Thesis

Master of Social Work

Matua Whangai

Can We Invigorate an Important Concept of Social Work?

By

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Mihi

Hutia te rito o te harakeke

Kei hea te komako e ko

Ki mai ki ahau

He aha te mea nui o tenei ao

Maku e ki atu ki a koe

He Tangata!, He Tangata!, He Tangata!.

E nga awa, e nga maunga, e nga marae o nga Iwi o te motu

Tena koutou, tena koutou, tena koutou katoa.

Ko tenei taku mihi mahana kia koutou.

E mihi ana au ki oku Matua Guthrie Stewart raua ko Mary Silcock

Me taku hoa rangatira hoki i a Jeanette Murphy me aku tamaiti kotiro Jayde Te Ani raua ko Danielle Te Ao Marama me aku tamariki

Gemma Beth Stewart raua ko Oliver James Stewart

Me oku rangatira mo tenei mahi ko Naida Glavish, Ossie Peri (Perry), Solomon Tipene, Bill Takerei raua ko Iritana Tawhiwhirangi

Me nga hoa mahi hou o Te Wananga o Aotearoa.

E mihi ana ki a koutou mo to koutou tautoko, manaaki, me to koutou

matauranga hoki.

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

E nga mate hoki, nga hoa kua riro i tua o te arai ko Mike Tipene, Tia Matiu, Ted

Pomare, Dave King, Dan Whata me nga mokai katoa o te

kaupapa o Matua Whangai

E nga rangatira, haere!, haere! moe marie i roto i nga ringaringa o te Atua

He aroha tenei ki a koutou.

No reira, ko taku mahi i konei e rangahau ana ahau i to tatou kaupapa a Matua Whangai na te mea e riro ana te kaupapa i tenei ao.

Ko tenei te kaupapa o taku mihi ki a koutou.

Greeting

With these words I greet you as the reader and acknowledge the wisdom which brings us together. This is a wisdom which sees value in everyone and which acknowledges that it is people who are our greatest gift.

Next I acknowledge all the people of the land. To all their rivers and mountains and their places of gathering that make their identities special. To you all, I greet you.

To you my parents and my family, my father Guthrie Stewart and mother Mary Stewart (nee Silcock). No matter what, you are my family. This work is born of your legacies which position me in the relationships which underpin this work.

To my wife Jeanette, you are something special. Along with our daughters' Jayde and Danielle you have had to put up with a lot though out this journey. Without you and your support I don't think I could have got this far. To me you are an exemplar of Matua Whangai in action.

To Gemma and Oliver Stewart you will always be part of me. This work began when you were small children and no matter what has happened along the way you are a special part of my journey.

Although Matua Whangai lives probably in all people there are however some special people who have overseen this project. You are acknowledged. To you Naida, Solomon, Ossie, Bill and Iritana you have brought a special wisdom to this journey which has uplifted me and protected me through out. For this and all your support I acknowledge you.

Much of what makes Matua Whangai now and in the past is in no small part due to those men and women who exemplified Matua Whangai in action. Many of these have now passed away. Some like Mike Tipene, Tia Matiu, Ted Pomare, Dave King and Dan Whata are especially remembered for our work together. For how you gave us a special challenge to build upon the legacies you created in Matua Whangai.

To you all I acknowledge your special part in this journey. It has been a long journey of inquiry. What follows is my thesis report as offer to you and to our people. To look into this movement called Matua Whangai, to examine how we may invigorate what it offers in the present and to create a different future for our children inspired by your example.

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Foreword - Opening Statements

- **Acknowledging Accountability**

My name is Kimball Robert Murphy-Stewart otherwise known as Kim. I am Pakeha of English, Protestant Irish and Scottish descent. As such I am descended from an ancestry that has shaped the colonial legacies of New Zealand as a nation. I come to this task of writing a thesis about Matua Whangai after some thirty years social work experience.

The journey of this thesis goes back to 1983 and beyond to the beginnings of the Matua Whangai programme and trace's its actions and relationships from that time to the present. In this I acknowledge some very special people whose leadership demonstrated the effectiveness of Matua Whangai. Here it is important for me to acknowledge that many of those who made Matua Whangai a living reality have passed away. Since beginning this part of the project I have learnt that from the Auckland region we have lost twelve of the fourteen Matua Whangai workers[1]. Each of you is remembered for our work together. It is an awful lot of wisdom for us to lose.

Firstly I wish to specifically acknowledge those Matua Whangai workers with whom I worked closely, who have passed away. Each of these special people played an important part in my understanding of Matua Whangai in practice.

Of these Tia Matiu was my very first contact with the programme. It was your wisdom that guided me through my first intervention using Matua Whangai principles and practices. Tia your support and wisdom is acknowledged. So to, are your colleagues Ted Pomare and Dave King also for the respect and support you gave not only for the families we dealt with together but also for your leadership and wisdom which guided my understanding of this other world of Maori.

Another special character who is acknowledged as a J team member and as Matua Whangai original is Coral Lavulavu-Fox. Coral you came into the New Lynn office and stamped your special mark on the Matua Whangai team. Together we handled many cases and you were a special part of how the programme was realised in operation.

My most intimate connection to Matua Whangai however was with Mike Tipene. As the worker (mokai[2]) for New Lynn and West Auckland you gave me the most intimate insight into the programme. It was your wisdom and skill which you demonstrated not only in the world of things Maori but also in building the respectful relationship between our worlds that epitomised the highest value and efficacy of the programme. Indeed it is your use of and translation of the concept of 'ho hou rongo' which has formed a cornerstone in our thinking regarding Matua Whangai. Mike you will always

[1] Personal communication with Ossie Perry November 2006
[2] This title was self referential

have a special place in whatever work I do especially when it comes to Matua Whangai.

Next I wish to acknowledge some special people who today support and encourage me in this project. Each of you contributes your special wisdom, guidance, leadership and your involvement keeps me safe in this often fraught journey to build a secure relationship between us as people Maori and non-Maori.

This project has been long overseen not only personally but also professionally by Naida Glavish. It is through Naida's unwavering encouragement and at times through her good offices that this project has kept going. To you Naida this work is a special thank you for all your support.

Although Solomon Tipene and I had not spoken for a long time it was our chance meeting in Lower Hutt which renewed this association. This is an association going back to those Matua Whangai gatherings we attended at the height of the programmes effectiveness. Solomon it was our renewed discussions which helped bury some of my past anguish and to take on this project as a renewed look at the programme in the light of current realities.

Ossie Perry, for many people is synonymous with Matua Whangai having been one of the originals. Ossie we had not kept in touch after your retirement but bumping into you in Wellington was like picking up an association like it were yesterday. It is through you Ossie that we concluded an ethical framework of Matua Whangai which we may apply in the present. Your advice and encouragement has been invaluable.

Long ago Bill Takerei was part of our community services team whose task it was among others to support Matua Whangai. Bill you were an invaluable member of our team and played a key role in carrying some of those projects initiated by Matua Whangai into reality. It has been heartening to find you again and to have your offer of support in this renewed look at the movement.

Iritana Tawhiwhirangi is a name synonymous with the Kohanga Reo movement but is also one of the original policy architects of the Matua Whangai programme. Her name appeared in the early records of the Matua Whangai and was approached as an important contributor to this project. I am grateful for our opportunities to discuss Matua Whangai and for ongoing advice about its potential to contribute to the present situation.

Over the last seven years this project underpinned my work with Te Wananga o Aotearoa. Although my students and colleagues played an important role in shaping my thinking about what Matua Whangai it has been the support of my colleague Joy Bullen who has played a special part in this journey. You challenge and inspire me and with your support I have been able bring this project to a point where it might be realised. I suspect that together we have a vested interest in the possibility of change within our

families and within our culture. Your support and courage to make this happen is acknowledged and much appreciated.

Matua Whangai to me is also about family from within. This project would never stand without acknowledging my families. Whatever I am is because I am and will always be part of you. In this I acknowledge my parents Guthrie and Mary Stewart because your principles and values and how they have shaped me and my work. I especially acknowledge my wife Jeanette because I know without you I could not accomplish this project. You are an exemplar of Matua Whangai as a way of life and remind me always of why this project must succeed. Lastly I acknowledge my children Gemma and Oliver Stewart and Jayde and Danielle Murphy-Stewart because at the end of the day the only reason that Matua Whangai exists is to ensure our future as people through the success of our children.

As a Pakeha whose place of birth is West Auckland I often feel that I am a long way from home. In these realms I am aware of the people, the places and the connections that make our identity special. During the development of this thesis I was conscious of my need to build new relationships with people, places and the connections that make us special. To that end Jeanette Katene of Ngati Toa and Maraea Ropata of Te Atiawa supported me through how my relationship with these people and places may be protected.

I also acknowledge several other people who have played a special part in the development of this thesis. Firstly to acknowledge Dr Catherine Love from Victoria University and Dr John Waldon of Te Putahi a Toi within Massey University who assisted my journey into academic writing. It is your insightful comments which have assisted me develop my writing and thinking in this thesis. Secondly to Dr Doug Durst of University of Regina, Saskatchewan Canada who contributed the idea of a need for social work and first nations peoples to move past "rhetoric and ideology and to look at practice"[3]. It was his comment in an e-mail discussion of first nation child protection issues that prompted my inclusion of this in my opening comments of this thesis. Finally to Charlotte Williams author of the "Too Hard Basket: Maori and the Criminal Justice System" who suggested the original title of this thesis project. In this she originally suggested that the title could include "Matua Whangai – Nurturing Families from Within – Can we invigorate an important social work concept?" Although convention requires the inclusion of one sub-title, it is crucial that this notion of Matua Whangai as acting to ensure the "nurturing of families from within" is not lost.

Over the last few years of this project I have done my very best to keep you all apprised of my work and I am sure that your insights have contributed significantly to how this project has developed. To each of you your contribution is acknowledged and appreciated. To you all I assure you that

[3] Personal e-mail communication October 2007

whilst I may take risks I will do nothing to undermine and diminish the value of this project.

To each of you this effort is dedicated.

- **Rationale**

The rationale for this thesis "Matua Whangai – Can we invigorate an important concept of social work?" is quite simply that: -

- The deaths of our babies have shattered our illusions.

These circumstances in which all too many of our babies have lost their lives shatters both of the illusions that New Zealand society in the world is the safest place to bring up children and has the best race relations. It is unfortunately accepted that New Zealand has among some of the highest rates of child abuse and in which Maori are over represented.

This situation is as critical if not more critical today as the circumstances that caused Matua Whangai to come into operation in 1983.

This has shattered our illusions about our relationships between and within our cultures. No longer can we hold to the illusion that our relationships between cultures are really serving the rights and needs of our most vulnerable children. We can no longer pretend that we have got this right.

This has shattered our illusions that what we are doing in the name of social services is actually working. No longer can we hold to the illusion that social services alone will deliver to the rights and needs of our children. Indeed many of our babies lived in a world surrounded by social services agencies.

All too many of our children have lost their lives because we have been attempting to maintain these illusions. This has gone past rhetoric and ideology and demands of us to adopt a different strategy.

In this it could be suggested New Zealand social work policy and practice has four options.

The first two of these hardly likely although in the minds of some in our society they may seem an attractive option in order to eliminate what is an embarrassing problem. At worst these could be suggested as:

- Genocide[4] – quite simply we expunge all the abusers from our families. Disown them leaving them to fare for themselves as excluded from our consideration. In this they will hopefully disappear from view.

- Revolution – quite simply our community rises up and overthrows the existing order. Installing a regime in which abuse is excluded ideologically.

This leaves us with two other options

- Status Quo – this is doing more of the same without fundamentally changing the underlying culture in our social services system.

- An Optimistic Strategy – Matua Whangai gave both Maori and our system of social services huge optimism that these problems could be overcome. It was an optimism that laid a foundation but has left us with much unfinished business. Adopting and invigorating this strategy challenges the underlying nature of our abusive culture. It works to en-culture our relationships in order to support our families from within.

- **Matua Whangai – Setting the Scene**

In course of this inquiry I have found that there are possibly as many versions of the concept "Matua Whangai" as people with whom I have spoken. Doubtless this variety is because each actor brings their own perspectives, their own experiences and their own interpretations to the events, impacts and legacies of the concept. Indeed Matua Whangai has been described[5] as an "awesome brand" presumably because of the positive impressions it left. The one thing however that seems to be held in common by all is that "Matua Whangai" was a movement of inspiration. This was a movement that gave "hope and courage"[6] towards realising the possibility that 'we' as people could work together so that children may be nurtured safely within their own families.

This thesis will discuss Matua Whangai from my position as an embedded actor within the triangle of policy, practice and internal lived experience of whanau. This position as an actor is embedded within the relational practice side of this triangle. In this position I acknowledge that Matua Whangai as a programme within social work institutions was developed to enhance the values, principles and practices of the lived experience of whanau. Hence Matua Whangai in this internal realm is acknowledged. It is acknowledged as a way of life which existed before and continues in the present. This is despite any judgements of the actions or inactions of

[4] The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (As adopted by the **UN** General Assembly, December 9, 1948) http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/p_genoci.htm also includes non lethal forms of ensuring the demise of a people in whole or in part. It is also of note that Dr Hone Kaa as reported in the Dominion Post October 23 2007 views the deaths of our children and particularly Maori children as genocide.

[5] Personal communication Trevor Moeke October 2007

[6] Words of John Key - Dominion Post page A3 - Saturday 7 February 2009

practice or policy. Indeed it was because of the social situations confronting whanau that Matua Whangai was offered in 1983 as a programme. In this event Matua Whangai is seen as existing in all sides of this triangle in order to confront and overcome these destructive circumstances and to secure the nurturing of whanau from within. Although my position gives me the opportunity to act and observe each side of this triangle the main thrust of my thesis is to conceptualise Matua Whangai as a relational practice of social work which might contribute to addressing and overcoming these issues which confront whanau and the delivery of social work services.

This thesis propounds that Matua Whangai is still embedded within the policy of child protection and as such is unfinished business. It is unfinished business because the current policy documents Te Pounamu (2001) locate their mandate in (ibid: 8-10) the report Puao Te Ata Tu, the Waipareira Report (WAI 414) and the Brown Report. Each of these reports draws heavily upon and supports the legacies of the Matua Whangai programme. According because of these reports the suggestion is that Matua Whangai is an important concept for social work worthy of invigoration. It is also unfinished business because Matua Whangai was not at the time written down[7] as a model or concept of relational or bi-cultural practice. Maybe this was because at the time (1983 – 1990) social work was too busy being involved directly in making Matua Whangai work. Or by the time it ceased as a programme social work and its institutions believed that they had through legislation (Children, Young Persons and Their Families Act 1989) fully implemented the practices of Matua Whangai. Hence believing that the profession of social work had accomplished the intent of the programme hence Matua Whangai was no longer needed. It is in these circumstances that Matua Whangai was dismissed and disappeared into a veil of memory. It also appears that social work has continued to cling to what seems to be a cherished illusion that its current delivery relational practice is sufficient to confront the situation of the present. The situation however in the present which confronts whanau is as serious if not more serious than that being confronted when Matua Whangai was initiated. In these circumstances there may have been unwillingness or inability to invigorate a practice and policy which takes what Matua Whangai begun and apply it to the circumstances of the present. Hence it is suggested here that as social workers practitioners and teachers, policy makers and members of families (the audience) face a challenge to invigorate Matua Whangai as an important concept of social work. A challenge of "making it happen, in a different way.[8]"

It will explore this notion of Matua Whangai as a set of powerful ideas which resonated and appear still to resonate across a broad spectrum of the community that makes it inspiring as a movement of social work policy and practice. This resonance is still felt not just among social workers or even just social workers who practiced at the time it existed as a programme but

[7] Personal communication Shannon Pakura February 2008
[8] Personal communication Jeanette Murphy-Stewart February 2009

across a broad cross section of the community at all levels. These are seen in the enduring legacies in social work's core but now co-opted notions of family decision making and kinship centred practice. It is these legacies which even today underpin social work's commitments in policy and practice. It was however the notion of Matua Whangai as policy and as a programme within the Department of Social Welfare from 1983 to 1992 that will be explored further in this thesis. This is the legacy that makes Matua Whangai an important concept of social work.

Part 1 – Discussing The Theoretical Perspective of This Research

Chapter 1

Developing Theoretical Practice Perspectives of this Research

- **A Personal Starting Point**

In approaching this task I am conscious of the often fraught boundary between a Maori and non-Maori perspectives (Tolich 2002). In this I am deeply conscious of a possible critique of this work as a Pakeha attempting to discuss Maori ideas being applied to an institutional and practice setting of social work and social services. Matua Whangai in my observation was offered not just as means to influence Maori for Maori development. It also was a means to influence non-Maori practice in order to more effectively address particularly Maori concerns and to preserve Maori perspectives. Central to this is the protection of kinship. It is this latter roles of Matua Whangai which is the subject of this thesis. Hence the thesis will examine ideas, concepts and theory from a non-Maori perspective whilst attempting to address Maori critiques. These critiques are exemplified in several ways. Academic examples include the writing of Catherine Love (2000) in "Maori Perspectives on Collaboration and Colonisation in Contemporary Aotearoa/New Zealand Child and Family Welfare Polices and Practices" or in grass roots examples from personal experience of a Certificate of Social Services student ripping to shreds a set reading with the words "This is crap – this woman was my social worker and she never practiced like that!" and in having Maori community and whanau workers as students who refuse to use the title 'social worker' because of the pejorative perceptions held by their client communities of this profession . In attempting to do this accordingly there is a critical accountability between myself, the ideas which will be discussed and the Maori perspective of how they might address these critiques.

In this project the foremost relationship of accountability is with a leadership group made up of Naida Glavish, Solomon Tipene, Ossie Perry, Bill Takerei and Iritana Tawhiwhirangi. In this regard they are foremost in my mind and they accompany me in every action and every thought that goes into this project. This is by my always keeping them informed of my work, always seeking their advice or in the 'cultural' ways in which they get to know of what I've done or doing. The relationship with this group has been of longstanding and their advice and guidance has been instrumental in how this project has developed. I feel reassured that the depth of their wisdom and their insight into the specific Maori cultural aspects of Matua Whangai goes back into depths of its operation in practice. Although there may be others who share their depth of wisdom it has been this group of leaders who support me in this project.

It is in this manner that I will to be accountable for my actions as Pakeha acting alongside the world of Maori and Maori ideas. In seeking to develop a

construct of social services in which social work institutions may practice in order to protect and advance Maori wellbeing as Maori. More particularly seeking to examine Matua Whangai at the sharpest end of this cultural relationship where children are at greatest risk. This is in a 'circle of desolation'[9] where seemingly all semblances of potential and autonomy have been undermined. It is in this 'circle of desolation' where the greatest damage has been done and where the potentially the greatest damage can be done in the name of protecting children. This is viewed as all the more devastating particularly when the core notions promoted by Matua Whangai are seen all too often to be handed back by social workers as co-opted practice even done with the best intentions.

- **Coming to Terms With the Idea of Research in This Project**

Uncomfortably this project is not a straight line where some readily definable or quantifiable aspect of the social world is measured and tested within the usual terms of the scientific method. As discussed above there is no one definition or empirically quantifiable thing called Matua Whangai. Matua Whangai is an idea or set of ideas with a purpose. From my experience Matua Whangai has the purpose to make "things happen in a different way" so that children maybe nurtured safely within their whanau. In so doing, this purpose of Matua Whangai is achieved in the effective development and delivery of policy and practice which enhances the ability of whanau to nurture their children from within.

