe', because they live within the community in ways that are deemed non-threatening to others (Bunis et al., 1996). The opposing view of demonised homeless people portrays them as being dirty, wretched, bad, and lazy individuals, in need of punitive measures to control their lives (Brinegar, 2003; Laurenson & Collins, 2007; Wright, 2000). In other words, the judgments we make about people in society are important for determining responses to their needs, or whether those needs should be recognised at all (Shinn et al., 2001).

Stigma a demeaning form of power is used to prejudge homeless people by casting them as unworthy. This has the effect of compounding their status within the community, by determining them to be an undesirable group to the general public (Brinegar, 2003; Mayhew, 1861 as cited in Hodgetts, 2007; Wright, 2005). Like other groups in society that remain relatively powerless homeless people are often subjected to stigma. Through stigmatising processes, homeless people will encounter 'resistance' from others preventing them from having a meaningful life with good health and a good education (Miller & Kaiser, 2001; National Health Care for the Homeless Council, 2008). In a similar way, ethnic groups like homeless Māori men often experience resistance in Aotearoa/New Zealand because of an ongoing process of colonisation (McIntosh, 2001; Sisters Inside Incorporated, 2008).

According to Campbell and Deacon (2006), stigma is the approach used by dominant groups in society to 'exclude' powerless groups like impoverished and homeless people. This form of marginalisation is initiated across material, political, institutional and symbolic contexts, to manoeuvre non-dominant groups into a position of inferiority (Brinegar, 2003; Campbell & Deacon, 2006; Laurenson & Collins, 2007; Wright, 2000). Stigma, a multi-layered process, has the effect of creating 'social fault lines' (levels of disparities) between social groups and members within groups, making it

extremely difficult to gauge and reduce its effect on people. Dominant groups use stigma as a way to preserve the status quo in society, while depriving non-dominant groups from choosing how they want to live (Brinegar, 2003; O' Connell, 2003; Wright, 2000). Institutions often perpetuate problems for stigmatised groups through legitimising treatment processes that marginalise them (Campbell & Deacon, 2006; Shinn et al., 2001; Wright, 2000). This type of 'symbolic power' is used to exclude groups like the homeless through negative perceptions generated by dominant groups. These perceptions over time become normalised as appropriate treatment for defining their place in society (Brinegar, 2003; Campbell & Deacon, 2006; Wright, 2000). Furthermore, they are used to form policies against homeless people, which 'criminalise' (persecute) or 'medicalise' (pathologise) them as a social problem (Brinegar, 2003; Shinn et al., 2001; Wright, 2000). It is this type of prejudice and symbolic power toward homeless men, which ultimately contributes to the adversity and deprivation faced by them as a group.

Consequences of homelessness

Homelessness can have a negative impact on the lives of people. As a person slips into homelessness, they will experience significantly higher levels of anxiety and stress (Wong & Piliavin, 2001). People that are homeless suffer poorer health and have much shorter life spans than the general population (Lewis, Andersen, & Gelberg, 2003; Quine, Kendig, Russel, & Touchard, 2004; Tosi, 2005). The homelessness person is 150 times more at risk of being fatally assaulted and 34 times more likely to commit suicide than a 'domiciled' or securely housed person (Shaw et al., 1999). The same homeless person may be forced to engage in poor health choices involving: scavenging, begging or prostitution in order to survive (Dordick, 1997). In addition, homeless people are likely to experience: a sense of dispossession, insecure situations, the strain of having to remain vigilant in order to avoid being assaulted, and being dislocated from one's culture—more so than a domicile person (Dordick, 1997; McIntosh, 2001; Peace & Kell, 2001; Sisters Inside Incorporated, 2008). Similarly, homeless Māori men can experience this type of 'cultural dislocation' (Kearns, 1995; Leggatt-Cook, 2007), thus becoming one of the most vulnerable groups in

the wider community (Kearns, 1995; Leggatt-Cook, 2007; Peace & Kell, 2001).

Homelessness can reduce people to a lifestyle based solely on survival. A homeless person can spend considerable time and effort searching for resources such as food and shelter (Brinegar, 2003; Gladwell, 2006, February 13; McCormack & MacIntosh, 2001; Orwell, 1986). This need for resources can impact on their health by exacerbating an existing ailment. For example, when a homeless person becomes ill they often face the dilemma of either remaining immobile in hope of recovering, or continue to seek shelter, food and medical care (Gelberg et al., 1997). Homeless people will to continue searching for food and shelter in spite of becoming ill. They will often forgo seeking medical care as well (League of Women Voters and American Association of University Woman, 2005). There are times also, where illness might be that severe it will prevent them accessing healthcare (Flick, 2007b).

Homelessness renders people more susceptible to contracting and passing on infectious diseases. For example, an HIV infected homeless person is three to nine times more likely to infect others than a domiciled person (Wolitski, Kidder, & Fenton, 2007). This situation is compounded to some extent by the fact there are only a small number of health services available to this particular group (Wolitski et al., 2007). Therefore homeless people with infectious diseases often go without treatment for extended periods of time (Flick, 2007a). That way certain types of illnesses, such as sexually transmitted diseases, can be passed from one homeless person to the next relatively easy and unchecked (Dordick, 1997).

Homelessness can create unfavourable outcomes for people wishing to receive treatment for their ailments. The homeless person can be made to feel powerless when receiving health care by having their concerns met with substandard treatment (McCormack & MacIntosh, 2001). Groups like the homeless youth may find themselves in a similar quandary. Health professionals tend to treat homless youth as though they are too young to understand the nature of their concerns (Gerber, 1997). In these situations,

both groups have been excluded from the consultation process because health professionals have assumed to know what is best for them. Consequentially, both groups over time have learned to resent and mistrust health professionals because of the treatment they received from them (Gerber, 1997; Million dollar Murry, 2006; McCormack & MacIntosh, 2001). This summary of negative consequences demonstrates how the health of a homeless person is often determined by material hardship and stressful life situations (Hodgetts et al., 2007).

Responses to homelessness

At the beginning of the twentieth centrury, the primary focus of delivering services to assist homeless people was to provide basic food, shelter and other necessities (Orwell, 1986; Rossi, 1990). These services were delivered by organisations often motivated by their own beliefs behind 'the giving of charity', such as expecting religious atonement from the 'recipient' in exchange for a meal and accommodation (Orwell, 1986). The term of 'old homelessness' used by Rossi (1990) to describe the encounters of homeless people throughout the period of 1930 to 1959 mainly centred on middle aged white men around fifty years of age. During this period, these men were largely transient, and as long as they had sufficient income were quite content to reside in cheap hostels and boarding houses. Homeless men without sufficient funds could easily find shelter with a 'Mission' (Hopper & Baumohl, 1994; Rossi, 1990). Although the homeless men in this era were without permanent residences, they were able to find shelter, and few among this population experienced the misfortune of having to 'sleep rough' (Keisler, 1991; Rossi, 1990). These accounts represent a portrayal of international homelessness during these periods, but very little is known about the situation in Aotearoa/New Zealand at that time.

During the late 1960s, homelessness in the United Kingdom became a focus of concern due in part to the rediscovery of poverty by researchers and policy makers (Pleace & Quilars, 2003). Researchers and policy makers were attempting to find solutions for eradicating poverty, and realised that poverty was linked to the shortage of affordable housing. A dramatic shrinking of the rentable housing market in Britain meant that homelessness

became entrenched in that society as a social problem (Pleace & Quilars, 2003). In contrast, throughout the 1960s and 1970s across North America, homelessness was on the decline and despite de-institutionalisation of mental asylums at that time it was expected to disappear completely. Housing was made available for people leaving asylums, as communities became more comfortable with having ex-patients live among them (Carling, 1990; Rossi, 1990). This trend however, changed at the beginning of the 1980s when the phenomenon of 'new homelessness' brought about by an economic recession emerged as an issue (Hopper & Baumohl, 1994; Rossi, 1990). From that point forward, 'new homelessness' encompassing mostly people who lost their accumulated wealth, very quickly became established across American society. Services for homeless people at that time continued to be managed as an emergency care approach that provided basic food, shelter and free health clinics (Carling, 1990; Keisler, 1991; Rossi, 1990).

Midway through the 1980s, various researchers examined the probable causes for homelessness in the United States, including psychological aspects. By the end of the decade, researchers had come to recognise that homelessness was a result of numerous factors impacting on the lives of people (Hopper & Baumohl, 1994; Keisler, 1991). In contrast, the debate on psychological causes for homelessness was entered into by British researchers much earlier, around the time of them rediscovering an interest into the causes of poverty (Pleace & Quilars, 2003).

Throughout the 1990s, researchers returned to looking at a spectrum of social problems associated with homelessness, to ascertain the probable causes and health consequences for homelessness in the United States, including psychological aspects (Carling, 1990; Hopper & Baumohl, 1994; Rossi, 1990). Since the late 1990s, researchers in Aotearoa/New Zealand have studied and reported on homelessness, in part because of 'deinstitutionalisation' which began around that time (Kearns, 1995; Peace & Kell, 2001). These studies also found that homelessness is a complex issue (Hopper & Baumohl, 1994; Keisler, 1991; Rossi, 1990), which needs addressing from multiple angles and an interagency approach (Backer,

Howard, & Moran, 2007; Goodman, Saxe, & Harvey, 1991; Hopper & Baumohl, 1994; Keisler, 1991).

Despite extensive research, these important findings have been largely ignored (Laurenson & Collins, 2007; O' Connell, 2003). Specifically, there is a lack of consistency in the development of services and delivery, showing differences in philosophies for servicing from one country to the next (Council for Homeless Persons, 2008). To give an example, some countries (Ireland, Spain, and the Netherlands) have undertaken a supportive approach by providing dedicated services for their homeless populations with a measure of success (Busch-Geertsema, 2005), while others (Britain and the United States) have offered relatively limited assistance to their homeless populations (Council for Homeless Persons, 2008; O' Connell, 2003).

Most western nations provide a number of different services to assist homeless people facing hardship. These include outreach services: soup kitchens, food banks, supported accommodation, supported employment, primary or mental health care and substance abuse detox facilities, which represent a network of resources for homeless people (Council for the Homeless Persons, 2008; Million dollar Murry, 2006). The nature of these services shows them to be no more than ‘emergency approaches’ for helping homeless people, and continue to be provided largely through the assistance of charitable organisations operating with limited funding (Chamberlain, Johnson & Theobald, 2007; Health Council for the Homeless, 2003; Orwell, 1986). Hence, these organisations are quite often inundated far beyond their capacities to aduquately meet the needs of homeless people (Crisis, 2005; Culhans, 1992; Knowles, 2000; Morrell-Bellai et al., 2000; Orwell, 1986). This also highlights that funding issues often force these organisations to deliver their services in a singular format to assist homeless people (Crisis., 2005, n. d.; Culhans, 1992; Health Council for the Homeless Clinicians' Network, 2003; O' Connell, 2003). In that way, single services lack the capacity to holistically address homelessness by paying attention only to single aspects of the issue (food for example). Services provided to homeless people in Aotearoa/New Zealand are mainly delivered as single facilities and tend to

only address one need (Laurenson & Collins, 2007; Leggatt-Cook, 2007; Peace & Kell, 2001).

Poorly planned initiatives to address homelessness can also result from failing to seize opportunities for sharing research. On a macrocosmic scale the lack of collaboration or sharing of information constitutes a problem for many countries (Council for Homeless Persons, 2008). This becomes more apparent when comparing two countries with similar cultures such as the United States and Britain (O' Connell, 2003). In both countries homeless people are afforded community resources based on their social worth. This approach defines the entitlement of access to such resources for their homeless populations (Keisler, 1991; O' Connell, 2003; Rossi, 1990). An example of this is the allocating of 'welfare payments', an important community based resource for homeless people. Homeless people in Britain are entitled to a universal payment like other lower-socio-economic groups, whereas in the United States, a homeless person is allocated welfare according to their worth as contributing to society (Hopper & Baumohl, 1994; Keisler, 1991; O' Connell, 2003). In both countries there are differences with regard to policies for addressing homelessness. The different policy approaches means that these countries do not appeare to share and capitalise on research findings (O' Connell, 2003). The sharing of research findings into homelessness with similar societies would be useful for the situation in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Currently the distribution of welfare to support homeless people and other impoverished groups in Aotearoa/New Zealand, is similar to the British model (Work & Income New Zealand, 2007).

Another concern surrounding homelessness is the inconsistency of policies addressing this issue. Policies often guide organisations' in terms of allocating resources to groups like the homeless community (Shinn et al., 2001). Policies designed to help homeless people, are found to be very helpful or unhelpful (Culhans, 1992; Health Council for the Homeless Clinicians' Network, 2003; Paquette, 2008). For example, policies like 'selected prevention strategies', catering for the needs of specific groups based on certain guidelines, have been criticised for ignoring the wider issues of homelessness in favour of what has been viewed as a process of

prejudicial selection (Crisis, 2005; Culhans, 1992; Marshall & Bhugra, 1998; Shinn et al., 2001). In contrast, 'universal prevention strategies' or policies that address homelessness as a wider issue, have proven to be more helpful to homeless people by attending to personal needs irrespective of the person's situation. The latter approach is also more effective because it provides 'housing', which can help to combat other social problems like poverty (Interagency Council on the Homeless, 1994; cited in Shinn, Baumohl & Hopper, 2001). The above scenarios indicate the extent to which homeless policies are often inconsistently managed. Here in Aotearoa/New Zealand, our policies to deal with homelessness are mainly formulated at a local government level, and show inconsistencies with regard to appropriate servicing (Laurenson & Collins, 2007).

A concern is the establishment of services for the homeless population without their input to ensure the services are appropriate for their requirements (Brinegar, 2003; Hopper & Baumohl, 1994; Wright, 2000). This is important to note given that many homeless people share experiences of receiving marginalising treatment from organisations and professionals alike (Paquette, 2008). Often, homeless people have found mainstream services do not cater for their needs (Crisis, 2005; Culhans, 1992; Health Council for the Homeless Clinicians' Network, 2003; Leggatt-Cook, 2007), because of strict compliance codes associated with service use (Crane & Warnes, 2005; Crisis, 2005; Culhans, 1992). Some homeless people are denied access to services (such as detox facilities for example) because they do not meet an organisation's criteria for entry (Crisis, 2005; Culhans, 1992; Marshall & Burgra, 1998; Paquette, 2008). Others have been 'shunted back and forward' between services because they are deemed not eligible for either service. Consequently, these people become frustrated and despondent about the process of seeking help (Crisis, 2005; Crisis., n. d.; Culhans, 1992; Health Council for the Homeless Clinicians' Network, 2003). Cranes and Warnes (2005) show that youth homeless, take the view that help in any form amounts to interfering in their lives and refuse assistence. Similarly, the elderly homeless often avoid using community resources such as drop-in-centres, as many are deterred by the presence of other groups using the same resource (Winter & Noom, 2003). Homeless Māori men released from

prisons comprise another group uncatered for by appropriate services. Their situation is discussed in detail in section five of this chapter.

Perhaps one of the most concerning areas of homelessness is that of ‘hidden homelessness’. Hidden homelessness is defined as people existing in a state of semi-homelessness, or on the fringes of being homeless. This cohort of people are not always recognised because of oversights in staistical reporting (Ministry of Health, 2006a). This includes people with an undiagnosed mental health disability (Carling, 1990; Culhans, 1992), who decide against using community based services.Therefore, these people miss out on real opportunities to access accommodation and other services (Carling, 1990; Culhans, 1992; Drake, Osher, & Wallach, 1991; Levine & Rog, 1990). Research has shown that proper housing can significantly improve the lives of these people (Gulcar, Stefancic, Shinn, Temberis, & Fischer, 2003). There are also other hidden homeless people who may not have problems to contend with (Munoz, Pandera, Santos, & Quiroga, 2005). These people if given immediate and suitable accommodation can go about their lives like any group in a community (Gulcar et al., 2003).

In addressing the complex problems associated with homelessness, international research has shown that the most effective and preferred option for addressing homelessness involves a wrap-around-support approach using an integrated or linked delivery system (Backer et al., 2007; Bookman, Lightfoot, & Scott, 2005; Health Council for the Homeless Clinicians' Network, 2003; Paquette, 2008; Thompson, Reuland, & Souweine, 2004; Wilkinson, 2001; Zerger, 2002). Furthermore, an integrated system is more effective toward delivering services that cater for the ‘specific needs of a group or person’ (Backer et al., 2007; Bookman et al., 2005; Health Council for the Homeless Clinicians' Network, 2003; Paquette, 2008). This approach has potential for the development of future policies on homelessness, because it does show positive outcomes can be gained from processes of effective collaboration (Bookman et al., 2005; Walters & Wagner, 2007; Winter & Noom, 2003; Zerger, 2002).

The ‘Consensus Project’ highlighted in a study by Thompson et al., (2004), focusing on homelessness due to incarceration, is an example of a

successful integrated approach. This project brought together multiple agencies at a local and central government level, to formulate standard policies around shared training exercises, memorandums of understanding and the following-through of processes between agencies. In this bottom-up approach the needs of homeless people as a result of incarceration is being 'cemented' at a central government level (Thompson et al., 2004). At present in Aotearoa/New Zealand these types of delivery systems are largely underdeveloped (Leggatt-Cook, 2007), highlighting the fact that the service at the centre of this study is a unique and leading organisation in this respect.

Due to the complex nature of homelessness which affects people in numerous ways, the provision of effective services and programmes for homeless people requires well thought out approaches. In addition, these approaches must be able to meet a homeless person's needs on an individual basis (Culhans, 1992). The most successful reintegration programmes are those that provide a range of services using an inter-connected approach under the structure of a single programme (Backer et al., 2007). Referred to as wrap-around-support programmes, these should be initiated at the time of a person's incarceration, and should involve providing an appropriate range of resources for that person's needs (Bookman et al., 2005; Seiter & Kadela, 2003; Wilkinson, 2001). The range of resources should include aspects such as housing, a regular income, educational opportunities, easy accessible facilities and multi-level support from professionals and agencies in the community when the person is released (Bookman et al., 2005; Seiter & Kadela, 2003; Tosi, 2005; Walters & Wagner, 2007; Wilkes, 2007; Wilkinson, 2001; Wolitski et al., 2007; Zerger, 2002).

Whether it is through employment, vocational training or welfare payments, some professionals see an income as one of the most important resources for men released from prisons and psychiatric institutions (Seiter & Kadela, 2003; Wilkinson, 2001). Housing needs, another pressing concern, can be met by arranging for stays in emergency accommodation with 'not-for-profit organisations', private boarding houses, or by 'living temporarily with family and friends' (Prisoners Aid and Rehabilitation Society, 2004, n. d; Seiter & Kadela, 2003). Housing is not only important for putting a roof over

ones head it also reduces the probability of homeless people committing serious crimes by more than 30% (Seiter & Kadela, 2003) and lessens the men's chances of being re-incarcerated by as much as 57% (Métraux & Culhane, 2002; Walters, & Wagner, 2007). Due to a large proportion of incarcerated men having poor education, providing additional education is another way of enhancing a homeless person's ability to readjust to society. Therefore, incarcerated men returning to a community should be encouraged to pursue educational learning as a resource (Seiter & Kadela, 2003; Sisters Inside Incorporated, 2008).

Apart from these needs, the availability of emergency food banks, cheap clothing stores and easily accessible transport all in close proximity to each other are the underpinning resources in any wrap-around-programme, re-establishing ex-incarcerated men in the community (Seiter & Kadela, 2003; Thompson et al., 2004). Finally, resources categorised under clinical assistance such as counselling, visits to and by doctors, psychiatrists, psychologists or community mental health nurses, ensure that a homeless person's wellbeing is enhanced and appropriately monitored and maintained (Walters & Wagner, 2007).

Other innovative approaches for addressing homelessness have emerged out of the wrap-around-approach, and have shown to be quite useful for meeting the needs of homeless people with multiple health and social issues. For instance, a model which was the focus of a study by Morse, Calsyn, Rosenberg, West, and Gilliland (1996) used less formal approaches to provide services to homeless people with good effect. These informal approaches included the use of unconventional practices like 'car therapy' (using a ride in a vehicle to speak with a homeless person to ascertain their needs).

A recent innovation has been a move towards reducing the effects of homelessness of ethnic groups such as Australian Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders (Department of Communities, 2008; Mammot, Long, Chambers, & Spring, 2003; Sisters Inside Incorporated, 2008). This has been achieved by effectively lobbying to acquire culturally appropriate wrap-

around-services. Homelessness should be viewed in terms of cultural understandings of what a 'home' means to different indigenous groups and to different groups within indigenous populations (Peace & Kell, 2001; Sisters Inside Incorporated, 2008). Being able to provide appropriate housing for indigenous groups requires an understanding that homelessness, often a process of colonisation and Western influences, has had disastrous effects on indigenous cultures (Department of Communities, 2008; Sisters Inside Incorporated, 2008). Homeless Māori men have been identified as a group that has specific cultural needs that would benefit from an integrated wrap-around-support programme tailored for them. At the present, delivery of appropriate services for this group is mostly non-existent (Leggatt-Cook, 2007). A discussion on the reasons for providing culturally appropriate wrap-around-services for this group will be given in section six of this chapter.

The needs of Māori men released from institutions

Homelessness as a result of incarceration is an important topic within the scope of this thesis. The transition from prison back into the community can result in financial difficulty and homelessness (Backer et al., 2007; Baldry, McDonnell, Maplestone, & Peeters, 2006; Baldry, McDowell, Maplestone, & Riley, 2002; Marchetti, 2002; Peace & Kell, 2001; Scott, 2004; Wilkinson, 2001; Wilson, Pichea, & Prinzo, 2005). This is also coupled with severed social ties (including family support), loss of accommodation, no transportation and employment (Baldry et al., 2006; Baldry et al., 2002; Bookman et al., 2005; Marchetti, 2002; Scott, 2004). In particular Māori men might return to a community displaced from their culture and closest forms of support (Kearns, 1995; Sisters Inside Incorporated, 2008).

Currently the number of Māori men incarcerated in the Aotearoa/New Zealand penal system is at approximately 50% of the 'prison population' (Policy Strategy and Research Group, 2007). Furthermore, Māori men have had a history of being over-represented in psychiatric institutions (Deloitte and Touche Consulting Group, 1997; Te Puni Kokiri, 1993, 1996). For example, the 'first time admission rates' for Māori entering psychiatric institutions are 25% higher than non-Māori. The numbers of Māori likely to be readmitted into a psychiatric institution for psychotic episodes have again

been higher. Their numbers were recorded at 38% above that of their non-Māori counterparts (Deloitte and Touche Consulting Group, 1997; Plunkett, 2003). Following their release from institutions Māori men are also more likely to become homeless (Leggatt-Cook, 2007).

Literature demonstrates the effects of colonisation on Māori communities, quantified (in terms that statistics show this) as a vulnerable population (McCormack & MacIntosh, 2001; Smith, 1999). This state of vulnerability is a result of hegemonic discourses, which have been shown to defuse the aspirations of Māori similar to other colonised indigenous cultures (Lawrence, 2005; Minde, 2005; Nielson, n. d). This illustration of disparity also represents a deep seated history of resistance and an unbending will to persevere over adversity. A proven way to improve the above situation is to reintroduce groups such as incarcerated Maori men to aspects of their own culture (Durie, 1998a, 2001; Nathan et al., 2003).

Today, in the Aotearoa/New Zealand penal system, '*tīkanga Māori*' (Maori cultural knowledge) is used successfully in programmes to prevent Māori offenders from 'reoffending' (Nathan et al., 2003). These programmes have proven to be very effective for reducing recidivism rates for Māori men (Bakker et al., 1998; Nathan et al., 2003). Māori cultural knowledge is now widely used in this country's prison system with the running of specialised units known as 'Māori Focus Units'. These use culturally sound practices such as: the 'Māori Therapeutic Programme', 'te reo Māori' (Māori language) and tīkanga (culture), to assist the reintegration of Māori men back into society (Department of corrections, 2004; Social Data Research Limited, 2005).

While Māori men receive culturally appropriate support in prison, there is a lack of such programmes in the community. Charitable organisations such as the Hamilton Night Shelter, Marlborough House or Prisoner's Aid & Rehabilitation Society, go some way to assist homeless Māori men find accommodation, for example (Prisoners Aid and Rehabilitation Society, 2004, n. d), but these organisations fall short of comprising 'an integrated culturally appropriate solution', for helping homeless Māori men re-establish

themselves in the community. While literature demonstrates culturally appropriate programmes are viable solutions for reducing the number of Maori men returning to prison (Bakker et al., 1998; Nathan et al., 2003; Policy Strategy and Research Group, 2007), there is little evidence to show that such programmes are purposefully designed to prepare the men for life outside of prisons.

Māori cultural knowledge is used in hospital settings in accordance with cultural assessment tools such as the *Te Whare Tapa Whā* model (Durie, 1998a, 2001). In addition, tīkanga forms the basis of health initiatives such as Te Korowai Oranga, which is a blue-print to guide the provision of health services to all Māori (The Minister of Health & Associate Minister of health, 2002a). However, the mental health facility for the Waiakto region, the Henry Rongomau Bennett Centre, has no significant programmes delivering Māori cultural knowledge to assist Tangata Whaiora (Māori mental health consumers) with recovery.

According to a Kaumatua who works closely with the Henry Rongomau Bennett Centre, the introduction of tīkanga into the person's care arrangement is an optional process. "All Tangata Whaiora have a choice whether to utilise or refrain from accessing tīkanga as part of their recovery process. All Māori patients are given *rangatiratanga*, or allowed to have their status recognised with regard to managing their own care arrangements. If Tangata Whaiora were to ask for tīkanga as a form of care, that process is carried out according to their wishes. Part of that process requires the helping person to abandon their status as an authoritarian figure. Moreover, the caring professional is required to work alongside of the person to ensure that they receive care in the form of tīkanga. Any process involving the introduction of tīkanga, is carried out in a 'spirit of partnership' relevant to the Treaty of Waitangi. This pathway to recovery is a person centred approach, and involves establishing a relationship with the Tangata Whaiora on equal terms, where, the building of a trusting relationship between the parties is a key concern. These arrangements are cemented in place by way of a whānau hui to help facilitate the person's return to the community" (Kopa J, personal communication, June 14, 2010).

Much like other groups exiting psychiatric institutions, Tangata Whaiora are faced with many issues associated with re-entering the community. These people often lack the social and life skills needed to manage tasks, including managing finances, keeping themselves safe and maintaining a healthy lifestyle (Peace & Ballantyne, 2002). This situation is often compounded by a lack of understanding shown by authorities toward their circumstances (Peace & Kell, 2001). Presently, Māori Mental health organisations are the only culturally appropriate providers or integrated responses, which help Tangata Whaiora to avoid becoming homeless (Peace & Ballantyne, 2002). Away from their sphere of influence, options continue to be 'limited' for Tangata Whaiora seeking appropriate forms of support for their needs (Peace & Ballantyne, 2002; Peace & Kell, 2001).

Māori cultural concepts and models of health and development

Culture can be defined in a variety of ways. For example Dressler (2002) defines culture as "a shared body of custom reproduced through time that makes societies distinctive" (p.5). Another explanation considers "culture as comprising integrated patterns of human behaviour that include: actions, beliefs, communications, customs, language, thoughts, values and institutions of ethnic, social, or religious groups" (Howard, Andrade, & Byrd, P. 6). Those shared understandings within cultures help us to understand one another in relation to who we are, through recognising similar patterns of behaviour to our own (Shteynberg, Gelfand, & Kim, 2009; Tadmor, Tetlock, & Peng, 2009). They also help us to understand other cultures and people by cross-matching their customs, values and beliefs with ours (Sopagna et al., 2008; Robinson & Williams, 2001). For example, Māori and Tongan people have similar rituals and customs surrounding the burying of their dead. In both cultures it is common for dignitaries who attend a funeral to speak during the event. During the speechmaking process, which is similar for both cultures, an orator will explain where they come from, who they are and what tribes they affiliate with. This is achieved through identifying with geographical points of reference (such as mountains, islands, rivers, villages and ancestral houses) used during the speech making process. "In Tongan culture this part of speechmaking is known as tupu anga" (A Tongi, personal

communication, January 19, 2008). The Māori name for this custom is pepehā.