This uncomfortably places the theoretical and ideological underpinnings of this thesis squarely in a number of critical philosophical streams of thought in my attempt to conceptualise Matua Whangai as a relational practice of social work policy and delivery. As this will involve an attempt to conceptualise social work theory one of the important themes arises from the literature of conceptual and theory development. Examples of these concepts are discussed by the following authors Coppedge M 2002, Torraco R. & Holton E 2002, Lynham S, Swanson R. & Torraco R. 2003, Swanson R. 2007, Mintzberg H. 2005. It is however the table developed by Susan Lynham and her colleagues (Lynham S, Swanson R. & Torraco R. 2003:1-2) which provides some simple clarity for the criteria for theory development. Here it is Susan Lynham's five phases of theory development which seem for me applicable to the task of this project. Namely: -

- Conceptual Development
- Operationalization
- Confirmation or Disconfirmation

[9] This notion does not appear to be articulated in social work literature but is described in this review by Thekla Dannenberg of the movie by Rafi Pitt "Zemestran – It's Winter". http://www.signandsight.com/features/613.html (25/05/2007)

- Application

- Continuous Refinement and Development

It is however her (ibid 2003:2) synopsis of "Whetton's Criteria for Good Theory" which states: -

> Good theory contains both description and explanation, and improves both conceptualization and application (i.e. better understanding and practice)

In this regard this project is an attempt to meet these criteria with an explicit intention of realising a "better understanding and practice" of the relationship between social work and Maori as whanau.

Given also that definitions of Matua Whangai could include the breath of social, ideological and political perspectives it is argued that this project is firmly located in the theoretical notions of "post". In this the notions are located in "post" as in colonial, modern, positivist and formalism. These are discussed in works like those of Batiste M 2001, Laenui P 1999, Lemke J. 1994, Chawla A. 2002, Kincheloe J. 2006, Taiaiake A & Corntassel J. 2005 , Leveridge M. & Gilchrist J. 2007, Kumar M. 2000, Crichlow W. 2002, Green J. 2002, Shahjahan R. 2005, Sinclair R. 2004, Hutchings J. 2001, Lynes D. 2002 among many others.

The other major intellectual theme is around the notions of "critical". Here it is suggested that the situation faced by Maori in their ability to nurture family from within is "critical". Hence the intellectual themes of "critical" as in theory, realism and pragmatism are vital in considering what Matua Whangai maybe a relational practice to address Maori concerns within the social services sector. Here examples of these themes may be found in the writing of Carr A. 2005, Schostak J. 2002, Ulbrich W. 2007, Shor I. 1997, Nilsen A. 2004, among others.

Through out this project I have with the support of my mentors always taken the idea of Matua Whangai as important and always that it should be invigorated. Hence this seems to place this work outside a realm normal science which is supposed to be objective, impersonal and neutral. It also uncomfortably intertwines the intimate personal (as in parent and member of an extended family), the professional (as in teacher of social work students) and the researcher (as in being an objective scientific observer). Indeed these three aspects of this project have now become so entwined that they virtually overlap.

This also raises some other philosophical and theoretical questions in regard to this thesis. Hence in identifying the theoretical themes of 'post' above is also to acknowledge the 'post' of this project itself. For most of the journey to produce this report has been to position and re-position myself in order to achieve a location and relationships which give me the greatest

sense of practice validity. Hence a large component of writing this section is to go back over what has been done and connecting it to recorded philosophical or theoretical ideas. Russell Bishop (2005:117) discusses this as "developing what could be termed an 'enhanced research relationship,' in which there occurs a long-term development of mutual purpose and intent between the researcher and the researched." He further notes that "'the personal investment' by the researcher is not an act by an individual agent but instead emerges out of the context within which the research is constituted." (ibid:118). Again as Sheila McNamee (1994:4) discusses

> this orientation confronts the traditional ideal of rationality by implicitly recognising that stories are always told from a perspective. A story that is coherent for me or that rings true with my life may not do the same for you. This has bold implications for the research process and the issue of ethics because we at once realise that there are varying and competing perspectives and that any evaluation or judgement of a story is also a story and thus similarly situated within a perspective. Consequently, the viability of research results and the ethics of any given research procedure can only be locally determined. And yet we must also remember that locally determined rationalities must also be coordinated with other locally determined rationalities. It is this constant process of discursive engagement that constructs our sense of ethics, truth, and knowledge.

The implication is that in this "constant process of discursive engagement" is could be asked at what point is there a sufficient foundation for an 'enhanced research relationship' to be seen as valid or for its observations and actions to have validity? Denzin (2003:2) citing Bishop (1998:205) notes that "a participatory mode of consciousness that locates the researcher within Maori-defined spaces in the group. The researcher is lead by the members of the community, and does not presume to be a leader, or to have power that can be relinquished." Which results in Denzin's view that:

> In each of these cases a collaborative, public, pedagogical relationship between subject and researcher is developed. The walls between subject and observer are deliberately broken down. Confidentiality disappears, for there is nothing to hide, or protect. Participation is entirely voluntary; hence there is no need for consent form. The activity that makes up the research is participatory, that is it is performative, collaborative, action, and praxis-based. Hence participants are not asked to submit to specific procedures or treatment conditions. Instead acting together, researchers and subjects work to produce change in the world.

The issue arising from this is how to judge that such an "enhanced research relationship" exists. How does this project demonstrate this relationship exists of sufficient veracity in order to make the observations and conclusions derived from this research valid? This is an ongoing tension for this project and is examined in more depth below.

In light of these descriptions of research the question arises for me, of how is an intimate personal journey of my own lived experience as a Pakeha which also involves conceptualising a relational practice of Matua Whangai represented? When in this journey it involves a common bond, on one hand between ones own intimate relationships and on the other of having taught a body of students in a Maori institution for whom the sensationalism of media reports is everyday lived reality. Where this is situation is compounded by the fact that these are now not separate but are intimately intertwined and to have stood before this group and offered them an insight into this profession called social work which for them is as much part of the problem as it is the solution. This has been to accomplish this task of teaching without personally degenerating into a place of dangerous introspection. Particularly when this is a research project which directly involves this intimacy as part of the research process.

Is this as Peter Reason discusses part of the nature of "Action Research as Spiritual Practice" (Reason P. 2000) or as "scared science" (Reason P. 1993) or. Where in his words

> what we feel is a "sickness of the soul", and our behaviour in the world is as Wilhelm Reich described, alienated from experience through character armour – the defences are structured into our musculature, our posture, our breathing and our movement, *and* into our similarly over-structured and repressive social and organizational arrangements. At its extreme (and it seems we may be reaching that extreme) this produces a human society which is essentially destructive. (Reason P. 1993:3-4)

Maybe in this event it is his discussion of the four paths (Via Negativa, Via Positiva, Via Creativa and Via Transformativa) of action research that will provide a way forward. To move through one of the paths Peter Reason identifies as the Via Negativa which he (Reason 2000:4) in citing Matthew Fox (1991:19)

> requires that spiritual voyagers not only let go of the cover-up and denial, but that they actually enter into the darkness and pain is all about. Since both despair and apathy arise from the cover-up of anger, this journey of letting go is also one of going deeper that the despair, apathy, bitterness, and cynicism that can create such resentment in our souls and society.

And to move from this path to the path Via Creativa where he offers these insights as descriptors of this path: -

> which is about our generativity, our imagination, our ability to co-create
>
> to struggle for balance in society and history

> as a journey from the joy of original blessing, through the darkness of pain and suffering into creativity and on to working for justice in the world (Reason P. 2000:5)

Hence the journey of this project has been to achieve an 'embeddedness' as a situation of unself-conscious presence (Marshall J. & Reason P. 2007:2 and Moldaschl M & Brodner P. 2001:8)) in order to achieve an 'enhanced research relationship' as discussed above so that each path has been confronted and the final path of the Via Transformativa might be secured.

Embeddedness and an 'Enhanced Research Relationship'

These three words imply much more than the mere simplicity of the words themselves on paper. As has been noted above Matua Whangai is a "way of life". In this event the research relationship in this project becomes part of my 'way of life'. In a sense the terms 'emdeddedness' and 'enhanced research relationship' are uncomfortable descriptors for the research relationship that exists in this project. As observed by my colleagues this is about practice which is valid[10] and undertaking an uncomfortable task which could be seen as intellectualising heart.[11] In this event it has been about achieving a performance in practice in which those around me loose their self consciousness. It is where what is the 'way of life' of those around me and the connection to social work dissolve and the act of being and dealing with 'life' happening around me.

In terms of this project however there are two aspects of this 'enhanced research relationship' which are crucial. Firstly it has been to achieve through my practice an embeddedness which allows me to naturally observe and be in these painful events whilst attempting to conceptualise this as Matua Whangai inspired experience. To have achieved this as a Pakeha teacher of social work invited into urban marae and teaching a body of students from that community who are positioned within the most uncomfortable realities[12] of the situation facing whanau as subjects of intervention. The result of this has been to bring about through the acceptance of my practice among these people, a situatedness which allows for the greatest potential for my observations and insights to be judged and if necessary attested by them as valid. Not just by way of my own judgement but also in the judgement at all levels of those in the closest position to observe that practice in operation. This process involved accessing significant amounts of very personal and intimate detail regarding the lives of those around to me. This is not because I enrolled them to be participants in this research project rather it is because they have invited and enrolled me as a participant and researcher in their lived experiences. The distinction to be made here is that this unself-conscious disclosure is not secret but is confidential and private. Confidential in that these

[10] This judgement of practice validity comes from personal observation, the results of my practice and the contribution of others sufficient in their minds to sustain the validity of this project.
[11] Personal communication Naida Glavish April 2009
[12] This includes internally lived experience of being in gangs, of rape, murder, child abuse, prison, parole and foster care and seeing statutory intervention from the point of view of the client.

intimate observations can not be reported here but private in that detail of these observations are known to and shared among those involved and may be accessed by others if necessary at their discretion. The fact that what has been observed is true and valid is because of the degree, depth and level in which that practice now situated me. Accordingly the achievement of this 'enhanced research relationship' is about being close enough in a real and acceptable way to these situated realities of whanau and social work in order to examine and critique ideas and practices which might contribute to addressing the relationship of policy, operations and practices of social work with Maori as whanau. Also in this to honour that it was Matua Whangai which contributed concepts which are now considered corner stones of New Zealand social work.

This achievement comes at a price. As noted the process of 'intellectualising heart' is not without risk (Tenni C. et al 2003:5) and this project has tested my personal to the limits. This has not just been in my role as a social worker – teacher and researcher or just in my cultural identity as Pakeha but in many intimate ways as a person. One of the nearest descriptions of this position is that described by Ewa Marynowicz-Hetka (2007:64)) where she describes "the participatory interpretative approach" as: -

> constructed from an understanding of the person as a subject that acts and is surrounded by a disordered (and even chaotic) context, constantly influx and in the process of being created. **From this perspective, the researcher is situated internally, in an attempt to understand the field of action while participating in it.** The transversal perspective helps to explain (illuminate) such a reality, where various external and internal elements transect, as well as those at a distance from the field of action. This then is a perspective that enables reality to be analysed in three dimensions. (Emphasis added)

But it is her insight where states that

> A critical analysis of such a transversal approach to solving problems, which social pedagogy sets before itself, can raise the question of the legitimacy of adopting such a position. **One should also add the ever present complicated and threatening feeling of incompetence.** One answer, concurrently providing a basis for adopting such a perspective, is the search for such tools, theses, positions, methods and ways, which enable problems to be addressed by social pedagogy to be understood (and perhaps even be resolved). (ibid 2007:65) (Emphasis added)

It is these two components of legitimacy and competence that have been most challenging. This is probably why this project has taken so long to complete. This is as these two factors continue to play an important part in this project as they are in themselves never completely resolved. As such the practice within this project is to remain open to challenges and to shifts in position within the embeddness of the research relationship. This is in

order to be able to continuously resolve any limitations which are identified. In this sense there is never a totally complete solution and the project remains as one of an ongoing building of relationships.

The Struggle of What Is Principles and Ethics and Values?

This project is and always has been relational. The origins and foundations of this project grew out of my acknowledged experience of a close and mutually respectful relationship with the original Matua Whangai programme. Like the programme itself it in the instances where it operated successfully it is what it actually did in practice was as a result of the innate ethical being of those involved. For example it was accepted by peers, colleagues and kinship networks (whanau, hapu and Iwi) that the ethical, moral and practical wisdom of a Matua Whangai worker like Mike Tipene was almost without question. This was because of how his role in Matua Whangai as a kaumatua placed him in this position and in turn how this was accepted and acknowledged by those who knew him and his work. It was the nature of this standing which was required within Matua Whangai programme in order to mediate the often difficult relationships between the Department of Social Welfare and the Maori as whanau so that the very real problems facing Maori could be resolved more satisfactorily. In this regard the critical refection and the illumination of the ethical positions of this project are seen as important. Firstly this is in order to give me a sound foundation to justify my actions and secondly to consider if these ethics positions are able to be replicated in practice.

In this context there are for me three ethical considerations. The first of these is to elicit from the Matua Whangai experience a principled framework of relational values. The second is a discussion of the broader research ethical prescriptions of relational research. The last is to examine that critically reflexive domain of how performance and practice of this project lives up to these positions.

One of the core challenges of this project is that so much has been written about research ethics and in the development of ethical codes of practice with Maori (MSD 2004, SPEaR 2008, Health Research Council 2008, Durie E. 1998, Smith L 1999) that it could be said that there is little room for further discussion of this topic. Here SPEaR (2008) identifies five principles namely the: -

> Principle of Respect, Principle of Integrity, Principle of Responsiveness, Principle of Competency, Principle of Reciprocity,

which are echoed in the six principles identified by Centre of Social Research and Evaluation – within Ministry of Social Development "Nga Ara Tohutohu Rangahau Mäori - Guidelines for Research and Evaluation with Mäori" (2004)

Practice Principle 1: Planning for Māori involvement

Practice Principle 2: Engaging with Māori participants and stakeholders

Practice Principle 3: Developing effective and appropriate methodologies

Practice Principle 4: Protecting knowledge Practice

Practice Principle 5: Encouraging reciprocity

Practice Principle 6: Supporting Māori development

What is most telling however are the concluding comments by Carla Wilson (2001) in her review of "Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples" by Linda Tuhiwai Smith where she reflects that: -

> the book provides a valuable reminder of the need to reflect on, and be critical of, one's own culture, values, assumptions and beliefs and to recognise these are not the "norm". The detailed insight into New Zealand history, and the alternative readings of this history, provides a particularly valuable lesson of the need to be aware of, and open to, different worldviews and ways of knowing. It also reminds researchers to consider whose stories are being privileged and whose stories are being marginalised in any representations of the other.

Here this discussion is not to dismiss all these efforts but it is to suggest that social work policy and practice faces a challenge (Peet K. & J. 2002) to go further and to look beyond current rhetoric and ideology to a framework of relational ethics, principles or values through which social work can engage in a practice which creates desired outcomes. This is regardless of any other entrenched positions. This is what Taina Pohatu (2004) refers to Take Pu. Such frameworks allow for the possibility to communicate from and across different and sometimes entrenched positions. It is here that the leadership of this project offer[13] a Matua Whangai inspired framework which is located in the core notions of: -

- Tika – this is seen as being correct or right

- Pono – this is seen as being honourable.

These two ethical concepts in this framework do not imply that social workers are simply complicit with rules in order to be ethically appropriate. Rather it is suggested that social workers are required to consistently identify and challenge what is wrong, incorrect or dishonourable in manner which demonstrates a complete integrity.

These two concepts were originally proposed for this project by Naida Glavish and Solomon Tipene.

[13] This framework has been developed from the outset as an ongoing part of this project. Therefore there is a lineage as to how this framework developed.

- Kinaki – this is seen as the commitment to continuously leaven social works knowledge and skill.

The concept of kinaki is often associated with food as an addition to improve flavour. Here as an ethical social work concept it is taken to mean that practitioners consistently seek to improve or leaven their practice with knowledge. This is not just that which is labelled as social work knowledge but also knowledge of whatever is needed and particularly social work's relationships with Maori as whanau.

This concept was originally articulated by Solmon Tipene in a discussion of a concept of Open Wananga. It was discussed in the context building relationships between Maori and non-Maori institutions.

- Aroha - this is seen as being in positive regard to all people.

This concept of aroha is seen as part of social work's traditional regard for the value of all people for their right to be who they are in the fullness of all what that may mean to them. In this it also implies the responsibility of social workers to challenge all of those around them to confront that which may hinder this achievement of this well-being.

This concept was added by Ossie Perry in order to link the concepts above.

- Ho hou rongo – this is seen as the commitment and ability to make peace and reconcile people

This concept was translated by Mike Tipene as reconciliation and for him was a core principle of Matua Whangai. This is seen as the ability to make peace and to reconcile people not only within whanau but between whanau and others.

- Mana – this is seen as the commitment and ability to ensure that whanau are able to sustain their vigorous well-being.

This concept of mana implies that whanau are able to in all circumstances to nurture the well-being of their children within. This implies that social workers commitments demonstrate a continuous action to achieve the autonomous well-being of whanau to nurture their children within.

This concept was added by Ossie Perry to make the framework more complete.

This framework is suggested not simply a list of ethical principles rather that they are taken as action that leads from one to another in the production social work outcomes. Hence it is suggested that to act correctly with honour and leavening knowledge and skills with a positive regard for all people underpins the action to cause reconciliation in order to ensure that the well-being people as families and particularly Maori as

whanau within is absolutely assured. Likewise the framework also suggests that if the capacity to nurture children within their whanau is assured then the other ethical principles are demonstrated. This framework is central to guiding this project.

This framework however it is suggested is to be centrally located in the practice of social work rather than research per se. Here it is the advice of writers on the nature of relational research which is instructive. This is enhanced further with the advice of Judi Marshall and Peter Reason (2007) in their discussion of "Quality in Research as 'Taking an Attitude of Inquiry'" where they note that: -

> Quality is thus about becoming rather than being. It incorporates noticing how identity, ethnicity, class, our positioning in the world impact our research, and being aware of the creative potential that this awareness makes available in speaking a perspective and acting inquiringly. Quality is also shown in the nature of our engagement with others. It suggests that we are open to experiencing and hearing what is going on, that we are paying attention, that we create the conditions for open mutual engagement; and that we open communicative spaces (Kremmis, 2001). Thus our concern is about the researcher's capacities for and practices of presence and how theoretically, artistically or in practice – are well founded. (Ibid: 3)

From this they continue throughout their paper to develop a framework of relational action research practice. These are further enhanced by Linda Finlay and Ken Evans (2008) "Ten Core Values Underpinning Relational Research" where they advise that: -

> This list below does not constitute the 'rule book' about how relational researchers *should* behave. It is offered here to give orientation; to give a picture of the spirit of what we lean towards in our relational research encounters. Further, these values are not intended to be abstract, reified concepts like 'equality' and 'justice'. Instead they are values which need to be enacted in practice, in everyday research encounters. (Ibid 2008:1)

From this the ultimate ethical test of this research project is to be able to represent in practice the conceptual model being explored. Here the intimate personal details of the relationships in this research are not in themselves the subject of the research. Rather it is the ethical achievement of an embedded relational practice from which theoretical conceptual ideas may be modelled and tested.

- **Chapter two**

Methods of Research and Action

As can be noted from the discussion above the foundation of the research methods adopted by this project are primarily located in the practice of action research. Here the contribution of Peter Reason and Hilary Bradbury (2000) where in their writing a "Handbook of Action Research Participative Inquiry and Practice", they cite Marja-Liisa Swantz: -

> I do not separate my scientific inquiry from my life. For me it is really a quest for life, to understand life and to create what I call living knowledge which is valid for the people with whom I work and for myself.

and further they add the words of Bill Torbert who states: -

> I am not a social scientist interested in more participatory research, but an educator and activist exploring alternative paradigm research as one tool in the multifaceted struggles for a more just and loving world.

In this context and in the context of exploring the possibility of what maybe Matua Whangai in the present and whether is can or should be invigorated is to accept the challenge that in-spite of everything that is currently being done is not substantially making our social situation different. Particularly when social work policy and practice looks to the situation facing the care and protection of children and particularly Maori children. It is here that the notions discussed by Jan Inglis and Margaret Steele in "Complexity Intelligence and Cultural Coaching: Navigating the Gap between Our Societal Challenges and Our Capacities" (2005:37) appears germane. It here where they state that

> As a process of negotiating transitions, CI includes; (1) recognition that a gap exists between the life conditions currently facing us and our current operating beliefs and assumptions of how the world works; (2) perseverance to stay engaged in the gap with the resulting confusion, contradiction and frustration as we disembed from our familiar operating beliefs; and (3) exposure and openness to new conceptual framework that helps validate the recognition of this gap.

It is this gap in what is said is being done as policy and practice and their remark about the "ability to talk about a belief conceptually and the ability to embody it" (ibid:37) that lies at the methodological core of this project. It is here that the methodological approaches applied in this project are presented at length. These methods are discussed as "performative social science research" (Doornbos A. et al 2008, Dirkmeier P. & Helbrecht I. 2008, Roberts B. 2008), being a "scholar-practitioner (Jenlink M. 2005) and the research practice of "bricolage" (Kincheloe J. 2005)

Performative social science research is viewed by Anja Doornboss and her colleagues (2008:7) as promising method of research where the process is to link practice and research. It is here that Peter Dirksmeier and Ilse Helbrecht (2008:12) describe: -

> in conceiving of the research process as performance, a synchronisation of performance as method and parallel observation comes into existence due to the scientific observer being also part of the performance. Both, involved participants, the subject of observation and the observer him/herself have the same direct experiences in the context of the performance.

In this event this project in how it has unfolded would seem to closely fit with this as its primary methodology. Also as a performative research project it has adopted the performative qualities of social change identified by Brian Roberts (2008). Certainly the experience of teaching social work to a critical audience in a marae setting fits closely with the notion that performative social science research is

> concerned with "stories, performances, and storytelling" which "create a ritual space" in which people can congregate and listen to others, engage in an experience and place themselves in their social environment (Roberts, 2008:32)

It is however Patrick Jenlink (2005) who for me connects the notions of engaged scholar practitioner with performance and the rationale from which social change is a focus for this project. In turn he also introduces the concept of "reflexive" which he connects to the notion "bricolage". The notion of being reflexive is discussed extensively (Finlay L:2002 and Lisle A:2000 are examples) in the literature of performative and related forms of social science research. It is however the definition offered by Manfred Moldaschl and Peter Brodner (2001:8) is suggested as being helpful where they state: -

> reflexivity means an insight of actors in their social or contextual embeddedness, and a consciousness about the *difference between strategic action and systemic results*. … This is important for a conception of *reflexive intervention*. If a person wants to intervene in a social system, e.g. an action researcher, being reflexive means: First, he is aware that he can neither be value-free nor control the effects of his intervention. Second, he knows that his own categories, concepts, ideas, and interpretations are always *situated*, that is necessarily selective, and never 'objective'. Third his activity is based on numerous undiscovered conditions. And fourth, his intervention will cause unintended consequences (side effects).

It is the notion of bricolage that that has attractiveness when associated with performative social science methods and constructive action for social change. It is here that Joe Kincheloe (2005:16) develops the notion bricolage and the practice of bricoleurs in research further as: -

> The bricoleurs ability:
>
> - To imagine things that never were

- To see the world as it could be
- To develop alternatives to oppressive existing conditions
- To discern what is lacking in a way that promotes the will to act
- To understand that there is far more to the world that what we see.

It is however his discussion of what he calls a POET which is most germane to this project. From the outset of this project it has been my practice to always give away my writing. Primarily this has been a form of accountability to those connected to me and who have contributed their voice to the project. In this regard this thesis itself was first constructed as an accountability and consultation document. This is what Joe Kincheloe (2005:34) describes as a "Point of Entry Text". This is document very much like the earlier versions of this thesis which as over the last two years: -

> has been subjected to multiple readings, conflicting discourses, perspectives from diverse positionalities, different epistemologies, diverse modes of power, differing research methodologies, and a plethora of previously unconsidered knowledge sources.

As noted above the primary purpose of this research is to achieve an "enhanced research relationship" in order to attempt to conceptualise social work policy and practice in an effective relationship with the uncomfortable social realities that exist predominantly for whanau so that these realities may be confronted. This process has taken time in order to confront the different paths of action research proposed by Peter Reason (2000) and to achieve a position where such an 'enhanced research relationship' is evident. This has included physically moving city, of living through being unemployed, re-establishing employment in a developing academic institution, of being confronted with a body of students imbued in the uncomfortable social circumstances confronting social work, reading significant amounts of literature from a wide array of sources and disciplines in order to locate ideas, being contracted to provide policy advice on Matua Whangai and being positioned by invitation to teach in an urban marae setting whose historical roots lie in the policy and practice of Matua Whangai. This has also included integrating this history of the project into the academic process of thesis research whilst seeking to conceptualise this as a model of policy and practice.

Therefore it is the final conceptual part of this project which will be positioned from within this 'enhanced research relationship'. As such it will attempt to theorise that there is a triangular relationship of Matua Whangai. One apex of this triangle is of the 'politics' of governments and its association with the politics within the politics of government. From this is

derived one side of the triangle which are the mechanisms of governments through the operation and development of policy. From this derives the apex of management. It is from this apex that is derived the side of practice which connects social work to the apex of the most uncomfortable internal lived realities of whanau. It is in this apex "circle of desolation" where Matua Whangai was positioned at the sharpest end of the relationship. This is between the external (to whanau) practice and the internal (to whanau) practice. From this apex is derived the third side of the triangle, the internal world of Maori society as whole. Therefore it is these external relational sides of this triangle that are the subject of this thesis project. This is the policy, operations and relational practice sides which impact upon all too often negatively upon the integrity of the internal practice of whanau. This internal practice is not specifically the subject of this thesis other than to recognise that this internal practice exists in its own right and it is social work's professional ability to act inter-operatively (Yanosy J. 2006) with this that is a core part of this project. It is in recognising this attempt that the project will draw upon aspects of conceptual and theory development. It is here that this project could be questioned, in that a view could be formed that current policy, operations and practice is sufficient. Contentiously it is suggested that there is a significant gap in reality. Here Jan Inglis and Margaret Steele (2005:44) suggest: -

> that complexity intelligence emerges as we navigate the transition from one set of operating beliefs about how the world works to a more expanded set of operating beliefs transcending and including the former. This process begins with the recognition of a gap between our beliefs of how the world works and the life conditions we observe around us. Perseverance is required to stay engaged in this gap along with the resulting confusion, contradiction and frustration as we disembed from our familiair beliefs. Also, there must be exposure to a new conceptual framework that helps validate the recognition that a gap exists.

It is here that that the contribution of Jan Fook (2002:3-4) is offered as instructive for this project when she opines that: -

> I have now come to think that 'theory' can vary from a single descriptive idea, concept or label, to more complex sets of related ideas. Often just 'naming' or labelling apiece of behaviour can function to provide some explanation, or connect the behaviour with related ideas.
>
> **Theorizing, then, in simplest terms, is the act of developing labels, the different processes of creating an idea or sets of ideas,** from and through, different **types** of experiences. Thinking about theorizing in this way is enabling because it allows the practitioner/researcher to identify knowledge generation activities within the research context and discourse. It allows the practitioner/researcher to identify the specific contribution of their particular form of theorizing, and how it

> fits within the broader context of professional knowledge. (ibid:5) (emphasis in the original)

This view of theorising is important because this thesis project is not simply to research and report upon a series of observations gathered from within a relationship of lived experience with whanau. The projects intention is to credibly and critically position myself within these experiences in order to reflect upon and theorise about the possibility of a relational practice which may address Maori disparity and the critiques evidenced in these relationships. It is the presence of Matua Whangai that is inspirational link between observing these lived experiences and the development of this practice. Hence by being present in these circumstances, the wider and institutional practice of social work as described by those involved and in turn using Jan Fook's advice to search out ideas from a wide body of literature and attempt to apply and refine these in a relational practice. In so doing is to keep refining these ideas so that when they are taken together they may be applied to social work policy and practice mediated by the inspiration and an experience of Matua Whangai.

To reflect upon the experience of having worked in a Matua Whangai inspired environment seems to make Henry Mintzberg's (2005:10) words on the theory of theory development seem insightful particularly in the context of this project where he states that: -

> We get interesting theory when we let go of all this scientific correctness, or to use the famous phrase, suspend our disbeliefs, and allow our minds to roam freely and creatively – to muse like mad, albeit immersed in an interesting, revealing context." Where "theory is insightful when it surprises, when it allows us to see profoundly, imaginatively, unconventionally into phenomena we thought we understood. To quote Will Henry, "What is research but a blind date with knowledge." No matter how accepted eventually, theory is of no use unless it initially surprises – that is, changes perceptions.

It is Mintzberg's comment "phenomena we thought we understood" which is particularly germane to this project. This because the phenomena of social work and its relationship to whanau it could be suggested is something that is believed to be understood. This is given that the corner stones of New Zealand social work are founded upon Maori practice concepts which are being handed back as co-opted social work practice. It is here that social work faces a significant challenge and it is the vitality of Mintzberg's words that seem to engender a possible vitality similar to that engendered by Matua Whangai. Hence the purpose of the conceptual part of this project is to "allow our minds to roam freely" and will be my attempt to interact creatively and maybe unconventionally with ideas which when taken together could potentially offer some ways in which social work policy and practice could address this challenge constructively.

Examples of this are derived from the literature of "wicked problems', "communities of practice" and the "patch model" of social work. These are

all theoretical ideas which when taken together seem to be suggestive of policy and practice framework for social work for which there appears to some promise in meeting the Maori critiques identified in this thesis. These ideas have been framed and are discussed within the embedded research relationships of this project. They have been tested to the extent that participants in this relationship find these ideas resonate with their experience and have practical merit in their application to their practice in social work.

- **Chapter three**

Defining and Discussing the Collection and Analysis of Literature

There is a significant difficulty when approaching the task of reviewing literature for this project because seemingly there is very little substantive literature specifically about Matua Whangai as a practice, policy or programme. This raises a number of problems for the collection and analysis of literature used in this project. For example what is a literature of Matua Whangai when the purpose of this project is to theorise Matua Whangai as a concept of social work? To theorise this as a concept of social work when there appears that other generalised, theoretical or conceptual work appears to have been undertaken? This is where this project is to conceptualise this practice as an embedded Pakeha practitioner who is seeking ideas which may contribute to understanding and describing an effective relational practice with whanau. Hence the literature consulted for this project has mainly been a search for ideas which resonate. Resonate in this sense means do the ideas being searched for make sense and could they be applied by an intentional practitioner seeking to achieve outcomes inspired by Matua Whangai.

Herein lies a number of challenges which could be made to the literature consulted by this project. This is not only in the challenge to the ideas themselves but also the manner in which this project has approached literature collection. Firstly this is because the ideas for this project have almost exclusively been drawn from the Internet. It is acknowledged that this source of literature has its shortcomings but as Paulina Junni (2007:2) notes: -

> The Internet is an attractive medium for seeking and obtaining information, for the following reasons:
>
> - The Internet is accessible twenty-four hours a day.
> - The end-user does not have to visit a library
> - It is possible to find and obtain information relatively quickly and conveniently
> - The end-user can choose between saving, printing or reading the information from the computer screen
> - Sources on the Internet are often more up-to-date than sources in paper format.

This approach has also been adopted because the Internet gives any practitioner the same access. Hence practitioners do not need to be enrolled academics to source ideas which may influence their practice. It also gives any reader of this project the same access to ideas from which they may critique the quality of sources used or so that they may in their own context judge whether these ideas resonate with their practice and contribute to achieving practice inspired by Matua Whangai.

Having chosen this as a primary source of ideas there has been a task to assess the qualities of sources and specific texts. It is understood that quality of text is based upon peer review. In the context of this project text is taken from many sources from the obvious to the most obscure. Selections of literature are made from key word searches, which identify the academics involved and examples of their writing. It also identifies political, government and industry associations and their associated key documents. This also includes documents pertaining to the positions of protagonists arising from these searches. The following demonstrates how key word searches around the conceptual theme of "wicked problems" illustrate the qualities of Internet literature available.

This theme of "wicked problems" was identified from searches of the Victoria University, School of Government, Institute of Policy Studies website. The theme was located in the following project

> Public Service Chief Executives commissioned Victoria University of Wellington, under the Emerging Issues Programme (EIP), to lead a project on more joined up citizen focussed services.

From reading of the papers related to this it was seen that it implied a link to child protection and social services delivery. It was however from the literature review "Better Connected Services for Kiwis: Achieving outcomes by joining up. A Literature Review" by Elizabeth Eppel (2008) that the theme of "wicked problems" was identified and sourced to: -

> Rittel, H. W. J. & Webber M. M. (1973). Dilemmas in a General Theory of Planning. *Public Sciences 4*, 155-169 (ibid 2008: 48)

An electronic copy of this paper was eventually located at the University of California.

It is however Rittel and Webber's conclusions which make this theme germane to this project particularly where the authors note: -

> Few modern professional seem immune from popular attack – whether they be social workers (amongst others). Our restive clients have been telling us that they don't like (amongst other things) the administrative behaviour of the welfare agencies, - and so on. (ibid: 155)

From this they conclude: -

> It does seem odd that this attack should be coming just when professionals in the social services are beginning to acquire professional competencies." (ibid: 155-156)

This established what seemed to be a bona fide lineage of an applicable notion which could be applied to this project. The discussion in this section is to illustrate how this literature is explored more deeply. Although more particularly in this instance how the quality of subsequent Internet searches is established and from that how specific literature is chosen. Here this process identified twenty four pieces of literature which were retrieved for further consideration. The process also identified other themes such as "communities of practice" developed by Ettiene Wenger and the issues of tacit and explicit knowledge transfer as identified by Elizabeth Eppel and explored further for example by Paul Duguid in the "The Art of Knowing": Social and Tacit Dimensions of Knowledge and the Limits of the Community of Practice" located at : - http://people.ischool.berkeley.edu/~duguid/articles/Art_of_knowing.pdf. These themes however will be explored further in the conceptual section of this project. Here the purpose is to discuss the manner in which the literature of this theme of "wicked problems" was explored and how decisions to select material were made.

Here the literature located for selection appeared to fall into four categories. These are: -

- policy and related academic discussion of the idea of "wicked problems" being applied to public policy issues.
- the development of how the concept of "wicked problems" is applied in the management and organisational situations
- Insightful comments located in in-house on-line journals
- Other related academic papers which add little further insight

The literature selected from each of these categories is discussed further below.

- The public policy literature is represented by: -

Tackling Wicked Problems: A Public Policy Perspective
Australian Government – Australian Public Service Commission (2007)
http://www.apsc.gov.au/publications07/wickedproblems.htm (accessed 27/08/09)

which is cited by Sue Gordon (2007:19) a well respected children's court magistrate of Aboriginal descent. Here in her final comments she summarises the report's conclusions with the words –

that indigenous disadvantage is an ongoing, seemingly intractable issue, but it is clear that the motivation and behaviour of individuals and communities lies at the heart of successful approaches. It also says that a key ingredient is the need for coordination and overarching strategy amongst the services and programs supported by the various levels of Government and NGOs. I agree with this wholeheartedly.

The report concludes that tackling a wicked problem is an evolving art, but one which seems to require (to name a few)

- holistic, not partial or linear thinking
- innovative and flexible approaches
- the ability to work across agency boundaries
- tolerating uncertainty and accepting the need for a long term focus.

It is this literature which locates "wicked problems" centrally in the discussion of the national crisis of Aboriginal disparity that makes this theme compelling. This is particularly germane in the context of this project.

- Expanding the theoretical understanding of "wicked problems" and the application to management and organisations.

This literature is represented by the work of Jeff Conklin and his colleagues of the CoNexus Institute located in Napa, California.

Of these papers the most significant contribution is the report of Jeff Conklin and his colleagues in "Rethinking wicked Problems: Unpacking Paradigms, Bridging Universes" (2007) located http://www.humantific.com/downloads/NextD_10_1.pdf. Here their comments about an engineering problem are insightful particularly in the context of this project: -

Scoping out a new engineering project is one of the most complex and wicked problems one will encounter. This challenge is very similar in nature to the challenges of trying to get issues of public policy, political prioritization, urban planning, climate change, poverty, etc. even mobilized, never mind resolved. (ibid 2007:21)

- What appear to be insightful comments in on-line magazines

Here two publications are identified. The first of these is an article written by Jeff Conklin and William Weil (1997) "Wicked Problems: Naming the Pain in Organizations". This was published originally in the in-house journal of the Finnish branch of 3M and is available website of a management consultancy the Lean Construction Institute. http://www.leanconstruction.org/pdf/wicked.pdf (accessed 27/08/09)

This short article provides several insights which are considered helpful where they state that: -

> You notice that business and government persist in applying inadequate thinking and methods to solving problems. One reason they do is that it is possible, in fact easy, to tame wicked problems. To do so, you simply construct a problem definition that obscures the wicked nature of the problem, and then apply linear methods to solving it. (ibid: 5)

But it is the notion of that "often, an early wild idea turns into a breakthrough solution." (ibid: 10) which seems to hold a concept of promise which may warrant further investigation.

This notion is echoed in an in-house newsletter "Net- working: Business - without boundaries" of an IT consultancy company Deep Woods Technology. Their article "Wicked Problems: Some Problems Demand Different Methods" (2002) at http://www.net-working.com/open/0211/insider.htm (accessed 27/08/09) discusses: -

> The old approach: Design it, then get 'buy in.' The new approach: engage stakeholders, and get them to help design it. But the result of building trust will expose more people to the complexities, and they will help educate others. As a consequence, they more readily understand why some ideas prove too unworkable, and why their preferences can't be met.
>
> The extra benefit is that occasionally you'll find someone outside the core design team who has the nugget of an idea that loosens the logjam and leads to a truly 'breakthrough idea'" (ibid:3)

- Other academic papers germane which don't add to the discussion

The remaining papers which discuss the notion of wicked problems in various other contexts have also be reviewed but their content seemed to add little further to the insights elicited from the body of literature examined above. Serendipitously however whilst canvassing this body of literature the paper "Wicked Problems – Structuring Social Messes with Morphological Analysis" (Richey T. 2008) published by the Swedish Morphological Society at http://www.swemorph.com/pdf/wp.pdf presented itself as having several pages of easily accessible discussion of how wicked problems are defined. In this event this discussion contained in the first three pages of this paper were used with students. This was when ideas related to the discussion of abuse and neglect as problems

> which are ill-defined, ambiguous and associated with strong moral, political and professional issues. (ibid 2008:3)

In the above categories the issues of "quality" of literature for academic purposes and the use of the Internet as primary source are demonstrated in

sharp relief. At the top level quite clearly the literature examined falls into all that could be expected of academic quality. It could be expected that a literature published by a recognised university in pursuit of a project commissioned by a government could only be questioned by another institution of similar or higher standing. At the next level is a literature provided by recognised academics in their fields but who are organising and distributing their thinking through their own organisations. Here the "quality" of their work is judged around whether it is recognised or cited by academic institutions. For instance Jeff Conklin's works are found among the publications cited by Knowledge Media Institute (http://kmi.open.ac.uk/publications/techreport/kmi-05-18 accessed 27/08/09) within the Open University (UK) and further he is also cited in the work of Ann Walker (2004:7) "Overcoming the Neoliberal Legacy: The importance of trust for improving interagency collaborative working in New Zealand". Thus, this literature cited here would I suspect meet sufficient criteria for academic purposes.