Similarly, another part of the speech making process may involve the orator reciting their genealogy and relationship to the deceased person and to the congregation. In Tongan culture “this is known as pīkīnga” (L Tongi, personal communication, January 19, 2008). Māori identify with their genealogy through a custom known as whakapapa. In that way, the similarities regarding speech making at funerals represent shared understandings between the cultures.

Understanding the enactment of cultural concepts similar to our own can also smooth the way for appropriate interactions between cultures referred to as ‘cultural competency’ (Howard, Andrade, & Byrd, 2000; National Centre for Cultural Competency, 2004). Cultural competency has proven to be a useful approach for working with ethnic groups like Māori in fields such as health development and health policy (Minister of Health & Associate Minister of Health, 2002a).

A good example of cultural competency would be the use of Te Whare Tapa Whā a well known Māori developmental model to guide the delivery of services to groups like homeless Māori men. Te Whare Tapa Whā is perhaps the most widely understood holistic Māori model of health and development. This holistic model first introduced by Mason Durie, addresses the wellbeing of a person in this way. Health is related to a four walled house, with the four (walls) needing to be maintained to provide strength and symmetry for optimum health (Durie, 1998a). The four walls represent dimensions of the ‘self’: wairuatanga or spirituality, hinengaro in reference to mental and emotional aspects, tīnana the physical person and whānau, the element of support from family (Durie, 1998a). The Te Whare Tapa Whā developmental model has been used extensively to develop policies for Māori health development (Minister of Health & Associate Minister of Health, 2002a). This model nowadays is being applied in other fields like education to promote the wellbeing of people (Cunningham, Stevenson, & Tassell, 2005).

Māori view holism as an appropriate way to address a person's wellbeing. They also believe that all processes used to develop a person's wellbeing in one form or another is holism in practice. With regard to the organisation at the centre of this thesis, it is currently applying the model to help the men in a holistic sense. A more detailed description will be provided in section seven of this chapter, to explain how the Te Whare Tapa Whā framework is combined with the wrap-around-support to help the men in this way.

Concepts like manaakitanga, whanaungatanga, wairuatanga, and whānau, form the basis for several well known Māori developmental models that portray a Māori holistic view of health and social participation (see Durie, 1985; Pere, 1984; Henare, 1988). Māori developmental models like Te Whare Tapa Whā use these traditional cultural concepts to cement their philosophical approaches to health and development. In view of that, these concepts can also be used to develop a wrap-around-support process to improve the well-being of homeless Māori men, because they are fundamental values central to tīkanga. Moreover, they are fundamental values by which Māori society operates. These four concepts were selected to be used in the forming of this thesis and I explain in Chapter Two why they were selected over other concepts.

In a traditional sense, "whanaungatanga is the very cement that holds things together for Māori and a way of affirming the bonds of association and obligation that transcend tribal identity" (Ritchie, 1992 p. 67). Māori use this concept to create occasions where people come together and strengthen kinship ties (Henare, 1988). It is a concept which focuses on the maintenance of 'relatedness' among Māori.

Whānau is a concept which embodies social support. As a traditional concept, whānau means an 'extended' or multi generational family group made up of members having blood ties to one another. This basic social unit in Māori society is guided by Koroua (elderly men), Kuia (elderly women) and Kaumātua (respected elders of both genders). Each whānau is its own form of authority for addressing matters directly affecting them (Henare, 1988).

Every whānau member is beholden to other members of the whānau, and the integrity of whānau obligations supersedes all else (Metge, 1995). Being aligned to a whānau structure has benefits through providing stability for individuals and groups. It is also the prime support system for people suffering from all forms of illness. That support is not only supplied in the physical sense but can also mean cultural and emotional support as well (Durie, 1998a). Whānau in that way is the concept which embodies the feelings of love and support between people.

Like other Māori concepts, whānau has been adapted to suit modern times. Today the concept has been taken and loosely applied to working associations (Ritchie, 1992). The 'kaupapa whānau' is an example of a contemporary use for the concept of whānau. The kaupapa whānau concept is characterised by people coming together solely because of the social support aspect found in groups pursuing a common objective, such as a study group (Cunningham et al., 2005).

It is quite possible that some Māori see both whānau and whanaungatanga concepts to mean one and the same. However, there are distinct differences in meaning for each concept that can be explained from the way they are enacted. For example, whānau can mean coming together as a group, and as already explained it can mean forming a group to achieve a purpose (Cunningham et al., 2005). Conversely, whanaungatanga is the enactment of people coming together to celebrate relatedness. A tangihanga (funeral), a family member's birthday, and the christening of a new born baby are all settings which promote whanaungatanga.

Wairuatanga or 'spiritual awareness' is another Māori cultural concept which has a number of meanings. For example, wairuatanga for Māori is about accepting that spiritual beings do exist including God. Furthermore, there exists a spiritual realm where that plane overlaps with the earthly plane (Durie, 1998a). Wairuatanga is also about believing that all Māori are guided, protected and watched over by their ancestors throughout their lives (Metge, 1995). The wairua (spirit) can survive after death, has the power to warn the individual of impending danger and may be subject to an attack like any other

part of the person (Mead, 2003). This concept represents a philosophy where all things in the universe are connected through spirituality.

Manaakitanga in the traditional sense is a cultural concept that requires people to show hospitality, kindness and respect toward others. This concept more often expressed as part of cultural occasions, where one group of Māori may pay host to another; sets in motion a range of protocols which emphasise the importance of such occasions and the respect for people involved in those occasions. Manaakitanga is also based on reciprocity. People who are the recipients of manaakitanga are expected to abide by protocol and receive kindness and hospitality with good grace (Pere, 1982). Manaaki the actual process of demonstrating kindness relates to expressing the finer qualities of people. On occasions where children, elders, families and visitors are expected to be cared for, the task of providing hospitality is made easier through manaakitanga. Exhibiting manaakitanga toward others can raise the esteem of people (Henare, 1988). In that way, manaakitanga promotes a sense of obligation and responsibility for the care of others based on reciprocity.

Understanding how these traditional concepts are being applied today serves to highlight the absence of what is missing in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context with regard to addressing ethnic homelessness. There is a need for more culturally appropriate servicing for ethnic homeless groups, such as homeless Māori men (Department of Communities, 2008; Howard et al., 2000; Sisters Inside Incorporated, 2008) to improve their chances of reintegrating successfully into the community (Department of Communities, 2008; Howard et al., 2000). Furthermore, the use of culturally appropriate processes such as the Te Whare Tapa Whā model used by the Manaaki Mai service, coupled with wrap-around-support, shows the level of commitment and lateral thinking needed to address this issue appropriately (Bakker et al., 1998; Department of Communities, 2008; Howard et al., 2000; Sisters Inside Incorporated, 2008)

The present study

Manaaki Mai Te Ara Ki Te Māramatanga is one of several services under the 'umbrella' of Anglican Action. Anglican Action is an agency in Hamilton city that provides a range of services to assist homeless people with reintegration. Manaaki Mai Te Ara ki Te Māramtanga's primary role within Anglican Action is to provide 'immediate' to long term accommodation for homeless men lacking proper resources and supportive networks of their own.

Manaaki Mai Te Ara Ki Te Māramatanga is also known by a shortened version of its name—Manaaki Mai. A long held practice among staff and staff of other services has been to use this shorter version, which I will also use for convenience.

Manaaki Mai itself is a 'link' in a wrap-around-support approach used by the whole of Anglican Action. This enables Manaaki Mai to utilise facilities offered by other services within Anglican Action to support the men holistically. Wrap-around-support, sometimes referred to as wrap-around-servicing, introduces the person to the services, facilities and resources, through a process involving thorough planning and careful implementation (Bookman et al., 2005; Busch-Geertsema, 2005; Seiter & Kadela, 2003; Wilson et al., 2005). The wrap-around-support approach has been the focus of numerous studies and found to be an effective system for addressing the needs of different homeless communities. Wrap-around-support is also being used in an increasing number of countries to address homelessness (Busch-Geertsema, 2002, 2005; Council for Homeless Persons, 2008). It is an effective system that 'puts right' a homeless person's circumstances.

The usefulness of this approach is measured by a single positive outcome, where the focus is for homeless people to reclaim their independence. The person is supported through every stage of the reintegration process to prevent them from slipping back into former patterns of poor living (Backer et al., 2007; Bookman et al., 2005). Wrap-around-support is a system, which also prevents the men from experiencing stress associated with reintegrating alone without support. Interestingly, wrap-

around-support is yet to be accepted by authorities in this country as an effective approach for reintegrating homeless people back into society.

The Manaaki Mai service follows several philosophies by which it delivers services to homeless Māori men. These are a faith based practiced approach, a bi-cultural approach and a kaupapa Māori approach. Each philosophy is an integral element in the wrap-around-support approach used by the service. These philosophies are introduced to provide coverage for the men's needs within a sense of holism.

The term faith based practices refers to Christian philosophies guiding an organisation's practices, procedures and policies, toward helping less fortunate people. Faith based practices are generally supported by religious denominations or churches to pursue a course of 'community action' and 'positive social change' in societies (Tirrito, n. d.). Manaaki Mai focuses on delivering services to the men, in accordance with this philosophy of 'positive social change through community action'.

The service is also underpinned by a bi-cultural approach in accordance with the Treaty of Waitangi, a founding document for peaceful cohabitation signed between representatives of the 'Crown' and Māori. The principles of partnership, protection and participation—core tenets of that 'agreement', guide all staff when working with the men. Any arrangements entered into with the men are expected to be guided by these principles to ensure the men are respected. The bi-cultural approach helps to engender a sense of respect among all parties involved in a person's reintegration process.

Mason Durie's (1985) Te Whare Tapa Whā model of health and development is also used along side of these approaches to provide additional support to the men in the form of tīkanga. This 'additional cultural support' addresses the men's needs from a Māori world perspective. The model used by Manaaki Mai is applied as a culturally appropriate framework to facilitate the enactment of cultural concepts to assist the men.

Using this framework, Manaaki Mai can call on other services to help promote the men's well-being through the use of cultural concepts. For example, whanaungatanga is enacted through a service called Whānaukaitautoko to work alongside Manaaki Mai. This service helps homeless Māori men reconnect with their whānau by first organising the 'getting back together' of the two parties then accompanying the men to these occasions. Kaumātua attached to the whānaukaitautoko service assist the men by conducting the necessary customs and protocols (such as pepehā and whakapapa) to be performed at such an event. In that way, whanaungatanga promotes a contemporary and culturally appropriate context to help the person.

Whānau or close support is also managed throughout the person's reintegration process by way of the framework. For example, some men may require an intermediary to work through past grievances with their families while others may need another person to support them when visiting the grave of a deceased relative. This is also an occasion where the Whānaukaitautoko service can help these men by accompanying them during that event.

Wairuatanga is promoted through the framework, by allowing access to the services of an onsite Kaumatua and Chaplaincy. Both the Kaumātua and Chaplaincy actively engage in performing spiritual and cultural duties for Manaaki Mai. These duties include offering counselling to men in need of guidance in spiritual and cultural matters. Other duties involve conducting opening prayer sessions according to tīkanga at the start of a hui and to perform the necessary blessings for important occasions. The Kaumātua also has a key role in performing whaikōrero (speeches) and karakia whakamutunga (closing prayers) for other important occasions. Such occasions might involve powhīrī (welcoming ceremonies) or poroporoāki (farewell ceremonies) (Mead, 2003; Ryan, 2008).

The Manaaki Mai service provides shelter and accommodation to homeless men arriving from several sources—as prison parolees, psychiatric releases, referrals from other organisations and men from the community

itself. In the case of community arrivals, these men can enter into the service in a number of ways, including from ‘off the streets’. Manaaki Mai also has a number of men referred to them from other organisations, which are virtually impossible to resettle in the community. These men are known as ‘long term stays’ and will remain with the service for the rest of their lives. The service provides shelter to a diverse range of men with different histories of poor social adjustment.

Manaaki Mai has several keys aims toward promoting the wellbeing of the men. In addition to providing accommodations, the service seeks to support the men toward building trusting and healthy relationships with other people (Anglican Action, n.d.). Manaaki Mai is also committed to providing a safe and secure environment for the men to achieve personal growth and development. Under the service’s care and protection these men are encouraged to exert their rangatiratanga or autonomy by taking part in any decision making processes affecting them. Manaaki Mai helps these men to develop social and life skills using sound values found in healthy communities (Anglican Action Group, n. d.).

In light of the above points made about the services approach toward reintegrating the men, this study aims to research whether the wrap-around-support approach used by the service is effective. There are a number of facets regarding the service’s operations, which are worthy of further investigation. A primary focus of this study is to investigate whether the Te Whare Tapa Whā framework is suitable to produce positive social outcomes for the men and how effective is the wrap-around-support toward reintegrating these men. In short, this study seeks to investigate how a unique indigenous wrap-around-support system provides for the needs of homeless Māori men.

In the ensuing chapter, the research process for this study is outlined in detail. Moreover, the next chapter provides background information about the stakeholders groups involved in the actual research process. There, the reader will gain an understanding for how the overall research process was conducted.

Chapter Two: Method

This chapter outlines the overall orientation and process for the conduct of this research. I first present an account of the socio-historical context, within which the Māori men participating in this research are located and in doing so argue for the use of a 'kaupapa Māori approach' to explore participants' experiences. I then discuss the use of 'participant observations' and interviews for this research. Next, I introduce the participants and ethical considerations surrounding my engagements with them. My attention then turns to the use of 'thematic analysis' to make sense of data generated from the research.

The research was conducted in accordance with an eclectic approach, which Flick (2006) refers to as 'hybridisation'. Hybridisation in Flick's summation is a combination of pragmatic approaches used instead of applying a restrictive method to the exercise gathering. This research was carried out with a sense of pragmatism. By that I mean the research was undertaken in ways best suited for generating and interpreting data of relevance to the aims of this study and participants under investigation. The research was undertaken in ways which best captured the essence of participants' circumstances and experiences. For example, participant observation provided a means to witness activities associated with the service and everyday staff-client interactions. The kaupapa Māori approach ensured that all culturally sensitive issues regarding my research were accommodated.

A socio-historical perspective and collaborative approach

Consideration of the broader socio-historical context is important for understanding the life situations of Māori men released from prison and psychiatric institutions, who comprise the participants in this research. Although people are accountable for their actions as individual human beings, researchers need to look at broader processes of colonization and societal disruption that often shatter families and dislodge men from positive communal life (Junge, 2005; Minde, 2005). This is crucial for understanding why Māori men are over-represented in prisons and psychiatric institutions in

this country (McIntosh, 2001; Smith, 1999; Social Data Research Limited, 2005). As explained previously, Māori are over-represented in negative social and health indicators (McIntosh, 2001; Social Data Research Limited, 2005). Our history of enforced deprivation has resulted largely through laws, acts and policies, implemented by the settler society to 'defuse' the aspirations of Māori (Minde, 2005).

In spite of 'pressing' societal issues such as high rates of incarceration (McIntosh, 2001; Policy Strategy and Research Group, 2007), Māori have been able to endure as a people. It is this strength to endure, which is of special interest to this research because it shows resilience or hardiness in the face of adversity (McIntosh, 2005). The resilience shown by Māori can be attributed, in part, to the way in which Māori have upheld their cultural beliefs, values and customs (Bishop, 1998; Department of corrections, 2004; Durie, 1998a, 1998b, 2001; Henare, 1988; Mead, 2003; Metge, 1995; Nikora, Rua, & Te Awekotuku, 2007; Ritchie, 1992). Maori, much like other indigenous people, have been shown to draw strength from observing their customs and traditions unimpeded by prejudice (Battiste, 2008; Minde, 2005).

Bourdieu's (1984) work helps us to conceptualize how people's circumstances in society are largely determined by *habitus* or their ability to be resourceful. Bourdieu's (1977) work is relevant to informing our understanding of the function contemporary indigenous knowledge, as a source of meaning, purpose and strength for indigenous people. Referred to as *lex insita*, this phenomenon in one sense is a state of self-determination achieved by enacting one's own customs and habitus. The notion of lex insita is relevant to the research by demonstrating how many Maori choose to observe our own customs and to value self-determination (Bishop, 1998; Department of corrections, 2004; Durie, 1998a, 1998b, 2001; Henare, 1988; Mead, 2003; Metge, 1995; Nikora et al., 2007; Ritchie, 1992).

Lex insita is also useful for explaining how the works of prominent Māori and non-Māori researchers informed the research process. These researchers have written extensively to provide a vast amount of knowledge on Māori culture and the intricacies of Māori society. Works by writers such

as Mason Durie (1998, 2001), Rose Pere (1982) and James Ritchie (1992), are useful for explaining how Māori fare in a socio-historical context while upholding their cultural beliefs. Their works also provide invaluable background knowledge on the meanings of the four concepts central to this thesis. I have drawn on this knowledge to establish whether the men experienced positive social outcomes during their time with the Manaaki Mai service.

The focus and conduct of the thesis is also informed by Rose's (2000) notion of 'relations', which impact upon the lives of the men in this study. These relations are in the sense of social fault lines and best defined as factors, which exclude certain groups from establishing economic stability: knowledge to produce that form of stability and cultural practices that would elevate a group's status in society. Such factors are used by dominant groups to 'exclude' their non-dominant counterparts from achieving positive social outcomes. Groups such as gays, lesbians, and indigenous minorities, have been subjected to this form of exclusion at various stages throughout history. Rose's (2000) work is useful for challenging the notion that it is normal for some groups to be socio-politically and economically marginalised. Therefore, any account explaining how marginalised groups may live can only be explained accurately from a position of lived experience, or from their ways of experiencing (Rose, 2000; Sternbach, 2000).

It was also important to use a Kaupapa Māori approach for carrying out the research. The kaupapa Māori research paradigm was suitable for this undertaking, because it promoted cultural practices, protecting the nature of exchanges between researchers and Māori stakeholders (Bevan-Brown, 1999; Walsh-Tapiata, 1999). An example of this is the use of the 'kanohi ki te kanohi' principle. Under a kaupapa Māori approach this principle along with others guided the research process by ensuring all exchanges between the parties were carried out with honesty, openness and transparency.

A key aim of the research process was to establish rapport with the stakeholder groups in line with contemporary 'Māori research practices' such as a kaupapa Māori approach (Bevan-Brown, 1999). Building trusting

relationships with both the staff and men's groups were important to ensure participation and open dialogue. The cooperation of both stakeholder groups was necessary for setting in place a clear understanding regarding what was to occur during the research phase (Walsh-Tapiata, 1999). In that way, all parties could be kept informed over the course of the research phase as to how that undertaking was being managed (Bevan-Brown, 1999; Walsh-Tapiata, 1999).

The adoption of a kaupapa Māori research paradigm also ensures that all exchanges between researchers and Māori stakeholders were managed with the utmost respect. The key principles of that approach protected the stakeholders from being represented poorly as a result of the research process (Smith, 1999). Under a kaupapa Māori approach, stakeholders have an equal say as to how the research process should be managed. These principles also allow them input and control over the research material. This power sharing arrangement was initiated to promote better working relationships based on trust and reciprocity. In that way, the research phase was conducted as a transparent process of collaboration between all parties (Bevan-Brown, 1999; Walsh-Tapiata, 1999).

Conducting the study

Initially, a meeting was organised between the staff of Anglican Action, my supervisors and I, in order to discuss the potential research project with the service. During the meeting we met with key people from Manaaki Mai such as the service's co-ordinator and discussed ways to conduct the study. During that meeting an agreement was reached enabling me to undertake a work placement with the service. The placement exercise required me to be inducted into the service and afforded privileges as a functioning staff member. This placement was undertaken as part of training in accordance with the Community Psychology Programme, located at the University of Waikato in Hamilton.

This exercise was performed as participant observation, which allowed me to conduct research, in part, from an 'insider' position as a man who has worked in the prison system and who has spent time with the particular

service being researched (Denzin, 1989b). Moreover, it provided me with opportunities to perform field research as a contributing member to the services operations (Flick, 2006). This was a useful method to obtain the stakeholders' perceptions about 'everyday life problems' affecting them.

Participant observation was useful because it fitted well with the other approaches used to gather data such as interviewing and trust building, used in tandem with other approaches to achieve good results in the field (Flick, 2006). This approach is also heavily reliant upon building positive relationships with stakeholder groups. It was also an ideal methodology for working with the service's sub-culture (Flick, 2006).

For an approximate ten day period I immersed myself in the working culture of Manaaki Mai to observe the various work practices performed by its staff. Flick (2006) explains that by getting in close with the stakeholders, a researcher is free to gather data through lived experience. I was able to accompany staff as they carried out their daily routines. There were ample opportunities to observe how the service—along with others in Anglican Action—performed their core business as part of the wrap-around-support process.

The induction process was also performed in accordance with Māori cultural practices. In order to facilitate my role with the service, a powhīrī was arranged to welcome me into Manaaki Mai. During this occasion I formally identified myself in terms of being Māori by way of pepehā, as is the custom with most Māori. This exchange involved explaining my purpose for being with the service to a wider audience. The occasion allowed those present to meet me as a researcher working on behalf of Manaaki Mai and Anglican Action. According to tradition, the powhīrī also allowed me to be received among them as 'one of their own'.

At the conclusion of the welcoming ceremony, I accompanied the coordinator of the Manaaki Mai service on a tour of Anglican Action's facilities. During that tour I met with staff from other services in the agency. This exercise allowed me to familiarise myself with each service's core

function, to meet the staff and learn what roles they had. For example, I spoke with staff of the Whānaukaitautoko service and asked them about their roles and the type of service they provided. This was a useful exercise because it allowed me to view how the various services within Anglican Action 'overlapped' to assist each other. It also allowed me to see how The Te Whare Tapa Whā framework was operated, and how each service's core function enacted a Māori cultural concept within that model. Figure 1 on the following page illustrates how the wrap-around-support processes works.

In my role as a staff member, I performed a range of duties. These duties gave me insights into 'what the work was like'. For example, I accompanied the service's coordinator when he undertook his 'rounds' at the complex. We conducted a property inspection and maintenance check of several apartments at the complex. During this visit to the Manaaki Mai complex, I met with some men and explained my reason for being with the organisation. Other duties included attending hui and observing how these were conducted. It was during such fieldwork that I gathered valuable knowledge about the facilities on offer to support the men.

All observations were written into a field journal set aside for this purpose.

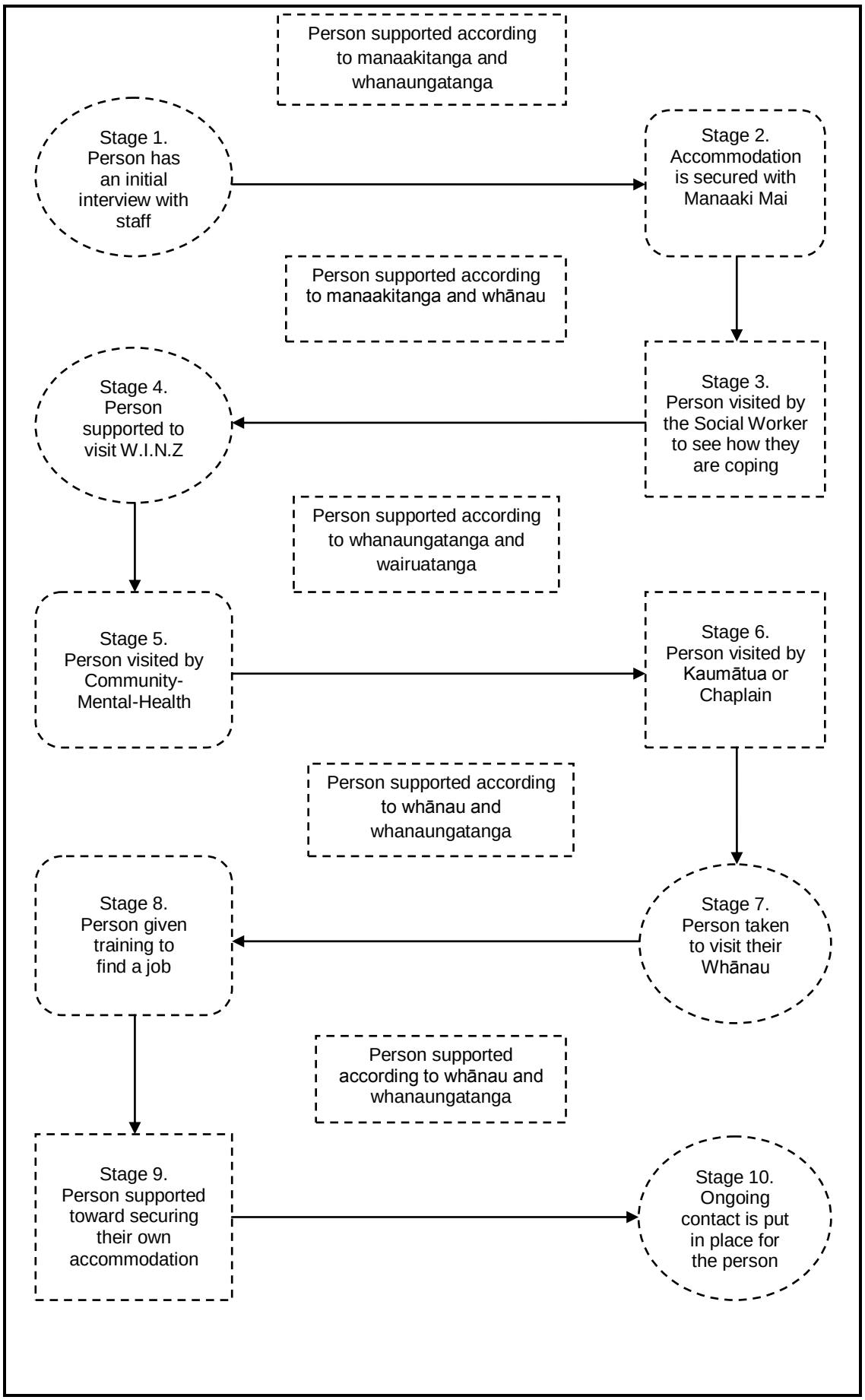

Figure 1. An overview of how 'wrap-around-support' is implemented

Ethics and participants

The placement enabled me to refine the focus of my thesis and to select interviews as the primary method for data collection. I chose to interview the stakeholders in order to build a more balanced understanding of the service's operations and the men's needs. This way, stakeholders in the workplace had input into the orientation and conduct of the study.

This thesis was one of several to be completed under the umbrella of the *Bricks to Mortar* project (see Hodgetts et al, 2007). The Bricks to Mortar project is a larger study into homelessness involving multiple agencies, organisations and groups. It is a project, which is co-funded by *The Marsden Fund* and the *Health Research Council of New Zealand*. My project received ethics approval by meeting certain stipulations outlined within the parameters of that study. The Bricks to Mortar project had been running for several years before I began this thesis.

My project relied on key relationships. For example, by being under the umbrella of the Bricks to Mortar project, I was able to access the service and information with relative ease. The Bricks and Mortar project had been up and running before I entered the frame and establishing relationships with the agency, service and stakeholders was facilitated with the assistance of a pre-existing partnership involving that project and Anglican Action.

Separate approaches were used to recruit the participants for this study. The staff's participation in the research was arranged during the meeting I had with the agency and my supervisors. The men's recruitment process was carried out by staff of the Manaaki Mai service. Staff participants included two men and two women working for Manaaki Mai, or had been involved with the service's operations at some point. Each member of the staff group had some knowledge of the service's practices for working with the men.

The entire staff group had Īwī affiliations to the Tainui people and to the local area. Moreover, they had considerable knowledge of the wider Hamilton area and the greater Waikato district. This group also came with a

wealth of knowledge and practical experience in dealing with people who have been largely impoverished. Their backgrounds involved a combination of higher learning and life experience gained from working in helping occupations. This group comprised dedicated people committed to helping other Māori less fortunate to have ‘a place to call home’. The staff’s ages ranged from approximately thirty four to sixty four years at the time of interviewing this group. I provide further details on each staff participant in chapter three of this thesis.