Following on from this however Internet searches opened up a new layer of literature whose qualities could be challenged. This is literature, which derives from the commercialisation of academic thinking. This is in the form of consultancy companies who publish supporting literature to underpin the thinking which they market. Here this literature could be treated as having less validity in purely academic terms however; there is a demonstrable lineage to the academic foundations of the ideas being explored. This is exemplified by the notion of a "breakthrough idea" discussed by Jeff Conklin and the anonymous writer of "Wicked Problems: Some Problems Demand Different Methods". Although the citation of an anonymous newsletter could be judged as invalid it is the common link and the words themselves which makes accessing this form of literature appropriate. For instance as a practitioner looking for words which capture an idea it is the anonymous author's statement that: -

> occasionally you'll find someone outside the core design team who has the nugget of an idea that loosens the logjam. (Net- working: Business - Without Boundaries 2002:3)

which sees value in the quality in this form of literature.

It is acknowledged however that there are shortcomings in adopting this approach. The Internet is not a totally persistent source as web-sites come and go but it is has been discovered that the literature consulted in this project has been remarkably persistent. Often academic literature published in on-line journals but also academic publishers use the Internet as an advertising medium. Here often scholarly writing is only available for purchase. This however, can more often than not be circumvented by deeper searching where comparable writing by the same or associated authors can be located. The Internet is awash with every perspective and Internet literature is often criticised for its lack of being sufficiently scholarly. Also because the Internet is an open medium the Internet is also a source for advancing vested interests sometimes of doubtful veracity. It is

however it vastness which allows for the ability to cross-reference and to have these interest made obvious. Further it also allows for an ability to often contact the authors and to engage in discussion of the ideas they are advancing. This in its self is not a negative because it allows the researcher who uses this source access all the shades of debate. It also allows for scholars who are developing new ideas or who are developing ideas from marginalised positions such as indigenous people to give voice to their thinking. It is however this eclecticism and immediacy of the Internet which has been an important factor in its use as primary source of literature for this project. What is has done it give this project access to a broad range of thinking which it is suggested will be needed if social work policy and practice is to re-think the persistence and depth of the problems that confront it to invigorate Matua Whangai in the present.

It is here that the use these diverse sources and in attempting to develop a writing style from them that the advice of Alison Linstead (2005:5) seems germane where she states that: -

> A lisible (readerly) style involves acknowledging the author as a person, with a perspective, and allowing the reader licence to disagree, to feel differently, to challenge authorial perspectives – which are often presented as a multiplicity of possibilities rather than a single 'voice' – to be in puzzlement and make their own meaning from the text.

In this the Internet also allows any reader the same access as this author and if social work is to confront the challenge of "making things happen differently" it will, it is suggested only come from an ongoing engagement with ideas in practice.

To meet this challenge the notions of quality sources, immediacy and eclecticism regarding knowledge and ideas becomes crucial. Internet searches used in this project were able to identify themes and gain access to thinkers who are engaged in developing ideas which are explored conceptually. High level electronic sources also give an access to the most current thinking both of new and existing themes. For instance "The Social Policy Journal of New Zealand" published by the Ministry of Social Development[14] discusses current issues related to child protection policy and practice. One of the current areas of tension created for social workers have been from reform and restructuring of social services. In a recent edition of the Journal this is alluded to by Marie Connolly and Mike Doolan (2007) in "Responding to the Deaths of Children Known to Child Protection Agencies". These tensions are shared with many other child protection jurisdictions internationally and have been discussed widely in the literature of social work. This is complemented by the recent publication of the Child Welfare League of Canada which in 2007 released "The Welfare of Canadian Children: It's Our Business"[15]. This collection of resource papers contains as

[14] http://www.msd.govt.nz/publications/journal/index.html
[15] http://www.cwlc.ca/files/file/policy/Welfare%20of%20Canadian%20Children%202007.pdf

an example specific discussion by Ken Barter (2007:152-158) of the working conditions for social workers in this field. Whereas refereed online journals such as "Social Work and Society" discuss potential for ameliorating this tension in writing by Harry Kunneman (2005) "Social Work as Laboratory for Normative Professionalism"[16]. It also might suggest new themes in what Marie Connolly and Mike Doolan (2007:8) refer to as "family secrets". It is this theme of 'secrets' and 'lies' which is suggested by the African American writer Robin Stone[17]. It is these matters of 'secrets' and 'lies' which maybe seen endemic in the situations where children and particularly Maori children are most vulnerable. This is and becomes the challenge to social work's ability to penetrate these 'secrets and lies' in order to protect children. Part our rethinking the dynamics around this, lies in the tension of whether information is private or confidential and the ability to exchange information effectively. Part of this tacit knowledge may lie in what is characterised as 'gossip'. Although often characterised an unethical activity this is what William Wilimon (1990) discusses in "Heard about the Pastor who...? Gossip as an Ethical Activity" [18]. In this social work might be able to envisage an ethical practice of gossip as information and knowledge sharing.

Accordingly the issue of literature consulted in this project has been an ongoing tension. The tension is between creativity, inspiration of an idea from any source and the need to ensure that ideas developed in a thesis conform to accepted academic standards. Here it is the notion of a "breakthrough" idea located within a reasonably accepted publication is sufficient for the purposes of this project. This is subject to however being able to cross reference these ideas within the academic field concerned. Undoubtedly how in the examples above, social work responds to "deaths of children known to child protection agencies" may inevitably involve a discussion of what is the nature of professional. Here this project also uses self published works by recognised academics in their field. Here the example of writing by Werner Ulrich (2003) "Pragmatizing Critical Systems Thinking for Professionals and Citizens" where his advice is: -

> That good professional practice must not put concerned citizens in a position of incompetence (ibid:2)

Where he argues that: -

> Citizens are not prepared to use "methods". *We must thus take our ideas down to a very fundamental methodological level where they*

[16] Social Work and Society 2005 Issue 2
http://www.socwork.net/2005/2/articles/491/Kunnemann2005.pdf (2/10/2007)
[17] Stone R. (2004) No Secrets No Lies: How Black Families Can Heal from Sexual Abuse, Broadway Books New York. Reference to her book was found on-line. The reviews suggested the idea of secrets and lies. This was confirmed upon reading her book.
[18] Religion Online - Full texts by recognized religious scholars
http://www.religion-online.org/showarticle.asp?title=789 (2/10/2007)

> *are apt to make an immediate difference to the "usual" way of seeing things.*
>
> Citizens are less likely than managers and professionals to accept (systems) jargon. Nor will they be inclined to dedicate any substantial amount of personal resources to familiarizing themselves with complicated frameworks. *We must thus be very substantial and certainly not gimmicky.* (ibid:11) (Italics in original)

Certainly these ideas originating within the domain of 'critical systems theory' and 'critical pragmatism' seems to offer other insights. These are insights that maybe breakthrough ideas which could assist social work as a profession in its commitment to ensure that children and particularly Maori children are nurtured within their own whanau (kinship).

What is suggested is that this process makes for is an inventive introduction to ideas which when taken together will collectively build a more complete picture of a potential non-Maori perspective of Matua Whangai in the present. In this way this project is an attempt to democratise the process of literature selection, analysis and open the possibility of contributing to the debate about a future paradigm of social work practice. The position here is to obtain a wide range of ideas across the span of what might construct this perspective of Matua Whangai. In turn this project will attempt to provide this perspective as co-constructive in building and maintaining the relationship between whanau and the social work profession in order to protect New Zealand's grandchildren.

Current Academic Literature Specifically Referring To Matua Whangai

It seems unfortunate however that so little has been specifically written about Matua Whangai given its central role in gifting[19] the now internationally recognised aspects of social work practice. Presently there are only two substantial works which discuss Matua Whangai as Matua Whangai. The first of these is "The Matua Whangai Programme o Otepoti from a Caregiver Perspective" (2001) by Shayne Walker written as his Master's thesis for the University of Otago. In Walker's thesis he examines Matua Whangai through his experiences and the experiences of Matua Whangai caregivers. It is his final conclusion however that is most instructive –

> A new solution must be found that attempts to equalise the power relationships between the parties to the Treaty and returns power to

[19] Bartlett S. (2006) National Manager, Family Group Conference Services, Child, Youth and Family – Speech to 'Family Decision Making Conference 'Coming home - Te hokinga mai'. Where he stated on page 6 "Let us congratulate Maoridom for giving a gift to all new Zealanders and then to the world." As noted in Ruth Dyson's speech above these gifts from Maori to the department were developed in operation through the application of Matua whangai. http://www.cyf.govt.nz/documents/Stus_speech.pdf (28/8/07)

> those who actually do the work. This must be undertaken in a way that validates traditional knowledge and tikanga rather than commodifying it under the guise of prescriptive contracting between Maori and the state. (Walker S. 2001:154)

This challenge is in looking at Matua Whangai as unfinished business. So hopefully this report may contribute something to finding a "new solution" for the safety of children to be nurtured within their own whanau.

The second comes as key focus in chapter 3 of Charlotte Williams' (2001) book "The Too Hard Basket: Maori and the Criminal Justice System". Here she discusses the origins of Matua Whangai, the policy tensions surrounding its development, implementation and demise. Charlotte in her role of having been a senior manager in the justice system gives good insight into the impact of Matua Whangai at that level and within the justice system. What her writing does confirm is the sense of vitality and vigour that characterised the time in which Matua Whangai operated. Regardless of the policy tensions she identifies these seemed to fade at a district level where committed managers and workers made it happen. Here she makes the comment related to Matua Whangai that –

> The underlying concept never gained acceptance and was in effect taken over by departments and turned to their own purposes. Such an initiative coming when it did may have been too far ahead of the mainstream departments' capacity to absorb change. The image was grasped without a true understanding of or agreement with its substance, a phenomenon experienced in other aspects of the changes in the 1980s and 90s as government departments tried to be 'responsive'. An unwillingness to yield authority or to look outward – simple territoriality, in other words – may explain a good deal as well. (Williams C. 2001:55)

This view is consistent with my own experience of the demise of Matua Whangai at a local level. Undoubtedly her insights may give social work scope to explore the tensions of this period further and more deeply. This maybe particularly germane if social work policy and practice was to implement Matua Whangai as 'a new solution' and invigorate it to support social workers meet present day challenges.

Therefore given the seemingly lack of other similar work that it is heartening that academics such as Shayne Walker and Charlotte Williams have contributed to a discussion about Matua Whangai alive and have been prepared to offer their commentary in a way which captures and develops the notions which made Matua Whangai the important contributor to social work's development as a profession. Hopefully this work may build upon the contributions you have made to understanding of Matua Whangai as an important social work concept. This becomes all the more important now that a new generation of social workers entering the profession who are institutionally uncoloured by the past. This is given also that documents such as Puao Te Ata Tu, in which Matua Whangai played an important role

are a fundamental foundation of New Zealand's social work teaching. Maybe it is timely that social work policy and practice engages in a process of re-historizing and invigorating Matua Whangai. From this to extract and implement in the present the ethos, policy framework and practice notions it attempted to implement.

Part Two - Chapter four – An Historical Snapshot

Outline

Here this brief account will outline aspects of a history and some of the consequences of the Matua Whangai programme. This is from its inception in the early 1980's through to its demise as a programme in the early 1990's. It will draw on my recollections of involvement in the programme supported by archived documents which were accessed with assistance from the Departments of Social Welfare and Maori Affairs.

The account will examine the notions of how, what, who and why of the Matua Whangai programme in order to give an explanation of the programme and its contribution to the development of social work in New Zealand. In developing this account it will also acknowledge the limitations of documentary research. In this process the account will also acknowledge and pay respects to the body of men and women who were part of making the programme come alive.

Rationale

It is my respect for and acknowledgement of all those who have contributed to the Matua Whangai programme which underlies the rationale for my including this research into its history. It is an exercise to re-historicize[20] the events of the Matua Whangai programme. In turn to demonstrate a link between the programme and our current social services environment. An environment in which there are many serious outstanding questions about our care protection system particularly in its relationship with Maori as whanau.

Although the programme formally ceased in 1992 in the Department of Social Welfare it was the Brown Report in 2000 where the wisdom of Judge Mick Brown (Chapter 6) recommended that key ideas[21] related to the Matua Whangai programme be reconsidered and invigorated in the current environment. Also in how the lineage of the Matua Whangai programme is implicit in current policy documents. It is here the policy pillars of Puao Te Ata Tu and the Te Whanau o Waipareira report (WAI 414) cited in Te

[20] Henry A. Giroux (2004) in "Neoliberalism and the Demise of Democracy: Resurrecting Hope in Dark Times" discussed the political nature of to 'dehistoricize' as part of the neo-liberal political landscape. This process of to 'dehistoricize' was what I observed as part of re-structuring of the Department of Social Welfare around the time the Matua Whangai programme ceased. In this research the task is to re-historicize the events in which the Matua Whangai programme existed.

[21] In this of particular note are his recommendations relating to Recommendation 7 of Puao Te Ata Tu - Matua Whangai.

Pounamu (2001) are considered crucial to the development of the relationship between Maori and the Crown.

Hence it is hoped that by advancing the history of Matua Whangai programme which remains implicit in social work policy and practice that this policy and practice will once again become explicit. Accordingly the values, principles and practices of the Matua Whangai programme may be invigorated, advanced and contribute to addressing the very real challenges faced by social work in its relationship with Maori as whanau.

Discussion of Some Limitations

After having begun this research I find there are a number of limitations in my approach to writing this account. The major of these is that the discussion is limited to my own recollections leavened by an examination of documents contained in the file series designated for the Matua Whangai programme. In this also these are only the records that are available from the Departments of Maori Affairs and Social Welfare. In this undertaking it has been discovered that inevitably there are gaps in what is a history of the Matua Whangai programme[22]. In this the recollections and other documentary evidence which maybe still available among practitioners or in related file series has not been consulted. Accordingly this discussion is preliminary and suggestive of what maybe undertaken as further research. Indeed a whole thesis such as that undertaken by Shayne Walker of Otago University[23] could be dedicated to even just aspects of the programme.

Although personal contact has been made with a number of people who were part the development of the Matua Whangai programme they have not been formally interviewed and as such their testimony can not be presently included in this work. As part of my accountability however for this brief presentation of the programme's history their thoughts have been sought.

What Was Matua Whangai?

Matua Whangai is sibling of Kohanga Reo[24] as it arose out of the same social, cultural and political environment of the late 70's and early 80's that underpinned by Tu Tangata policies developed in the Department of Maori Affairs. This is clearly evidenced in the first draft joint circular (circa March – April 1983)[25] relating to Matua Whangai where it states that the programme is based on "the Tu Tangata concept and the Kokiri process, the key element of community support and group responsibility will be prominent".

[22] For instance the records examined have been only national office records. The individual regional records of the programme are listed as having been destroyed.

[23] Unpublished master's thesis by Shayne Walker "The Matua Whangai Programme o Otepoti From A Caregiver Perspective"

[24] (Document 2) Undated Department of Maori affairs Memo C1985 headed Matua Whangai states "Matua Whangai is a traditional way of life closely linked to Te Kohanga Reo and other Maori initiatives who have as their primary objective the concepts of self help, self determination and the will to stand tall"

[25] (Document 4) Draft joint circular circa March – April 1983

The first steps however of the Matua Whangai programme began in 1981 "following the Hui Whakatauira, the Departments of Maori Affairs and Social Welfare opened joint discussions about their shared concerns over Maori youth problems". These discussions broadened in scope and significance following the publication of the Human Rights Commission Report on Children's homes and Archbishop Johnston's report in late 1982". It was the officials committee of the Cabinet Committee on Family and Social Affairs set up to examine these reports that reported a strong belief that Maori families would be "willing and able to accept temporary care of Maori children as an alternative to placement in institutions". This signalled the beginnings of the Matua Whangai programme. Formally however the programme was jointly signed off by Kara Puketapu Secretary for Maori Affairs and John Grant Director General of Social Welfare 18 February 1983 and approved jointly by their ministers on 3 March 1983[26].

The programme was initially launched in Auckland, South Auckland/Hamilton, Rotorua and Wellington. From the outset the programme was to consist of two personnel from the Department of Social Welfare and Department of Maori Affairs who were jointly accountable to their Department and to a core group established in their District. Its initial engagement was to develop community resources active in the local welfare of Maori as whanau. This task was in line with the development of Tu Tangata groups. The Matua Whangai workers were active in 'communities' building the resources of Maori people engaged in 'welfare'[27]. In this way they also supported the Department in its dealings with whanau who were part of statutory intervention[28]. Indeed much of this effort has borne fruit in the development of Iwi/Maori social services, Taura Here Roopu and in the development of urban Maori community organisations[29]. Of note in this is support by the Crown through its District managers[30] of a recognised contribution to the energy required in creating these initiatives.

The Matua Whangai workers in this process were part of reforming links within whanau and to invigorate and resource their authority to ensure the future of their children[31]. Initially the Matua Whangai programme was seen form of foster care where Matua Whangai workers worked to invigorate local networks of Maori people as care givers for children and young people[32]. It

[26] (Document 3) Joint memo 18 February 1983 to Ministers of social Welfare and Maori Affairs
[27] (Document 4) Draft joint circular circa March – April 1983 pps 7-9
[28] Located in personal casework experience and guidance provided by Matua Whangai workers
[29] As exemplified by the role of Ossie Perry as the first chair of the Te Whanau o Waipareira whanau committee.
[30] It is of note that three of the original trustees of Te Whanau o Waipareira trust were Crown mangers. Namely Gary Williams Director DSW Henderson, Wilf Canning Assistant Director Social Work New Lynn and Peter Cook Manager Community Probation Service Waitakere.
[31] My first case linked with Matua Whangai was with a young woman state ward who could no longer remain in Kelston School for the Deaf and for whom placement with her mother was not an option. Placement within whanau was arranged with the guidance from the late Tia Matiu the Matua Whangai worker in the Papakura Office of DSW.
[32] (Document 5) Evening Post 3 March 1983 "Maori child care goes community" headline related to official announcement. (Document 6) Also see minutes of the Matua Whangai committee 24 March 1983 p4 which state "The two Matua Whangai officers" – "would establish a register of potential foster

was however in 1984/85 as the programme developed that a move was made to whanau development that characterised the latter period in the operation of the Matua Whangai programme. This was as discussed in a 1992 paper by Peter Kapua that "by 1985 it became obvious that the programme was not achieving its aims the primary reasons being:

(a) The Departments incorrectly assumed that whanau networks existed in a state of readiness for placements to occur.

(b) Bureaucratic structures had difficulty in reorganising that to Maori people the Matua Whangai concept was not a "programme" but a traditional Maori kaupapa. It appeared to be bogged down by bureaucratic requirements."[33]

These notions are also echoed in the report of Rereata Makiha June 1985 "Otara Matua Whangai Report" which noted that "the Matua Whangai Programme in Otara has, since its beginning, neglected the important aspect of whanau development."[34] This was taken further in September 1985 "as a result of two Matua Whangai Hui[35] which were joint initiatives of Horomona Tipene National Co-ordinator Matua Whangai, Department of Social Welfare, National Co-ordinator Matua Whangai, Department of Maori Affairs, and Donna Awatere, consultant Psychologist, Te Whenua Consultants for Department of Justice" – whose major recommendation was "that the focus of Matua Whangai be on whanau development."[36]

This movement had begun prior to the publication in 1986 of Puao Te Ata Tu (1988) and was reinforced in Recommendation 7 of the report that stated "the Matua Whangai programme in respect of children return to its original focus of nurturing children within the family group". With this also is my recollection of the involvement of Matua Whangai in processes of creating Puao Te Ata Tu and in participation in the review of the 1986 Bill which "brought out the imbalances (favouring professional decision-making) of the legislation to the fore, and these discussions helped form the basis of the new Act."[37]. This move towards whanau development was what from my observation went on later to underpin the cultural notions contained in the 1989 Act. Indeed the term "Matua Whangai worker" was specifically identified in section 186-187[38] in the original Children and young Persons and Their Families Act would seem to be a reasonable demonstration of the programme's influence at the time. From this it also aligned the Matua

parents".

[33] (Document 7) Te Puni Kokiri memo dated 24 March 1992 from Peter Kapua to the Chief Executive.

[34] (Document 8) 'Otara Matua Whangai Report" dated 19 June 1985.

[35] I recollect attending a Matua Whangai hui at Holy Sepulture Church hall in Khyber Pass where Donna Awatere was present. I cannot recollect if this was the specific hui in question but it would have been about the same time.

[36] (Document 9) Report Matua Whangai to Secretary of Maori Affairs, Secretary of Justice, Director General of Social Welfare dated 24 September 1985

[37] (Document 10) Memo to State Services commission by R. J. Wilson Acting Director General 21 September 1989.

[38] This was the subject of a (Document 11) memo (20 February 1990) by Harry Walker and a legal opinion (Document 12) to the Principal Social Worker (28 February 1990) by N.H. Williamson.

Whangai programme alongside the casework needs of the Department[39]. This was because part of the role of the Matua Whangai was to 'find' whanau and to 'facilitate' social workers access to their authority[40]. It was this practice of whanau decision making, legislated by the Act that was to be incorporated into the 1989 "Social Work Development Plan" as cited by R. J. Wilson where he quoted the objective was to be that the "Matua Whangai way of working incorporated into social work practice"[41] which led to the notion that all social workers were in effect Matua Whangai workers. This belies the fact from my experience that there are situations where the level of cultural wisdom displayed by Matua Whangai workers is required in dealing with whanau. This is either situations where particular cultural sensitivities for example surrounding death are needed to be respected[42] or where information regarding whanau connections has been dislocated and deeper investigation of kinship links are required.

In this task, Matua Whangai workers were crucial facilitators[43]. They have at times could be referred to as 'being all things to all people' where in the words of Harry Walker "they are at the beck and call of others who may need a mihi, a prayer, a trouble shooter, a brown face on an interview panel or to 'fix' a case which has gone hopelessly awry."[44] This was because in practice their cultural wisdom was about the well-being of all peoples. From my observation of Matua Whangai in practice they carried the integrity of reconciling the critical interface of the power of the Crown and the authority of whanau in confronting our responsibility for the future of our children. In this role they were part of making peace with the past.

Why a Matua Whangai?

It appears that in the early 1980's that there was a clear social political environment as a starting point for a Matua Whangai programme. This was a time of significant disquiet about the consequences of Maori social dislocation. This was voiced as part of:

- creating and subsequent to the Children and Young Persons Act1974 [45],

[39] This was reinforced in the draft circular memo (Document 13) dated 20 April 1990 which states "The role of Matua Whangai should be to assist district offices in the work with iwi in connection with the Children, Young Persons and their Families Act"

[40] This concept is related to the work Matua Whangai undertook to identify key people in whanau who had the authority or standing to draw whanau together to address the issues of surrounding notification.

[41] (Document 10) Memo to State Services commission by R. J. Wilson Acting Director General 21 September 1989.

[42] Recent events in Auckland are an example where the Police through their pre-existing relationship with Pita Sharples was used to aid the investigation into the deaths of Chris and Cru Kahui.

[43] This notion is reinforced by the inclusion of statutory reference to Matua Whangai workers in the original Act and reinforced in a 1989 social worker (Matua Whangai) job description (Document 14) prepared by Ossie Peri.

[44] (Document 15)Memo by Harry Walker November 1989 to A. Nixon "Matua Whangai – Post CYP & F Act 1989"

[45] Page 12 - Department of Child, Youth and Family (1994) *Te Punga: Our Bicultural Strategy for the Nineties* notes that Maori social dislocation as concern at this time.

- in reports in 1982 such as that by Bishop Johnston and the Human Rights Commission on Children's and young Persons' homes[46],

- in the growing disquiet about 'street' and 'disco kids'[47] and

- the over representation of Maori in institutional care.

Indeed the notion that Maori society was being 'bleed'[48] of its future seems to have been one of the main drivers for the Matua Whangai programme. This is represented in the statement of a 'kuia' from the Maori leadership conference in Taumaranui where she stated "Whakahokia mai nga tamariki nga Matua e Whangai"[49] which has been cited to me by Ossie Perry as the programme's moment of gestation.

The development however of the Matua Whangai programme was also set against a growing movement of Maori practice brought forward by Tu Tangata policies[50]. This exposed social workers who worked in the Department of Social Welfare to a positive closer working relationship with Maori practitioners. This was a positive environment in which many social workers were comfortable with the inclusion of Maori perspectives[51]. Indeed the precursors of Matua Whangai existed in Tu Tangata and other projects involving a positive relationship with the Crown and non-Maori. Examples of these include in my experience: -

- arranging to bring groups of young people from the city back to their home areas. The first of these I experienced were through my contact in the Glen Innes team of Maori Affairs who arranged for young people to return to Northland. My second experience of this was with Eydrs Armstrong and the late Coral Lavulavu-Fox who took a group of young people to Waitangi.

- the practice of Maori Affairs community officers such as the late Hana Jackson and community leaders such as the late Harriet Kiro with whom I worked jointly on cases which exemplified a development of a capacity to work jointly

[46] (Document 16)This was specifically discussed and reported in the 1 December 1982 minutes of the "Cabinet Committee on Family and Social Affairs"
[47] This is based upon my observation and experience as a social work at this time.
[48] This notion of "bleed" arises from a conversation I had in March 2001 with Solomon Tipene. It was his feeling that unless Maori at that time had not taken such action their very survival as people was at stake.
[49] (Document 17) This quote is cited an untitled handwritten document c March 1990.
[50] My recollection of this is around the work done in Mangere with Maori Community Welfare Officers such as Julie Wade, the late Hana Jackson and with the late Sonia Walden who transferred into the Pakuranga – Howick team in DSW Otahuhu.
[51] This will need to be tested further however the existence of these relationships and positive manner in which they are regarded I believe supports this assertion. For example in 2001 I had a chance meeting with a former Pakeha colleague from the Takapuna office of DSW. In our conversation she acknowledge a positive debt of gratitude to the late Juda Heihei their Matua Whangai mokai for her positive introduction to and inclusion of Maori perspective within her practice.

- projects within our communities such as the development of Hoani Waititi Marae which involved positive working relationship with the then Henderson Borough Council, Waitemata County and the Parr family who donated the land[52].

It is these enduring relationships from this period that were built upon and formed the basis of those which for me were later developed by the Matua Whangai programme. Accordingly the Matua Whangai programme built upon and developed goodwill which had begun with Tu Tangata[53].

The environment from my observation having been involved held a lot of uncertainties as many of these roles were new and where Matua Whangai workers who were employed only as basic grade social workers were exercising an influence over management and district operations beyond the ascribed status of their positions. In some Districts such as in New Lynn where I worked my observation was that management worked positively in building the relationship with Matua Whangai. Whereas in other districts I recollect that difficulties did arise which made the Matua Whangai programme more difficult to deliver. Also because at this time formal service delivery mechanisms particularly in the Maori community were limited and not as yet clearly defined, it was an ethos of partnership was that 'we' had to make a difference and that 'we' could only make a difference if 'we' worked together[54]. What Matua Whangai did was to act as role models in the relationship within whanau and in mobilisation of resources. Initially from my observation they were crucial facilitators of 'whanau hui' that predated the Act and subsequently where vacancies were created "as a result of Matua Whangai mokai to other positions such as Care and Protection Co-ordinators or Youth Justice Co-ordinators"[55]. It was for example the jointly respected cultural wisdom and leadership of Matua Whangai workers such as the late Mike Tipene and many others who mediated the tensions between the Crown and Maori (community and whanau) in the delivery of the Department's services. The programme therefore characterised the recognition of the joint effort required to tackle Maori disparity and accordingly made a crucial positive and practical contribution to the development of social work in New Zealand. Certainly it would appear that the programme's wise facilitation of a positive relationship between Maori and the Crown that is it's most compelling legacy.

Hence the programme acted as a crucial resource in this relationship creating a positive environment for the self development of Maori as whanau. This was the experience which Judge Brown (2000:81) focused

[52] The history of Hoani Waititi Marae is discussed at length in the 1998 Waipareira claim (WAI414) report of the Waitangi Tribunal.
[53] These propositions are based upon my observations and from comments of colleagues. These would have to be further tested by interviewing people who were also participants at this time.
[54] This was the social political environment discussed by Paul Meredith (2000) in 'Urban Maori as 'New Citizens': The Quest for Recognition and Resources" and seen in the development of urban Maori social services agencies such as that developed and operated by Te Whanau o Waipareira Trust
[55] (Document 18) Memo from Harry Walker to Executive management Group dated 14 February 1990.

upon when he stated that "from my observations and experience, the concept of Matua Whangai has vast advantages. -- Indeed, I suggest that much of the bickering and ideological posturing which is now taking place may have been averted had that scheme alone continued." This is a compelling testament to the qualities and the results produced by the Matua Whangai programme for which they are remembered and acknowledged.

How Was a Matua Whangai Programme?

Initially the programme was established jointly in March 1983 by the Department of Maori Affairs and Social Welfare and was joined later that year by the then Department of Justice[56]. This three way partnership appears never to have been fully realised and a report by Charlie Moore SAO community Development in February 1984 indicated "a desire that the role of the Justice Department be clarified." Certainly from my experience of the programme its focus was primarily in the area of child welfare. There was from my recollection regular discussion at Matua Whangai Regional Hui about the lack of direct involvement by what was formerly the "Justice Department". This was reflected in the staffing of the programme which was originally only from the two founding Departments up until the re-structuring of the Department of Maori Affairs.

The Matua Whangai team was initially allocated 20 positions. The first eight of these were placed in Rotorua, Lower Hutt, Christchurch, Whangarei, New Lynn, Mangere, New Plymouth and Hamilton with the remaining 12 being allocated subsequently with consideration for a further 14 positions across the country[57]. The Department's also were aware of the sensitivities regarding programme and the need to "consult closely in selecting these workers, who will need to operate as a team", of the teams need to "meet with the Maori community to obtain a mandate for the Matua Whangai programme" as "these officers will be seen by the Maori community as their "mokai", but at the same time they will not lose their responsibility to their respective departments."[58] It was however the Department of Social Welfare where in my experience who supplied them with office space, resources and also provided the management oversight. It was this district office management relationship that was one of the critical factors in the success of the Matua Whangai programme. From the outset it seems "that there is a general acceptance of the Matua Whangai programme. The concept of Matua Whangai is one which makes sense to the majority of social workers". Although this support for the programme was by and large positive it was felt that there was "the need to define how case work decisions are to be made within the programme."[59] Where however in my experience where there was a positive supportive buy in from managers and good internal communication among staff the programme produced effective results at all the levels of its application. This was in the

[56] (Document 7) See memo by Peter Kapua page 2 paragraph 1.4.
[57] (Document 19) Internal memo by R. J. McInteer to Director –General dated 8 December 1983
[58] (Document 4) Draft Circular Memorandum 1983
[59] (Document 20) Memo February 1984 by C. W. Moore to Director Social Work Development – Matua Whangai – district visits

'casework' with social workers, the recognition of whanau and in their internal roles as cultural advisors within the Department. Certainly their wisdom played a significant part in building a positive cultural environment[60]. This was because the cultural abilities of Matua Whangai workers such as the late Mike Tipene who able to safely facilitate cultural practices without creating the sorts of tensions evident in our present environment. This was also evident in the ability of Matua Whangai workers to mediate situations not only of a Maori cultural focus but also alongside other cultures. This came from a collective willingness to work in partnership which recognised Maori cultural practices as being of mainstream.

What Happened to Matua Whangai?

From my experience Matua Whangai programme officially ceased to exist in May 1992[61] with the launch of the Community Funding Agency. From my experience of the programme it had reached its peak of effectiveness in 1988/89 with some 50 positions (these included 12 vacancies) dedicated to the programme nationally[62]. This was also a time when particularly in the Northern and South West Regions regional co-ordinators had been appointed who were active in co-ordinating and promoting the programme across their regions. It was these regional co-ordinators and particularly Ossie Peri representing the South West Region who was particularly active in the last few years of the programmes work.

As noted above Matua Whangai changed its emphasis from 1985. This culminated in the appointment of the Matua Whangai secretariat and the implementation in 1986 "Matua Whangai Kete – A Staff Learning Programme"[63] and the Matua Whangai policy booklet[64]. This booklet, with its orange coloured flax mat (whariki) design was to symbolise the reweaving of kinship was launched in West Auckland at a hui Hoani Waititi Marae attended by the Department staff of Henderson and New Lynn. This time also saw in the record a more formal inclusion of the Department of Justice in the policy process and inclusion in the hui held around the country. This process certainly cemented presence of the programme regionally.

Despite the launching of the 'Whanau Learning Kete' and the policy document concerns about the programme seemed to rumble on[65] which were covered off by restating instructions and policy through circular memorandum[66]. The next big phase of the programme follows on from the implementation of recommendation 7 of Puao Te Ata Tu. It is here that a

[60] As observed between 1984 and 1988 in the New Lynn District under the leadership of director Peter Richardson.
[61] This is from personal recollection as Documentation to cover this periodhas not yet been examined.
[62] (Document 21) A paper listing the "Matua Whangai Staff By Regions & Districts" dated 26 January 1988
[63] (Document 22) Report of the Matua Whangai Secretariat September 1986.
[64] (Document 23) Interdepartmental publication simply entitled 'Matua Whangai'
[65] (Document 24) Department of Maori Affairs internal memo by N.M. Baker dated 23 April 1987.
[66] (Document 25) Circular memorandum April 1987

shift of emphasis begins to appear with a more definitive move in late 1987 to Iwi and tribal authorities[67]. This was set out in March 1988 in the document entitled "Matua Whangai: A New Direction"[68] which saw "total autonomy and devolution of the Matua Whangai resources to iwi authorities within 5 years." This was seen as something that "must be done if the Department of Social Welfare is to take the next step forward in its unqualified commitment to creating a bicultural agency." The practice model that was to be developed from this was known as "Whakapakiri Whanau" which was described as "a way of working" where "whanau meet, whanau **decide** what is in the best interests of the child and therefore itself" and "DSW supports and resources decision." This was taken further in a full report on 22 June 1988 by Rob Laking Deputy Director General to the Cabinet Social Equity Committee which is headed "Matua Whangai: A New Direction"[69]. It is in this report that a number of key ideas which remain pertinent even to the present. It discussed on page 4 that "Social Welfare to some extent has regarded Matua Whangai as an optional extra rather than a fundamentally different way of working" -- "in terms of the department's organisation and the canons of social work practice." It was from here is seems that the notions of all social work practice was to be Matua Whangai practice begun. Also that the practices of Matua Whangai was to be in terms of the centrality of whanau strengthening and whanau decision which were to underpin the Children, Young Persons and their Families Act 1989 were coming to the fore. Doubtless this was reflected in the "Social Work Development Plan" cited by R. J. Wilson in his September 1989 paper to the State Services Commission. Certainly it is my recollection that this notion that 'all practice would be Matua Whangai practice' was a clear import that arose from the implementation of the Act. Further I recollect that the Act was touted as law which for the first time legislated for practice and as such the law would ensure that practice would follow. It is in this way therefore it was believed that the law itself would ensure that the concerns behind the creation of Matua Whangai would be addressed.

At this time appointments for the new positions of Care and Protection and Youth Justice Co-ordinators were being made. As these were aligned to the 'whanau hui' facilitation practices of Matua Whangai workers a significant number of them were attracted into these positions. Consequently this left a significant number of vacancies in the Matua Whangai programme. This was a key part of the agenda of a meeting called by the Director General of Social Welfare on 13 December 1989. Indeed most of the final papers in the documentary record examined relate to this meeting. Seemingly by this time some tension existed as it was stated in a memo dated 13 December 1989[70] "where it can be construed (as it often is) that Maori people are at loggerheads with each other. The situations we as Maori people often find ourselves in (like this one) are not of our making." As a result of this meeting it was clearly resolved that "vacancies created as a result of the appointment of Matua Whangai mokai to other positions are to be filled, and

[67] (Document 26) Memo to A. G. Nixon by J. D. T. Hauraki dated 4 November 1987.
[68] (Document 27) A report "Matua Whangai : A New Direction" dated 10.3.88
[69] (Document 28) Report to Cabinet Social Equity Committee dated 22 June 1988
[70] (Document 29) Internal memo form Harry Walker to A. Nixon date 13 December 1989.

in instances where positions have been absorbed, they are to be re-established."[71] Indeed as reported in the record of the meeting[72] provided by Paddy Reihana the Northern Regional Co-ordinator was that this commitment staffing and the commitments acknowledging Matua Whangai and it contribution to the Act and the social work practices consequent upon the Act were affirmed. Most of the decisions as result of this meeting were put before to the Executive Management Group and were endorsed by the Maori Development Unit particularly the recommendation pertaining to Matua Whangai positions[73]. The consequence of this was that a circular memo was drafted which reaffirmed the role of Matua Whangai, the notions of "nurturing children and young people within the kin group" and emphasises the interpretation of section 186,187 and 334 of the Act relating to consultation with a Matua Whangai worker "**were intended to refer to workers employed within the existing Matua Whangai programme** operated by the Department of Social Welfare." (Emphasis in original document) What the circular did was also to specifically direct and reaffirm the stand regarding Matua Whangai vacancies and the re-establishment of positions[74].

The effect of all these processes on the ground at I observed it was that the Matua Whangai programme at this time was more or less left to drift into oblivion. Seemingly this concern about the programmes functional demise was not just shared by those present at the 13 December 1989 meeting because a memo by Merania Katene Senior Social Worker[75] states that "it is with considerable concern that we draw your attention to the "temporary disestablishment" of the Matua Whangai team in the Dunedin district office." The consequence of this she felt that "the arbitrary decision to disestablish the Matua Whangai team does not bode well for the working relationship between the Department of Social Welfare and Maori people." In this they expressed their "fear that as a result of the arbitrary decision made, the quality of delivery of services to our people will be at risk. We understand that all social workers in Social Welfare will be working in the Matua Whangai way, which to us means that the mana must stay with the whanau, the hapu and the iwi. The decision to disband the Matua Whangai unit tells us plainly that what is said is not always what is done." In this was they believed the decision should be reversed "pending demonstration that DSW social workers are indeed working the Matua Whangai way." Seemingly this situation in Dunedin may well have been indicative of what was happening around the country in regard to the Matua Whangai programme. Here the memo dated 14 May 1990 from Ossie Peri to the Director General[76] is blunt on the point of Matua Whangai staffing where "That decision – *All Matua Whangai positions were to be filled or, if necessary, re-established.*

[71] (Document 30) Internal memo detailing agenda items and responses arrived at meeting of 13 December 1989.
[72] (Document 31) Report of "Matua Whangai Meeting – Held At Wellington on 13 December 1989" prepared by Paddy Reihana January 1990.
[73] (Document 32) Internal Memo to Executive Management Group by Harry Walker Acting National Director
[74] (Document 33) Circular Memorandum 'Matua Whangai' dated 19 June 1990.
[75] (Document 34) Undated memo from Merania Katene contained in the record in time sequence.
[76] (document 35) Memo from Ossie Peri to director General dated 14 May 1990.

Nothing has been done, confusion is rife and the situation is being used by many to discontinue, to disestablish, to re-designate and in some Districts to completely disregard the position." Further when Ossie Peri speaks of social workers "how can they implement that Act unless they, the social workers, can clearly identify that family, its strengths and its resources, so they can be positively involved. Sir, it is imperative that this situation is remedied as soon as possible. We await your response."

As for a response the record is silent. This is other than that the programme ceased to function and what ever resources it had were transferred in a restructured Department to the Community Funding Agency. In this way Matua whangai disappeared into history and was at that time deemed never to be mentioned again.

Matua Whangai Programme – Is It Still Relevant?

What was the concern confronting our society in 1983 enough to launch the Matua Whangai programme? Can we say that, 27 years later in 2010 that this concern is any less?

Seemingly one of the causes of a Matua Whangai was the over representation of Maori in our societies welfare statistics which are today seemingly little changed from the past. We might not be concerned in quite the same way about institutions but in light of too many tragic events we seem just as if not more concerned about the treatment of New Zealand's very young and most vulnerable. Who are in too many instances Maori!