The men’s group was made up of six participants having various experiences of being homeless at some point in their lives. These men were invited to participate in the research on the basis of how long they had been involved with the service. The idea was to have the men recruited according to three periods of involvement with the service, zero to six months, six months up to a year, and, men who had returned to the community but maintained some form of contact with the service after having left. I provide further details on each of the men participating in the study in chapter four of this thesis.

Many of the men had a considerable history of being incarcerated and re-incarcerated. Much like the staff participants, these men could trace part of their ancestry in terms of being Māori. In that way, the men among this group had some level of understanding for Māori culture and its customs. The men’s ages ranged from approximately twenty three to fifty five years at the time of the interview.

Before conducting the interviews, a number of procedures and forms had to be completed to meet ethical requirements. There were several forms to be processed for the benefit of the stakeholders. The interview process began by presenting information about the study sheets to both groups of stakeholders. These were provided to outline how the interview process would be managed. The information in these forms explained who the researchers were and what the interviewees could expect from the exchange. In that way, the interviewees were informed of their rights and any

processes safeguarding their personal information (refer to Appendices B and C).

On a separate form the stakeholders were asked to provide some personal details about themselves for the purpose of recording group demographics (see Appendices D and E). This information was then deposited into a secure data base administered by the Bricks to Mortar project. Pseudonyms were used to ensure anonymity.

Written consent was obtained from the participants with one copy for the participant and the other was handed to the university's Ethics committee (refer to Appendix A).

The interviews were recorded as a series of audio files and entered into the 'hard drive' of a Lap-Top computer for transcribing.

Interviewing the stakeholders

The interviews were conducted with sensitivity toward the stakeholder's position of being a marginalised group. Moreover, I reflected on my position of looking at the situation as a working class Māori and in that sense an 'insider', but also as an 'outsider' in that I had not been incarcerated or endured the same life experiences of these men. This was important when attempting to capture and make sense of the stakeholders' stories (Bourdieu, 1996). According to Bourdieu (1996), the research can only be brought to light by having a good understanding of the person's situation. I decided to conduct semi-structured interviews to achieve this.

Silverman (2010) views semi-structured interviewing as an effective way of eliciting events from the person's perspective. Data gathered through this process becomes particularly powerful because it allows the researcher to digest the information at a deeper level. Any analysis drawn from such interviews can then focus on accounts delivered in a particular context or sense and complement the men's stories. This way of interpreting the data offers researchers greater flexibility to engage with personal accounts.

The interviews for both stakeholder groups were conducted in various locations. All staff interviews were performed at the Anglican Action's main facilities using office to ensure privacy. The men's interviews were carried out at the Manaaki Mai complex and a number alternative locations where some of the men lived. Although a time period of thirty to forty five minutes was set aside for each interview, the majority of the interviews continued for longer periods.

The interviews followed a semi-structured format designed to elicit a form of 'storytelling'. The person was encouraged to speak openly and freely as in an informal conversation. This was facilitated with a series of open ended questions (see appendices F and G). All information was encouraged to unfold in a 'free-flowing' exchange of ideas. Where more specific answers were needed I asked the participant to elaborate.

The use of thematic analysis to interpret the data

The data drawn from the interviews was interpreted by using a thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is an approach which identifies, analyzes and reports recognisable patterns or themes within data. Although not officially recognised as an established approach, thematic analysis remains the most widely used method for analysing qualitative data. Researchers use this method as a 'stepping stone' to acquire knowledge and as the basis of a qualitative analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Each person's interview was transcribed into 'hard copy' form for the purpose of identifying recurring themes throughout their stories. First I analysed the data for recurring themes that were established in the introduction chapter to tie in with international studies of homelessness. This information was used to collate each interview into data sets, which was then put into perspective of the participant's entire interview. These processes of data reduction and sorting involved coding the data into 'sound bites' or verbal comments.

The four concepts of manaakitanga, whanaungatanga, wairuatanga and whānau were used as core themes to establish findings regarding the

service that are also relevant to the realities of participants and the orientation of this research. Using these concepts allowed me to uncover the stakeholders' stories and understand their lifestyles. In that way, the four concepts acted as perspectives by which to record and observe a number of findings as they came to light. These concepts were used again to analyse and make sense of those findings in relation to the focus of this study. The four concepts were used to inform the process of writing Chapters Three and Four of this thesis.

Those people familiar with the Te Whare Tapa Whā model are most likely contemplating why I chose not to explore the dimension of Tīnana, or the 'physical self'. Although the Te Whare Tapa Whā model encompasses the concept of tīnana as one of its main components, the concept was left out of this study for the following reasons. There were some instances where the concept of tīnana was enacted throughout the services' operations. However, I viewed the concept of tīnana to be more inclusive than just providing physical sustenance. I viewed the concept of tīnana to also include doctors or nurses visits. That is not to say that the concept of tīnana was not important in the context this study. It just meant the research process did not produce enough data to show how tīnana was used to help the men.

In comparison the four concepts of manaakitanga, whanaungatanga, wairuatanga and whanāu produced copious amounts of data. The enactment of tīnana was much less obvious. Without diminishing the effectiveness of the Te Whare Tapa Whā model for addressing holism, this manaakitanga, whanaungatanga, wairuatanga and whānau research combination, was more suitable for conducting my study.

The concept of hinengaro (pertaining to healthy mental awareness and emotions), another component of the Te Whare Tapa Whā model, was also omitted from the study. However, there was enough evidence to show that the men and staff benefitted from the concept of hinengaro.

This study investigated a relatively new area of impoverishment in this country, a thematic analysis was useful to understand and illustrate the

men's vulnerability of being an indigenous minority (Sisters Inside Incorporated, 2008). The use of a pragmatic approach was factored in to ensure that all the approaches chosen for this project constituted a successful hybridisation of methods (Flick, 2006). In that way, the data was collected using an eclectic approach based on appropriateness. These approaches were also useful during the analysis phase of this thesis.

The following Chapter Three outlines the findings generated through conducting research with staff participants. Moreover, this chapter focuses exclusively on the data drawn from the staff interviews. In that way the staff's thoughts of helping the men are put into context.

Chapter three: Analysis of the Staff interviews

Throughout this chapter the staff group provide background information on the nature of their work with homeless Māori men. It was necessary to conduct interviews with the staff group in order to gain a sense of what they hoped to achieve in assisting the men to reintegrate back into society. Moreover, their accounts demonstrate challenges faced by staff of a frontline organisation, which focuses primarily on addressing the needs of a marginalised group in Aotearoa/New Zealand society (Leggatt-Cook, 2007). These accounts also exemplify the uniqueness of the Manaaki Mai service in its use of a holistic approach toward assisting homeless Māori men with 'reintegration'. The type of data gathered through conducting interviews with the staff group, appears to provide a deeper understanding about aspects of their work as they relate to the focus of this thesis.

Staff member's views were informative as they came from a perspective of being involved with the men's daily struggles and achievements. Moreover, they were very personal and explained the nature of the staff's relationships with each other, and with the men they assisted. The staff group were able to show from their experiences a very human side to the often difficult work performed by people employed in the not-for-profit sector. The staff were able to provide an informative portrayal of their work, from a perspective of being Māori workers in that sector.

The data gathered from the interviews, also showed similarities between the work being performed by the Manaaki Mai service and other approaches used in the international context (Seiter & Kadela, 2003; Wilkes, 2007; Wilkinson, 2001). However, it was evident that the Manaaki Mai service has some additional dimensions to its approach, unparalleled internationally and in the local Aotearoa/New Zealand context. An example is the use of Māori cultural knowledge as the basis for interventions.

This research also reaffirmed the plight of indigenous groups such as homeless Māori men having their own set of unique issues regarding homelessness (Department of Corrections, 2004; Department of

Communities, 2008; Nathan et al., 2003 Sisters Inside Inc, 2008,). Therefore, the data obtained, affirmed the validity of having in place wrap-around-support to cater for the needs of particularly vulnerable and indigenous groups like homeless Māori men (Department of Communities, 2008; Department of corrections, 2004; Nathan et al., 2003; Sisters Inside Incorporated, 2008; Wilkes, 2007; Wilkinson, 2001).

The data produced from the interview process is presented in nine sections. Section one focuses on aspects of the services' operations that help the men's reintegration. Section two explores a typical day at the service and how staff responded to the challenges of the work. In section three staff views about working with the men and providing for their needs are explored. Section four considers factors that help the reintegration process. It is in section five that we review factors that tend to impede the reintegration process. Section six documents the effectiveness of the Te Whare Tapa Whā Model. Section seven covers the staff's knowledge of the four central concepts and how each of these is applied in practice. Section eight investigates hui as a forum for strategic planning and what occurs during those settings. Section nine focuses on summarising the chapter.

Aspects of the services operations that help the men's reintegration

This first section focuses primarily on describing how staff believed the Manaaki Mai service was helping the men to reintegrate back into the community. Moreover, the section addresses how the staff seemed to believe they were helping the men through their daily practices. The section also compares these daily practices to the staff using Māori cultural concepts in their work. Key issues covered in this section are: the importance of team work, the significance of staff and clients enacting Maori culture, a fresh start for the men, developing a sense of belonging among clients, and the importance of personal growth for these men.

Staff members like Mary appeared to believe that the men benefited by how hard the staff worked as team. Moreover, the men benefited because staff worked hard to provide the best possible service to help them. Again, Mary seemed to reflect on how the team was deeply committed to their work.

In that way, the men could be seen to benefit through a high level of commitment shown by staff toward helping them.

> *So anybody that works here has to have that vision. Otherwise you're not supposed to be here. And that's ok! But that's the vision in me that's why I'm still here. That's what I carry all the time. And I'm assuming there is a similarity in every one of us, because that's the reason why we are here. So ok you know our education does give us those skills. But it's only a tool. But you have got to have a passion to be in this kind of work. That's just the tool that we use. Well that's the tool I use because it helps me to make real sound assessments. (Mary)*

Mary and colleagues realised that, by believing in their work they could achieve a lot on behalf of the men. The staff's belief in the context of a Māori world view could mean *whakapono* (Ryan, 2008). This unwavering belief from Mary and colleagues toward their work appeared to be outward expressions of whakapono. Whakapono became a source of motivation by which Mary focused on her work with good intentions of doing well by the men.

The team also appeared to be decisive and professional as they went about their work. That is, staff seemed focused on carrying out their work in a very professional manner. These aspects of professionalism reflected team unity and cohesiveness. In that way, the men also appeared to benefit through the way staff worked collectively to assist them.

> *I think that the team we've got now is awesome. There are two males and myself, plus the other services that are surrounding. Plus we've got another female that's coming on board and she's a Kaimahi as well. But I think that the team is really strong. I think that you have got to have a team that supports one another and don't go out on their own Waka and say, "this is my man, and this is your man". You got to have team cohesion. And I feel that Manaaki Mai has got team cohesion. We are always talking to one another. It's not about my man or your man. It's about our men and how we can effectively work together? (Mary)*

Staff realised that in order to best help the men they needed work well together. The way in which Mary and colleagues set about their work can be viewed as enacting rangatiratanga. Rangatiratanga in this instance, refers to where people are very capable or proficient at doing things (Ritchie, 1992). Rangatiratanga in that way also defined the Manaaki Mai team as being a highly efficient group in its endeavours to assist the men, and one that was

well organised while being very supportive of each other toward achieving their objectives.

Some staff seemed to perceive the Manaaki Mai service as being a service that focuses on supporting the men in ways which are culturally appropriate. Paul and colleagues took to using the more known concepts such as awhi and tautoko to welcome the men into the service and the community. In that way, the concepts were also used as interventions much like manaakitanga and whānau to acknowledge the men as people. These concepts could also be viewed as elements of *cultural capital* (Bourdieu, 1984), which were obviously missing in the men's lives to their detriment. Although, concepts like awhi and tautoko might not be recognised by some men for what they represented, they nonetheless would be accepted as being meaningful to them.

> *Whether they are prisoners, whether they are from "Henry Bennett", whether they are from being just homeless, and whether they are abused. We make a home available for them to raise them up from all of what I've just said before and to let them know that a whānau does care for them. A whānau does care for them, awhi them, support them, tautoko them, and manaaki them. (Paul)*

Staff identified there was a need to help some men to feel 'valued' and cared for. Concepts like manaakitanga reintroduced these men to a way of life, which places value on 'kindness and caring' for others (Durie, 1998a, 2001; Henare, 1988; Mead, 2003; Pere, 1982; Ritchie, 1992). Their actions provided emotional/social support for these men, similar to how Cunningham et al., (2003) and Durie (1998a) described the concept of whānau to be enacted.

Peter appeared to indentify the Manaaki Mai service as a platform of support for the men, which protected them from stress associated with starting afresh in the community. By supporting the men in this way, they were with some ease, introduced to new life skills that would normally entail a considerable amount of learning to acquire. This process also facilitated the 'claiming of space' for the men, a period of time in which to adjust to changes in their lifestyles. Once again, 'claiming of space' allowed the men time to make life changes at a pace suited to them. Peter and colleagues had their

part to play in that process by assisting the men wherever possible. Peter's involvement along with other staff seemed to cement a person's chances of achieving a successful resettlement process.

> *Just from the feedback we get back from the men especially those that are coming out of institutions like the prisons. It provides for them a place to have a new beginning. Quite often they come out with nothing and they are often ignorant about accessing resources like benefits and things like that. So being able to be provide them with that sort of information makes things a whole lot easier for them. I have seen people become frustrated with the process of trying to access a benefit and other resources like that. So it's about having someone along side of them and providing that support while having to go through all of that. So I see that as helping them and providing that platform to start a new life for them. (Peter)*

Some men were seen to need additional assistance to 'get started in the community'. Without staff to teach them life skills needed to get that 'start', their progress would be severely hampered. Peter and colleagues' efforts seemed to enact the Māori human development principle of *tuakana/teina* outlined by Māori theorist Rose Pere (1984) to help these men.

Manaaki Mai appeared to provide a lifeline for the men in the event of encountering difficulties after they had left the care of the service. Although the service has a policy where the men were expected to develop the necessary skills to become independent, they were nevertheless encouraged to seek help from Manaaki Mai if ever in doubt about coping by themselves with a crisis situation. Having a facility in place where they could make contact in times of difficulty, seemed to reassure the men and give them courage to build a life for themselves outside of the service.

> *For the guys it's just that reassurance thing. Yeah so if there are any problems you know? Just give us a call. So, by just having that reassurance that we are there if they need us, it gives them the confidence to go out and have a go. (Peter)*

Staff came to realise, there was a need for maintaining contact with the men after exiting Manaaki Mai. Staff chose to remain in contact with these men through whanaungatanga. Whanaungatanga is used again to mentor them, or guide through the concept of *he kai tautoko.* This notion of

mentoring is similar to that spoken of in James Ritchie's (1992) work, on Māori cultural concepts and their meanings.

The men also seemed to benefit from the service through being supported by Peter and colleagues to learn all important living skills. While some men needed more support than others—to learn how to adjust to community life, this type of support helped to cement the men's circumstances. This essential learning curve for the men covered several important areas of lifestyle, such as how to care for one's mind, spirit, and body. The general emphasis was to address the men's needs according to a sense of holism. This wider approach toward teaching the men self-sufficiency appeared to focus on preparing the men in order to face difficult times ahead in this current recession.

> *Well, to provide support for some of the basic life skills. Some men aren't aware that how they present is a reflection on how they may be feeling internally. An example would be if someone didn't take care of their own hygiene. So that can be an indicator for a lot of underlying issues. So it's promoting wellness about how you eat. How you take care of yourself, your body and that can impact on how you care for your mind, and your soul. Also, how that relates to our current social and economic environment. So we try to create an awareness of the wider world and how the current situation has an impact on us as individuals. And keep everybody focused on the positives that have come out of for example this "recession". So we discussed that as group with our men so they could find some positives in that as well. (Peter)*

It became apparent that some men needed additional assistance to adjust to community life. Staff used a structured system, which was quite standard when integrating homeless men devoid of proper life/social skills (Bookman et al., 2005; Seiter & Kadela, 2003; Wilkinson, 2001). Comprehensive support, not only taught them how to cope in society, it taught them how to live with other people.

Finally, some staff appeared to identify the service as being a facility that links the men back to tīkanga Māori. Linking the men back to their culture led to personal growth. Reintroducing the men to tīkanga Māori through supportive processes seemed to help address the deeper-seated-issues associated with a Māori sense of homelessness, such as being dislocated from one's own culture and traditional support networks. Staff

seemed to think that re-introducing the men to tīkanga could help them to re-enter the community from a position of strength.

> *Ideally I believe we try to instil a sense of belonging. For a lot of our clients they have always searched for that sense of belonging. That's why a lot of them end up in gangs. But in that process of giving them somewhere to feel where they belong, then they can begin to understand where they're at and where their roots are. And I think really it's a safe place for those people to begin that journey and some of them find it quite difficult. (Peter)*

Staff became aware that some men needed social/cultural support toward achieving reintegration. Staff appeared to assist the men with their reintegration using an approach similar to one used by Osher, Steadman and Barr (2003), where, cultural knowledge pertaining to the person's background is included in the person's care plan. This approach has been found to work well with homeless men from indigenous cultures. What is more, it has been used for some time with good outcomes by Native American justice systems (Nielson, n. d).

This section has looked at the types of benefits that the men received from being supported by the Manaaki Mai service where the section focused mainly on gathering this information through exploring the thoughts of staff members. In that way, different aspects of the service's operations were highlighted to show how they benefited the men. An overview of certain factors such as, belief by staff in their work, team unity and cohesion in accordance with cultural concepts, showed that the service was a professional organisation, and one which delivered excellent service to the men. Similarly, Manaaki Mai was viewed as a platform facility, which helped the men in ways that were cognisant of the wrap-around-support approach used by the service. This approach was shown to benefit the men in other ways. As an example, it allowed the men to reintegrate back into the community through a process of careful planning to lessen stress associated with the reintegration process. It also provided the men a 'lifeline' facility for maintaining contact with Manaaki Mai in order to receive ongoing support after exiting the service. The men benefited again from the amount of training provided through wrap-around-support to teach them everyday living skills.

All these aspects contributed toward helping the men establish themselves in society.

The following section titled ‘a typical day at the service and the challenges faced by staff’, illustrates what happens in a normal working day for staff as they set about completing tasks allied with a person’s reintegration process. In that way, it also illustrates the enormity of some of the workloads undertaken by the staff as they worked toward achieving a successful reintegration process.

A typical day at the Manaaki Mai and how staff responded to the challenges of the work

The staff accounts showed that each day brought a number of challenges due to the nature of their work and the complexity of issues faced by clients. This section explores issues such as competing demands due to the involvement in other services, staff commitments to other duties unrelated to the reintegration process and staff having to work with other community organisations.

All staff appeared to be involved with other services offered by Anglican Action and therefore had to balance out competing priorities, necessitating a flexible approach to their work. Paul and other staff seemed to finish off tasks as and when opportunities arose. This approach was found to be best suited to their needs. Paul and his colleagues seemed to conduct debriefing sessions as a way of reflecting on their workloads, and on what else that could be done to help a person’s circumstances.

> *Currently for ‘Whānaukaitautoko’ work we set our diaries a week ahead. Because it’s necessary to run the programmes for the men we work with. So knowing all their programmes and everything else it has to be almost deliberate. And it’s ok. But we try and get interviews done in the morning wherever possible. And then take the feedback from those interviews and do our notes. And then catch up with people here rather than out and around town. So a typical day is at least three interviews or whānau hui. Of course we have reflection time for debriefing. (Paul)*

Paul and others found they needed to be flexible when working toward meeting the men’s needs. The flexible nature by which the

Whānaukaitautoko team operates, demonstrates the team's ability to adapt at a moment's notice. The flexible nature of the Whānaukaitautoko service's approach is similar to a successful model outlined in a study by Morse et al., (1994). This showed that flexibility resulted in better service delivery to homeless people.

The lack of sufficient time seemed a constant challenge for some staff members. For example, Mary in her capacity as a practising Social Worker had to ensure that time was made available for certain important duties, such as Supervising Social Work students. A long standing arrangement that Anglican Action has with a local institution, accommodates the placement of Social Work students with the agency as part of their training. Supervision sessions are crucial for promoting and maintaining professional development among these students. In addition to supervising these students, Mary had to complete administrative work from their sessions in order to keep records of those students' training sessions. Time management is crucial and reflected in the following excerpt:

> *Also, I wear a number of different hats in the agency as well. So I try to book at least two days for Supervision. So those days are filled up with time spent with Supervisees. Part of the supervision session is that I do up a record of the supervision session. So that's part of the admin stuff as well. So it would be about half "face to face" and half admin stuff. Then it gets typed out and a copy always goes back to them. Then a copy goes into their file. So that's how my day would look if it was either one or the other. (Mary)*

Mary has additional responsibilities, which included working with other community organisations such as Work & Income New Zealand (WINZ). Mary's role entailed acting as Manaaki Mai's liaison person while working with that organisation. This required her to accompany men newly released from institutions to their appointments with WINZ. In her role, Mary could advocate on their behalf and provide whānau support to help them through their interview process. Thanks to her good relationship with and understanding of WINZ, Mary seemed to ensure that the processes went smoothly and that the men received their welfare entitlements.

> *I advocate for the guys in Manaaki Mai. So if it's got to do with advocacy that also involves the Work & Income stuff as well. So when there is a new guy that comes on board especially from "Corrections". Then I set up the appointments so I can go there to support them. Also I help them fill out the*

application forms and if there is any concerns that come through with their benefits. Well then I can make contact with the service manager there and find out what's going on? So there is a relationship there already built over time. So rather than a lot of people in the agency going to Work & Income it's one direct link through me. (Mary)

This overview illustrates the heavy workloads expected of professionals caring for homeless people. International studies such as Bookman, et al., (2005) and Seiter and Kadela (2003), demonstrate the enormous efforts required to reintegrate formerly incarcerated homeless people back into the community. Mary's testimony reflected how a high work rate was needed to help these men with their resettlement processes. Studies such as Bookman et al., (2005), O' Connell (2003) and Walters and Wagner, (2007) illustrate how collaborating with community organisations, enhances successful reintegrating of homeless people.

Daily meetings or hui were an important part of service life at Manaaki Mai. The hui could dictate daily schedules. The meetings created additional tasks such as writing up reports to inform other staff members and to update a person's circumstances as they transitioned through their reintegration process. This type of work appeared to be time consuming but necessary to keep communication flowing between staff in different services. However, there never seemed to be enough time to achieve all that was expected of this type of work.

In between those duties I attend meetings. So there are the Staff meetings, Coordinators' meetings and Team meetings. Then there are reports between those meetings because these must be presented to Coordinators, to the services like Employment Action, and the Coordinators' team meeting. Is that enough? Sounds like heaps (eh)? That's why I say there aren't enough hours in a day. In the case of emergencies, if an emergency arises. (Mary)

Mary and her colleagues understood the importance of having hui to achieve progress with regard to reintegrating the men. Moreover, staff seemed to accept that nothing could be achieved without first attending hui. This scenario also demonstrates how hui were performed as an integral feature of the reintegration process, where team meetings were crucial for germinating and disseminating ideas (Durie, 1998a, 2001; Ritchie, 1992).

Emergencies were events that seemed to concern all staff. Regardless of how much effort was put into planning a day, quite often an emergency would derail planned processes. In these situations on the spot decisions had to be made to address the problem and allocate staff to attend to it. Consequently, normal schedules had to be abandoned to deal with an acute crisis. Staff needed to find ways to address these situations at a moment's notice.

> *Then you need to look at your diary then make a decision to act immediately. That's because emergencies can't be left until later. So you need to find someone to cover that emergency, or, do I look at it myself? Ok here is an emergency and something has come out of that. Do I necessarily need to do that? So then you look at the strengths of your team and the availability of your team. Well that's how I do it. (Mary)*

Such emergency situations added strain to Mary and her colleagues' daily workloads. Having to tend to emergency situations is indicative of how vulnerable these men are (Carling, 1990; Clapman, 2003). Their vulnerability is also exacerbated, because they are a homeless indigenous minority (Social Data Research Limited, 2005).

All staff participants experienced busy workloads and they managed hectic schedules between field and office work. Competing priorities meant that staff had to 'overlap' some roles in order to manage their workloads. The overlapping of roles was useful because it allowed staff to support one another in providing the wrap-around support needed to help with a person's resettlement and also deal with any emergencies.

In the ensuing section, the staff group provide an overview of their work with the men. Through their personal accounts one can gain a sense of issues the staff faced while helping the men to rebuild their lives. In that way, the staff's accounts provide insights into how the men's attitudes seemed to have an effect on their reintegration processes.

Staff views about working with the men and providing for their needs

In this section staff member's views of their work with the men and what it means to be part of the Manaaki Mai team are explored. This

exploration considers the effect of cultural and social dislocation and how it impacts on the lives of the homeless Māori men. The section will also look at other aspects observed by staff through their working relationships with the men, such as the consequences of imprisonment.

Cultural dislocation appears to affect the men significantly. These men are impoverished in a cultural sense; they lack a sense of knowing who they are and where they come from. Consequently, two processes of cultural dislocation impact on the men's' lives. These are not being able to draw on cultural knowledge as a source of strength and not being able to link back to whānau for cultural and personal support. Therefore, cultural dislocation means also social dislocation, where the men are unable to capitalise on common customs, values and beliefs, which generate lasting healthy relationships with other Māori. Lacking cultural practices to draw on such as whanaungatanga, the men are prone to a number of issues symptomatic of the hardships experienced by them. As an example, cultural and social dislocation can be an indication of how much a person is distressed, resulting from not being with people that matter most in their lives. Therefore, being separated from supportive networks such as whānau and family caused considerable anxiety for these men.

> *But the sad thing in that though is if they do come together they are not allowed to touch. He's not allowed to hug. And I mean he's got a baby that's two years old. What father is not going to want a hug from their child? That would be hard to meet with your family and not be allowed to physically touch them. Because we spoke to his probation officer about that. If we offered that, what were the restrictions around that? And that came up. And my 'thinking' to her was how can he not touch his children? I said because that's who we are as a people. You know a cuddle or kiss, or just to sit there and talk you know? (Susan)*

It became apparent to staff that some men exhibited signs of suffering social cultural dislocation, where they had endured similar paths to other colonised indigenous people being marginalisation (Battiste, 2008; McIntosh, 2001; Smith, 1999). This placed considerable pressure on their lives through acculturative stress (Ausubel, 1961; Battiste, 2008; Bishop, 1998; Mammot et al., 2003; McIntosh, 2001; Nielson, n. d).

Many of the men coming through Manaaki Mai appeared to have faced hardship through being incarcerated and psychiatric institutions, leaving them in some way 'damaged'. Consequently, incarceration has left these men struggling to manage in the community. They face significant challenges during reintegration processes back to domiciled life particularly if that person had been incarcerated on numerous occasions. Some men came with acute issues requiring additional support from specialist services to address their needs appropriately. Histories involving persistent mental illness featured prominently in the lives of these men. In addition, subsequent incarcerations had a devastating effect on their development, leaving them unable to cope in the community.

Also allied with the issue of mental illness were problems associated with the person's ability to comprehend their circumstances. This posed the question as to whether they were capable of making positive changes to their lifestyles. This added an extra dimension to the challenges faced by the staff, exhausting the resources of their support networks. These men were destined to slip into a cycle of hardship and re-incarceration if it were not for the good intentions of services like Manaaki Mai toward helping them.

> *At the time when he came into our flats I was his key worker and he found it really difficult to catch up with him. We made appointments and he didn't keep them. When I did eventually catch up with him I had to make him sit down and schedule an appointment to see a mental health worker as well. I introduced him to the mental health worker over here. But then she found it difficult to catch up with him. Because he believed that he didn't have mental health issues despite him being high maintenance. He would say "why am I seeing a mental health nurse"? You know this is what's required of you? But then I thought did he really take all of this in? So it was really difficult with him. (Mary)*

Some men's situations were found to be compounded by poor health. The situation of homeless people with server mental health issues was seen to have unfolded similar at an international level. With Munoz and colleagues (2005), and Busch-Geertsema (2005) showing that considerable efforts were made to place certain homeless people in housing. Poor mental health could prevent those people from acquiring and maintaining long-term accommodations.