Accordingly, even without taking into consideration the advice and wisdom of Judge Brown, it would seem to make a consideration of a Matua Whangai programme in the present just a relevant today as it was in 1983. The question being is what evidence of the past is there that might guide the social work profession as to the application of a Matua Whangai programme in the present? Here after examining the documentary record two documents stand out as having some advice to offer social work.

The first of these is the paper dated 22 June 1988 to the Cabinet Social Equity Committee by Rob Laking[77] as a Pakeha in the position of Deputy Director General. In this makes some particularly salient points:-

- Matua Whangai is a practical opportunity for partnership with Maoridom.

- It will be evident that the department plays two roles in this approach which may not always sit comfortably with each other. These are in it support for whanau decision making alongside its ability to ensure – by direct intervention if necessary – that care and protection provisions of the legislation are carried out.

[77] (Document 28) Report to Cabinet Social Equity Committee dated 22 June 1988

- From the department's point of view there are major implications for shifting management attitudes, re-directing our practitioners' training and continuing to develop our general linkages with Maoridom and our skills at cross-cultural communications and that there is still much to be done to establish new codes of practice and working guidelines.

- Matua Whangai is in a real sense the banner of our commitment to true partnership with maoridom in the delivery of social services. It has lost its way largely because of our slowness to recognise how fundamental a change it required in our ways of working and our relationship with iwi. To do so will require the department to change according to the principles of Puao Te Ata Tu.

These seem just as relevant today as they were some 20 years ago.

So if social work is to accept these views as being still relevant today what evidence is there of what a Matua Whangai programme might be. The following document which is attributed to Ossie Perry[78] may be instructive.

Here he stated: -

- WHAT IS MATUA WHANGAI?

  Matua Whangai said a kuia from Taumaranui is a total way of life. Where nurturing is natural and autonomous. Matua Whangai is whanau care (ma nga Matua e whangai)

- WHAT IS ITS VALUE BASE?

  Matua Whangai stems from our strong and very much alive 'kinship' base. A sense of belonging that has stood the test of time and has bought the Maori across the world, it is still evident today in whanau, hapu and iwi. After hundreds of years we Maori can still relate to a specific person in one of the canoes, this sense of belonging provides the thrust and man that will take us into the 21st century.

- WHAT IS THE EFFECT OF MATUA WHANGAI?

  Matua Whangai will ensure that Maori values are sustained. It will also promote an awareness of a Maori perspective ensuring 'pride' is preserved; that our whanaungatanga is in fact strengthened and can perform its intended task naturally. Matua Whangai will in return promote a system of social work beneficial to all who live in New Zealand where rangatiratanga is sustained and practiced.

[78] (document 36) An unidentified paper describing Matua Whangai programme but this paper has been given to Ossie Perry who indicated that he was its author. Personal communication November 2009.

From my reading of these two documents it would seem that a Matua Whangai programme is just relevant today as ever. Given the benefit of hindsight it may be a much easier proposition to implement now than in the past. Certainly the children who are the face of the future (mokopuna) can ask no less of social work policy and practice.

Matua Whangai – Historical Conclusion

Matua Whangai was at the height of its effectiveness in the year prior to the introduction of the Children, Young Persons and Their Families Act 1989. Indeed at that time in my observation it was considered that the legislation would create practice. Hence with the introduction of the Act it was deemed that all social workers would be 'Matua Whangai' workers. Also at that time there was a consequent movement towards the possibility of autonomous iwi social services and a conscious development of Maori for Maori practice. It was in this period and with the subsequent re-structuring of the Department of Social Welfare initially in 1990 and again substantially in 1992 that Matua Whangai disappeared from within. The remnants of the programme's workers either found new roles in the re-structured Department, returned to their own communities to form what today are Iwi Social Services or all too sadly as in too many cases they passed away.

Matua Whangai it seems was a victim of the dehistoricizing[79] process that characterised the restructuring of the Department of Social Welfare. In the time leading up to the major restructuring of the Department in 1992 Matua Whangai existed in name only. Following the launch of the Department into business units it ceased to exist altogether seemingly to be destined to be officially never mentioned again. Its story and impact has lived on albeit behind the veil of memory. Officially from this time it seems never to have been mentioned other than by its implication the policy document Te Poumanu. This is because as a policy document it cites Puao Te Ata Tu, the Waipareira Report (WAI414), and the Brown Report as foundations. Here it can be demonstrated that each of these documents were significantly shaped or influenced by Matua Whangai involvement. For instance John Rangihau whose name is intimately connected to Puao Te Ata Tu was one of the leading policy proponents and architects of Matua Whangai[80]. Also Judge Brown who sat in the Waitakere Youth and Districts Courts observed first hand Matua Whangai in operation and it could be from these observations that he formed his conclusions and recommendations in Chapter 6 of his report. Lastly Ossie Perry, the first chairperson of Te Whanau o Waipareira before the formation of the Trust was a Matua Whangai worker for DSW New Lynn. Subsequently it was Mike Tipene as the

[79] This word is used by Henri Giroux in "Neoliberalism and the Demise of Democracy: Resurrecting Hope in Dark Times" (2004) http://www.dissidentvoice.org/Aug04/Giroux0807.htm (21/8/07) to describe the processes applied in restructuring to remove notions of policy or practice from having a sense of history. For example when concept of 'bed nights' was introduced by the Community funding Agency as the mechanism of payment for children in care the 'history' of this studiously excluded anything that happened before May 1992. This was as if everything else about how the payment for children in care ceased to exist.

[80] "Matua whangai – it was John's baby" personal communication from Rob Laking April 2006.

Matua Whangai worker New Lynn and West Auckland who guided the development of social services in Te Whanau o Waipareira Trust. Whilst Matua Whangai however is specifically mentioned in recommendation 7 of Puao Te Ata Tu and in chapter 6 of Judge Brown's report it existence seems to have been studious ignored. This is at least up until it was specifically referred to by Ruth Dyson in her speech to the 2006 international conference on the family group conference - 'Coming home - Te Hokinga Mai'.

Now it could be seen that with the inclusion of the Maori Party in the current Government that there is a possibility that Matua Whangai may yet been invigorated. Certainly both the co-leaders Tariana Turia and Dr Pita Sharples have come through the vitality that this time inspired. Hence with their leadership Matua Whangai may yet be invigorated to meet the relational, policy and practice challenges which confront social workers to address the alarming disparity for Maori and the ability of whanau to nurture their children within.

Chapter five: - Conceptualising Matua Whangai in the Present

Making a Personal Statement on Conceptualising Matua Whangai

This section of this thesis will set out an attempt to conceptualise Matua Whangai as relational practice between social work and the internal lived realities of Maori as whanau. In opening this section it is important to personally address my position regarding Matua Whangai and its relationship to social work particularly in the context of statutory intervention. As this is the original context that the Matua Whangai programme sought to address and it is within these contexts that the greatest relational stress is still evident.

Matua Whangai, in my observation was originally constituted an offer by Maori to step up to support the Department of Social Welfare primarily to address the overwhelming disparity of Maori within that institution. This was to offer not only their own resources within whanau as an alternative to institutional care but also in offering skilled and wise leaders to support social workers but most importantly of offering conceptual gifts of kinship care (whanaungatanga) and family group conferencing (whanau hui). It was these gifts which became not only the cornerstones of New Zealand social work legislation and practice but also became recognised as part of a New Zealand contribution to the international movement of family centred practice and intervention. This generosity has not been without a price because these gifts have been it is argued colonised by the profession of social work. What makes this doubly hurtful from my observation and experience is the sense of betrayal felt by Maori as represented in the leadership which guides this project[81]. This sense of betrayal comes from

[81] It is accepted that this position maybe open to challenge. It is accepted that there maybe some Maori people who felt the demise of Matua Whangai was positive. It is suggested here the there is however a significant body of Maori opinion that keenly felt the demise of Matua Whangai as a betrayal. This is also echoed in comments by Dr Catherine Love who reported how elders around her at the time

being confronted by a social work profession who espouses a commitment to bi-cultural practice and to addressing the inequities confronting Maori. This is a real and painful sense that the very profession who might have been called upon as allies have become just another continuing part of the ongoing colonising legacies of the past.

This sense of betrayal is also felt in the present where in my experience a new generation of Maori 'social work' student practitioners consciously refuse to use the title 'social worker'. This is because how social work policy, operations and practice have been perceived to undermine rather than enhance the well-being of Maori as whanau. Here it is observed that their entry into 'social work' is not about being in the 'profession' rather it is about ensuring the survival for their families and attempting to ameliorate the negative impacts imposed by the institutional practice of agencies ostensibly set up to serve their needs. This in my observation and experience demonstrates a resiliency and a commitment by Maori to ensure their survival as whanau against all odds. It also in my view demonstrates that Maori will never be defeated nor never completely surrender their sovereignty (rangatiratanga).

Given this situation and the evidence of Maori disparity presented by Marie Connolly and Mike Doolan (2007) in their book "Lives Cut Short: Child death by maltreatment" it would seem now critical to look to any movement of inspiration which gives "hope and courage" to make this situation different. One of the most enduring legacies of Matua Whangai stands in the revered ministerial report Puao Te Ata Tu. Maybe it is timely that social work policy and practice takes this report off its pedestal and following its example complete an honest stocktake of the institutions, policy and practice of social work. In this way it will be to invigorate Matua Whangai with renewed vitality within a new environment. If however the social work profession is to look to Matua Whangai again I suggest that it can not simply expect Maori to step up again to offer their gifts. Rather I suggest that it is incumbent upon institutions, policy and practice of social work to bring their conceptual gifts to the table. To offer how it is going to meet and offer Maori conceptions of the policy and practice of social work which honours and sustains the ability of whanau to nurture their children from within. Accordingly this thesis is an offer to honour this challenge.

Challenging Themes

The possibility of invigorating Matua Whangai poses some significant challenges to the core notions of social work as a profession. These core notions it is suggested need to be critiqued and debated by the profession particularly if Matua Whangai is not simply to be seen as an added programme layered onto the prevailing status quo. The first and greatest challenge will be in social work's developing notions of "professionalism" and its quest for evidence that sustains it in relationship with others such as for example, nursing. This is to challenge the "evidence based" policy

expressed this as a sense of betrayal (Personal communication April 2004).

making and practice project and to expose the reality that those called "clients" often know more about their own lives than the evidence of social workers might choose to accept. It will be this ability to include other, broader and locally situated (indigenous) knowledge of clients, their kin and communities that will in all likelihood challenge the academic and scientific knowledge that is held up as truth. Just how come, is it that the knowledge of a client of mental health service can have equal value to that of a professional social worker who has spent four years at university? Or that paradoxically it is the "client" and "client community" who determines whether a social worker is qualified. All the degrees and "professionalism" maybe of little value if it is the client who dismisses the social worker as being not qualified.

To question the "evidence based" policy and practice project will also be to challenge the policy making and the organisational forms created from this "project". This will also be in suggesting other conceptualisations of organisation and management which links evidenced based and local, situated and "client" knowledge in a more effective delivery of services. It is here that conceptual themes arising from the discussion of "critical pragmatism" (Ulrich W 2003), "wicked problems" (Rittel & Weber 1973), "communities of practice" (Snyder W., Wenger E, & Briggs X.) and the "patch model" (Waldfogel J. 1998) of service delivery seem to hold some promise of co-locating practice as close as possible to the community of lived realities faced by Maori as whanau. Here also this will raise questions about how social work policy and practice develops joint accountability, improves inter-operable communication and formulates "integral" leadership. This is in order to avoid the knowledge colonising traps where gifts of knowledge are shared without being co-opted. Where also the possibility that social work may move beyond a confining horizon of "risk averse" management and practice and become more open to a horizon where change and transformation of the "circles of desolation" that confront social work practice maybe resolved.

This also opens up other challenges to some of the fundamental notions of social work practice. For example "confidentiality" is held as a core belief of social work. In reality, however because of the need to share information and to have access to timely and contextualised information social workers are often seen as inveterate gossipers. To realise that there is an ethical practice of "gossip" and indeed "gossip" is an essential part of assessing and sharing "risk". It is here that social work could be looking again at the distinctions between "confidentiality", "private" and the "secrets and lies" which mask the dangers of harm which social workers confront in all aspects of their work. It is my observation that the mechanism of 'secrets and lies' which operate among some people within whanau is to be expert at fooling social workers. When confronted by social workers they can successfully mask the desolation and destructive behaviour within. Having put the social worker off, the danger is not removed and it is the impending crisis that is a matter of intelligence and timing. Also that such assessments are dependant upon social workers ability to gain access

to the “secrets and lies” within and to engage with the “authority” within whanau.

The de-personalised and generalised aspects of casework identified here are associated with some tragic cases which occurred in Wellington during the research for this thesis. Several social work students independently of each other had personal internal involvement with critical aspects these cases. Their discussion of how the mechanisms of ‘secrets and lies’ operate are illustrated here. The detail of their involvements in these situations is not “secret” or “confidential” rather in the context of their discussion, this information “private”. It is “private” in that those involved in the discussion share a common ethical bond of attempting to make these situations different. The personally identifiable information here however is “confidential” to others who do not share this common ethical bond or direct contribution to make the situation of these cases different. In this event these students also have the capacity and skills because of their involvements with situation like this to penetrate the mechanism of “lies” used to mask the “secrets” of harm. They also have an enhanced capacity to identify and locate the “authority” within the whanau and kinship groups which were involved in these cases. Here this “authority” could have been located in a paternal grandmother who notwithstanding any other personal shortcomings is committed to do her best to protect her grandchild. The grandmothers “authority” could be established by her having access to the “secrets and lies” of those who are able to or who could eventually go on to harm her grandchild. Here the capacity of these social work students is to know or know how to locate this “authority” within and to enhance, uplift or defend the potential of whanau to nurture their children from within. In these events the role of Matua Whangai is not to substitute for but rather to support and enhance the social workers own capacity to act in this role. Also Matua Whangai has a role to assist particularly statutory social work intervention gain access to social workers like these students who have intimate internal access to these situations of risk and hence can facilitate and mediate an of the practice tensions which may arise.

This discussion of practice is not just about confronting and dealing with harm and risk as an isolated incident but it is to locate this within the legacies of “desolation” and to seek long term recovery and resolution. This does not imply for example that current practices such as “strength based practice” are dismissed rather it implies that these could be added to by an inclusion of “reconciliatory”, “transformative and “relational” practice which may value the idea of social workers being “infinite players”. (Carse J. cited by Judge A.) It also implies a re-examination of social work’s ethics, values and principles in practice. This particularly in how social work translates its statements of “bi-cultural practice” into reality. It is here that other bodies of ethical discussion maybe included such as the “ethics of care” and “compassion” and how they are operationalised in practice. More importantly however is how the tensions which will inevitably arise are mediated? It is here that Matua Whangai played an important role in mediating these processes and boundaries.

The foundation of this discussion particularly in social work is grounded in the Treaty of Waitangi. Whilst it maybe beyond the scope of social work or any profession per se to determine the constitutional reality of the Treaty it important however that a Treaty discussion should inform the social work debate. This is particularly if consideration is to be given to invigorating Matua Whangai as a concept of social work. This challenge will be to move past the "rhetoric and ideology" which often makes this discussion so fraught. Here it is suggested that social work could read the Treaty from Article Four, hence giving primacy to ethics, values and principles in seeking to resolve the tension implicit in Article One and Two. This is to realise the possibility that the "governance" (kawanatanga) of the Crown acting in the position of the agent last resort will almost inevitably incur a relational responsibility to act alongside the "sovereignty" (rangatiratanga) of Maori as whanau. Here it may challenge social work's relational ability in practice to recognise and enhance the "authority" within whanau and to reconcile social work's "power" to act particularly in situations of "risk". In this way ensure the realisation that the way of life of whanau is also guaranteed within Treaty "jurisprudence".

In all of this the greatest challenge I suggest is how social work policy and practice comes to realise that the issues of Maori disparity may not be simply managed. That the seeming inevitability of constructing more programmes or building more institutions is not going to address this disparity or create the social transformation that may be sought by current policy and practice. This will be to challenge the notion that "crimes of desolation" that require social work can be tamed, managed or reduced to discreet events. Here it will be to accept that these "crimes" are embedded in the legacies of New Zealand society and whanau histories of colonisation. This will be to accept that colonisation plays an integral part in how and why social workers are faced with the problems of disparity that confronts them in their work. The notions of how colonisation works and how the processes of de-colonisation may be implemented in practice become a critical theme if Matua Whangai is to be invigorated.

In making a commitment to these challenges it will mean that social workers will need to incorporate Matua Whangai perspectives into their own work. In this social workers should also be reflectively aware of their own practices and their own shortcomings in their relationships with whanau. It is here that social work may look to Matua Whangai as guides and supporters in securing and enhancing these relationships. This is however only one aspect of the casework focused part of the role of Matua Whangai. It is here that Harry Walker's words that Matua Whangai was "at the beck and call of others who may need a mihi, a prayer, a trouble shooter, a brown face on an interview panel or to 'fix' a case which has gone hopelessly awry" can become dangerously true. It is important however for every social worker acting to achieve goals inspired by Matua Whangai to test and expand (kinaki) the limits of their experience in the relational and process boundaries of their work with whanau. Here social work is challenged to acknowledge and accept the limits of its "power" as derived from the Crown (kawanatanga). It is here that one of the greatest unappreciated aspects of

Matua Whangai as a programme becomes apparent. This is the role Matua Whangai played as "boundaries riders" and "process sentinels" (Gabriel L. 2008) in mediating and facilitating the critical ethical relationship between the internal resources of "authority" derived from within whanau (rangatiratanga) and the external resources of "power" (kawanatanga) within social work. This is both to confront the immediate needs and risks and to transform "circles of desolation" to be "circles of hope". In this social workers realise that they each have limits upon their own contribution to act culturally in this relationship. It here that Matua Whangai as a programme enhances and supports social workers to move beyond their own limits in order to provide the resources of their "power" and to access deeper levels of the internal resources within whanau.

It is here that social work needs to identify a tension for itself in the exercise of "power" and the recognition of "authority". This is because no matter in what guise the social work profession only exercises "power" and regardless the profession inevitably exercises this on behalf of the Crown. Notwithstanding whether as an employee of a statutory, voluntary or even a Maori social services agency, professionally social work is bound to the Crown through registration and contracts and all that these relationships imply in terms of reporting and conditions of operation and funding. Whilst the practice context of social work delivery may influence its ability to access the "authority" within whanau it is only whanau as whanau who are able to exercise "authority". It is accepted that an individual who maybe social worker may exercise "authority" but this is exercised only within their own whanau and as mandated by their own whanau. It is here that social work policy and practice has a responsibility to share in and to engage in the relationship with Maori as whanau within the limits of their cultural capacity guided and supported by Matua Whangai. This is in order to achieve "reconciliation" and "transformation" within such that whanau may be autonomous in meeting their own needs and in creating a future where any issue confronting them may be resolved by their own capacity to act.

The Mandate for Change

It is suggested that there are critical challenges faced by the social work profession and its institutions which can no longer be avoided. Indeed the perspectives of student practitioners who have experienced "social work" in their lives from the present back through the period of Matua Whangai indicate that the situation we face is more critical today than that which caused Matua Whangai as a programme to come into existence[82]. It is here however that the words of Catherine Love in "Maori Perspectives on Collaboration and Colonisation in Contemporary Aotearoa/New Zealand Child and Family Welfare Polices and Practices" where she argues that: -

[82] Personal communications with student practitioners at Koraunui Marae 2009 including students who are ex-gang members working with reintegration of prisoners long term imprisonment and parole. This body of students is extremely well placed to see these realities from the inside. It is their perspective which evidences this critical proposition.

> Aotearoa/New Zealand statutory welfare authorities and policy makers have engaged in lip-service to the notions of "well-being" and "family focus", which have been promoted and which are preferred by indigenous Maori communities, while in fact continuing to operate according to deeply embedded notions of "risk identification" and "individualism". The two positions represent fundamentally different ways of viewing societies and the people within them. It is proposed here that the "child protection" focus in Aotearoa/New Zealand is supported by entrenched colonial and racist mentalities which provide largely unexamined barriers to real movement towards meaningful ideological and systemic change. (Love 2002:3)

This commentary identifies some critical philosophical and policy perspectives which challenge social work when faced with their relationship to whanau. In response however I am aware that an argument could be made that current policy, structural and practice arrangements are in themselves sufficient to meet the challenges faced by the policy and practice of social work. No doubt social work policy and management could point to initiatives such as roll out of the Differential Response Model which has included the development of Maori social services agencies and the as examples of such responses. It is argued here that whilst these contribute however they may only provide a mask for the illusion of change. This thesis however does not intend to undermine or devalue any current exemplars of practice which effectively confronts these challenges of disparity. It does however contend that there is a significant disquiet through out the social work profession both nationally and internationally (Blackstock: 2009) which is a sufficient mandate for critical re-examination of our prevailing social work paradigm. This disquiet is particularly significant regarding its relationship to the ideological restructuring of the state but in this event with social work's practice and delivery to indigenous peoples. It is this disquiet which now seems all but impossible to change. It was Matua Whangai however that sought to address this and through its contribution offered a significant paradigm shift which has not been fully realised.

The scale of this is the challenge is laid down by Joan Durrant (2004:4) where she compares this to the seemingly impossible task of changing the flood prone physical landscape in the city of Winnipeg. This was done and from this she states –

> What did we learn from this experience? First, we learned that tragedy and suffering can be prevented. Second, we learned that the effects of forces appearing to be far beyond our control can, in fact, be altered. Third, we learned that while effective preventive measures are costly in the short term, those costs are recouped many times over in the long term. Finally, we learned that unwavering commitment to a vision of effective protection and prevention can transform that vision into reality.

These sentiments are echoed also in Dorothy Scott's (2006:2) words: -

> The worst example of this in Australian history is the large scale removal of children of mixed indigenous and European descent from their families and communities. This is a source of shame to my nation. Its legacy lives on. Indigenous people in other countries, including New Zealand, have also suffered as a result of past child protection policies.

She highlights her personal anguish when she states: -

> It concerns me why we have become so desensitised to their pain. Is this because we, like our predecessors in the history of child protection, cannot allow ourselves to acknowledge that we could cause such suffering when our intent is so well meaning? Is it because we prefer to engage in self-protective "defensive practice" regardless of the cost to children and their families? Is it because we do not readily identify with the anguish of parents because they are mostly "other"? If this happened to middle class families on the scale it is happening to indigenous and non-indigenous working class families, the pain would not be inaudible. (ibid 2006:8-9)

These issues are compounded by the fact that current concerns for children are often laid at the doorstep of Maori. The figures cited by Marie Connolly and Mike Doolan (2007:50) of child death by maltreatment indicate that between 1991 and 2000 Maori children were 51.6% of all the child homicide victims demonstrates that the disparity between Maori and non-Maori particularly in child homicide is alarming. This is not only for the reasons Dorothy Scott advances but also for the simple reason that the professional, ethical and policy direction over the last generation has committed social work policy and practice to make this different[83]. So regardless of whether policy or practice is formulated on the basis of for example a rhetoric of needs or a rhetoric of rights in this event it is argued that Maori be party to no less than half of this resolution. This is not just about numbers but also about recognising and protecting conceptual and practice notions which address Maori perspectives of non-Maori practice and policy which are aimed at addressing Maori disparity. It is here that a contemporary examination of Matua Whangai becomes vital.

The most telling commentary in this regard however comes in the conclusion of Marie Connolly and Mike Doolan's (2007:116) recent book "Lives Cut Short – Child death by maltreatment" where they state that

> New Zealand's child welfare system will risk lacking relevance for Maori if it fails to incorporate their views, values and perspectives. Building systems of response that resonate with cultural practices is more likely to impact positively and be accessed readily by Maori and

[83] Margaret Bazley in Te Punga (1996:12) pointed out that Maori disparity was one of the concerns which drove the development of the 1974 Children and Young Persons Act. Thus seemingly Maori disparity has been a critical issue in social work, social policy and social institutions for more than a generation. This is also noted in how the "Bicultural code of practice" is specifically featured in the NZASW code of ethics for New Zealand social work.

> Pacific families. Indeed, Durie (2003, p. 304) suggests 'unless Maori had a sense of ownership any state programmes or policies would run the risk of being dismissed as modern versions of colonial prescriptions'. Culturally based human services, and any public health model of welfare initiative will need to be developed in the context of culturally responsive service delivery.

To meet this challenge it is important to look very broadly at a wide range of ideas, notions and concepts which will shift social workers thinking. For example the relationship between Maori and the Crown in social services is linked to the language and meaning of systems such as family and whanau. In this setting these two systems of meanings and language are not simply interchangeable and require effective communication in order to operate with each other. In this to produce policy and practice that meets this challenge which honours the relationship between these systems of meaning.

The Challenge of Ideas

As noted above social work is confronted with how it reconciles the uncomfortable tensions between two systems of thought. In this event it is how the dominance of the non-Maori systems of thought influences the delivery and practice in this relationship. Critical tensions of this arise not just in what constitute the notions of Maori philosophy relating for example of what is the notion of whanau and/or family and the cultural way of being that constitutes the well-being of whanau and/or family as a way of life. In this the tension could be seen as being between philosophical ideas of individualism and collectivism and the social and political realities that are connected the rights and responsibilities that come with resolving this tension. It is here that this tension could be epitomised in the tensions embedded in the Treaty of Waitangi particularly when social workers come to exorcise these in policy and practice.

Regardless of any position on the Treaty in all it shades of contested meaning social workers are now confronted with a situation where the safety of children demands something more out of all of them to make things different. It suggested here that by reading the Treaty from Article four we begin to frame the tensions of Article one and two in practice. This seems to be the opposite of the current situation where the hope is to frame practice after resolving these tensions. This is rather than framing practice in reconciling the tension of these articles. Here it is argued that no matter which way social work policy and practice seeks to interpret Article Two that a 'way of life' is implicit in the Treaty. For instance it is argued that whilst the Treaty in the English version guarantees "full exclusive and undisturbed possession" that this possession can not be protected other than through an "undisturbed possession" of a way of life. Therefore doubtless it could be argued that Maori disparity in social services is clear evidence of a breach of the Treaty and its duties of protection. Notwithstanding it must surely be an implicit function of social services to demonstrate its capacity to restore and protect a 'way of life' so that Maori

may enjoy the "undisturbed possession" as guaranteed by Article Two. Also contained within this discussion is the tension of what constitutes 'possessions' where legal precedent has demonstrated that 'possessions' are more than simply physical property and are inclusive of more ephemeral notions of treasures such as language and the possession of the means to promote and transmit language. In this discussion social work policy and practice in this context seems to have ignored the fact that children are treasures to be protected. Clearly this is demonstrated by the legal proceedings ([1997] NZFLR 642) cited by Annette Sykes and her colleagues (2003:25) where:

> It was noted by a full high court in **Barton Prescott v Director General of Social Welfare,**
> "… we also take the view that the familial organisation of one of the peoples a party to the Treaty, must be seen as one of the taonga, the preservation of which is contemplated… Family organisation may be said to be included among those which the Treaty was intended to preserve and protect.

Clearly what is happening within too many whanau is not consistent with this 'way of life' which in this case is to be protected within the meaning of Article Two and is clearly the result of damage over a number of generations. No doubt it could be argued that these events are simply a matter of personal responsibility without connection to the collective and damaging legacies embedded in New Zealand culture. Whilst personal consequences for ones actions are accepted it must also be recognised that social workers have a wider collective responsibility to shape culture and society. This is particularly germane in the current political environment or as Andrew Ladley (2005:27) notes: -

> The real issue is therefore not about sovereignty, but about making things work. That will require us to test the limits of political acceptability to the whole society as well as to individual Maori tribes, of the amount of money it might reasonably cost, and of the mandate for the institutions that will decide these issues. Removing the conceptual blocks is the indispensible first step. All parties then need to see the mutual rewards to be derived from a unique negotiation process, which now offers a template for New Zealand democracy.

It is here in this tension between confronting these consequences of individual and collective responsibility that Matua Whangai operates. In this social work policy and practice needs to recognise that the "power" of social work assessment and intervention is external to the lived realities faced by whanau within where children are at risk. It is here that social workers need identify, support and uplift the internal "authority" that exists within whanau. Also to challenge and enhance the practice of external agencies charged with making it different for children within their whanau. It is in the dynamic of these internal and external realities that demonstrate the need to build the practice of Matua Whangai.

In this context consideration will need be given to the wider political and policy environment in which this will occur. Here doubtless the unresolved antagonistic tensions between ideological, rhetorical or political positions may seek to maintain or secure their dominance at the expense of appropriate outcomes. Some of the critical examples of this tension lie in the debate of indigenous rights and what constitutes the validity of knowledge in this debate. At its extreme this is epitomised in the contest between philosophical themes of modernism and post-modernism. These themes underpin the challenges of writers in New Zealand like Elizabeth Rata (2003) in "An Overview of Neo-Tribal Capitalism" and Frances Widderson (2009) in "Development, Postmodernism and Aboriginal Polcy: What Are We Afraid Of?" who defend modernism and the universality of the scientific method. Whereas writers like Manulani Aluli-Meyer (2008) in "Indigenous and Authentic: Hawaiian Epistemology and the Triangulation of Meaning" and Allan Irving (2005) in "Inhabiting the Off-Frame: Social Workers as Connoisseurs of Ambiguity" contest the perceived dominance of the modernist scientific project. The important connection here is in the contest of how modernism is linked by association to western colonial and hegemonic thought (Singh G. 2007, Niles M. 2007 & Clifford J. 2003) and in turn with the dominance of rational scientific thought. It is argued that it is the lineage of this debate which sits behind the development and tension surrounding the evidence based policy and practice movements within social work.

The argument of this thesis is not simply to dismiss the evidence based practice movement as merely fallacious because of how it could be seen to be tainted. Certainly the desire for greater certainty and the need for rational and effective interventions seem to make this movement attractive for policy makers and the social work profession struggling to find acceptance in recent and current political environments. In this tension however it is becoming clearer that "the paradigm war remains stubbornly impervious to the messy realities of practice". (Clegg S. 2005) It is not just these "messy realities" but more specifically the "messy realities" of Maori disparity which seem to remain intractably unsolvable. This is particularly those realities which confront social work at the sharpest end of practice. Indeed seemingly neither of these positions can adequately explain, resolve or create an environment that reconciles these tensions for all parties. It is in this tension that social work has to deliver and produce outcomes. Realistically however social work with is its explicit and implicit bi-cultural practice expectations is more than any other profession positioned at the sharp end of making this different. Social work policy and practice could therefore choose to claim a position as the laboratory (Kunneman H. 2005) which addresses this tension. It is here that the relational wisdom of Matua Whangai could be suggested as a movement of practice which facilitates reconciliation of the boundary and processes tensions which arise from this disparity.

Confronting Messy Realities: - How Will it Be Done?

This movement towards evidenced based practice now seems intractably embedded in the fabric of social work policy and practice (Tauri J. 2009 & ANZASW 2009). This is also demonstrated specifically in social work job descriptions particularly in the health sector and the documentation of a number of social work teaching institutions of which the social work course at NothTec (Northland Poly Tech) is an example. This is seemingly almost intractably embedded as Maori disparity is in the social cultural fabric of New Zealand society. In order to argue for Matua Whangai both as a relational practice of social work and as a mediating programme will be to attempt to conceptualise that there is a possible path through these tensions. In this event to adduce from the literature of policy and practice a set of ideas which when taken together may provide optimism which confronts this intractable embeddedness.

In coming to unravel these tensions will be to uncover critiques of evidence based policy and practice. From this several themes present themselves. A pre-eminent theme is in the paradox of social work cited by Ann Opie (Howe cited in Opie 1995) where: -

> Because social work arises in response to the problems of everyday living, its expertise rests in gaining a thorough and sensitive understanding or ordinary matters. The catch for Social Workers is that if the technical base and strength of an occupation consists of a vocabulary that sounds familiar to everyone, it will have difficulty in claiming a monopoly of skill or even roughly exclusive jurisdiction over its working environment. To the onlooker, the practices of Social Workers do not appear markedly different from those of ordinary social intercourse.

This is a very powerful paradox for social work because more than any other profession it is its capacity to do ordinary extraordinarily that generates the distinctiveness or uniqueness of social work as a profession. In its capacity to perform ordinary in any circumstance means that there maybe, as such no exclusive social work knowledge. Hence it is social work's capacity to access and mobilise knowledge from all around it and from and within other disciplines that gives it paradoxically the very strength it is seeking in its quest to become recognised.

In this quest it will also be to acknowledge and resolve the tensions identified by Amy Rossiter (2001) where she reports her participation in a project to give health benefit cards to "homeless" people in the city of Toronto where: -

> In meeting with the Ministry of Health where officials were teaching us to use a computerized system fro tracking how many health card applications had been made so that we could be "accountable.

This anecdote is also echoed in my own experience regarding the introduction of the National Health Index system. It was here that it was

stated that the advantage of this system was that the de-personalised information derived from the system could be used to develop policy. It was unfortunate however that the presenter chose to use youth suicide to illustrate this proposition. This was seemingly without realising that youth and suicide is such a highly charged intimate human experience which in its totality can not be merely reduced to a set depersonalised encoded numbers. It was his rationalised commitment to this process that was astounding which seemed to eliminate the notion of humanness in this project which seems to sustain these feelings of disquiet.

This is where the social workers must struggle with a social work that positions the profession in the creation of the identity "homeless" and "youth suicide" as part of the "web of governmentality" and where Amy states: -

> How exhausted and beleaguered I am by a lifetime of being positioned as a "professional helper" by a state that organizes the people's problems as individual pathologies that are best administered by professionals who are trained not to notice the state (ibid 2001:2)

Where she seeks resolution in the "culture creating" social work discourses of freedom and empowerment which seem compromised by the discourse of professionalism that attempts to privilege certainty and infallibility over being able to live within the mysteries and uncertainties that characterise the "wicked" (Rittel and Webber 1973) nature of social work problems.

As Amy Rossiter (2001:7-8) points out: -

> This is easier said than done. Social work forms – professional, educational, personal, work to poison the use of doubt as a resource. As a profession we spout nonsense about "competencies"; in the classroom we test whether students have indeed "got it"; and personally we feel vulnerable to criticism that we are "not teaching social workers who know how to practice." When I received an e-mail from my niece who has just began her PhD. psychology studies, that reads "Auntie Amy, I feel sure that careful, rigorous scientific studies can prove the effectiveness of psychotherapy", I feel a million miles from being able to talk to her, and I don't know how to begin to bridge the territory. I don't know how to explain that the certainty she feels will legitimate her practice is deeply problematic. What do I want my students to do? I want them to move from deploying expert knowledge to assessing governmentality of helping as a routine practice of ethics necessitated by the historical development of social work in Western capitalist countries.

Which for her means in social work and particularly germane in a New Zealand context of a bi-cultural policy and practice relationship is implicit where: -

> Questioning how we can tell the difference between helping people who are trapped by historical and social circumstances, and pathologizing them. It means trying to understand the difference between inspecting people for flaws and getting to know them (ibid 2001:8)

What this raises is the significant distinctions of what constitutes evidence as the foundations of practice which as discussed by Stephen Webb (2001:66)

> Provides an 'evidence based pyramid' which places methodologies such as randomised controlled trials, cohort and case control studies at the top, with ideas and opinions at the bottom of the pyramid.
>
> Thus, if we want to understand why clients, or indeed social workers, act as they do, we need to understand their conceptual thinking and not empirical evidence or controlled behaviours.
>
> This position not only reinstates the value of ideas and conceptually-based professional opinion, but places them at the head of any pyramid of understanding for reaching decisions in social work. Thus it is the social workers conception of how things are, rather than the evidential facts per se which determine actions.

What makes this all the more germane is Stephen Webb's (ibid 2001: 68-69) discussion which cites the concept of the "horizon of possibility" proposed by Hans Gadamer (1975). This where it can be seen that one of the uncomfortable consequences of evidence based practice is that it is an attempt to deal with the present whilst deriving its "knowledge" from its "systematic" examination transactions that have occurred. Or in the view of Sue Clegg (2005) citing Lather (2003) "evidence often acts as a post hoc legitimisation of policy rather than genuinely informing it." It is here that it could be posited that there is no empirical evidence of the future other than the "horizon of possibility" which Stephen Webb (ibid 2001: 69) proposes as the: -

> dynamic interplay of different reflexive meaning which are continually shifting around, between experiences of the past, present and an anticipated future.

Here this concept of "horizon of possibility" would seem attractive when considering the possibility of Matua Whangai as an optimistic strategy. Particularly as the historical intractability of disparity would seem to be all but insoluble and as such makes an application of evidenced based policy and practice attractive if social work's professional and political will is simply to manage this as a problem of rational intervention. If however social work is to assert its historical purpose of freedom and justice then it is argued that its policy and practice needs to be engaged in a "horizon of possibility" which conceptualises this situation as resolvable.

Thus far this discussion of evidence based practice has not as yet examined the critiques of "what is knowledge?" and "what is evidence?" particularly from possible indigenous perspectives. Here Michael Niles and his colleagues (2007:12) echo the scepticism of indigenous people towards the evidence of evidence based practice as how it for them perpetuates the ongoing colonial process. Or possibly more germane to this discussion of Matua Whangai is the view discussed by Greg Marston and Rob Watts (2003:159) where they state that: -

> Within research communities and within government, the disregard of past research can also be a matter of ignorance or fashion (Solesbury:2001). We must not forget that there are some facts that governments would rather not know, or would rather forget (for example, the role of Australian governmental authorities in the forced removal of Indigenous children from their families).

Or as Tauri J. (2009:11) comments:

> Most strikingly of all in the New Zealand context is the total absence of any critical scrutiny of the effects of colonisation and the operations of an imposed, Eurocentric criminal justice system on issues of Maori over-representation.
>
> What is clearly revealed is the absence of the knowledge and experiences of Maori and of the socio-economic and political ruptures that have impacted their communities over the past 180 years.

This is particularly germane in the case of Matua Whangai where in terminating the programme finally in 1992 its existence was studiously ignored as if seemingly it had never existed. Hence these words seem particularly apt if in light of how for example family group conferencing is now being co-opted into the constellation of evidence based practice. (Sheets J. et al 2009, Crampton D. 2006, Berzin S. 2006) This is where the basis of this practice is ostensibly to overcome the legacies of disparity for Maori in the welfare system. In light of the intractability of this disparity what possibly is more germane, is the lack of investigation into the legacies of institutionalisation in New Zealand. It was this concern about the number of children being taken into state care and their treatment whilst in care that was a key instigating factor for Matua Whangai. Hence research of this history like research of Matua Whangai seems on the basis of my experience fits with facts "we would rather not know, or would rather forget" (Marston G. & Watts R. 2003:159).