In contrast to those negative aspects about some men's journeys, there appeared to be outcomes where the men were being assisted by the service's staff. For example, some men who came to Manaaki Mai were easy to work with, requiring minimal hands on assistance toward achieving their independence. These men exhibited a number of positive traits dispelling the often typical notion of being unworthy to be helped. Moreover, they were individuals who were highly motivated toward personal change, had a number of set goals in mind and, were willing to put their faith into staff helping them. Staff found that by working closely with these men the working process could generate rewarding experiences for both parties.

> *He motivated himself. Got a part time job and the possibility of it being a full time job came up in Christmas. We took him down to see his mother before then. And that was great he hadn't seen her for twelve years. She was bed ridden with a stroke. And I worked through that Christmas break and we'd found his brothers he hadn't seen for years. And we'd rung them up and said we'd meet them there. One lived in Mt. Maunganui and the other lived in Auckland. And we set it up for Christmas Day but I couldn't get the time off. So he headed over on Boxing Day. He had got himself a car and renewed his driver's license. He went over there and had four days with them and came back New Years eve to start work and the boss had given him a full time job. (Paul)*

Staff noticed that the person at the centre of this story appeared to be 'buoyed' by the prospect of receiving close support from them where, this man was easier to work with because he received humane treatment from staff regarding his concerns. Studies such as Mulvaney-Day, Alegria, and Sribney (2007) and Nathan et al., (2003), illustrate how 'kindness and understanding' restores the confidence in people who have been incarcerated (Busch-Geertsema, 2002; Rogers, 1980).

For some men, 'knowing who they were and what it means to be Māori', seemed to help them to stay motivated in order to achieve changes in their lives for the better. Such changes came about in part from being connected to aspects of tīkanga Māori that were familiar to them. Through this process of being reconnected to their culture, some men were able to regain their self-esteem and confidence about themselves. Reconnecting the men to their culture also enabled them to reconcile with their pasts.

Consequently, with staff's help, they were able to move on with their lives and gain confidence to reintegrate back into society.

> *And he spoke from his heart how he felt about his support. Well he had nothing you see, and he expressed that to the panel. And of course we didn't know what he was going to say to them. We had no idea what he was going to say. And he wanted change you know? Even though we did the restorative stuff, where we took him home and he apologized to his whānau for what he did. And so that was a huge thing for him. And the whānau support behind him? He always said "I wouldn't have been able to do it without your guys support". So the whānau team went about paving that way forward for him. So they did all that process for him. He wanted it. But he didn't know how to go about doing it. (Mary)*

Some men were appreciative of staff's efforts. They were also appreciative of being reconnected to a Maori word view. Concepts such as whanaungatanga were used intuitively to help these men rediscover a sense of belonging. In that way, whanaungatanga allowed the person to rediscover a meaningful existence with other people (Durie, 1998a, 2001; Mead, 2003; Ritchie, 1992).

Throughout this section staff provided insight into the needs of some men. Moreover, they were able to show through their comments the state of some men's health concerns and what they required with regard to help and resources. In that way, staff appeared to observe that certain men arrived into the service with significant health disparities and were found to be quite challenging to work with.

However, staff also observed other men coming into the service with few resources or skills to help themselves, yet, these men remain committed to making positive changes to their lifestyles. Staff considered their positive attitude to be an asset and one which made it easier for staff to work with the person. For these men, being positive about themselves and having a positive outlook on life helped them to progress. Staff also observed that when these men took responsibility for their situations, it was possible to achieve good results in their reintegration process.

The next section explores factors that appear to promote a person's chances of achieving a sustainable lifestyle. By highlighting the nature of

these factors, the reader will come to understand how the person's circumstances were stabilised.

Factors that may help the reintegration process

This section outlines a number of factors that enhance the likelihood of a person achieving resettlement. These factors were chosen because they represent a collection of the most useful processes in this outcome. Hence, the reader will observe what was found to be most useful for improving the person's chances of achieving their independence.

One of the most important factors that appeared to facilitate a successful reintegration is the establishment of a trusting relationship. Throughout their interactions with the men staff placed significant emphasis on building rapport with them. However, staff often encountered barriers involving trust, situations that needed time to overcome. By creating a relationship based on trust, staff members were able to work closer with the men and overcome some of the more significant issues that they had. The men and staff groups benefited greatly from working closely together.

> *A place where they can begin to trust us to enable them to move their journey away from where they have been. And particularly most of them have a horrendous journey prior to that. And I'll remind them because we are all equal. We're humans together. Just because they are not as fortunate as we are, it shouldn't allow us to continue to keep them on the heap. I love that analogy "haere mai e tū". Well that's what I like to do here. Once again it becomes whānau. And the experiences that you and I have in that are enormous. The experiences we can offer and share to those less fortunate then we are. And it's out of that, that I offer myself in my mahi and Arohā for them. (Paul)*

Paul and his colleagues understood how important it was to establish trust with the men. Trust was an essential element without which nothing could be achieved toward improving their circumstances (Rogers, 1980). Professionals working with disadvantaged groups understand the value of establishing trust with them (Rogers, 1980).

Staff also seemed to observe through working with the men that it was crucial to have their full cooperation in the working process. Simply by being a willing participant in the exchange, the men could undergo a process of

personal transformation, which could help them make positive changes to benefit them. The working arrangement was also an ideal way for staff to encourage the men to be trusting of others, which in turn was important for promoting transparency and honesty within the working relationship. Without this willingness to trust others, there was an increased risk of the men failing to achieve a successful reintegration. Such a result could occur where the men attempted to reintegrate on their own without the support of staff and the service.

> *We find that essentially important. Without that level of engagement it's really hard to learn to even want to work. So they've got to want to work and do the mahi themselves and be open to the support. And they do find that it's with the support they do make better progress. A lot of men believe that they don't need it they can do it on their own. And that's where it kind of falls over for them. And you've got to respect them if they say that they want to do it their own. And I think that the trust issue is the key. So it's important to engage with them openly from the start so you can build that trust. (Peter)*

It was noticed some men were entrenched in their ways of coping, with regard to surviving in the community. This scenario shows what can happen when there is no trust between parties (Rogers, 1980). Denial is a state of 'being' for these men and becomes an insurmountable barrier to positive growth, development and overall wellbeing (Gelberg et al., 1997; League of Women Voters and American Association of University Woman, 2005; Rogers, 1980).

For those men released from prisons and psychiatric institutions, staff appeared to realise that by spending one-on-one time with them it helped to overcome some of the more challenging hurdles as they worked towards achieving independence. Given time Mary and others were able to help the men become settled by orientating them to life within the service, and reassure them that they would be supported. The one-on-one work allowed for that closeness of whānau support to occur, something that was missing in the lives of the men when they arrived at Manaaki Mai. Staff also found through working closely with the men, it provided opportunities for the men to link back to their whānau.

> *We like to think, and I suppose this is about Anglican Action kaupapa. We would like to think that it is important for the men to have whānau input. But*

in the times that we have worked with some of the men the disconnection from their whānau means that sometimes it just doesn't happen. And so sometimes we have to work at their needs first, before we can even look at the bigger picture of incorporating the wider community or the whānau. Well that's the hope. That's our vision that there can be some restoration there between the individual and the whānau. Because quite often there is a lot of disconnection there. Actually the majority of our men have burnt their bridges with their whānau. And so there is that fear attached to it. There's shame attached to it. There's disconnection. There are all sorts of things happening there. (Mary)

Staff became aware that some men were greatly in need of whānau support. One-on-one interaction, in accordance with whānau support, helped these men to 'open up' and establish relationships with the staff (Cunningham et al., 2005; Durie, 1998a, 2001; Rogers, 1980). These men responded well to being supported, because staff were willing to listen to their concerns and 'treat them seriously' (Flick, 2007a; Gelberg et al., 1997; Gladwell, 2006, February 13; Rogers, 1980).

Staff seemed to conclude that having one of their members living at the Manaaki Mai complex helped a great deal to ease some of the men's fears about resettlement. There were times when some men needed extra support outside of a normal working day. Having a person on site would allow access to staff support during times when it was most needed, which the staff found was often after hours. Whenever the men felt a need to confide their concerns to someone, they were encouraged to visit the on-site staff member for support. There was always a potential hazard to the resettlement process where the men could think about their circumstances in negative ways. Having access to an on-site staff member prevented spontaneous and unwise decisions, which could derail their resettlement processes.

For our men in residence we found that having someone living on-site provided a huge sense of security for the men. Someone they could go to outside of the normal work hours when they're struggling with things. And we realized that when we had a staff member living on-sight that it's after hours that the men start thinking about things. Reflecting about things and needing someone to share their concerns with. Catching them the next day was almost too late by then. They had already formed their ideas about what they were going to do, or, made decisions about what they were going to do. And more often than not end up making wrong choices. (Peter)

Peter and his colleagues found some men to experience mixed feelings surrounding insecurity, during their time with the service. Feelings of isolation, insecurity and apathy, are often common themes among homeless people the world over (Brinegar, 2003; Campbell & Deacon, 2006; Carling, 1990; Kearns, 1994; Sisters Inside Incorporated, 2008; Wright, 2000). Staff identified that the best way to address such issues was to provide whānau support.

When working with the men staff followed a *care plan* designed to meet the person's needs. The care plan guided staff as they set about implementing facilities and resources to help the person. Also, the action plan brings the person and staff member together to form a working relationship based on collaboration. Quite often a person's situation could change requiring their particular plan to be re-adjusted, or in some instances discontinued if the person had been re-incarcerated. Hence, the plan is often revised to ensure it remains congruent with the person's needs. In Mary's view, the care plan is important to the reintegration process because it facilitates consistency with regard to supporting the person. It was this process of maintaining consistency, which mostly helped the men.

> *I think the core aim here is to identify what their goals are. To identify what their goals are and put a care plan in place. So we can assist them to reach their goals. Because while they're in our flats we work with them in the wider community. So the care plan is really important because it's what they have identified their goals as being. So the care plan gets revisited through their home visits because their goals can change. (Mary)*

Staff came to appreciate the value of having in place a care plan to work with the men. The care plan is an important link in the overall strategy to manage the person's reintegration process. The concept of the care plan is derived from a *client centred therapy* (Rogers, 1980) where needs of the person have priority.

There were positive aspects that could determine the course of a person's resettlement process. Certain factors like building and developing a trusting relationship with the men appeared to enable staff to help them reintegrate more successfully. In combination, the factors which were

highlighted across this section represented significant forward movement by the person.

The next section provides insight into factors, which impede staff's efforts to help the men to achieve a successful resettlement process. The section will show that the reintegration processes at times can become arduous for both staff and men alike, especially when staff are powerless to help the men.

Factors that tended to impede the reintegration process

This section demonstrates challenges encountered during the reintegration processes. It shows how some men's paths to independence seem impassable because of a range of issues such as poor health, poor social adjustment and poor motivation toward being reintegrated. In that way, some men's circumstances presented as being particularly challenging to deal with.

Despite their best intentions at time staff seemed to achieve very little. If the men lacked willingness to engage with the programme they were more likely to abuse the staff's good will and assistance and disregarded the consequences of their actions. These men were not prepared to accept their actions were the cause of their impoverishment, where staff encountered this problem all too frequently. This was also an indication that some men were beyond caring for their circumstances. Whenever this situation arose, Susan and her colleagues—with some reluctance—were forced to abandon their efforts to reintegrate the person back into the community.

> *He's also not allowed to drink where he's living and as part of his terms. But unfortunately one of the colleagues made a visit to his flat and he had a crowd there drinking and doing things that he should have not being doing. And he was quite abusive to our colleague and to the people he had with him at his whare. So this incident was brought back to the Director where the decision was made to pull that support from him. We've pulled that support from him because what's going down for him. He is aware of his conditions but still he goes outside those conditions. Yeah, as I say when things get tough for him he calls back on us. (Susan)*

This situation illustrates some issues accompanying people with long histories of being institutionalised. Incarceration, it seems, has brought them

to a point in their lives where they were incapable of going forward 'positively', or caring to do something positive about their circumstances (Marchetti, 2002; Maruna, 2006; Maruna & Roy, 2006; McCaslin & Brenton, 2008; McIntosh, 2001; Morrell-Bellai et al., 2000).

For those men with drug and alcohol issues and a history of abuse, staff could expect to encounter resistance from them toward dealing with those issues. Some men were beyond comprehending that they had such issues affecting their health or state of mind. These types of situations involving denial always presented problems for staff especially if that person required additional expertise to treat their circumstances. At times incorrect medication or administered dosage would have an impact on the person's well-being. Staff thought the best way to address these situations was to liaise with the appropriate agencies and professionals trained to deal with such issues.

> *You know they have to have a mental health worker assigned to them when they come in. So we don't have the expertise here. And that's about us getting those networks in place. So when I first took him to see his mental health nurse and had his medication looked at, she said "oooh these are quite strong". I don't know the names of his medications off hand. But she did say that one was counter-acting against the other. I don't know much about that kind of field. But both of them were really high doses. And so she believed they weren't all that helpful for him. Because in the short time that he was going to be there she had to do an assessment. Because he wasn't taking his medication and he was very resistant to the whole thing. (Mary)*

When working with people who are dually afflicted by poor mental health and drug abuse, staff lacked training of how to appropriately deal and best help a person. The situation is indicative of a lack of 'specialised needs services' available to deal with these men, not dissimilar to situations found in other countries (Health Council for the Homeless Clinicians' Network, 2003).

At times during the process of conducting hui or team meetings, differences of opinions between staff members could surface to disrupt the process. These disruptions threatened other important processes such as making decisions regarding the men's welfare. According to some staff members, such actions were counter-productive to the working process of deciding how best to help the men. Moreover, they appeared to come about

more because of “posturing” rather than as a process to arrive at a solution to a problem. As a consequence, such time wasting activities would inevitably produce no real gains for the men.

> *So you go into a Coordinators meeting and you've got all the Coordinators there. So even though I'm not a Coordinator I've been asked to come and sit in as the senior social worker and because there is no other qualified social worker here. So I just sit on the fence and don't take sides. So, what I've noticed is that you have Coordinators and especially females that will challenge one another but there is no outcome. So my thinking is that. Is the challenging of any two people to solve problems? Or, are those challenges about holding personal ground? And it seems that nothing ever get's resolved from those sorts of challenges. So that's an example and I don't know how else to put it. And I guess it doesn't all the time. But I do notice when it does. (Mary)*

Staff found these occasions quite challenging where consensus was needed in order to achieve progress. This scenario is another illustration of how sometimes it is extremely difficult for Māori to achieve consensus or kotahitanga. The above scenario played out similar to a scene described by James Ritchie's (1992), where trying to achieve kotahitanga by way of hui could be arduous.

A significant problem that hampered progress at times was the degree of disinterest shown by whānau toward helping with that process. Without the support of whānau, the men could expect to find it difficult to follow through with the reintegration process. Some whānau might be unwilling to help with the person's reintegration process because of that person's offences. Nevertheless, without that initial commitment from networks such as whānau, much of what could be achieved through applying the Te Whare Tapa Whā model to help the person could not be initiated by staff. In short, the lack of whānau support could impede or disrupt a person's reintegration process and increase their likelihood of being re-incarcerated again.

Such resistance from whānau was encountered by Peter, who was unable to re-connect a client with his whānau. Again, such resistance often meant that the whānau remained unresponsive toward supporting the person to become independent through the use of concepts like whanaungatanga.

As a consequence, the person is left with no other option but call on other networks for support.

> *Yep some of the saddest cases that I've seen have been where men have burnt their bridges with their whānau. Then they're totally disconnected and isolated from their whānau. So yea that's a huge barrier for them to overcome. It does make things very difficult sometimes for our work especially when they try to fill that void with others that aren't so supportive. (Peter)*

It is likely that a man's past history severed the whānau relationship. Studies have shown how some men are often abandoned by their closest supports due to a violent history (Dordick, 1997; Nathan et al., 2003; Wilson et al., 2005),and because of histories involving terrible crimes against others (or more specifically innocent others). These studies also show how there is always a population of homeless people experiencing such a lack of support.

As demonstrated by staff's comments, there appeared to be significant issues associated with some men's reintegration processes. Moreover, their views showed that some aspects of the reintegration process appear to frustrate staff's efforts toward helping the person. Factors like failing to enlist the support of whānau impeded the person's progress toward achieving independence.

The next section focuses on capturing the staff's perceptions regarding the suitability of the Te Whare Tapa Whā framework as an indigenous intervention. As one of the leading lines of inquiry, it was important to establish to what degree this framework was useful.

The effectiveness of the Te Whare Tapa Whā Model

This section addresses how effective the Te Whare Tapa Whā model is for providing resources to help the men. Specifically, the task was to establish the appropriateness of this approach for generating a successful end result to some men's reintegration process.

Staff viewed the Te Whare Tapa Whā model as a virtual template to ascertain which cultural concept should be applied in a given situation. This

allowed staff to appraise a situation and set about working to address it using the appropriate principle to do so. The model determined how staff went about enacting the four concepts to suit their purposes. These comments by Mary seemed to suggest the Te Whare Tapa Whā model was an ideal approach for assisting the men in a holistic sense.

> *Yeah well I think it does, I think it informs our decision making, especially right at the beginning when we do get an interview. Because that's the most important part. I mean we can get these referrals in, and throughout the interview we have to go through each of those four principles in the Te Whare Tapa Whā model to identify what they require from us and if we have the resources for them. (Mary)*

Mary's comments appeared to show they were confident with the performance of their framework. What is more, staff seemed to believe their model 'stayed true' to Durie's original (1984) philosophy. Therefore, these comments resonate a finding that is a common theme, where Te Whare Tapa Whā is widely recognised as being suitable for health and developmental needs of all Māori (Durham, 1998; Durie, 1998a, 2001; Minister of Health & Associate Minister of Health, 2002a; Thompson et al., 2004).

The staff's comments clearly showed that the Te Whare Tapa Whā model is a sound philosophy to approach their work. Their views also showed how they used that framework to inform their practices and to implement resources during the process of reintegration. In that way, a leading line of enquiry was answered by showing how staff used this model to achieve good results where the men were concerned.

In the next section staff views regarding their understandings of the four central concepts are explored. The observer will gain a sense of how staff viewed these concepts being enacted. Once again the content of this section represents another line of enquiry crucial to the focus of this thesis.

Knowledge of the four central concepts and how each one is applied in practice

This section explores how staff members perceived themselves applying the four central concepts throughout their work. The staff accounts provide a better understanding for how they see themselves enacting Manaakitanga, wairuatanga, whanaungatanga, and whānau according to their own unique interpretations of these concepts. The section also shows, staff perspectives of how these concepts helped the men go forward in life.

The first concept to be explored is manaakitanga. Each staff member's perception of manaakitanga contributed in some way to its meaning, which appeared to widen interpretations for the concept's application. Consequently, the ways in which the men were seen to benefit from manaakitanga also varied and demonstrated how a traditional concept transfused into contemporary times through staff members expanding its meaning.

Paul's view of manaakitanga appeared to mean that showing kindness contributes to processes of empowering a person. In this manner manaakitanga was used to allow others to feel welcome and cared for. For Paul, manaakitanga was also about interacting with people so that the person would experience feelings of interconnectedness. Paul believed that manaakitanga was a useful concept for resettlement processes and to enhance a person's feeling of self-worth.

> *Well I hope I've expressed some of that in my korero today that it's 'all embracing'. And it doesn't matter what individuals or groups. But gathering them and bringing them to a way in which I say time and time again. To lift them up and I can't see it being anything more than that within my perception of manaaki. You know I use this gesture (the motion of cradling a baby in his arms) as a starting point for mmanaakitanga. Then you can go onto the others and it incorporates them as you start to encompass them into that whānau. (Paul)*

This use of the concept seemed to follow thinking similar to where Carl Rogers (1980) believed acts of kindness could be a way to achieve understanding between people. That is, Paul's perception of manaakitanga

appeared to encompass the notion of ‘connecting’ with the person by reaching out to them through acts of kindness.

Mary seemed to view manaakitanga to mean unconditional care, kindness and hospitality. She believed that much could be done to improve a person’s circumstances by adhering to this tradition. Manaakitanga was seen as a concept which promoted others, similar to how Paul understood the concept to work. Through manaakitanga, other customs such as awhi could be enacted as part of a holistic helping process. Also, the concept of manaakitanga created possibilities where a person could experience a transformation process with positive outcomes.

> *Well, to embrace, to awhi. In short terms, it means to embrace and to Awhi. So, in terms of the work that we do it means to give them sustenance and to nurture them. It’s all about sustenance for me. I feel it’s about that liberation thing as well. Yeah, the eventual one that we would like for all these men is liberation. And, it’s not about a hand-out but a hand-up. Then hopefully and eventually they achieve empowerment. (Mary)*

Once again, Mary’s perception of the concept focused on promoting positive growth in the person through showing kindness similar to Carl Roger’s (1978; 1980) theory on personal growth through positive interaction. Mary’s reference to liberation might also mean helping the person to gain ascendency over their circumstances through the use of tīkanga. This is a view shared by Russell Bishop (1990), who believed Māori could achieve self-determination through observing tīkanga.

Peter understood manaakitanga as reciprocating kindness, support and hospitality between two parties. Embedded in the concept of manaakitanga were expectations—both for the recipient party, and those intending to manaaki or act as host to others. This understanding was also reciprocated out of respect for one another. Peter also perceived manaakitanga as an expansive concept involving wider networks in the caring arrangement. The wider meaning of manaakitanga for Peter involved the inclusion of whānau or other significant people. In this regard, manaakitanga was about promoting support to others as a way of caring for the entire whānau, which provided assurance that the person was looked after. Peter also believed that manaakitanga was a way to show the men how

they could engage with the wider community to instigate positive changes in their lives and to locate resources for themselves to improve their circumstances. According to Peter, the concept of manaakitanga is sometimes initiated through simple acts of kindness.

> *Yeah I think what that means too is having support. And it has to be a two way thing. So it's give and take. And it also has to involve wider networks. Letting people know that manaaki and support is not only about what's in front of you. There is a lot out there and re-assuring people that it is out there. And that's usually enough to give someone courage. Also, manaakitanga can be something as simple as sitting down and offering somebody a cup of tea. (Peter)*

This interpretation of manaakitanga promotes the creation of an inclusive environment based on mutual support, understanding, compassion and sharing, and showed that people were not alone. Hence, the concept could be enacted to help people feel connected to others through shared empathy, as seen in the work of Rogers (1978; 1980).

Susan's understanding of manaakitanga appeared to be action based with expressions of caring, compassion and kindness toward others. In this manner, manaakitanga defined customary obligations toward helping the men as much as possible with the view of developing life skills. The concept of manaakitanga was also a way of building relationships a rewarding experience for all parties. As a teaching process, manaakitanga could be enacted to encourage the men to take responsibility for their own actions. Manaakitanga was also viewed by Susan as an appropriate way to reassure the men of staff and service support in their quest for independence.

> *I think for me in regards to working with our people it's about that support, that awhi, that listening to them. What they give for us I believe that that's all part of it. In regards to if we need to pick them up to take them anywhere that we do that part too. We'll pick them up and take them to wherever they need to be providing that they can't get there themselves. Well then that task falls back on us. But then in saying that, we like to try and make them take responsibility for themselves for attending those appointments. So if they can't get there then we help them get there. So that is what I believe manaakitanga is about. Letting them know that we are there to support them for whatever they need. (Susan)*

Manaakitanga in this instance seemed to be about promoting growth in the person through modelling positive behaviour. Manaakitanga used in this way is enacted to encompass the tuakana-teina principle for promoting positive development in the individual, whereby a more knowledgeable individual will help a person to learn important social and life skills toward becoming independent (Tangaere, 1997).

Wairuatanga, the concept pertaining to spirituality, was expressed by the entire staff group in very much the same way. Staff understood the concept to define the content and meaning of all things spiritual to many Māori. Wairuatanga was interpreted by staff as a measure of cultural customs, protocols and contexts, which had spiritual meaning. As with the concept of manaakitanga, exploring staff interpretations for wairuatanga showed how the concept was enacted in a number of different ways. Staff also commented how they viewed themselves to promote the concept in accordance with the Te Whare Tapa Whā model used by the service.

Paul seemed to believe wairuatanga was a concept that rested quietly within people until awakened at some stage to establish new paths for them. Through this awakening people became enlivened and empowered by the experience. However, Paul thought some people failed to grasp the meaning of wairuatanga. He also considered that people needed to work in order to understand wairuatanga, where a person could find that experience unnerving. For the most part Paul believed that wairuatanga was a concept that could transform their lives for the better. Peter enjoyed being part of that process.

> *Wairuatanga for me is that we have that and sometimes it lies dormant within us until we discover that. When we do, it enlivens us, but not only to enliven us. It points us in new directions by knowing that we can work with our wairua (spirit). It is inspiring. It is encouraging. It enables us to move in a direction that sometimes we may find alien. But when we discover it, it becomes real. I guess that's a generalisation of what I'm trying to say. Yeah it's a gift given to us. Like any gift you know if we don't use it, what happens? It lies dormant or it gets put into a chest with the lid shut down. For when you move on oooh it's too late. You know when you've grown up or something like that? So for wairuatanga I love to see people discover it. Because I see the transformation occurring in people and it makes my heart swell. (Paul)*

This perception of wairuatanga is about believing that people can become empowered through spirituality. It is about helping people to discover their inner strength by becoming spiritually aware. Wairuatanga was a concept that when enacted, could promote positive regard in people (Ritchie, 1992).

Mary appeared to have a different philosophy for wairuatanga, which was more focused on accepting people's own interpretations of spirituality. Mary and other staff members were able to cater for the person's spiritual needs, by being able to work with their different interpretations of wairuatanga. For example, spirituality for some men could mean having a spiritual connection with the environment, a notion that most Māori would accept and understand. Applying wairuatanga while working with the men, also involved making allowances for others to be included in the person's care plan, a process which could include remembrance occasions with deceased whānau members as well. Through their understanding of tīkanga, Mary and colleagues were able to cater for the men's spiritual needs, and support them in ways which worked alongside overall processes of resettlement.

> *So it's about working with the men we work with, and what they come with. And it doesn't have to be with tīkanga Māori either. That can be who they identify with as the 'self'. So they might only identify to the natural environment. That's ok it's only what they offer. So who they bring and who their supports are is part of that mix. And it doesn't only apply to the living either. It can also apply to those that have passed on. (Mary)*

Wairuatanga in this context meant observing spiritual significance, in the things that people lived their lives. Moreover, wairuatanga was about remembering that everything in the context of a Maori world view may have spiritual significance. This view of wairuatanga is similar to the one expressed by Durie (1998a), Metge (1995), Mead (2003) and Ritchie (1992), where everything in the universe is interconnected through a sense of spirituality.

Peter appeared to interpret wairuatanga as a wider concept, which reflected the spiritual dimensions of the universe beyond what could be

measured in tangible terms. This meant that Peter perceived wairuatanga as believing in aspects of the universe which inspired a sense of spiritual connectedness to all things. A sense of wairuatanga could be drawn from having a spiritual connection to places, objects and personal possessions, which could also entail having personal or historical significance for an individual. The concept of wairuatanga in Peter's view encompassed a notion that everything existed for a purpose, and was created according to a grand design. Thus, this grand mosaic of existence constituted an environmental legacy worthy of preserving for future generations to appreciate.

> *I think it's about knowing and believing in those things that you cannot physically see and touch. Or that are tangible. An example of that would be for me like when I'm heading to Kāwhia and I get over the hills and see the ocean. Just seeing that does something physiologically and also spiritually to me. Another example would be yea just recognising everything that exist, exists for a reason. And was intentionally designed or created I believe. And appreciating what has been left to us I guess. (Peter)*

This description of the concept has in it elements that were found to be similar to other staff members' meaning of wairuatanga. These elements depict how one person's belief views wairuatanga to be a concept which provides a sense of connectedness or relatedness in them. Peter's perception of this concept was the same as one shared by Mason Durie (1998a), Hirini Mead (2003) and James Ritchie (1992).

For Susan, wairuatanga moved beyond the notion of spirituality and she interpreted it as an approach by which staff could help a person to find their spiritual selves. The concept of wairuatanga could be enacted in a flexible manner to accommodate different interpretations regarding spirituality. It could also be used to reconnect others to a collective sense of understanding what the concept represented for Māori. Despite the fact that some men came to Manaaki Mai with little or no understanding of wairuatanga, the concept was used to reintegrate the men through understanding some aspects of a spiritual nature. Wairuatanga could be viewed as an approach for supporting and empowering the men as they attempted to establish themselves in the community.

Well that could still go back to support too. But wairuatanga is a wider thing in regards to their own well-being within themselves and their spirituality within themselves. We are all not the same with regard to being spiritual. But there are some who are the same. And it's the same with some being connected to who they are, while others aren't. So it's just empowering them to feel that within them and that we can support them in those ways. (Susan)

Susan's perception of the concept appeared to have much the same meaning for her as it did with other staff: a concept about spiritual connectedness and empowerment. Spirituality in this sense was also about discovering or rediscovering a source of 'enlightenment' (*cf*., Durie,1998a; Mead, 2003; Ritchie, 1992).

Whanaungatanga, the concept in tīkanga Māori pertaining to the celebration of relationships, was expressed by each member of the staff group in a number of different ways. Staff members' views showed how their perceptions for whanaungatanga encompassed meanings of other cultural concepts. Their thoughts pertaining to the ways in which, whanaungatanga was perceived and enacted, also demonstrated how concepts such as manaakitanga and wairuatanga were encompassed by whanaungatanga to strengthen relationships. In that way, whanaungatanga was perceived to be an important intervention, which helped the men to establish and strengthen their relationships with others.

Paul appeared to think whanaungatanga was a concept, which could be enacted to establish relationships to counter cultural differences. Through whanaungatanga, it was possible to become closer to others by building relationships founded on understanding and acceptance. In this manner, whanaungatanga could be used to welcome people and to accept them as whānau. Whanaungatanga was also a concept which summed up the ever changing dynamics of relationships between people and strengthened those relationships over time. Whanaungatanga also represented the energy invested into relationships to ensure they remained pro-active and to leave lasting impressions on one another. Through whanaungatanga relationship skills improved.

Well, I can't live without whānau. For me whanaungatanga is that if you can't live without whānau? Well then who are you? It's about relationships, and

> *like all relationships you have to work at it. But it changes every day. But if we don't accept the changes yeah right oh give it up". If we accept the changes we can move on. So yeah it's being whānau. Whether it is Pākehā or Chinese, people become whānau whether they like it or not? And I tell them what whānau is, you know? "By being beside me and whether you leave me, even if it's for the last time, you are still part of my whānau now. Why? Because we met 'kanohi ki te kanohi' (face to face), and shared with each other. That's why we are whānau now". But it's embracing, and the more you work at it, pai tēna (all is ok). (Paul)*

Paul's perception of whanaungatanga is understood to be about celebrating relationships in accordance with tradition (Durie, 1998a; Mead, 2003; Metge, 1995; Ritchie, 1992). This understanding for whanaungatanga leans toward Bourdieu's (1984) notion of *social capital.* In that way, whanaungatanga and social capital are considered to have the same meaning (Robinson & Williams, 2001).

Mary's understanding for whanaungatanga appeared to include gauging the connective nature of the men's relationships, and how that connectedness equated to drawing on support from others—especially in times of adversity. Moreover, it was also about establishing which family members could be relied upon to help with reintegrating men. Without that knowledge, any process involving whanaungatanga could not be 'actioned' and enacted for the benefit of the men. This whole synchronicity of connectedness and support also represented a tangible process that assisted Mary to work with the men.

> *Those connections and who do they connect to. Who are their support links in times of need and when things turn to custard for them? Who do they really look for when that happens? So for those support networks, I also need to know are they strong enough to work with and what state are they in? Yeah, so it's about gauging whether they can be relied to help out as well. (Mary)*

This understanding of whanaungatanga also drew attention to relationships being important for promoting the well-being of people (Mead, 2003). In this instance whanaungatanga is used in accordance with Joan Metge's (1995) meaning to remind kinfolk of their obligations to their relatives, particularly in times of adversity.

In a similar context to Paul's interpretation for whanaungatanga, Peter believed the concept was about establishing close relationships with people he came in contact with in his work. Through a shared understanding that relationships were important, staff and the men were able to work together. The importance of being open to forming relationships was expressed by Peter as a factor, which could not be diminished..

> *I believe that's about relationships. I see it as being hugely important in this sort of work. Without having a connection or relationship to a person we're wasting our time. And that's relationships with everyone you work with. And also everybody you come into contact with. I believe it's about recognising the positives in similarities too. (Peter)*

This perception of whanaungatanga once again emphasises the importance of building and maintaining relationships between people. It focuses on creating relationships through better understanding other people's values and beliefs (Robinson & Williams, 2001; Rose, 2000; Shteynberg et al., 2009; Sternbach, 2000) in a similar vein to Bourdieu's (1984) concept of social capital.

Susan's account portraying her interpretation for the concept of whanaungatanga was the most detailed offered by staff members. For Susan whanaungatanga seemed to be about transparency and allowing people to see who you are for what you are. In Susan's view the concept of whanaungatanga entailed the sharing of information about oneself in order to foster better understanding. This approach could be seen as having a flow-on effect. Through openness and transparency about one's intentions toward establishing relationships it was possible to overcome barriers created out of mistrust for others. Susan also thought whanaungatanga could be used successfully to build relationships with the person to help them become resettled.

Reading through Susan's interpretation of whanaungatanga gives a sense of how staff appeared to take this traditional concept and applied it as a working methodology. Susan's description of the concept also portrayed the difficulties often faced by staff when attempting to help the men through the use of whanaungatanga. The initial stage of establishing a relationship,

known as *whakawhanaungatanga,* was also highlighted by Susan as being important when applying whanaungatanga as an intervention to help the men.

> *Well that's a biggy for us because that's how we establish our relationships through whakawhanaungatanga. Sometimes it works and sometimes it doesn't. So it's how you manage that. I guess it's just getting to know who they are and letting them share that part of themselves to let you know who they are. Because there have been times where we've met and things have been "kei te pai" (all is fine). But there have been other times where we've met and you can feel the resistance. But it's how you work around that resistance and if you can make the connection and listen to what they share. For me then I can connect with them in that way. (Susan)*

This interpretation of whanaungatanga seemed to place great emphasis on building relationships with other people. The initial phase of establishing a relationship was highlighted as being important for building trust (Rogers, 1978; 1980). In that sense, whakawhanaungatanga or the initial phase of building a relationship, was identified as being useful for promoting trust based on transparency and honesty (Rogers, 1980; Rose, 2000; Sternbach, 2000).

This overview of the fourth and final concept of whānau was presented by staff members as having several meanings. Whānau a concept where people seek close support from one another, was expressed as an almost code like approach by which some staff lived. Whānau also meant the observable measure of the closeness between the men and others within a working relationship. This became a source of inspiration which guided staff as they worked toward supporting the men to ensure they resettled in the community. Whānau per se, was the concept whereby staff members became family members in efforts to help and support these men.

Paul's understanding of whānau appeared to constitute a way of life for him. The idea of whānau representing a collective sense of close support and kindness was instilled in his values at an early age. Other concepts like wairuatanga had a bearing on Paul's understanding for whānau. According to Paul, wairuatanga was the measure of a deeper understanding for the purpose behind family gatherings. Whānau in that way could be seen as an all encompassing concept of others, which promoted common decency and

respect for other people. Whānau was also a source of inspiration for Paul, which guided him within his professional role of helping the men to re-establish relationships with their whānau or loved ones. Through his understanding of whānau, Paul was able to enact the concept in ways that produced positive results for the person.

> *My understanding of whānau for me was how our whānau lived. We always had people for kai, and not just someone in the whānau. They were always welcome into the whānau no matter who they were. And I think that is where I got my values from. It was always a roast kai. And wasn't just for the immediate whānau. Anō nei (and again). And I guess that's where I get my passion from for being with people, and the joy in that. Because not only did those occasions engender that wairua, but also to engendered that whānau, for what I see it as whānau anō. And I guess that's why I enjoy the mahi here. Especially the Whānaukaitautoko work because it just brings back what is only my experience of being whānau. There is no other way I can express it. Because I've lived it you see? (Paul)*

This understanding of the whānau concept demonstrates its use as a way of life for some people. For some people whānau is a concept through which a sense of cohesiveness and connectedness with others is promoted (Durie, 1998a, 2001; Henare, 1988; Mead, 2003; Ritchie, 1992). In this instance whānau is a concept which enables people to come together and enjoy each other's company.

Mary interpreted whānau as concept to measure closeness between people. Along these lines, whānau could be used to measure the strength of those relationships the men valued most highly. Mary's interpretation for the concept seemed to take into account the dynamics of how whānau is viewed today in contemporary Māori terms whereby this concept could be flexible depending on its interpretation and use. This flexibility could then be used to build relationships with people purely based on the need to be supported. In that way, whānau could also be enacted in the absence where blood ties would normally apply. However, whānau could also be used to enlist support of an undesirable network.

> *Those relationships they call whānau. And it doesn't have to be the whānau that you were born into. It doesn't have to be that. It's who you have those connections with. And it could be your Aunty or Uncle that you call whānau. It could be like the gangs you know? If they have connections with them. (Mary)*

Once again the concept of whānau is expressed by staff as being a form of close support used to create favourable outcomes for people (Durie, 1998a, 2001; Henare, 1988; Mead, 2003; Pere, 1982). Mary and her colleagues could use this concept to build new relationships much like whanaungatanga was used. In these instances, whānau helped people to feel connected to others (Durie, 1998a, 2001; Henare, 1988; Mead, 2003; Pere, 1982).

Peter and Mary seemed to have a similar understanding of the concept of whānau as encompassing both traditional and contemporary uses. Peter's interpretation for the concept also emphasised the importance of establishing close relationships as a way of building networks to capitalise on support from other people. Whānau was also viewed by Peter as being an ever-changing concept which could be expanded to suit modern everyday uses while retaining its traditional meaning. In that way, the concept could be used as an intervention to lessen the stress of being without whānau support.

> *I've always viewed whānau in a broader sense. I know that whānau is represented by those that you're biologically connected with. But I also believe that whānau are those people who you connect with intimately. It could be because of a shared kaupapa. Like with a lot of our men they're disconnected from theirs and they just want to feel that they're whānau or a part of something. (Peter)*

The meaning of whānau, in this context, was taken to be an expansive concept. Here, whānau could be enacted along lines of Bourdieu's (1985) notion of social capital. This enactment of the concept is similar to that outlined in Robinson and Williams' (2001) work valuing social capital to mean whanaungatanga.

The concept of whānau appeared to have special meaning for Susan. Whānau, she proposed, had similar connotations to Paul's understanding of the concept where the men in one sense became whānau because of being closely aligned through the type of work carried out in support of them. Establishing relationships or reconnecting people to their closest networks of support was a philosophy that seated instinctively within Susan's

understanding for the meaning of whānau. There was some overlap occurring where the meaning of whānau could be likened to that of the whanaungatanga concept. Once again, this demonstrates how some Māori view both concepts to have very similar meaning in certain contexts.

> *Whānau means a lot not only for me personally. But my whānau means a lot to me. It means a lot for us when we're working with them also. And I mean it's not about putting a name or tag on it, but when you working with the guys they become a part of who you are. They become part of you because of the mahi (work) that you're doing. (Susan)*

Susan's interpretation for this concept places emphasis on the closeness of relationships whether the person is related or not. Through enacting the whānau concept people could 'bond' and establish friendships. Whānau also became a way to establish trust that would lead to better things for the person. This view of whānau was similar to the study undertaken by Cunningham et al., (2005).

In this section the staff's understandings of manaakitanga, wairuatanga, whanaungatanga and whānau were explored. Their accounts showed there were some common understandings among the staff regarding how the concepts should be enacted. On the other hand, the staff's comments also showed that some members believed certain concepts had meanings, which could be used in combination with others. This is exemplified in Paul's understanding of the concept of whānau that took into account family coming together to enact wairuatanga or a spiritual connection with one another. In this instance the concept of whānau was described as having deeper meanings for Paul, a philosophy by which he conducted his life.

In the upcoming section the hui process is explored to show where this forum has its place in the reintegration process. This exploration of hui will illustrate how staff have several main uses for this forum. In that way, the reader will gain an understanding of what the hui is used for, and how it is used by staff.

Hui as a forum for strategically planning a person's reintegration process

In this final section, the forum of hui is highlighted as a setting where a number of processes are initiated and monitored. During hui motions are set in place to facilitate resources to assist the men. This section also examines reasons why hui were regularly held by staff.

Hui are settings where teams came together to plan and implement resources to assist the men's transition back into society. Hence, staff members like Peter used the hui to plan meticulously for a person's reintegration process from start to finish. Peter and his colleagues seemed to work over every detail of the person's action plan in order to cover a person's needs. Key areas of care such as clinical practices could be planned for and implemented to ensure they were provided in accordance with the Te Whare Tapa Whā model used by staff. Similarly, the use of western care practices could also be integrated alongside tīkanga to provide a comprehensive support package to assist the person in a bi-cultural sense.

> *Definitely, yes, after our initial hui with the people we're looking at working with, we have a hui amongst our team and out of that discussion come the recommendations from the needs and the goals identified by those people we work with. And the team collectively looks at how to make the recommendations through the services we provide to meet to support the needs and the goals of those people we work with. And I guess in some way it all falls into those four cornerstones, the physical, the mental, whānau, and spiritual. Yea, they all fall into that in some way. (Peter)*

The hui in a contemporary sense has been used extensively in health settings to implement policies for Māori (Durie, 1998a). Hui are exchanges where tīkanga and western knowledge are used in combination to achieve a common goal—to reintegrate the men successfully. Hui in that way, acted as forums for monitoring and gauging the appropriateness of decisions made by staff with regard to assisting the men with reintegration.

This level of in-depth planning which occurred in hui seemed to ensure that other important processes such as 'cultural safety' were maintained as part of the resettlement process. By way of hui, Mary and her colleagues could plan for cultural occasions and call upon the services of the Cultural

Adviser to perform the appropriate customs for those occasions. Processes, like performing blessings in order to make an apartment spiritually safe for the person, are all recognised practices regularly planned for in hui. In sequence, such processes then are enacted by Susan and her colleagues in the community setting. In that way, hui remain the settings for ensuring all practices are culturally appropriate through the use of tīkanga.

> *But it's more than that, it's more than just a plan, it's about an introduction and paving that way for that particular man. So although we have a whakatau (informal welcoming ceremony) for a man that comes into our flats and so that he's introduced to all the other men. It's about paving that way for him. So it's a bit deeper than just having a plan, and that's that same thing around tīkanga, it's just the way we are. And we get our Kaumātua to do that so when we know that somebody is going to be coming on the 28th of August say for instance. We consult with our Kaumātua and he likes to bless that particular room before he comes in so there's a plan and a process for us. So he blesses the home, so it makes everything safer for that new person that goes in there. And usually on a Tuesday when we have a Manaaki Mai programme down there that's when we have a whakatau for him. (Mary)*

Hui appeared to be the primary setting for planning and implementing all processes in accordance with the Te Whare Tapa Whā model used by staff in the Manaaki Mai service. For example, during the introductory hui between staff and the men, the Te Whare Tapa Whā model is used as an assessment tool to ascertain a person's particular needs. Through this initial interview process, staff could plan to implement processes in accordance with all four principles of the model to provide holistic support for the person. This approach had additional benefits for the men, when repeated in the larger setting of a team meeting. By following due process, staff members of a team could work to ensure that all aspects of a person's care, identified in the earlier interview hui, were cemented into place for them. In that way, staff members seemed to use hui to monitor the progress of a reintegration process and ensure that all 'steps' proceeded as planned.

> *Before all of that we might get a referral in. So if we were to have an interview with one of the guys we'll send out a referral document to them. Then it it's usually returned by them to us. A staff member will then go and make contact with them, and ask if they're interested in coming to Manaaki Mai. Then, a team of two staff will set up an appointment and interview them using the Te Whare Tapa Whā process as an assessment tool. And so, from that interview based on the four corners we put recommendations through, check if we have the resources to address their needs, and find out the state of their support networks in the community. All of this will then be taken to*

the team, and involve planning for things to be set in motion. So when their key worker develops their care plan, they're filling in the gaps from planning and recommendations of other team members. (Mary)

Hui appeared to be initiated under formal and informal circumstances, making them flexible processes. This process was initiated to mandate the smallest jobs up to the most complex tasks, making it perhaps the most widely used practice by staff. Above all else, hui were the fundamental setting where every process, measure or resource implemented to assist the men was vetted for its appropriateness (Durie, 1998a; Pere, 1982; Ritchie, 1992).

Hui seemed to be where staff members could get together to monitor processes and communicate with each other. Moreover, hui functioned as sessions where staff members like Susan could monitor the progress made by her colleagues to ensure their workloads remained manageable. In these sessions, staff appeared to share whether they were experiencing difficulties, and whether they required assistance with completing their caseloads. Staff appeared to recognise the value of using hui to monitor their workloads and to ensure they kept work related stress 'at bay'.

So when we come in first thing as a team we have a hui. So this is also a new thing for us and has been in place since I became Coordinator of this service. And there are actually three of us working in the team. And for awhile there was no actual leader for the team. But they have just this year appointed a coordinator for this team. So now we have in place a structure which stipulates that we hui three times a week. So it's Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. Just to see how things are going. And it's not only for me but also for the other workers. So these meetings can be about finding out how the work is going? Is your work load too heavy? Or, if there are things that they need to catch up with. And it can also be about catching up on the files. (Susan)

For Susan and her colleagues this process of ensuring fellow workers maintained their ability to function in the job could also be perceived as providing support for each other in a culturally appropriate way. For example, staff could be enacting the concept of whānau to support each other (Durie, 1998a, 2001). Hui also served to emphasise to one another that team members were also whānau (Cunningham et al., 2005).

In this section I explored hui as a working process. I explored what occurred during hui with regard to planning a person's reintegration process. Certain findings showed that hui were important because these were sessions where staff members could receive support from other team members, promote cultural safety throughout their work and plan for the implementation and use of the Te Whare Tapa Whā model by staff.

In the final section of this chapter, the main findings are brought together in order to review the findings and to show how these are related to the focus of this study. In that way, the reader can gain a deeper sense of how the staff approached their work as experts on their own culture.

Summary

A wealth of information was gathered through interviewing Paul, Mary, Peter and Susan. Research questions such as 'how effective was the Te Whare Tapa Whā process toward reintegrating the men' were answered in specific terms. The staff provided answers to how they perceived the four central concepts to be enacted. The interviews also provided a wealth of information on the nature of the relationships staff had with each other and with the men they assisted. Consequently, these findings appeared to show that staff actively created positive results with regard to reintegrating the men.

The staff provided in-depth commentary as to how they thought the men benefitted from staff involvement and close support. Whilst staff may have indicated in English what those benefits were their comments tended to portray distinctive Maori world views regarding how the men benefitted through staff assistance. For example, staff reflected on how they thought the men benefitted from team cohesion. This explanation could have been taken in context to mean rangatiratanga or proficiency (Ritchie, 1992). In that instance, staff comments reflected how quality of performance appeared to help the men achieve their independence. The staff's comments also seemed to reflect how other cultural concepts were used in similar fashion to benefit the men in a contemporary sense.

Staff also suggested that they were able to identify how the men benefited through lex insita (Bourdieu, 1977). That is, staff were able explain how the men benefitted by reflecting on processes as people who understood what the men 'were going through', because of being Māori themselves. Staff could identify how the men benefitted from the service's assistance because of an embodied appreciation of their efforts. In that way, being Māori also helped staff to identify how they could best help the men using culturally appropriate practices.

The overview of a typical working day showed how staff had very busy workloads. Some workloads necessitated a considerable amount of 'balancing' with regard to managing different roles linked to other services involved in a person's reintegration. As an example, Mary's busy schedule showed how meticulously she worked while attempting to achieve positive outcomes for the men. Staff came to realise, the 'key' to meeting those demands was to be 'flexible' while being focused on the job (Morse, Calsyn, Allen, & Kenny, 1994; Morse et al., 1996). In that way, staff performed an admirable job reintegrating the men, while ensuring all processes were seen through to fruition.

The staff seemed to indicate they worked with two distinct groups of men. Both groups appeared to 'position' themselves according to their willingness to engage with the staff. The first group was characterised as being considerably more difficult to work with. The staff found it 'tough going' to reintegrate these men because of various health and social issues (Crisis., n. d.; Dordick, 1997; Levine & Rog, 1990; MacKnee & Mervyn, 2002). Staff also found it difficult to help these men to gain a healthy cultural identity and sound knowledge of their culture.

In contrast, the second group of men were more motivated toward improving their circumstances. There were a number of reasons why these men appeared to be much more receptive to the idea of being reintegrated with the most prominent idea being that these men understood the value of having staff assisting them through a difficult transition (Bookman et al., 2005; Busch-Geertsema, 2002, 2005). The men also knew that in order to re-

establish themselves in the community, it was important to be positive about their circumstances and look toward moving on from the past (Johnston-Listwan, Cullen, & Latessa, 2006; Wilkes, 2007). An important part of moving on from the past involved accepting responsibility for any previous transgressions committed by them. Often these men were able to achieve the above through being reconnected with their culture (Battiste, 2008; Durie, 1998a, 2001; Johnston-Listwan et al., 2006; McIntosh, 2001; Sisters Inside Incorporated, 2008; Tangaere, 1997; Wilkes, 2007). Culture awareness helped these men to become stronger and more adjusted people (Battiste, 2008; Durie, 1998a, 2001; McIntosh, 2001; Minister of Health & Associate Minister of Health, 2002a; Ritchie, 1992; Smith, 1999).

The staff group found there were two groups of factors—both positive and negative— which affected the outcome of a person's reintegration process. The first group was characterised by what works best for the men as they attempt 'reintegration'. A range of simple but effective practices proved to be invaluable measures toward assisting the men along their paths to independence. Some of these practices were effective because they copied other procedures seen to have worked elsewhere in similar situations. For example, the use of a care plan to map a person's path forward showed careful planning was implemented in much the same as was shown in other countries. Studies by Tosi (2005), Seiter and Kadela (2003), Wilkes (2007) and Wilson et al., (2005) showed the service was at the forefront of caring for homeless people. Other practices such as a staff member living at the Manaaki Mai complex showed that staff were more than just aware of the men's needs but that they chose to apply a culturally sound intervention such as the concept of Whānau to help the men become more 'grounded' (Durie, 1998a; 2001; Henare, 1988; Pere, 1982; Ritchie, 1992; Tangaere, 1997).

With regard to factors that appeared to adversely affect a person's resettlement process. These were also simple factors, but caused staff concern. Factors such as not being trained to deal with certain difficult situations, brought to light gaps in servicing. These issues were compounded somewhat by the person's transitory lifestyle, which made it difficult to help the person (Dordick, 1997; Wolitski et al., 2007). These men's lives were

impoverished because they lacked ‘resources’ to improve their circumstances. These resources could amount to a good education, good social status and a good income. This assertion is strongly supported by the work of Bourdieu (1984), which explains how people’s lives can be adversely affected through ‘underachieving’.

Staff admitted that at times it was difficult to reach an agreement on a course of action to address the men’s needs during their hui. Differences in opinion can also be a reflection of the working process undertaken to achieve kotahitanga, a custom that is seen by some to be the most sought after and yet the most difficult of processes to achieve. With kotahitanga the person’s Mana has to be both respected and protected as a way of achieving consensus. Failure to do so may result in disagreements and further delays within the hui setting. This assertion is supported by the work of Ritchie (1992), which explains how hui are often conducted under difficult circumstances.

In sum, this section has explained two interrelated but specific lines of enquiry: one, the effectiveness of the Te Whare Tapa Whā model; and two, ways in which staff understood the four central concepts and how they applied them throughout their work. Both lines of enquiry appeared to outline how staff formulated their approach toward addressing a given situation using those aspects of Māori culture.

With regard to determining the effectiveness of the Te Whare Tapa Whā model, staff members appeared to think that it was a very useful framework. The framework used by the service was in itself the ‘embodiment’ of Mason Durie’s (1985) original philosophy. By using this model to guide the delivery of services to help the men, the model acted as a template through which staff could best manage that process. Moreover, the comments put forward by staff regarding the model’s effectiveness were reflections that they believed the framework was a sound methodology toward helping the men.

With regard to the staff’s perceptions of the four cultural concepts, each staff member seemed to have their own interpretation regarding how a

particular concept applied in a contemporary sense. For example, Mary believed that the concept of manaakitanga could promote emancipating processes to help the men improve their lives. Peter, on the other hand, believed that manaakitanga could be used to teach the men how to engage with the wider community. Despite the differing interpretations each concept was applied in ways which retained its traditional meanings.

The staff used their understanding of Maori cultural knowledge to help the men. In a sense, they became *knowers* or people who could help others through an embodied understanding of their culture. Through their innate understandings of each concept, staff members became social actors promoting the validity of lived experience while actively using that knowledge. The staff's actions are instrumental in affecting positive growth in the lives of the men where, each staff member became an agent for affecting social change through possessing 'embodied knowledge' (Low & Lawrence-Zuniga, 2003).

This notion of embodied spaces has deeper implications with regard to promoting emancipating outcomes that help to cement a person's reintegration process. Staff utilised their innate understanding of Māori culture to challenge social discourses that would otherwise reduce the men to living impoverished existences. Furthermore, their understanding of cultural knowledge counters negative influences, which are continually perpetuated by institutions pertaining to the dominant western culture. In that way, their use of Māori cultural knowledge becomes an effective intervention toward reducing the effects of ongoing colonisation in the men's lives. These assertions are reinforced by the work of Foucault (1989), Bishop (1990) and Smith (1999), regarding the development of emancipating processes to challenge social discourses that marginalise minority cultures.

Hui were shown to be useful for managing the service's daily operations. The main purpose of the hui was to conduct strategic planning sessions where they were used to ensure that all measures taken to support the men were meticulously planned for. hui were also settings where these same measures were planned for in accordance with tīkanga. In that way,

these forums were enacted to achieve several functions, associated with the person's resettlement.

In traditional Maori society the hui was the quintessential forum for discussing the affairs of people in a regulated and orderly manner. Although, most business discussed in the hui setting dealt with contemporary issues to do with the men, these were always worked through in accordance with tradition. Hence, hui were conducted to manage people and processes in ways which were essentially Māori. This view is supported in part by the work of Pere (1982) and Ritchie (1992), outlining the traditional meanings of various Māori customs.

In the following chapter, the findings drawn from the men's interviews will be explained at length. Furthermore, the chapter will explore the men's views of their time spent at the Manaaki Mai service. In that way, the reader will gain an insight into the lives of the men being cared for by the Manaaki Mai service.

Chapter four: Analysis of the Men's interviews

To begin with, the men's accounts produced a wealth of information about their lives with the service. Moreover, the data gathered from the men's interviews provided insights about the men's lives and experiences. In that way, it was possible to gain a sense of the men's histories and the lives that lead them to becoming impoverished and homeless.

Much like the staff's data collection process, it was necessary to interview the men to gather information that would form this analysis chapter. Moreover, it was necessary to ascertain from the men their thoughts about being social actors in the reintegration process. In that way, their comments highlight the highs and lows of the men's paths to achieving sustainability for themselves (Bush-Geertsema, 2002; Morse, 1994; Winter & Noom, 2003; Wolitski et al., 2007).

Much of the data gathered from the men's interviews seem to match information that was drawn from the staff's data collection process. Meaning, some of the men's findings showed, they perceived many aspects within their reintegration processes to occur similar to how staff viewed them to 'unfold'. An example of this is where the men understood that change was necessary for them to succeed at reintegration (Gurstein & Small, 2005; Lapsley, Nikora, & Black, 2002; Maruna & Roy, 2006). That way, both staff's and men's group's, appeared to agree the men needed to accept that 'change' would be better for them.

The findings also showed there was a lot of 'activity' occurring with the men while staying with the Manaaki Mai service. Moreover, it showed the extent to which the men were involved with a number of activities to improve their circumstances. These men were focused on generating real opportunities toward maintaining their independence in the community.

These various activities also drew attention to the service being good at its 'core' business, where, aspects of the reintegration process such as: work being carried out by staff to assist the men (Bookman et al., 2005;

Busch-Geertsema, 2005), the men's own efforts to improve their circumstances (Maruna & Roy, 2006), the use of 'wrap-around-support' (Johnston-Listwan et al., 2006; Seiter & Kadela, 2003; Walters & Wagner, 2007), and, the use of Māori cultural concepts as interventions (Cunningham et al., 2005; Durham, 1998; Durie, 1998a, 1998b; Henare, 1988; Metge, 1995; Pere, 1982; Ritchie, 1992); were recognised by the men as helping them maintain more stable lifestyles . These factors seemed to validate the effectiveness of the holistic approach used to resettle these men back into society.

Other findings provided crucial information about the men's ability to understand aspects of Māori cultural knowledge. Moreover, these were findings that showed some men were quite adept at expressing themselves using tīkanga Māori. Just as, other men had difficulty when it came to defining themselves in a Māori cultural sense. In that way, the findings showed a situation existing among the men, where they had different levels of understanding regarding how the four central concepts are applied.

This chapter is set out much the same way that was done with the staff's analysis chapter. Where, over the course of eight interceding sections, the findings from the men's interviews will be discussed in detail. In that way, these findings will be presented with the aim of contributing to the Discussion chapter 'set' to follow.

The first section focuses on providing an overview of a typical day in the lives of the men. Section two, covers the men's positive experiences resulting from working alongside of staff. Section three, is where the men's negative experiences resulting from undergoing reintegration are discussed. In section four, the men outline factors that appeared to be most helpful toward their resettlement. Section five, presents an opposing overview of the factors, which seemed to make reintegration more difficult for the men. Section six looks at the importance of personal growth in the lives of the men. Section seven is where the men deliver their perceptions of the four central concepts. The eighth section highlights how the men put in place significant goals for their futures. The chapter is concluded with a summary section that

highlights key themes from previous sections and links between the content of the previous eight sections.

A typical day in the lives of the men while at the Manaaki Mai Service

Similar to the staff, the men appeared to spend their days busying themselves at the Manaaki Mai service and in the community. The men followed daily schedules and routines throughout their days as they: attended self-help programmes, went about securing resources for themselves, performed charitable work for other community organisations, reconnected back to their culture and learnt new life skills aided by staff. The following overview of the men's movements demonstrates the varied lifestyles led by this group. Furthermore, it shows how the men seemed to go about their days with purpose while engaging in meaningful activities.

For some men, their routines seemed to be focused on attending programmes aimed at promoting 'self-help' and personal development. These men attended those sessions to learn how to succeed further in life. On Tuesdays, they would attend a group that offered them support and ideas toward coping with reintegration. These 'groups' were where the men could air their concerns 'safely' in the company of other people and to develop camaraderie with them. The Tuesday meetings appeared to be proactive sessions where some men could plan to help each other. Moreover, they were important sessions for maintaining focus and generating forward momentum 'toward resettlement'.

> *On Mondays we have a meeting at 10 o'clock. And after that hour you've got the whole day to yourself. And the next day we go and have a meeting at 2.00pm to 3.00pm. That's the men's meeting. There we have our men's talk about whatever has been happening to us. We also discuss what we can do as men to get the other guys to come to meetings. So they won't get breached. It's not just for us to go there. It's also for the other guys to come and feel comfortable and share. (Albert)*

In a sense, the men used these meetings as way of engendering the concept of whānau among their group, where, they were able to draw strength from working in partnership with each other to achieve common goals (Ritchie, 1992). These meetings seemed to 'play out' as one might

expect with a kaupapa whānau situation promoting personal ‘growth’ (Cunningham et al., 2005).

Some men appeared to spend their time being proactive in the wider community. For the most part, these men had very few resources and were in need of the most basic necessities. A period of incarceration had left these men impoverished upon entering the Manaaki Mai service. This situation would also encourage the men to plan ahead to locate resources for themselves. The men would then travel into the city to search for those resources such as household items, where they would return later and purchase them when they could afford too. Being ever mindful of having a limited period in which to acquire those resources, some men worked very hard to accumulate enough resources for themselves.

> *But me and my mate we’d walk into town together. And we’d go and ‘suss’ out the shops. We didn’t buy anything right away. But we’d go and look at the second-hand shops and see what we could buy that week. When I walked out of prison I only had a TV, my stereo and my computer. And so you need to save stuff for when you leave. So, you needed to save. Because you needed towels, flannels, blankets and sheets. Anything and everything you can think of. Like, I paid for all this stuff. And it was “hey can you help me with this stuff”? And off we’d go in the Anglican Action van and pick it up. (Warren)*

Some men’s movements seemed to indicate they fully understood their circumstances. Their efforts also showed how with the minimum of assistance they were able to achieve a level of ‘sustainability’ in a short period of time (Gulcar et al., 2003). Similarly, their movements exemplified a common theme where homeless people will spend considerable ‘energy’ gathering resources to ‘stabilise’ their lives (Gelberg et al., 1997).

During their time with the service, some men seemed to go about helping others through enacting manaakitanga. Men such as Tom spoke of giving back to the community by volunteering his services with a local organisation. Over a period of time Tom developed a sense of purpose through performing charity work, which he found deeply satisfying. For Tom, being charitable toward others appeared to motivate him to do other positive things. As an example, Tom was able to use his time spent working with a

local ‘charity’ to expand his networks. By doing so, he developed good relationships with a local parish and its congregation.

> *On a Monday have a shower and have a bit of breakfast. Get myself ready and I usually head down to a local Op Shop. An Opportunity Shop here in town and work as a volunteer for the day. I get my satisfaction from helping others and I been doing that for about a year. I started there about the same time I arrived here. I came here in about September, and I started there in about October. Yeah so over a year. But since I got this volunteering job I find myself being more involved in my local church that I’ve been involved with. (Tom)*

Some men seemed inclined to want to ‘change’. These men were proactive in the community, being positive toward other people. Being positive themselves, allowed these men to achieve some positive outcomes in return. This transformation process, showed how some men experienced personal growth to what was outlined by Rogers (1980) through personal relationships. Also, Tom’s experiences showed how he used the concept of whanaungatanga to benefit his circumstances (Cunningham et al., 2005; Durham, 1998; Durie, 1998a, 2001; Henare, 1988; Mead, 2003; Pere, 1982).

Some men appeared to use their stay at Manaaki Mai as an opportunity to reconnect with their culture. These were opportunities where they appeared to engage in activities, such as performing all important customs. An example of this is when the men were conducting opening prayers at a hui. These occasions were also recognised by the men as having significant meaning. Moreover, they were occasions where the men could gain a sense of ‘pride’ through being reconnected to tīkanga Māori. In that way, Robbie appeared to use his time constructively to promote himself through the use of his culture.

> *I felt like I was special in some sort of way. Because they asked me to open the karakia in Māori and so I do. Before we have our meetings with staff I conduct the karakia and I felt privileged doing that. It’s been a privilege being here. And just working with them. It’s really good you know? So I felt privileged that they asked me to do that. (Robbie)*

These men were able to show their level of adeptness with regard Maori cultural knowledge. Men like Robbie took great pride in showing their rangatiratanga or proficiency at expressing themselves through tīkanga. The

above scenario is a good example of how by being reconnected to one's own culture, it can be empowering for the person (Battiste, 2008; Cunningham et al., 2005; Department of corrections, 2004; Durham, 1998; Durie, 1998a, 1998b; Henare, 1988; Mammot et al., 2003; McCaslin & Brenton, 2008; Metge, 1995; Pere, 1982; Ritchie, 1992).

During their time with the Manaaki Mai service, the men appeared to learn new skills that would help them readjust to life in the community. These were a variety of skills, which could help the men gain some ascendency over their circumstances. In that way, the men would work closely with staff to acquire new skills such as: establishing bank accounts, gaining an income and finding accommodation. This process of working closely together had additional benefits for the men such as 'claiming space' for them, where by claiming space, it allowed the men to resettle into the community in ways that provided them with a sense of safety. The above process also seemed to reflect how staff used cultural concepts such as whānau and manaakitanga.

> *So they have helped me heaps. And they're there to help me stand on my own two feet. They've taken me into open a bank account. They've taken me into WINZ and supported me get a re-establishment grant. So I've got that. They've helped me to get my own Flat. (Robbie)*

Some men were very appreciative of the wrap-around-support they received from the Manaaki Mai service. This description provided by Robbie provided an in-depth account of what that support entailed. Robbie's account provided a description of a system, which was very effective with regard to delivering wrap-around-support to homeless people. Works by Anderson and Tulloch (2000), Bookman et al, (2005), and a raft of others, show similar systems being used elsewhere to help homeless people with good results (Anderson & Tulloch, 2000; Bookman et al., 2005; Seiter & Kadela, 2003; Shinn et al., 2001; Sisters Inside Incorporated, 2008; Tosi, 2005).

This section looked at how the men involved themselves in various activities, while residing in the care of Manaaki Mai. Moreover, the section highlighted how the men used their time constructively. For example, some men chose to use their stay with the service to 'tap' into support through attending programmes. Some men used their time with the service to find

strength through pursuing their culture. During their time at the service some men chose to be involved in community work and developed additional networks through this past time. In that way, these activities demonstrated how the men were focused on improving their circumstances in constructive ways.

The following section explores the men's thoughts about their relationships with staff. Moreover, it will show the nature of those relationships as they worked alongside of staff on a daily basis. In that way, the reader will also gain a sense of their positive experiences as they reintegrated back into society.

The men's positive experiences resulting from working with staff

In this section, the men speak positively about the experiences they had as a result of working with staff to achieve reintegration. Moreover, the men's comments show how their relationships with staff left positive lasting impressions with the men. In that way, the observer can gain an understanding of a process, showing how their relationships with staff achieved good results.

Some men appeared to find their interactions with staff to be quite open and transparent. This open approach was seen by these men to be more helpful, because they were given information when they needed it. Through this process the men also appeared to believe they were being shown respect. The men seemed to perceive that staff appreciated how delicate their positions were in relation to being reintegrated. Open dialogue helped the men to develop trust toward staff, which promoted better working relationships between the two groups. As a consequence of these exchanges, men such as Robbie appeared to be left with positive impressions of their time spent with the service.

> *If they can't help you with something else, they will still do their best to help you. Or they will be upfront and kanohi ki te kanohi about it. And you know that's what people want. To be straight up front with them. Straight up to them and give them a yes or no. Or, I'm not sure you know? And to not lead them around the bush. Yeah that's what I found with these people when I*

opened up to them. I gave them the respect and they gave it back to me by supporting and helping me. (Robbie)

Some men found the way that staff worked with transparency, to be quite rewarding. These men relished these exchanges because staff treated them as equals. Such exchanges seemed to promote positive growth in the men, where, by being open it allowed them to come away from the exchange feeling empowered. In this instance, kanohi ki te kanohi or openness, helped to promote positive growth in the person (Bevan-Brown, 1999; Rogers, 1980; Walsh-Tapiata, 1999)

Men like Marty praised the staff for their generosity in supporting them. Moreover, they were appreciative of the way in which staff worked very hard to implement resources to give them the best possible start. The men were also impressed with the amount of resources on offer and what those resources entailed. Marty was again impressed, with how those resources were put in place for them despite the cost involved. The men were also buoyed by the possibility, that by having access to those resources, it offered them some comfort against failing to achieve a successful resettlement process. In that way, the staff's generosity appeared to "cushion" the effects of stress often associated with a period of resettlement.

Like my first issue was with my family when I came out, I hadn't seen my kids for well over a year. Then talking to Matua Paul one of the Kaumatua here, he organised it for me and three of the Anglican Action staff took me down to Taupo to see my kids. We spent the day down there. Not only that they fed us. They brought food for all of us. I mean that's seven kids, me, my missus and the three staff. And all out of the goodness of their hearts. And they said to me, "no no this is what Anglican Action does to help you". (Marty)

Similar to how staff spoke about this topic, some men were very appreciative of the staff's help toward them. These men spoke highly of the support and assistance they received from the staff. The above account provided by one of the men, depicts a happy person who has received considerable support for their needs. Studies like Acosta and Toro (2003), Bush-Geertsema (2002) and Winter and Noom (2003), show, how homeless men in other countries responded much the same way when given similar support.

The men reported that staff were very ‘patient’ while assisting them to achieve resettlement. This meant they were able to undergo a resettlement process without too much stress, because the service protected them against failing to meet their goals. Once again, this is another example of the process of claiming space, where for these men, was very helpful because it allowed them time to undergo their reintegration in accordance with how they wanted too. As a consequence men like Robbie were able to feel supported even though they were under some pressure to move on from the service. Despite this sort of pressure, Robbie continued to feel as though he was still being supported, because staff were sensitive to his needs.

> *Because I was meant to be out of this flat last weekend but Anglican Action said “hey you’re welcome to stay another week, we quite love having your company”. So that was quite good just having that. But usually with Anglican Action you’ve got to meet your deadline. But they will help you to meet that deadline. So I sort of went over it. But they sort of didn’t get fussed over it. They just said “it’s ok you can stay for a bit longer”. They just don’t kick you out on the street and see you later. (Robbie)*

Men like Robbie found this policy to be very helpful to their circumstances, where, they responded positively to be being ‘sheltered’ from failing to meet their goals or objectives. These men were pleased because it showed that staff understood what they were going through as far as not being able to meet certain goals. Studies like Sternbach (2000) and Rose (2000) support the idea that, professionals can only—truly help people with their concerns, through seeing the issue from the person’s perspective.

This section focused on the men’s thoughts about their relationships with the staff. It also set out to explore their positive experiences had as a result of working with the staff. For example, certain aspects about the staff’s approach toward working with the men such as the openness of these exchanges, the staff’s generosity and the staff exercising patience with them; all seemed to impress the men. In that way, these positive experiences left the men feeling pleased with the staff’s support. As well, these experiences helped the men gain in confidence and to feel positive about their journeys ahead in life.

In the following section, commentary provided by the men presents an opposing scenario, where their relationships with staff could become argumentative and at 'loggerheads'. Moreover, it will show how the men and staff disagreed on occasion about how to proceed with the reintegration process. It will also show how some relationships between staff and the men, appeared to be not without their 'troublesome moments'.

The men's negative experiences resulting from working with staff

Across this section, the men's experiences will be explored in much the same way as was done with the previous section. The intention is to demonstrate how the men's relationships with staff would become strained at times. In that way, this exercise will highlight the situations, which caused tensions between the two groups.

At times the men seemed to find it difficult to work with staff, leading to tension and disagreements between staff and the men. The men seemed to reflect on these situations as being periods where self-control was needed. In that way, exercising self-control was recognised as a practical way to navigate through conflicts involving them and the staff. Other situations indicated the men's difficulties to respect the views of others and behave appropriately towards other people.

> *For Manaaki Mai the first thing is don't bloody argue with them. Because Manaaki Mai know how to spank your rear end. But in a nice way of course. They might show some disappointment sometimes. But underneath that there is still love and affection. You may do some stupid things but they still love you. And it's also about remembering that every day you've got a responsibility to be respectful to others around you. And that you're not the only one here. (Tom)*

Similar to some staff member's views about working with the men, some men felt challenged by 'having to meet staff on equal terms'. These men were inclined to be annoyed because they were challenged by having to 'be nice' to staff. Studies showed some homeless people used petulance as a form resistance against having to make adjustments to their views of being independence (Morse et al., 1994; Wolitski et al., 2007; Paquette, 2008).

On occasions the staff and the men would disagree on how to proceed forward with the reintegration process, in particular regarding a training course where the men were taught how to find jobs. Warren seemed to resent having to attend such courses, and considering them as being unnecessarily restrictive on his movements.

> *I thought the employment side of things wasn't that helpful. They said that you needed to go backwards in order to go forward. I couldn't see the sense in that because that's just not me. I don't need to go backward when I'm already forward. You see what I'm saying? But then all of us ex-inmates we're all different. Some of us needed that. But then some of us didn't. But we had to be part of that and I found that hard to come to terms with. Because I felt I was already forward. (Warren)*

The excerpt showed how some men were challenged by having to be a part of the system and resisted the chance to accept other opinions. This scenario shows that some men were challenged by 'rules and policies' designed to help them (Morse et al, 1994; Morse et al., 1996; Paquette, 2008).

Over the course of this section, the men's views demonstrated there were occasions where they had disagreements with staff. These disagreements seemed to result from their inability to communicate socially, and because they were unwilling to respect the opinions of other people. Some men expressed their circumstances as being bothersome when they felt as though they were being prevented from moving forward in their journeys. This situation was cited as being particularly irksome when the person perceived they were denied an opportunity to achieve a positive outcome.

In the next section, the men provide commentary about several aspects of the reintegration process that appeared to be helpful towards resettling them. Moreover, it explores the men's impressions about different factors, which they found to be most helpful in getting them 'started'. In that way, the section highlights the most useful practices to have helped the men resettle appropriately.

Factors cited as being helpful to the reintegration process

This section reports on how the men appeared to express that certain aspects of the work carried out by staff were instrumental in helping them to gain some ascendency over their circumstances. Furthermore, these aspects represented an ongoing process of collaboration between both the staff and the men. In that way, the men appeared to openly co-operate with staff, as both groups worked toward making the men's positions in the community less precarious.

A practice that appeared to have a positive bearing on the men's reintegration was the supported accommodation arrangement offered by the service. Much like staff's comments, the men shared a view that supported or sheltered accommodation was useful, because it represented a base from which to begin rebuilding their lives. Supported accommodation was expressed by them as being the most sought after of resources, and one which they pursued in earnest upon returning the community. This following commentary provided by one of the men illustrates what sheltered accommodation means to the men as an entry level resource.

> *And when I walked into the flat the first or second thing I said was, "man this is great you know? When a man comes out of jail he's got absolutely nothing. You guys are doing a great service for the guys coming out of jail you know? Look what he gets with you guys". I remember it distinctly because I was so rapt to have something to come out to. I had a furnished flat to go to. (Marty)*

Some men spoke fondly of their experiences where they received suitable accommodations. These men appreciated the staff's efforts toward securing them a roof over their heads. International studies like Gelberg et al., (1997), Keisler, (1991) and O' Connell (2003) illustrate—seeking shelter, or accommodation, is one of the most 'sought after' resources for homeless people (Gelberg et al., 1997; Keisler, 1991; O' Connell, 2003); and one which is a constant worry for them (Dordick, 1997; Marchetti, 2002; Morrell-Bellai et al., 2000; Orwell, 1986; Scott, 2004; Tosi, 2005)

The service appeared to provide a period of readjustment for some men where the person could return to community life at a pace which suited

them. Moreover, this readjustment period was again helpful if it could be undertaken in ways that would enrich the men's lives. During this time of adjustment the men could learn how to cope with difficult situations and acquire some life skills in the process. Having time to adjust to community life also meant the men could accrue resources in a timeframe that would normally be unachievable.

> *But I managed to get a chance at sorting my life out here. I spent the first three months here. And within that time I managed to get together everything I needed. I got all my certificates done and they helped me keep on track with probation. And they got me set up in every single aspect which gave me a platform to stand on. (Marty)*

Staff also made this observation, where the 'claiming of space' helped these men to resettle back into society by acting as a 'buffer' against stress associated with resettlement. Men like Marty appeared to do well by being helped in this way. Studies like Bush-Geertsema (2002) and Seiter and Kadela (2003), where this form of support is helpful by reducing stress associated with the person's resettlement process.

For some men, the Manaaki Mai service seemed to be a facility that provided relief from stress associated with being resettled back into society. Men like Marty, expressed the service's support seemed to offer him some security against being homeless, becoming frustrated through having little or no resources of his own, and, having to reoffend in order to survive. This following account provides a vivid description of the hardships faced by men exiting institutions who are released into the community without any support. Moreover, it highlights what their circumstances could be like without staff support.

> *I had no worries or hassles about not having a roof over my head. Going for a walk when I wanted to. And I knew I could come home to a roof over my head without having anywhere to go, or have to sleep under a tree, or sleep under some bushes or something. You know? And not know that in two or three weeks time I'll want to go back to jail because I'm freezing cold and I haven't had a decent feed. You know things like that? (Marty)*

Some men found reintegration to be a difficult process to go through. Men like Marty often found themselves in a quandary without support from

services like Manaaki Mai. Wrap-around-support alleviated these men's 'fears of failing to reintegrate'. Being supported in this way, offered hope to men like Marty, where hope could be a powerful motivating influence on their lives (Rogers, 1980).

Some men seemed to do well in the care of the service by being reconnected with aspects of their culture. Their progress appeared to show, they had made positive changes in their lives through being reintroduced to various cultural customs and traditions. In that way, reconnecting the men to their culture also appeared to alleviate the effects of social/cultural dislocation. This practice was also helpful to the men because it enabled them to feel empowered through enacting concepts such as whanaungatanga. The men were also empowered through enacting other cultural customs in much the same way.

> *Well they actually took me back through the pillars and four walls of our Marae. They took me back through my whakapapa. The whakapapa of my family, my Kuia, my Elders, and basically took me back to my roots and then slowly rebuilt me. And they did that from pillar to pillar. So by the time you get to the stage where I am. My pillars are solid. My foundations are solid. My outlook on life is solid and my actual belief in myself is solid. (Tom)*

This excerpt by one of the men seemed to show how, where once again the person became empowered by being reconnected to aspects of their culture. For Men like Tom this process could be a powerful and uplifting experience (Battiste, 2008; Bishop, 1998).

There appeared to be any number of factors, which indicated the men were making positive progress in their lives. Certain commentary suggests, these men may have progressed through accepting some fault for being where they were. Despite these being difficult periods to cope with, the men were capable of working through them and making progress toward reintegration.

> *What the service provides for me is teaching me to cope on my own. And how to look for other supports other than Anglican Action. And trying to make it on my own. Because I do get depressed and lonely sometimes and say to myself "why am I doing this? I could be better off in jail. This is just too much with all these bills and that". And it was all in my head. But, then talking to*

these guys. They got me to accept, they'll still be there when I come out. (Albert)

The men were of the opinion they could change their lives for the better by accepting responsibility for their circumstances (Nathan et al., 2007; Macgregor, 2008). Again, these men appeared to realise, in order to succeed at reintegration they had to accept they were also responsible for developing themselves in positive ways (Bookman et al., 2005; Wilkinson, 2001).

The men's comments seemed to suggest a three month period was too brief for reintegrating some men where, lack of progress could affect the person adversely by making them feel 'vulnerable'. These men seemed to be of the opinion that more time should be allocated for certain people experiencing difficulties while being resettled. This meant those men could have more time to work through difficult situations as they presented.

But usually with Anglican Action you have to meet your deadline. But they will help you meet your deadline. So I sort of went over it. But they didn't get fussed about it. Because I still got another three months, or however long I need with them while I'm out in the wider community. So when I go to this flat. They let me know that it's not cut. They just didn't cut me off you've down your three months see you later. So they gave men their word that if I needed anything. Don't hesitate give them a call. Even if I get in to trouble somewhere, just give them a call you know? (Robbie)

This longer period of maintaining contact also worked in well with the service's policy of providing 'ongoing support' to some men. This practice was very helpful to some men's circumstances, by countering unforeseen events which threatened to derail their reintegration process. In that way, this approach provided the men with a sense of security and peace of mind, which helped them to survive 'transition' into the community (Bookman et al., 2005; Busch-Geertsema, 2002).

Certain men appeared to acknowledge that change was crucial to succeeding at reintegration. Meaning, some men appeared to accept following a new path was a necessary for being able to successfully reintegrate. Men like Tom, seemed to believe their lives were better for having gone through such a process. Moreover, they had gained a new

found sense of worth by being willing to forget previous poor 'coping strategies'. The following exert from Tom's interview, demonstrates how he realised the need to make changes was crucial for his long term well-being.

> *Fantastic now! But not before because it was like my ex-wife would not let me see my kids. Yet I understand why. If I was in her shoes and you saw some drunken looking bugger that looked like he had been dragged out of the Manukau Harbour and smelt like about six years of piss on him. Would you let your kids go near him? No way man! So that was another healing process for me that took some time. But in time I came round. And I learnt how to change and get to like myself in the process. (Tom)*

Men such as Tom came to the realisation that there were positives had from moving on from the past, and redirecting their focus on more positive pursuits. What is more, these changes seemed to reflect they had became better people as a result of this process (Rogers, 1978, 1980).

Over the course of this section, a number of factors were highlighted as being helpful for the men's transition back into society. These factors varied across a number of contexts, where for example, supported accommodation was recognised as being a primary objective upon re-entering the community. The research also showed that the men benefitted by accepting some responsibility for their state of affairs. The comments by some men seemed to show, they knew 'change' was necessary in order to improve their lifestyles. Another factor that appeared to be helpful to a person's reintegration process was the 'readjustment period'. This process allowed the men to renter the community in ways, which suited them. In a similar vein, an extended period of reintegration was also indicated to be helpful to some men's circumstances, as they took longer to resituate among the community. The service's assistance was also deemed by some men to be helpful because it 'cushioned' the effects of stress associated with a period of reintegration. Some men viewed the Manaaki Mai service as being an excellent facility for reconnecting the person with their culture. The men went onto express that, such practices had positive spin-offs for the men by helping them to feel empowered. In combination, these factors clearly indicate what worked for the service and its team, with regard to reintegrating the men appropriately.

The following section presents factors that appear to be unhelpful in reintegrating the men. It also highlights those factors, which the men identified as causing them concern with regard to being resettled according to their wishes. In that way, the reader may come to accept how difficult the reintegration process can be from the men's perspective.

The importance of personal development and cultural growth for the men

This section focuses on two important processes of development realising that 'change' can help people to better themselves, and by reconnecting to one's culture it can have the effect of providing the person with a source of empowerment. These aspects of personal change may have helped some men to discover potentially new sources of positive development.

Tom appeared to experience significant personal growth during his stay at Manaaki Mai. This growth was instrumental in showing that he accepted 'change' was a necessary in order to succeed at reintegration. Men like Tom had come to realise that previous pathways were fraught with barriers, and appeared to accentuate the mistakes made by them. These men were also of the opinion, that with the staff's assistance they had made real progress by: learning new life skills, taking pride in themselves, and, learning to communicate better with others.

> *This service helped me a lot. It provided me with support by re-immersing me back into my whānau history. And they helped me by re-teaching me some basics in life where somewhere I lost along the way. And I guess they taught me that it's about taking it day by day and learning to accept the opinions of others. And that was a hard thing at times to do. But now I find it easy to do. And now that's actually allowed me take more pride in myself. And this is the first place that gave me that. (Tom)*

This process of personal realisation is a natural occurring process, which was spoken of by Carl Rogers (1978, 1980) where people can adopt a positive outlook on life through being shown by others.

Tom also appeared to realise that positive change was affected by becoming aware of who he was, and where he belonged. Men like Tom seemed to realise the importance of having culture in their lives to give them meaning and purpose. Tom also came to realise this process could be an enjoyable exercise, which involved discovering new things about himself while appreciating his culture. The following comments seem to demonstrate the path undertaken by Tom to discovering the power of knowing one's own culture.

> *That's when I realised a little bit of soul is good for you. Because it makes you realise how humble you are from a Maori point of view. I'm starting to look a bit more at my ancestors. I'm starting to look more at my whakapapa. Look at my Īwī. And I've actually started to log myself in on the internet. Go in through Google and begin to understand what makes me as a Māori "tick". Because you never lose it I realise now. So when your mother brought you into this world you were born a Māori. And you will die a Māori. And you can't change that. But I believe you can change your attitude to be humble and know who you are. So today I'm a proud Māori and to be a Māori. (Tom)*

These comments by Tom show how a person can become empowered from learning more about themselves (Rogers, 1978, 1980). What is more, Tom found a new inner strength from being able to enact his culture unimpeded by the pressure of ongoing colonisation (Battiste, 2008; McIntosh, 2001; Smith, 1999).

This section introduced the notion that some men seemed to appreciate the need to make significant changes in their lives for the better. Moreover, they seemed to understand that radical change was necessary in order to break free of their former pasts. Men such as Tom seemed to realise that tīkanga could be used to bring about positive personal growth, and that by being reconnected to his culture, it provided him with a sense of empowerment.

In the upcoming section, the men's perceptions will be explored to ascertain their understandings of the four central concepts. Moreover, the section will illustrate the men's impressions of how they viewed these concepts to operate.

The men's understandings of how the four central concepts are applied in practice

In this section I explore the men's interpretations of the four central concepts to compare and contrast the views provided by the staff members. However, the men were less explicit about their understandings of manaakitanga, wairuatanga, whanaungatanga and whānau which impeded a more in-depth analysis.

At the same time, it demonstrated some concerns as some men appeared to be uncertain as to what the concepts actually meant. This showed a lack of knowledge regarding the workings of Māori cultural concepts. In that way, the exercise drew attention to the disparity existing between them and the staff members with regard to knowing what the four central concepts represented.

Men's narratives suggested, however, that they enacted cultural concepts while not being consciously aware of doing so. This highlighted the need to provide more education about the meanings of Maori cultural concepts within the context of Manaaki Mai.

Following the format used in Chapter Three, the first concept I explored is Manaakitanga. While some men understood the meaning of manaakitanga in a traditional sense, others' interpretations were broader and included other concepts.

For Robbie, manaakitanga seemed to encompass aspects of helping others to become confident toward learning to support themselves. In that way, Manaakitanga could be used as an intervention to teach the men to become independent in the community. In other ways, the concept had comforting aspects, putting in place close support similar to an approach one would use when applying the Whānau concept. In this instance, manaakitanga could be used to help a person where there is no other type of support available.

> *Just supporting and just Awhi I suppose. Just supporting and not over helping the person. But just helping him to help himself. That sort of way by just giving him the stuff to help himself. Because I've seen some of the time where the team helps, and helps, and helps these guys. And these guys just go "choice these guys are always going to help me". And they just keep running back for help without learning and building off it to get up. (Robbie)*

This explanation of manaakitanga was similar to that expressed by some staff members, whereby the person's well-being was taken into account. For example, through manaakitanga people could discover that kindness promoted positive development in people (Rogers, 1978, 1980). The excerpt from Robbie's account also shows a contemporary shift in understandings of this concept (Durham, 1998; Durie, 1998a, 2001; Henare, 1988; Ritchie, 1992).

Marty seemed to have an understanding of manaakitanga that supported the traditional meaning of the concept. His perceptions of manaakitanga were person-centred. According to the guidelines of this custom a person could also expect to receive the best possible treatment along lines of reciprocity and customary obligations. The following excerpt described the treatment Marty received from the service and shows how he was assisted by staff through the use of manaakitanga.

> *They would come around and see me every other day and talk to me. And they would ask me if I needed anything and ask how things were going. They would help like, even though I had money to buy kai they would come around and bring some over for me. That was from 'straight out of their pockets' and brought it to me anyway. And they said "we know that you've money to buy your own kai. But here's some more anyway". (Marty)*

Marty described how staff helped him to cope with reintegration by 'keeping in contact' with him. There are at least two concepts being enacted here manaakitanga and whānau, which supported him toward achieving some independence (Durham, 1998; Durie, 1998a, 2001; Henare, 1988; Ritchie, 1992), these concepts allowed him to claim space while he attempted to reintegrate back into the community.

Albert's account differed and the meaning of manaakitanga was presented as matching aspects of other concepts such as whanaungatanga.

Men like Albert seemed confused as to how the meaning of manaakitanga should be observed. Albert's understanding of manaakitanga appears to focus on reconnecting people with their whānau or loved ones. As a general rule, Maori perceive the concept of manaakitanga as showing hospitality to other people.

> *I guess whānau. Support for you and you're little immediate family. If you've been closed off from your family they're there to bring them back together I suppose. (Albert)*

The above comments are another indication of how social and cultural dislocation had a negative impact on some men's lives, where some men's circumstances were rendered more difficult through a lack of whānau contact (Cunningham et al., 2005; Durham, 1998; Durie, 1998a, 2001; Sahlin, 2005; Sisters Inside Incorporated, 2008). These men seemed to be further disadvantage because of not being proficient in their culture, an effect of ongoing colonisation (Cunningham et al., 2005; Durham, 1998; Durie, 1998a, 2001; Sahlin, 2005; Sisters Inside Incorporated, 2008; Smith, 1999).

Regarding the concept of wairuatanga, the men who did give their views as to what they thought this custom meant and how it was enacted suggested various meanings of 'spirituality' across multiple contexts.

Robbie's understanding of wairuatanga seemed to accommodate both traditional Maori and Christian philosophies. For example, one view was a "Creational Theory". In this way, Robbie considered the universe was created from a single source. In addition, Robbie's other understanding of wairuatanga focused on accepting a Christian sense of spirituality, which followed both the Old and New Testaments. Also, Robbie's account seems to suggest that he was quite comfortable with entertaining both sets of beliefs.

> *Well I guess just being spiritual. Yeah I suppose my spiritual side is unique. Because I tend to follow two ways of believing in wairuatanga. You see because I have a good relationship with Io (Supreme Being) and God. Yeah so I follow the old ways as well as the Christian ones. And yeah so I know that they're both there for me too. (Robbie)*

Many Māori accommodate this interpretation of wairuatanga. Māori and non-Māori scholars such as Durie (1998a), Henare (1988) and Mead (2003) show this practice to be quite acceptable, showing a bi-cultural belief system, which benefits Māori (Durie 1998a; 2001; Marsden 1975 as cited in Pere, 1982; Ritchie, 1992).

In very much the same way, wairuatanga also appeared to be followed as a flexible practice of spiritual significance by men like Albert and the concept could be observed across a number of different contexts. In that way, a variety of occasions could qualify as engendering wairuatanga in people's lives. Both Albert and Robbie seemed comfortable to embrace the concept in a much broader sense.

> *I suppose being spiritual, like in a Church. Yeah there's a bit of meaning in that one. Also it's about wairua! It could be at tangi. It could be at Church. It could be a lot of things for your spiritual self. (Albert)*

Some men chose to see wairuatanga as way of interpreting their daily lives, much in the same vein as staff members' interpretations. Albert's understanding of this concept is along the line of that described by Rose Pere (1982), where both spiritual and material realms are intertwined.

The exploration of the men's views regarding the application of how they perceived whanaungatanga produced some unexpected results. The men's interpretations of this concept varied across the group and produced a mix of traditional and contemporary meanings. Their comments showed that they observed the concept in both a traditional and more contemporary sense. However, there were also men in the group who appeared to misunderstand the meaning of whanaungatanga.

With regard to Robbie's understanding of whanaungatanga, his comments seemed to suggest that the concept could be enacted to build relationships with other people and to initiate whakawhanaungatanga as a way of establishing relationships with people regardless of who they were and where they came from. In that way, whanaungatanga could be enacted to establish new relationships based on respect and reciprocity in

accordance with some aspects pertaining to the manaakitanga concept. Robbie's interpretation of whanaungatanga also seemed to focus on ensuring those relationships were maintained out of mutual respect for one another.

> *I suppose we're all whānau you know? If you're a Māori or from the Islands or whatever. We're still all whānau. So I treat everyone like my whānau. Even if he's a Pākehā or Chinese or Asian. If they're willing to listen to what I've got to say. And willing to respect me back. Well I suppose then you can call that whanaungatanga then. (Robbie)*

Whanaungatanga for some men was about building relationships with other people, a view shared by some staff members and a traditional interpretation (Durie, 1998a, 2001; Pere, 1982; Ritchie, 1992).

This next interpretation of whanaungatanga was presented to show how the concept could be used by the men to benefit from an existing relationship. This meaning for whanaungatanga demonstrates how the concept is enacted to achieve a specific purpose to gather resources for themselves. This particular way of enacting whanaungatanga also utilises the traditional resourcing aspect of the concept, which is still observed by most Māori today.

> *So I told him what happened with me. He goes "well we can't have that now can we"? And he said "right I'm going to go home right now and straight away email Peter and ring him to pick you up at the Bus stop. And get you a place to stay. Once you're settled in there will get it all sorted". I thought choice primo you know? (Marty)*

Some men used this concept much like Bourdieu's (1984) notion of social capital to gain some form of benefit from social exchanges. This way of observing the concept proved to generate good opportunities with regard to enlisting the support of others to stabilise their situation (Bishop, 1998; Cunningham et al., 2005; Durham, 1998; Durie, 1998a, 2001; Mead, 2003; Pere, 1982; Ritchie, 1992).

The final concept of whānau was more widely understood by the men's group than were the concepts of manaakitanga, wairuatanga, and whanaungatanga and yielded the largest response. In that way, these men

provided in-depth information outlining how they might have understood this concept to be enacted. The men's perceptions also seemed to highlight how the concept was mostly adhered to in its more traditional form as opposed to contemporary meanings.

The meaning of whānau for Robbie seemed to be about enjoying the support and solidarity offered by a large family structure and involved belonging to an extended family group that drew strength from its members. In that way, the person could also feel safe and supported while knowing they were accepted by the whānau because of their blood ties. According to Robbie, the concept of whānau included showing respect for one another, where every whānau member had equal standing within the structure. In that way other concepts such as arohā and manaakitanga could be enacted within the parameters of the whānau concept to strengthen relationships among its members and to overcome the dislocating effects that 'distance' often has on some Māori.

> *I reckon whānau or the word whānau means strong. Yeah whānau means strong to me. It's a tight unit I suppose. It's also give and take. It's hearing other people's opinions and respecting them. It's also about arohā and manaaki and all of that. It's everything. And distances don't mean anything when you've got whānau. (Robbie)*

This excerpt from Robbie shows how the concept of whanau is all encompassing. Here, whanau is enacted in such a way that other concepts are added to the overall meaning of whanau to make it an expansive concept and to cement relationships based on common concerns and interests (Cunningham et al., 2005; Durham, 1998; Durie, 1998a, 2001; Henare, 1988; Mead, 2003; Metge, 1995; Pere, 1982; Ritchie, 1992; Robinson & Williams, 2001; Rogers, 1978, 1980).

Marty's understanding of the whānau concept appeared to be similar to that of Robbie's interpretation. Marty seemed to observe the concept of whānau to mean drawing strength from the love and support often found in close-knit families. In that way, a person may become strong through having healthy relationships with other family members. Marty's comments also seemed to suggest a person could become independent and rise above their

circumstances through observing the concept of whānau to go forward and create a better life for themselves.

> *And having your family close gives you the strength to go through life knowing that you can do this or that. It's the love they give you which is that power that you need. For most men when they haven't got their family there they fall down big time. Yep they fall down real hard. So if your family is close to you well then you can stand on your own two feet. (Robbie)*

Robbie shares the understanding of whanau with that most common to Maori. It shows the value of having in place good social and cultural support as a way of resisting the effects of ongoing colonisation (Cunningham et al., 2005; Durham, 1998; Durie, 1998a, 2001; Henare, 1988; Mammot et al., 2003; McIntosh, 2001; Mead, 2003; Metge, 1995; Pere, 1982; Ritchie, 1992; Robinson & Williams, 2001; Rogers, 1978, 1980; Sisters Inside Incorporated, 2008; Smith, 1999).

For Tom, the whānau concept could be enacted to observe its traditional meaning to encompass a much broader sense of support that included spirituality. In that way support from people who had passed on could be enlisted to fortify his circumstances against potential harm. Also, Tom's perceptions regarding the concept seemed to suggest that building solidarity was a strong feature of its application and a person could benefit greatly from the unified support aspect, widely understood to define the whānau concept.

> *It means more than what a Pākehā would think of. To me it's my bread and butter. It's what gets my old juices going. It makes me proud because first of all it's a statement. And it says to everyone this is my team. This is the bulk of my team. And if you want to argue with me then you have to argue with the whole family. You can argue with my Aunties and my Grandmother. I don't care who the hell you are. Because I got my support. And this is what I think whānau is because it not only has a spiritual side to it but it has a Māori side to it with my Ancestors behind me. (Tom)*

This segment gives explicit meaning to the concept of whānau, taking on deeper meaning than just coming together as a group. Whānau is much about collective support in this instance; it is how that support is perceived that matters and is of real benefit to men like Tom. Whānau then becomes, once again, an expansive concept by which people imply deeper meaning to

relationships with others, based on a sense of collective support. The works of Ritchie (1992), Henare (1988) and Mead (2003), regarding the enactment of Maori cultural customs, lend weight to this assertion.

Albert seemed to perceive the concept of whānau as being loyal to other family members and despite the occasional friction, support is provided. This approach to understanding the concept was very much in line with other men's interpretations of whānau, with Albert implying that whānau meant having the combined support of a group to draw on. Also, Albert's comments seemed to suggest that whānau involved accepting people for who they were in spite of their histories.

> *Just your family. Yeah In-laws and Outlaws. Yeah you can't change people's minds but they're still your whānau. Even though you want to clip their ears and say "hey". You can't change people's minds even your own whānau. If they're pig headed they'll most probably stay like that. (Albert)*

This understanding of the whānau concept is one that draws reference to loyalty, being a factor in offering collective support to others. Whānau in this sense is about realising that blood ties are what mattered most. This understanding of the concept relates to works by Durie (1998a, 2001), Henare, (1988), Mead (2003) regarding the obligations of whanau to its members.

Of all the men, Warren's perceptions of whānau seem to depict the custom as being adaptable to suit more modern contexts. Warren provided an explanation which showed how he used whānau in a more contemporary sense to address his need for close support. For example, Warren used the concept of whānau to access support from a group of people based on a shared understanding. These people then became like family to him in a void, which was created by being separated from his whakapapa whānau. In that way, the concept of kaupapa whānau became an intervention, which provided him with comfort, support and understanding.

> *So I never had that support while I was in prison. Because my parents came back to New Zealand once a year and that was the only time I could see them. Two hours a year. So I never had that support until you meet inmates. No matter what the "Brotherhood" will be the Brotherhood (eh)? At the end of*

the day you rely on the Brotherhood to keep you motivated and balanced. (Warren)

In the above context the meaning of whānau represents a contemporary shift to include stabilising a person's circumstances to benefit from a good social support. Cunningham and colleagues' (2003) and Durie's (1998a, 2001) works verify how these understandings of the whānau are commonly used these days.

Across this section the findings drew attention to aspects regarding the men's understandings of the four central concepts. As was shown with the staff group's interpretations, there appeared to be some overlap regarding the perception of the function of each concept. For example, some men's interpretations of the manaakitanga concept encompassed aspects of other concepts such as awhi and whānau, demonstrating how these men understood such concepts to be enacted within a sense of holism. Some interpretations demonstrated misunderstandings of how certain concepts were enacted, and showed gaps in the men's perceptions of the meanings of the concepts.

One of the men drew on a more contemporary interpretation and described the enactment in a contemporary sense to generate a positive outcome. This was exemplified in the establishment of a supportive network for himself. In that way, this network was developed along lines of the kaupapa whānau concept in place of whakapapa whānau support. Some men seemed to perceive that they were applying the concepts according to their traditional meanings and in accordance with traditional expectations.

The next section focuses on the men's expectations of life beyond the service. It will draw attention to the many aims and goals identified by the men as being important to them. In that way, the men's comments show how they remained focused on creating better opportunities for themselves.

Where the men expect to see themselves in the future

In this section the men showed how they went about positively planning ahead to remain independent in the future. Their comments

demonstrated a process of ongoing development. In that way these men presented themselves as being capable of making responsible changes in their lives in spite of having troubled histories.

Robbie and other men seemed to be very positive about making future plans for themselves and they intended to improve their lives further to reintegrate into the community. Their plans for the future were carefully thought through with very basic but attainable goals. For example, Robbie's goal was to get married and to have a family. Goal setting was identified by Robbie as a viable strategy toward keeping himself motivated and focused on maintaining his independence.

> *With a daughter and married. I wouldn't mind being married and having a daughter. I suppose working with a good qualification. Having a real basic life but focused on a family oriented buzz. Yeah being established. Because I'm sort of starting to save some money now. And yeah I do have a short term and long term goal. Yeah so a three year plan is something that I always think about (eh)? Because I do write little notes to myself like what I'm going to have in three to six months' time, or, three, four, five years and so on. (Robbie)*

The above segment demonstrates how some men became comfortable with the notion of living a domiciled life. These men had learned a number of important life skills, which allowed them a sense of hope for the future. Such positive outcomes were attributed to a good wrap-around-support (Bookman et al., 2005; Seiter & Kadela, 2003).

Tom's future goals appeared to be similar to those identified by Robbie. Both men intended to focus on improving their circumstances by setting in place clear objectives. One of Tom's long term aims was to become independent and move into his own apartment. Other goals included helping others within the community who were less fortunate. Another significant goal was to pursue a qualification that would allow him to obtain a career in a caring occupation, allowing him to care for less privileged groups.

> *Yeah in my own place. In my own place hopefully because I want to move on. These guys have taught me to take responsibility for myself. And to trust and have faith in other people. I actually started a community services paper a couple of years ago and I want to finish that. So I want to be in three to four*

years time a registered community worker. I'd also like to work with the elderly people as well. (Tom)

This type of goal setting shows a significant shift away from their past histories. These men had come to realise that independence was an achievable goal and that a process of change could yield positive outcomes and contribute to their overall growth and development (Rogers, 1978, 1980).

Warren's future plans involved moving to a large urban centre, making a fresh start to create a better life for himself. Warren seemed to believe that goal setting was a good strategy for staying independent similar to Robbie and the two men shared some common aspirations

Well I won't be at the meat works. I just thought I'd get an office job hopefully in Auckland. I'd like to still go to Auckland you see? Probably get married at some stage. Still work at staying focused and motivated. Always have a plan and a goal. So you don't start going backwards or that sort of thing. (Warren)

Goal setting came with an increased confidence and showed how these men constructed a future based on the notion of rangatiratanga or willingness to be more 'skilled' in life. This is a notion supported by the work of Ritchie (1992) on how the pursuit of rangatiratanga can empower people's lives.

Throughout the section, the findings showed some men made significant changes to the way they thought about themselves and their futures. The range of new skills they acquired allowed them to plan ahead and have a positive outlook on life through a goal-setting approach. This was a significant finding drawn from the men's interviews. These men recognised that by developing new goals and achieving them there was a greater chance to re-enter and remaining 'settled' in the community. Robbie, Tom and Warren continued to be optimistic about improving their circumstances because they had put in place objectives they believed were achievable. For the majority of these men pursuing a qualification also appeared an important objective in their plans toward improving their circumstances.

Robbie and Warren appeared to be optimistic about establishing long term relationships with the view to settle down, marry, and in Robbie's case to start a family. These men seem to value stable long term relationships and family situations, which represented a more settled lifestyle for them.

I now summarise the findings drawn from the men's interviews and I examine how these relate to the staff members' findings. In that way, both sets of findings will go toward forming the basis of the Discussion, Chapter Five.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I drew on four participants' narratives. These showed how the men conducted themselves as they re-entered society following a period of incarceration. The nature of the men's comments highlighted a number of proactive pursuits. Their accounts showed active engagements whereby these men were busying themselves in constructive ways getting involved in the programmes offered by the service, venturing to partake in cultural occasions and becoming involved in community activities. These types of activities also demonstrated a level of motivation used to good effect.

The men discussed their relationships with staff. This exercise was instrumental in forming two opposing sets of findings. One set of findings showed the men's exchanges with staff had positive consequences for them whereas the second set of findings showed other exchanges with staff had negative consequences for the men.

The positive interactions with staff could be seen as indicating that a good deal of social interactions occurred. These exchanges also showed that the men were willing to trust that the working process could affect positive changes in their lives (Rogers, 1978, 1980), where they were prepared to commit to that process.

In contrast, negative comments showed their working relationships with staff were troublesome on occasions. It showed how the men became

dissatisfied with how their reintegration processes were proceeding (Maruna & Roy, 2006; Paquette, 2008; Scott, 2004; Wong & Piliavin, 2001). Their comments pointed to the difficulties they encountered while coming to terms with more complex aspects of their relationships with staff. These findings also showed there was resistance from the men toward having to make changes in their lives (Maruna, 2006; Paquette, 2008).

The men were also challenged by factors such as having to express themselves in a non-threatening manner and having to respect other people's opinions. The findings illustrated how some men were resistant to co-operating with staff because they viewed themselves as being largely independent to start with (Maruna, 2006; Paquette, 2008). Moreover, they appeared to be resentful of having to comply with policies they viewed as being counter-productive to their circumstances. Their comments indicated that they perceived some of the service's more compulsory policies to be 'flawed' (Maruna, 2006; Paquette, 2008).

In a similar light, the men's data collection process exposed other findings that appeared to influence the end result of person's resettlement process. With regard to these particular findings, the men's data produced two separate sets demonstrating how a reintegration process is affected by positive and negative events. In that way, these findings showed how simple factors were either very helpful or detrimental to the path of a resettlement process.

The factors that appeared to be helpful toward reintegration were demonstrated to be quite a simple range of phenomena. These simple observable factors appeared to lessen the men's chances of failing to resettle in the community. For example, supported accommodation, a primary resource, was identified as being essential to long term sustainability (Acosta & Toro, 2000; Anderson & Christian, 2003; Baldry et al., 2006; Baldry et al., 2002; Carling, 1990; Gurstein & Small, 2005; Hodgetts, 2007; Morrell-Bellai et al., 2000; Mulvaney-Day, Alegria, & Sribney, 2007; Peace & Kell, 2001; Peace et al., 2002; Tosi, 2005), and these men seemed to be very grateful for being given a roof over their heads. A period of readjustment was found to

be helpful allowing them time to reintegrate at a pace that suited them. The readjustment period was useful because it cushioned the men against stress associated with resettlement (Backer et al., 2007; Baldry et al., 2006; Baldry et al., 2002; Peace & Kell, 2001; Peace et al., 2002; Seiter & Kadela, 2003; Sisters Inside Incorporated, 2008; Watt, 2008). The findings also showed how the men seemed to do well by being reconnected to their culture, a process providing these men with a sense of worth and empowerment. In that way, it also diminished any feelings of them being socially and culturally dislocated (Durie, 1998a, 2001; Mead, 2003; Metge, 1995; Nielson, n. d; Nikora et al., 2007; Pere, 1982; Ritchie, 1992; Zimmerman, Ramirez-Valles, Washienko, Walter, & Deyer, 2006).

In contrast, the negative aspects hampered reintegration and tended to make the men's paths to becoming independent more difficult for them (Maruna & Roy, 2006; Osher, Steadman, & Barr, 2003; Scott, 2004) such as parole conditions, for example. This resulted in poor judgment calls leading to repeat offending (Maruna & Roy, 2006; Osher et al., 2003; Scott, 2004).

Another important finding that emerged was the realisation that change was necessary in order to reintegrate successfully (Maruna & Roy, 2006; Nathan et al., 2003; Rogers, 1978, 1980). This process indicated that some men were aware of the benefits that incurred from change and personal development (Maruna & Roy, 2006; Nathan et al., 2003; Rogers, 1978, 1980). This finding is significant in that it shows these men were capable of making positive changes to improve their circumstances.

The men's narratives uncovered another crucial finding that showed why the men were able to make progress and return to live in the community. For example, one of the men realised that his former ways were a source of considerable stress to him and he came to appreciate how life had improved as a result of increased awareness (Maruna & Roy, 2006; Nathan et al., 2003; Rogers, 1978, 1980) .

The men's comments alerted to other findings regarding how they perceived themselves in light of their changes. For example, some men

appeared to perceive that processes involving wrap-around-support and cultural knowledge assisted them (Department of Communities, 2008; Mammot et al., 2003; Sisters Inside Incorporated, 2008; Zimmerman et al., 2006). The amount of data gathered from these men was significantly less in quantity than that gathered for the staff; in particular the men's engagement with how they perceived the four concepts was limited. For example, one man used the properties of whanaungatanga to depict his understanding for the manaakitanga concept. In that way, this man's lack of knowledge regarding the use of manaakitanga seemed to indicate there was a significant knowledge gap existing between the staff and men regarding the use of cultural concepts. This person's narratives highlighted how a large proportion of Māori who intuitively enact cultural concepts in spite of not knowing what these actually mean.

There were some men, however, who could give their interpretations as to how they perceived the four central concepts to be enacted. Their comments appeared to show these men to have a good understanding of manaakitanga, wairuatanga, whanaungatanga and whānau.

At a glance some men's comments seemed to match those of the staff members, where both groups appear to perceive to apply each concept in its traditional form and according to tradition. For example, some men perceived the concept of manaakitanga to be about showing hospitality and kindness to others. Their traditional perceptions of that concept remained congruent with how the custom is supposed to be enacted (Durie, 1998a, 2001; Henare, 1988; Mead, 2003; Metge, 1995; Pere, 1982; Ritchie, 1992).

There appeared to be some overlap where aspects of certain concepts were included and enmeshed with other meanings. Some men seemed to immerse aspects of certain concepts into their understandings of other concepts. For example, one of the men perceived whānau to apply as drawing support from those that had 'passed over', whereby enacting the concept of wairuatanga as well.

Some men's perceptions indicated a contemporary way of using certain concepts to suit their purposes. For example, one man used the concept of Whānau to put in place support not met by his Whakapapa Whānau. In that way the more contemporary Kaupapa Whānau concept became a crucial lifeline for him (Cunningham et al., 2005; Durham, 1998).

With regard to where the men's future expectations lay, they had set themselves a number of goals to aim for. These seemed to be simple but achievable objectives, which represented a need for stability. For example, some men were looking at some point to get married and have children. Other goals, such as acquiring a qualification, represented a desire to create a better life for themselves (Bookman et al., 2005; Seiter & Kadela, 2003). Other men hoped that relocation brought improvement and the men consistently used goal setting to create better opportunities for themselves (Rogers, 1978, 1980). These goals also represented a collective desire to maintain tong term sustainability.

In the next chapter, the findings of both groups are synthesised and used to inform the main lines of inquiry, which were the focus of this thesis. In that way, the research will also indicate how the service is achieving what it is set out to do.

Chapter five: Discussion

This thesis investigated how Māori concepts were made sense of and employed in interactions between programme organisers and recipients involved in a wrap-around-service for homeless Māori men. Using a case study approach, I explored how a bi-cultural and non-profit organisation uses Māori cultural concepts in its delivery of wrap-around-services to assist homeless Māori men with their reintegration. The organisation uses concepts such as manaakitanga, wairuatanga, whanaungatanga and whanau to guide the delivery of those services to these men. These concepts were viewed by the Manaaki Mai service as being useful for developing positive social outcomes, one of which is to help the men to reintegrate back into society upon release from prison or psychiatric institutions. The study was also conducted to ascertain how positive social outcomes were being generated for the men's benefit. In that way, the study uncovered a wealth of information about the interactions between homeless Māori men and the programme organisers who work to assist them.

Cultural concepts in play

In essence, the programme appears to be training clients in their obligations and responsibilities as Māori men so that they can function positively within Whānau and society. Teaching and doing things in accordance with cultural practices help these men to become culturally competent members of Whānau who can take on their roles and responsibilities, and who are no longer alienated from their cultural heritage. The concepts reviewed in this thesis are part of a coherent culture or Māori way of life. Increasingly, social scientists conceptualize the self and culture as being dynamically inter-related and mutually constituting (Hodgetts et al., 2010). In other words, what it means to be a Māori person is shaped within socio-historical contexts, and as people engage in various cultural practices they reproduce the very cultural systems that have shaped their lives. Here, culture is not simply seen as an abstract set of concepts. Culture constitutes a field of human action, formative meaning, and self production. It is through culture that people construct themselves and make sense of the world (Nikora, Rua & Te Awekotuku, 2007). It is also through cultural lenses that

researchers develop understandings of men released from institutions and their social reintegration. If these understandings are to reflect the lived realities and identities of Māori, then research should be informed by the very concepts germane to such groups and the conduct of their everyday lives. This case study exemplifies the importance of cultural concepts for understanding Māori men and their reintegrative needs. In reflecting on the service and the men themselves research participants highlight the importance of connections to land (Whenua), turangawaewae (a place to stand), family (whānau) and knowledge of Māori customs (tīkanga). Māori cultural concepts informing this thesis allow us to engage with the connections between persons, histories, places, spirituality, and relationships that are central to the lives of Māori men and those around them.

The four central concepts are used in a variety of ways by staff of the Manaaki Mai service, and other services in Anglican Action. For example, the concept of manaakitanga is used by the service's staff to help the men feel welcome upon arrival at the service (Pere, 1982). Manaakitanga is also used to set in motion the reintegration process in accordance with tīkanga. In that way, manaakitanga is the overlaying context in which the other concepts can be enacted to assist the men with reintegration. Wairuatanga is enacted by certain staff in the service to provide spiritual and cultural guidance to the men. As some men may require counselling, they are offered this form of support by way of this concept. In that way they are given access to the services of a Chaplain or Kaumātua to assist with any cultural or spiritual concerns. Whanaungatanga is enacted to offset the effects of social and cultural dislocation. Staff in the service used this concept to link the men back to their closest forms of support such as whānau. In that way, whanaungatanga was used to help the men gain strength from re-establishing relationships of significance (Ritchie, 1992). The whānau concept was enacted by the service to provide close support to the men during their time with the service. In the absence of support from family or whānau, applying kaupapa whānau support helped them to feel supported (Durie, 1998, 2001). In that way, the concept of whānau allowed staff to work closely with the men and support them through every step of the reintegration process.

What is created here is a coherent cultural space from within and from which Māori men can reflect on their lives, consider different futures, and contemplate and engage social reintegration with varying degrees of success.

Key findings from my engagements with the staff and service users

This study has shown that there were some parallels between the two groups. For example, staff members and service users appeared to spend their days quite actively. In their efforts to put in place a wrap-around-support staff seemed to be heavily involved in implementing resources and facilities in a processes-oriented approach to help the men with reintegration: in a similar manner as described by Seiter and Kadela (2003) and Métraux and Culhane (2002).

At the same time the men appeared to be equally busy part-taking in programmes provided by the service and engaging in community activities. One of their primary focuses was to gather resources. Similar to other studies such as Hodgetts et al., (2007) on homeless people, these men chose to be active and participate in the wider community in deliberate efforts to be included in community life.

Drawing on information from Chapters Three and Four, this showed that that the staff and men collaborated to create positive social outcomes for the men. While the men's activities showed how they had made progress during the time with the service, staff accounts illustrated how they facilitated that progress by offering extensive support to assist the men. Through this process of collaboration, the men came to realise how important it was to work with staff (Geertsema, 2005), if they expected to return to the community as contributing people.

At times, however, the staff and men's relationships was complicated by the deep seated social problems accompanying the men such as mental health concerns (Flick, 2007) and problems resulting from various types of abuse (Dordick, 1997). These issues tended to challenge the staff's ability to

assist reintegrative processes, in particular where the person failed to recognise they had such issues (Culhans, 1992).

Similarly, some men reported instances where their relationships with staff and other people seemed to be the sources of frustration, in particular at times where the men were challenged by certain expectations of having to collaborate with the staff and others (Culhans, 1992). They then expressed their frustration above all at times where they felt as though they were denied opportunities to become economically independent.

These situations attested to troublesome periods during the resettlement processes. With differing views over reintegration processes (Gurstein & Small, 2005), such frictions demonstrated how difficult collaborative work (Hodgetts et al., 2005) could be at times.

Both groups appeared to be in agreement that trust was a very important element, which helped the working relationship to succeed. Consequently, some staff focused on establishing trust first in their efforts to help the men efforts that were often hampered by mistrust. A lack of trust is frequently a manifestation of these men's past experiences with organisations and professionals, relationships that they often perceived as 'uncaring' much like other homeless people demonstrated in literature (Paquette, 2008). Some men continued to distrust the working process, which they expressed in how they perceived some of the service's policies to be unhelpful towards their needs. Moreover, they resented having to attend some of the programmes provided by the service. Similar to other homeless groups these men remained distrustful toward some of the services and policies initiated to help their reintegration (Flick, 2007a; Paquette, 2008).

This delicate balancing act of establishing and maintaining trust between these men, the staff and other professionals could be perceived to result from a number of causes and point to a larger problem. For example, one consideration of these men's mistrust could be colonisation (Smith, 1999), whereby history has demonstrated that at times the dominant Pākehā

culture has had a propensity to disregard the needs of Māori (McIntosh, 2001; 2005; Ellison-Loschman, 2006).

However, there were also more positive encounters between the staff and the men leading to rewarding exchanges. Staff members found some men to be very easy to assist because they were open to suggestions and willing to engage (Bush-Geertsema, 2002), as other men required a minimal amount of assistance to put them on a path to re-establishing their lives (Gulcur et al., 2003). This suggests that these men require various levels of engagement.

There are several factors contributing to positive collaboration, one of which was when some men appeared to realise that their pasts could be quite 'painful' for them (Dordick, 1997). For that reason, these men had made a conscious decision to turn their lives around and focus on improving their circumstances: change was an inevitable consequence to attempt a 'fresh' start in the community (Maruna, 2006). Some men felt that staff understood their needs by employing the 'kanohi ki te kanohi' principle when working alongside them to ascertain their needs, which showed that staff respected them (Bevan-Brown, 1999; Walsh-Tapiata, 1999).

Some men's paths toward independence continued to be plagued by additional issues such as a lack of familiarity with Māori culture. Limited knowledge of tīkanga was often the consequence of incarceration affecting their ability to draw on Māori culture for support (McIntosh, 2001).

A lack of cultural knowledge could be seen to stem from cultural dislocation, characterised as the person forgoing their own culture to placate 'change' (Kearns & Smith, 1994), a possible consequence of acculturative stress (Ausubel, 1961), whereby the men were pressured by the dominant culture into living unfamiliar lifestyles. In that way, these men could be seen to be experiencing the effects of on-going colonisation (McIntosh, 2001). This situation was also brought about by the men not being able to draw on their own culture to give them 'strength' (Smith, 1999).

A lack of whānau support was a similar problem that appeared to have caused some men considerable stress, leaving them, much like cultural dislocation, disconnected from their traditional social support networks. In that way, they are being denied opportunities to enjoy social and emotional comfort from important others. For some men, this situation presented an opportunity to utilise less traditional networks to fill a void by employing the concept of kaupapa whānau (Cunningham et al., 2005) to stabilise their circumstances. Some men's whānau were reluctant to lend support because of these men's histories that included mental illness (Levine & Rog, 1990), criminal behaviour (Dordick, 1997) or ongoing substance abuse (Zerger, 2002).

Both groups appeared to recognise the importance of having whānau support to facilitate the men's transition back into society and agreed that whānau support was important for lessening the effects of social and cultural dislocation (Durie, 1998). Both parties were in agreement that whānau support could increase the likelihood of achieving positive resettlement for the men.

The men also seemed to be challenged by certain restrictions imposed on their movements by way of legal processes. For example, some men felt that their parole conditions were restrictive and unjustifiably harsh. As a consequence, some men made irrational decisions in response to parole conditions, which had dire consequences for their resettlement process (Burnett, 1992, cited in McIntosh, 2001). Such reactions indicated to staff that some men were emotionally challenged by having to abide by parole constraints. An inability to think 'laterally', identified by both staff and the men occurred more frequently when the men felt unsupported and to deal with issues by themselves. Extra precautions were taken to support these men to minimise recidivism. Using the concept of whānau as an intervention was helpful toward overcoming this problem (Durie, 2001).

LeBel and colleagues (2008) refer to the mindset of some men being challenged by this situation during their reintegration following a lengthy incarceration, which could result in difficulties of respecting boundaries,

regulations and procedures imposed upon them. Staff found that through promoting a sense of 'worth' in these men they could overcome these difficulties (Maruna & Roy, 2006). Having family in close proximity was thought to be helpful and promoting desistance from reoffending. If these men were deprived of family contact, they were likely to lose their way and reoffend (Maruna & Roy, 2006).

The staff seemed to be of the opinion that Manaaki Mai was a base of operations, which 'cushioned' the effects of social and cultural dislocation on the men's lives. Moreover, it provided a sound base from where the men could establish themselves in ways they felt comfortable with (Bookman et al., 2005; Department of corrections, 2004; Nielson, n. d; Seiter & Kadela, 2003). Thus, the service protected the men against dealing with stressful incidents associated with reintegration, a process that most men appeared to have struggled with in their past (Marchetti, 2002).

Similarly, some men viewed the service to cushion them from the stress of having to undergo reintegration alone. These men appeared to be very appreciative of the staff's help toward re-establishing some normality in their lives. The service was viewed by these men as being very supportive in its approach toward removing uncertainties of their immediate futures. In that way, the men could focus their attention on stabilising their circumstances, without the usual stress of being 'impoverished' as a result of incarceration (Marchetti, 2002).

The service was considered by both groups to be a platform for the men to make a fresh start in the community. Both groups appeared to acknowledge the benefits of support provided by Manaaki Mai toward lessening the men's chances of failing to reintegrate (Bakker et al, 2007). Manaaki Mai and other services within Anglican Action assisted the men to achieve positive outcomes for themselves, much the same as was shown to occur with similar approaches in other countries (Bakker et al, 2007; Seiter & Kadela; 2003).

Manaaki Mai and other services helped these men to reconnect with their culture. The staff drew on various cultural customs and practices to assist the men to re-discover who they were and where they belonged. This process helped the men to find strength through enacting their own culture (Bourdieu, 1984; Smith, 1999).

The men responded positively to staff efforts to reconnect them with their culture and to learn about tīkanga. These men appeared to relish every opportunity to indulge in occasions where tīkanga was being observed. Much like other Māori, this process appeared to have special meaning for some men when they discovered their whakapapa (Henare, 1988; Kearns & Smith, 1994; Pere, 1982; Ritchie, 1992). These men were also impressed by how the service assisted them to become empowered through learning about themselves and their culture and they appreciated how Manaaki Mai and other Anglican Action services assisted them to gain strength through 'embracing' tīkanga.

It has long since been recognised that by observing one's own culture, culture becomes a source of empowerment for the person (Bourdieu, 1977). Māori have used various cultural concepts to cement in place reforms across every sector of our society such as education (Bishop, 1998; Cunningham et al, 2003) and health (Durie, 1985) to address concerns in these areas. tīkanga has been used simultaneously to fortify the concerns of Māori and to negate the marginalising effects of ongoing colonisation on them as a minority culture (Bishop, 1998). The service has addressed these issues in much the same way to help the men.

The staff and men seemed to agree that Manaaki Mai helped the men considerably by maintaining contact with the men after they had moved into the community. Staff would visit them on occasion to remind them that support was still there if they needed it. Hence, maintaining ongoing contact with the men facilitated their transition back into the community (Grusky, Grusky, Mandersheid & Tierney, 1985).

Some men perceived the ongoing contact as beneficial, providing them with a sense of security and easing their fears of being left alone (Métraux & Culhane, 2002). This type of support provided them with confidence and allowed them to maintain friendships with the staff, which provided them with a sense of being recognised as significant human beings (Grusky et al, 1985).

Ongoing contact can be likened to concepts such as whanaungatanga, which helped the men to maintain links with Manaaki Mai and other services within Anglican Action. The maintenance of ongoing contact with particularly vulnerable groups, such as former prisoners has been shown to work very well with their reintegration processes (Grusky et al., 1985). Continuous support also helped these men to remain focused (Métraux & Culhane, 2002).

Where some men accepted responsibility for any previous poor behaviour this had a significant positive influence on their reintegration processes. Staff noticed that by accepting processes of personal change were initiated (Maruna & Roy, 2006; Sternbach, 2000). In that way, accepting responsibility was a crucial element, which created greater opportunities for the men with regard to moving ahead in life (Maruna & Roy, 2006; Sternbach, 2000). This also indicated the men's preparedness to engage with staff to help them (Rogers, 1980).

Studies on men who have become impoverished and homeless through incarceration (Marchetti, 2002), illustrate the necessity of accepting responsibility for one's previous indiscretions (Maruna & Roy, 2006; Sternbach, 2000). Part of that process involved accepting that change was necessary to ensure the person's position in the community remained stable. Staff mentored them away from previous poor coping strategies that may have had dire consequences for them.

Whilst investigating the effectiveness of the wrap-around-support philosophy, both groups found this approach to be very helpful toward achieving positive outcomes. Beginning with the staff group, the use of a

wrap-around-support continues to be one of the guiding philosophies by which they chose to help the men. Used in combination with Māori cultural concepts and the Te Whare Tapa Whā health model, staff viewed this approach be the enactment of the other two philosophies. In that way, wrap-around-support was seen by staff to promote a more appropriate and comprehensive support approach to assist the men (Bookman et al., 2005, Seiter &Kadela, 2003).

The men's views on the effectiveness of a wrap-around-support were in simple terms. The men chose to describe the positive outcomes achieved through receiving such support, rather than to explain whether they actually thought the approach was helpful or unhelpful. These men also explained how reconnecting them to social and cultural aspects of a Māori world view was both appropriate and helpful to their circumstances. Their comments validated the effectiveness of such an approach for meeting their needs as a marginalised group with special concerns and requirements.

The effectiveness of a wrap-around-support as an approach toward reintegrating homeless people has been well documented by a multitude of international studies. Studies such as Backer, Howard and Moran (2007), highlight how a wrap-around-support helps homeless people to achieve social inclusion. This highlights the merits for adopting such an approach and also supports the need for its use in this country. This assertion is particularly pertinent where indigenous homeless people are concerned. More recent works on indigenous homelessness (Department of Communities, 2008; Sisters Inside Inc, 2008), demonstrate how this issue is a result of colonisation and further illustrates why this approach is appropriate for combating the effects of colonisation on homeless Māori men.

Examining how the four central concepts were made sense of by both the staff and men returned a wealth of information and showed how these concepts were understood to work for both groups. The accounts provided by the staff and men contributed to forming an overview of the working dynamics for each concept.

To begin with, staff provided some in-depth explanations for how they perceived each concept to work for them. They described a number of outcomes as a result of using Māori cultural concepts as interventions (Durie, 1998; 2001; Mead, 2003). Some of the staff's explanations appeared to show there was some 'overlap' occurring regarding the meaning of certain concepts with similar dynamics. For example, some staff members' explanations for the whanaungatanga and whānau concepts appeared to be fairly synonymous, which is not an uncommon interpretation of the meaning of Māori cultural concepts and is a common practice among Māori (Mead, 2003). Other staff chose to combine the meanings of two different concepts to provide a wider interpretation of a particular custom. This in turn led to an additional observation, indicating that staff applied the four central concepts in both their traditional sense and in more contemporary ways.

The men's perceptions regarding how the four concepts should be enacted produced a similar assortment of findings. Moreover, some men's explanations regarding how they perceived the four central concepts to apply—much like staff— highlighted each of the concepts' unique functions (Durie, 1998, 2001). In that way, the men's explanations also illustrated a number of possible social outcomes. The majority of the men's group viewed the four central concepts in expansive terms. For example, certain concepts like manaakitanga were explained as having similar meanings to that of other concepts such as whānau. There appeared to be considerable overlap in meanings recounted by the men similar to staff descriptions of certain concepts. In addition, these men appeared to be observing the concepts much like other Maori view them (Mead, 2003). Some men provided very clear and succinct descriptions of their uses for certain concepts, demonstrating how they used these concepts in more contemporary ways. Overall, however, the majority of the men appeared to observe these concepts in traditional ways.

Similarly, both staff and men's perceptions demonstrate how the four central concepts continue to be appropriate and to fulfil the needs of Māori. Furthermore, their perceptions demonstrate how each concept addresses 'complex social phenomena', which may impact on Māori people's lives. This

assertion remains more pertinent where social expectations surrounding the use of these concepts may differ from person to person (Ritchie, 1990). In that way, those four central concepts are able to withstand a 'continuous shift' by way of implied meaning whilst remaining appropriate guiding principles by which to live (Durie, 1998; 2001; Mead, 2003).

A number of isolated findings were found to have a direct bearing on the study. To illustrate this point, the men's interview process produced an insufficient amount of usable data to work with. This had an effect on analysing the men's interviews, where 'gaps' in the research appeared regarding the men's perceptions for the four central concepts. Other findings showed how some men appeared to enact certain concepts intuitively despite reporting that they were unaware of what they were doing, pointing to a gap in understandings regarding the meanings of different concepts, which was also highlighted across the groups.

This situation may have unfolded for any number of reasons. For example, some Māori are exposed to tīkanga at a very early age through attending cultural occasions. Therefore, they may acquire a certain amount of cultural knowledge through the Maori equivalent of 'scaffolding' known as the tuakana-teina principle (Tangaere, 1997). In that way, these men may have enacted a cultural concept learnt as children but not practiced over a period of time.

Some men appeared to not understand the meaning of certain concepts for which they provided vague and confusing interpretations as to their meanings. This aspect appeared to be indicative of some of the effects that incarceration can have on indigenous people. Moreover, these men's behaviours were characteristic of culturally dislocated people. Therefore, like other indigenous people who had been separated from aspects of their own culture through incarceration, these men appeared to be 'lost' in situations where their culture was called upon to be observed (Battiste, 2008).

The Te Whare Tapa Whā model was expressed by staff as being useful to the service's operations for several reasons, one of which was that the model acted as a template to guide the staff in the use of cultural concepts. This was by far the most important reason for choosing this model to guide the use of Maori cultural concepts to help the men. As explained previously, this model is used extensively across various sectors such as health to deliver more appropriate services to Māori (Minister of health and associate Minister of Health, 2002a). The Te Whare Tapa Whā model used by the service is also well suited to meet the men's needs.

After hours access to staff support helped these men to overcome isolation, to deal with unexpected problems and to reduce the likelihood of them reoffending. This approach was as much a preventative measure away from crime, as it was a support process to help the men work through any difficult issues they may encounter. This practice is once again an enactment of the Te Whare Tapa Whā approach by meeting the men's 'close support needs' through the Whānau concept (Durie, 1998; 2001).

Similarly, one-one-one support, an additional enactment of the Whānau concept, was expressed by staff to be extremely effective in assisting these men with reintegration. This way of supporting the men, addressed any number of issues affecting them. For example, it could assist the men by helping them learn important life skills. One-on-one support helped the men readjust to community life as staff taught the men important life and social skills. This process was helpful toward promoting self-awareness and self-determination (Rogers, 1978, 1980).

The care plan also appeared to work extremely well. This facility, overseen by the person's key-worker, was managed to address any concerns they had regarding resettlement. The Care Plan also ensures that all resources and processes are implemented appropriately to assist the person (Bookman et al., 2005; Nielson, n. d; Seiter & Kadela, 2003). The flexibility of the Care Plan is effective because staff are able to revisit the plan and adjust it where necessary to suit the person's wishes for change. The

use of a person centred approach is very much the standard when assisting marginalised people with special needs (Rogers, 1978, 1980).

Any emergencies that occurred during the working day were a major source of inconvenience to staff, interrupting their daily schedules. The impact of these events seemed to be more enhanced because the situation affected the men negatively. This meant that staff had to abandon their work to address emergency issues with little or no prior warning. In that way, such situations were always difficult to resolve given the timing of these occurrences (Morse et al, 1994; 1996).

In hui, staff had to decide collectively how to proceed with a person's reintegration processes, which were not always conducive to helping the men achieve that end. These occasions seemed to come about more from 'posturing' rather than searching for viable solutions to improve the men's circumstances. This situation where some staff would maintain a stance needlessly slowed up the decision making process, and, tended to prolong the working process for no apparent gain. Once again, the above scenario shows what can occur within the forum of hui, where quite often debates are formed and allowed to carry-on as a way of working through matters. Moreover, it is a forum where every person is given an equal right of say (Durie, 1998a, 2001; Pere, 1982; Ritchie, 1992). Such debates can take time to work through, and are not always resolved amicably, another reason for such delays (Ritchie, 1992).

Implications of this study and future research

This study has shown that cultural concepts used in combination with wrap-around-servicing, constitute a 'sound' approach toward addressing the needs of Māori men released from institutions. A combined approach involving the use of cultural concepts with wrap-around-servicing is not only effective, but a culturally appropriate methodology. Guided by the fundamental principles of a Māori cultural concept, services, resources and facilities were implemented as a physical enactment of that particular philosophy. In that way, the person was assisted to become self-sufficient using cultural knowledge familiar to their group. This study also illustrates the

usefulness of using cultural concepts germane to a group because it helps to understand the conduct of their lives. Moreover, by being tolerant toward the values, beliefs and customs of a particular group, one can gain a better understanding of their needs. Future research on the topic of using cultural concepts in combination with wrap-around-servicing, should look across programmes, and consider key features in terms of varying degrees of success that are likely to occur. In that way, the research may help to determine which concepts are likely to produce the best outcomes, with regard to reintegrating groups like homeless Māori men.

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Appendices

APPENDIX A

The University of Waikato's School of Psychology

Consent Form

Participant's Copy

Research Project: *How are Māori cultural concepts made sense of, for and by programme organisers and recipients, involved in a Wrap-Around-Programme for homeless Māori men?*

Name of Researcher: Des Ellis

Name of Supervisors: Linda Waimarie Nikora & Darrin Hodgetts

I have received an information sheet about this research project or the researcher has explained the study to me. I have had the chance to ask any questions and discuss my participation with other people. Any questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

I agree to participate in this research project and I understand that I may withdraw at any time. If I have any concerns about this project, I may contact the convenor of the Research and Ethics Committee (Dr Robert Isler, phone: 838 4466 ext. 8401or e-mail r.isler@waikato.ac.nz)

Person's Name: _____Signature:_____

Date: _____

The University of Waikato's School of Psychology

Consent Form

Researcher's Copy

Research Project: *How are Māori cultural concepts made sense of, for and by programmes organisers and recipients, involved in a Wrap-Around-Programme for homeless Māori men?*

Name of Researcher: Des Ellis

Name of Supervisors: Linda Waimarie Nikora & Darrin Hodgetts

I have received an information sheet about this research project or the researcher has explained the study to me. I have had the chance to ask any questions and discuss my participation with other people. Any questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

I agree to participate in this research project and I understand that I may withdraw at any time. If I have any concerns about this project, I may contact the convenor of the Research and Ethics Committee.

Person's Name: _____Signature:_____
Date: _____

APPENDIX B

Manaaki Mai (Staff) Information Sheet

What is this study about?

This study explores people's experiences working at Manaaki Mai. We are interested in learning more about the service and the use of Maori cultural concepts.

Who is conducting the study?

We are a group of researchers from the University of Waikato and Massey University. This research is funded by Marsden and is approved by the Psychology Department Ethics committee at the University of Waikato.

Who can take part?

We would like to talk with you if you work for Manaaki Mai.

What will I be asked to do?

You will be asked to talk about your experiences and views with us. This will take about 30-45 minutes at a convenient time. The conversation will be recorded to make sure we have an accurate account.

What can I expect from the researchers?

You can:

- ask questions at any point during the study
- contact the service worker who initially approached you if you have any concerns or you can contact the people listed at the end of this document. You may want to use a phone at the service agency.
- ask for the audio recorder to be turned off at any point during the two interviews
- expect that the information will be kept confidential to the researchers and that other people will not recognise you.
- expect us to make the general research findings available to you through the service agency.

If you have any further questions or concerns regarding this study please do not hesitate to contact:

Darrin Hodgetts
(07) 838-466 Ext.6645
dhdgtts@waikato.ac.nz

Des Ellis
kde4@waikato.students.ac.nz

APPENDIX C

Manaaki Mai (Men's) Information Sheet

What is this study about?

This study explores people's experiences of the Manaaki Mai service. We are interested in learning more about interactions between clients and staff and the use of Maori cultural concepts.

Who is conducting the study?

We are a group of researchers from the University of Waikato and Massey University. This research is funded by Marsden and is approved by the Psychology Department ethics committee at the University of Waikato.

Who can take part?

We would like to talk with you if you are currently or have been a client of Manaaki Mai.

What will I be asked to do?

You will be asked to talk about your experiences and views with us. This will take about 30-45 minutes at a convenient time. The conversation will be recorded to make sure we have an accurate account.

What can I expect from the researchers?

You can:

- ask questions at any point during the study
- ask for the audio recorder to be turned off at any point
- expect that personal information you provide will be kept confidential to the researchers
- expect us to make the general research findings available.

If you have any further questions or concerns regarding this study please do not hesitate to contact:

Darrin Hodgetts
(07)838-4466 Ext. 6456
dhdgetts@waikato.ac.nz

Des Ellis
kde4@waikato.ac.nz

APPENDIX D

Staff Participant Background Form

Interviewee Name: _____

Interviewer: _____ Date: _____

Duration of the interview: _____

Gender: **M** **F** Age: _____

Ethnicity:

Occupation and/or educational background: _____

_____

Role at the service (include frequency and length of service): _____

_____

_____

_____

Initial contact with the service (How and when): _____

Location of the interview (brief description): _____

Charting the interview

Impression of the interviewee:_____

Impression of how the interview went: _____

_____

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Initial themes to emerge in the interview: _____

_____

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_____

_____

Potential revisions for the interview guide: _____

Synopsis: _____

APPENDIX E

Manaaki Mai (Men's) Participant Background Sheet

Interviewee Name**:** _____

Interviewer:_____ Date:_____

Duration of the interview: _____

Gender: **M** **F** Age:_____

Ethnicity: _____

Current housing status: _____

_____

Additional information (including health issues, disability, marital status, parenting, area of origin)

_____

_____

Family/whanau contacts?

Service agency

Location of the interview (brief description):

Charting the interview

Impression of the interviewee:

Impression of how the interview went:

Initial themes to emerge in the interview: _____

Potential revisions for the interview guide: _____

Synopsis: _____

APPENDIX F

Manaaki Mai Staff interview Guide

Introduction

Tell me about yourself and where you're from?

Did you have a traditional Maori upbringing?

How did you come to Manaaki Mai?

What links do you have with whānau?

What sorts of qualifications do you have?

Being at Manaaki Mai

If you were to summarise what it's like to be at Manaaki Mai what would you say?

What do you see as the core aims of the service?

Can you describe how cultural concepts are used in your work?

What does the service provide for clients and staff?

Is it different to other services that you know about?

Describe a typical day at Manaaki Mai

What is good about the service?

What is not so good about the service?

How would you improve the service?

Understandings of cultural concepts

What does manaakitanga mean to you?

What does wairuatnga mean to you?

What does whanaungatanga mean to you?

What does whānau mean to you?

How are these concepts put into action by the service?

How are the various elements of the service put together?

Are there any group conferences and planning processes?

Working with the guys

How do you see clients benefiting from the service?

Are there any real stand-out success stories you might like to share with us?

Are they any not-so successful stories you might like to share with us?

What are your views about the TWTW model and the wrap-around-process?

APPENDIX G

Manaaki Mai Men's interview guide

Introduction

Talk with participants and explain the aims of the initial interview.
This conversation/interview intends to: enable me to get to know you and to briefly explore your background and time at Manaaki Mai service.
You should approach this as an informal discussion, so relax, ask questions, and when talking about issues try to think of examples.
Background

Tell me about yourself and where you're from?

Did you have a traditional Maori upbringing?
How did you start getting into trouble?
How did you come to Manaaki Mai?
[You could start by describing the experience and then take your time to fill in the details.]
What links do you have with whānau?
Being at Manaaki Mai

If you were to summarise what it's like to be at Manaaki Mai what would you say?

What do you see as the core aims of the service?

How are cultural concepts used by the service to help you?

What does the service provide for you?

Is it different to other services you've used?

Describe a typical day at Manaaki Mai…

What is good about the service?

Are there any guys that you know who have done well while being with the service?

What is not so good about the service?

Are there any guys that you know of who haven't done well while being with the service?

How would you improve the service?

Understandings of cultural concepts

What does manaakitanga mean to you?

What does whanaungatanga mean to you?

What does wairuatnga mean to you?

What does whānau mean to you?

Futures

Can you tell me about where you see yourself in two or three years?

Do you have any specific ideas about how you will get there?

Who or what will be important in this?

Closing the interview

Summarise the main points from the interview and encourage further input from the participant.

Would that be an accurate account of everything you told us?

Is there anything you would like to bring up or thought should have been discussed?

Do you have any questions concerning this study?