Notwithstanding these critiques it is also the manner in which the evidence based practice approach seemingly has ignored the fact that these key concepts of kinship centredness gifted by Matua Whangai could be characterised as just 'opinions' (Tauri J. 2009:2) put forward by the standing of those who proposed them. That is they were 'opinions', in that no research of evidence was conducted at the time in what has now been identified by Aaron McNeece and Bruce Thyer (2004) as the foundations of

evidence based practice. Notwithstanding it could be argued that the original proponents of these concepts were basing their 'opinions' upon a life time of 'research' and 'evidence' of their own lived experience and the generations of lived experience of Maori. Hence it was probably their standing within this 'evidence' that carried these concepts into policy and practice. However a more substantive issue confronting the development of policy and practice in this context is the framing of how problems and policy research questions are defined and the implication that has for the subsequent delivery of practice. Here Michelle Johnson and Michael Austin (2005:5) when citing authorities (Sackett et al 1997 & Greehalgh 2001) on the process of evidence based practice research which recommends that problems are undertaken by "converting information needs into well formulated answerable questions". The danger with this approach here it is suggested that social work policy and practice is confronted with problems that are not able to be simply converted into "well formulated answerable questions". What I suggest is that social workers are confronted with is what Rittel and Webber (1973:160) describe as "wicked problems". Here they identify that: -

> the kinds of problems that planners deal with – societal problems – are inherently different from the problems that scientists and perhaps some classes of engineers deal with. Planning problems are inherently wicked.
>
> As distinguished from problems in the natural sciences, which are definable and separable and may have solutions that are findable, the problems of governmental planning – and especially those of social or policy planning – are ill defined; and they rely upon elusive political judgement for resolution.

They are the sort of problems which confronts social workers particularly in the realms of child protection, youth justice and the stark reality of Maori over-representation in these problems. They are the sort of problems that Tom Ritchey (2008:1-2) describes as: -

> ill-defined, ambiguous and associated with strong moral, political and professional issues. Since they are stakeholder dependent, there is often little consensus about what the problem *is,* let alone how to resolve it.
>
> Further more, wicked problems won't keep still: they are sets of complex interacting issues evolving in a dynamic social context. Often, new forms of wicked problems emerge *as a result* of trying to understand and solve one of them.

Unfortunately however the characterisation of problems "wicked" may produce some inappropriate response in the context of the challenges facing social work in considering the invigoration of Matua Whangai. This could be because of how "wicked problems" are perceived and characterised as being the people not the problems they face. It is here that the distinction

is about characterising the "problems" as "wicked" not the participants. It is here that the distinction clarified quite succinctly by Sue Gordon (2007:19) in her speech "Policy and Service Delivery Issues Affecting Indigenous Australians" where she stated when referring to the Australian public policy writing: -

> It defines wicked problem as an issue highly resistant to resolution. But not 'wicked' in the context that my grannies would use.

Whilst it may seem clearly evident that the intractable problems confronting social work policy and practice are "wicked problems" is clearly evident it is quite a different challenge to be able to resolve them sufficiently. Sufficiently in order to satisfy the socio-political environment that confronts social work where simple answers are seemingly being demanded. It is here that the advice of Jeff Conklin and his associates (2007:17) appears germane. It is here that their advice will pose some fundamental challenges to social work as a profession and its ability to confront "wicked problems". This because as they note: -

> This is partly because the classical paradigm of science and engineering – the paradigm that has underlain modern professionalism – is not applicable to the problems of open societal systems. One reason why the public has been attacking the social professions, we believe, is that cognitive and occupational styles of the professions – mimicking the cognitive style of science and the occupational style of engineering – have just not worked on a wide array of social problems. He lay customers are complaining because planners and other professionals have not succeeded in solving they claimed they could solve. We shall want to suggest that the social professions were misled somewhere along the line into assuming they could be applied scientists – that they could solve problems in ways scientists can solve problems. The error has been a serious one.

This challenge could be seen to be mirrored in the New Zealand social work policy and practice context. This occurs in the analysis of social work writers like Ian Hyslop (2009:71) where he asserts that: -

> Action and advocacy is required if child protection is to be reclaimed as a site of creative, innovative, and solution-building practice (Walsh 2006). The social work profession must arise from it apparent torpor and claim ownership of a practice context that has a wide impact on the nature and quality of human lives. The broader policy vision for child protection must take cognisance of the essential nature of child protection work as an engaged, interactive, and innovative process of social practice, as opposed to a disembodied science of calculation and compliance.

From this a re-reading of the Emerging Issues Project undertaken by the School of Government at Victoria University becomes germane. This is because it was the work of Bill Ryan and his colleagues who introduced this

notion of "wicked problems". It is interesting also to note that Derek Gill one of the investigators in this project originally came from the Sate Services Commission to spend six months with the National Office of Child, Youth and Family Services prior to joining this team[84]. Hence it seems that there is an acceptance of this notion at this level of academic policy thinking. This is also reflected in "Complex Approaches to Wicked Problems: Applying Sharon Berlin's Analysis of "Dichotomous Thinking" by James Clark (2008). This invited paper in a special edition of Social Work Now discusses and develops Sharon Berlin's ideas which attempt to resolve some of the tensions around evidence based practice. Importantly however James Clark's paper introduces the notions of "wicked problems" directly into the realm of child protection social work. This idea however does not seem to have gained much further traction in the policy and practice environment of social work. It is discussed by Ann Walker (2004:7) in the context of interagency collaboration and places the application of the idea directly in the context of community agencies within the policy ambit of the voluntary welfare sector and the operation of programmes like Strengthening Families. It is also of note that the Office for the Community and Voluntary Sector has included this concept in their Good Practice in Action seminar series. Their documentation[85] does not seem to specifically refer to social work policy and practice particularly in the context of the issues raised by this thesis. Accordingly it would seem particularly relevant in the policy and practice context of confronting this challenge of Maori disparity that the notion of "wicked problems" be examined more widely.

It is here that I come back to the writing of Bill Ryan (2007) in his paper "Elephant in the Room: The Embeddedness of Positivism in Public Sector Practice" where he identifies how this theme of positivism is "becoming more problematic as the 21st century progresses. The 'elephant in the room' is that, as practitioners push forward with new initiatives such as evidence-based policy and managing for outcomes, few of them recognise the extent or significance of these issues, much less that additional and sometimes alternative ways and means are necessary to overcome them." (Ryan B. 2007:1). It is here that in identifying the notion of "communities of practice" where he discusses the possibility, "that experts who have nothing to offer than their disciplinary science must share the space with those who bring experience, tacit knowledge and practical reasoning, whether official, participant or client." (ibid 2007:10) It is this notion of "communities of practice" developed by Etienne Wenger and his colleagues which would seem to hold some promise in confronting some of the critical aspects for finding resolution to "wicked problems". Firstly this is in the advice of Rittel and Webber (1973:160) where these problems are seen as "ill-defined; and they rely upon elusive political judgement for resolution. (Not "solution." Social problems are never solved. At best they are re-solved – over and over again.)" Also the work of Jeff Conklin and William Well (1998:7) is germane when they identify stakeholders in a case study approach to tackling these sorts of problems. Here they advise that: -

[84] Personal communication Raewyn Good July 2007
[85] http://www.ocvs.govt.nz/documents/work-pragramme/building-good-practice/good-practice-in-action/gpia-2008-09-seminar-booklet.pdf

> what makes wicked-problem solving so challenging is that none these stakeholders can safely be ignored. Many are involved in defining the problems, and many also add constraints to the solution. Other teams working on related projects have particularly large stake, because one team's solution is the next team's problem.

It is here that the on-going social, contextual and the intensity of stakeholder involvement in "wicked problem" re-solution is reliant upon a communitarian organisation of practice across boundaries and through different processes. It is here that the notion of "communities of practice" identified by Bill Ryan and as articulated by Etienne Wenger may hold some promise. Here communities of practice are defined by William Synder, Etienne Wenger and Xavier Briggs (2004:2) as: -

> groups of people who share a concern, a set of problems, or a passion about a topic, and who deepen their knowledge and expertise in this area by interacting on an ongoing basis. They operate as social learning systems where practitioners connect to solve problems, share ideas, set standards, build tools, and develop relationships with peers and stakeholders.

Whilst they describe communities of practice as "essentially informal" (ibid 2004:2) who draw their mandate from inside their own practice context would seem to preclude the possibility of these being set up and driven as central plank of social work policy. They do however indicate that this does not exclude guidance and influence from external sponsorship. This is however in their view "qualitatively different than a traditional reporting relationship. It is more like a strategic alliance". (Ibid 2004:3) This in turn leads them to identify that: -

> A salient benefit of communities, in fact, is to bridge formal organizational boundaries in order to increase the collective knowledge, skills and professional trust and reciprocity of practitioners who serve these organisations. Because they are inherently boundary-crossing entities, communities of practice are a particularly appropriate structural model for cross-agency and cross-sector collaborations.

Accordingly what this thinking does is to clearly locate the notions of "wicked problems", "communities of practice" and the possibility of how social work policy and practice may create some resolution of the paradigm wars among what appears to be the central planks of policy consideration. This appears relevant in the current policy directions around "whole of government responses" (MSD 2006), "managing for outcomes" (Ryan B 2006, Lewis K. 2007 & Ryan et al 2008) and in the strategic documents of Child, Youth and Family Services "Leading for Outcomes" (2007). From this it is clearly evident that the policy and practice of the Crown is recognising that there are serious challenges for which these notions may hold some promise. The major concern however that could be identified from these

movements is how they don't seem to explicitly address Maori critiques (Love C. 2000 & Matehaere-Atariki D. 2000) or how they intend to own and confront these challenges. It is here that the advice proffered by the proponents of these concepts clearly indicates that no stakeholders can safely left out of the process. Here it would seem incumbent upon these agencies that Maori perspectives as whanau should be explicitly included particularly at the sharpest end of practice. This it is suggested has occurred because of the prevailing policy sensitivity of Maori provision at the time many of these documents were drafted. With a change of government and an increasing unease in society around the implications of Maori disparity it may be timely to consider the advice these concepts may offer in invigorating the relationship with Maori. In this how an invigoration of Matua Whangai could be engaged in making these concepts resonate in this relationship between social work policy and practice and with whanau.

Here the advice of Jeff Conklin and his colleagues (2007) may become relevant. This however, may require an ontological shift in social work policy and practice. This shift may be characterised in the words offered by Werner Ulrich (2003:21) who states that: -

> If people matter, it is not the task of professionals, much less of systems methodologists, to play the role of experts that "facilitate" discursive processes for them or even define what constitutes an "improvement" to them; their task is, rather, to put the people concerned in a situation of competence in which they can speak for themselves and engage themselves in participatory practice.

It is here that this position is to make real the judgement of the full bench of the High Court in the case Barton Prescott v Director General of Social Welfare come alive in practice and to restore the authority of whanau to manage their own affairs autonomously as guaranteed by Article Two of the Treaty of Waitangi. To achieve this however there will be a need for a greater shift in social work policy and practice than currently indicated by these movements discussed above.

This will be to recognise that there exists an uncomfortable gap in perception between the institutions of social work and the communities they serve particularly Maori as whanau and communities of whanau. For Maori commentators such as Donna Matehaere-Atariki (2000:2) this is felt most keenly where she sees these institutions of social work as an industry "built on the back of Maori children" which exists to maintain its own survival. Certainly her feelings are reflected in the stories of students who have to deal with the very raw circumstances of this relationship between social work institutions and whanau. More telling however is the admission by Bill Ryan (2006:45) in "Managing Outcomes: Understanding Clients" where he states: -

> The reality of policy, of 'managing for outcomes' is to be found in the actions and interactions occurring between front-line staff/providers and clients – in other words, is located in the implementation and

> delivery and the use that clients make of government outputs. This is where it counts. This where we should look for a deep practical and theoretical understanding of clients, the purpose and manner of their responses to policy, their co-production of the actual outcomes, and the recursive feedback over time of that expertise and know-how back into policy design, development and advising.

It was however when I gave this paper to students that Bill Ryan's questions regarding, do officials and especially those who design and manage social work system understand clients?, that I was meet with ironic laughter. For them it seemed bewildering that anyone would actually believe that a policy such as 'managing for outcomes' could be designed without understanding clients. Although it is Bill Ryan's conclusion that "there is no systematic answer to these questions; some evidence says 'yes', other evidence says 'no'. I suspect that one answer might be 'too few'." This admission seems all the more concerning when social workers are confronted with how Maori as whanau make up a significantly over-represented proportion of the 'clients' who will be subject of being managed to achieve these outcomes.

Having identified what appears to a significant admission that a gap of understanding exists between social work institutions and particularly front-line staff and providers that mechanisms will be required to systematically address this gulf. It is here that social work institutions it is suggested need to reflect upon and attempt to envisage how the seemingly ignored recommendation of Puao Te Ata Tu maybe invigorated. This is also important as one of the special and active roles played by Matua Whangai was to champion Puao Te Ata Tu and the implementation of its recommendations. Specifically in this context it will be it will be how recommendation three regarding the structuring of accountability is implemented particularly in the local domain of social work institutions. This recommendation lead to the establishment of what were known as District Executive Committees which were drawn from a local leadership of the key client communities impacted upon by social work institutions, policy and practice. This structure created a forum where local understanding of "clients" could be improved and means to address these gaps in perception could be reconciled. Also of note that invigoration of this recommendation was one of the key findings of the Brown report (2000:82). The other recommendation which is germane in confronting this gap in perception is contained in recommendation eleven. Here in a few words of this recommendation Puao Te Ata Tu (1998:41) advises that "immediate steps be taken to continue to improve the design and function of public reception areas." Whilst this could be seen as a recommendation which might be relatively meaningless it is how institutions present the face of the institution to their community that sets the tone and potential substance of their relationship with that community. On the occasions that I have personally attended specifically Child, Youth and Family Services offices I have found the image of their reception areas to be cold and heartless fortresses which in turn was in turn reflected in the behaviour and attitude of staff. A fortress of an office seemed to compound a fortress mentality by

staff. Hence if front-line staff members are to have a better understanding of clients then social workers particularly in statutory agencies must surely address the physical environment they present to their community and in this instance particularly the Maori community. No doubt managers will raise questions of security but surely there must be better ways of making people feel welcome without compromising safety.

It could possibly be argued that the current implementation of the Differential Response Model of referral management will be sufficient to address this gap in perception. Certainly it has been held up as having much promise (Waldegrave S. & Coy F. 2005 and CYFS 2006) not just in addressing a more effective management of burgeoning child protection referrals but in the development of explicit partnership between CYFS and the non-government organisation sector. In this manner the model is envisaged as positively addressing the relationship between CYFS and their clients which in turn is expected to impact positively on the notification to child protection services. The model however may be not without the possibility of critique. Particularly if it is implemented without addressing the contentious perception gaps identified above. It is here that the discussion by Michael Kendrick (2005:4-5) in "Exploring Whether There is an Optimal Relationship between Public Bureaucracies and Communities" may offer some insight into one of the major critiques of this model. Namely that the mandated NGO partners are little more than mirror images of the organisation that sponsors them. This he concludes as: -

> It is notable that even the bureaucracies of non-governmental and voluntary organisations, which have historically arisen within community and commonly see themselves as champions of community, have rather quickly adopted the same technocratic ethos as their funders. It is notable that the face of government for ordinary citizens is no longer just the government's own bureaucracies. It is also the rented or purchased bureaucracies of the non-government organisations who now do the government's bidding through a vast and complex web of contracts, programs and mechanisms many of which are incomprehensible to most ordinary citizens. These government proxies or surrogates often maintain vestiges of their citizen or community heritage, but most will admit to a profound dependence on government for their survival and functioning as opposed to being nurtured exclusively by the communities that spawned them originally.

It is however it his comment that they "have substituted the role of being a 'provider' for that of being an agent of communities" that seems most telling in light of Bill Ryan's (2006:45) comment that "'managing for outcomes' is to be found in the actions and interactions occurring between front-line staff/providers and clients". This is that it opens up the possibility of community based NGO's being swept up in the same shortcomings of perception and knowledge of clients as frontline staff when seeking to "manage for outcomes".

In this initiative however the thinking of associated with "wicked problems" and communities of practice" would appear germane. Firstly this must come from an acknowledgement that indeed the problems that the differential response model seeks to address are indeed "wicked". Also that there is an acceptance that a "community of practice" approach which involves communication with all practice stakeholders is required if re-solution of these problems is indeed being sought. In this event despite any other critique which maybe made of the model it is acknowledged that in seeking to resolve "wicked problems" that "every attempt counts significantly". (Rittel H. & Webber M. 1973:163) In accepting this there must also be an acceptance that "there is no definitive formulation of a wicked problem" (ibid 1973:161) and that any solution is likely to give rise to other and probably unintended consequences (Mannes M 1997:1 & Zalenski J. 1997:13). More importantly however is to note "that it is possible, in fact easy, to tame a wicked problem. To do so, you simply construct a problem definition that obscures the wicked nature of the problem, and then apply linear methods to solving it." (Conklin J & Weil W. 1998:5) It is however the advice of Jeff Conklin and his colleagues (2007:7) suggests that "nobody wants to be 'planned at.' Make the people who will be affected participants in the planning process". Accordingly a response to "wicked problems" such as the Differential Response Model must move beyond what appears to be a consultation with specially selected providers (Turner J. 2008:2) and move wider and involve particularly whanau and their communities. In this way also to address the possible critique that this response it not merely a means to simply manage the "problem".

It is here that there are a number of other conceptual themes where the probable shortcomings of the Differential Response Model may be ameliorated. This not only comes from the eight suggestions offered by Michael Kendrick (2005) but also in the approaches to statutory social work organisation know as the "patch model". This model as described by Jane Waldfogel (1998:115) in "Rethinking the Paradigm for Child Protection" where she describes "The 'patch' approach and name are taken from a model in Britain that assigns staff to cover specific 'patches' or neighborhoods, as members of neighborhood-based interagency teams.", and is discussed at length by John Zalenski (1997:10) citing Gerald Smale (1996) as a model of practice in which: -

- Services must be accessible to people in forms of opening times, and, near to where they lived

- Services should not be stigmatizing – people should not have to be labelled as 'clients' before they received help and support

- All people in the neighbourhood, including those traditionally only seen as 'clients' are recognized as potential sources of support

- The role of the professional is to link up those with resources to those with particular needs at a particular time, rather than assume that they would themselves always provide the service

- Social situations, family and neighbourhood networks are seen as the focus of help, support, problem resolution or management and change, and not just individuals who 'had' or 'were' problems.

- Service users were to be involved in decision making about their lives as fully as possible and also involved in service planning

- Team work, both within the agency and across agency boundaries was seen as essential. Just as the 'problems' were recognized as involving relationships between individual service users and others, so the relationships between people attempting to help were seen as crucial to problem resolution or management.

It is interesting to note that there appears to be a significant convergence between the thinking in this model as key aspects, in my experience of the ideas espoused by Matua Whangai. This particularly in how the patch model defined here sees the people themselves and even those labelled as the 'client' within their own whanau as the resources. Also more importantly how the model attempts to breakdown the stigmatizing notion of having to be made a client before receiving a service. It was this very process that Matua Whangai sought to challenge because of how disproportionately Maori have been made 'clients' when all along many of the probable resolution to the difficulties being faced could have been found within. It is also important to note that this model specifically identifies the role of informal helpers (Waldfogel J. 1998:111-112) which is developed further in "A Review of International Models for Indigenous Child Protection" (2002:5) which reports the findings of Tong and Cross of the US National Indian Child Welfare Association in which they discuss: -

> Natural community support networks should be used and developed, while natural helpers and natural prevention networks should be engaged. This can be achieved through attending formal and informal community gatherings, or by sponsoring joint training or public awareness events with Indigenous organisations. The history of disempowerment and attendant feelings of helplessness must be overcome by harnessing community strengths and natural resources. Historical mistrust is potentially destructive and must be overcome.

This model no doubt could be seen as an extension of the current initiative to implement the Differential Response Model. There seems to be significant precedent for its consideration in the present environment. This is not just in the social-constructionist writings of people like Allan Irving (2005:15) where in his reading of Samuel Beckett "helps us focus on distress and compassion and open a dialogue and discourse about how to construct

and create communities of caring that alleviate distress." Or Gabrielle Meagher and Nigel Parton (2004:19-20) whose writing offers alternatives to the current managerialist approaches to social work which: -

> Seek to revalue the local, contextual aspects of social work practice as sites of transformative action. One way these theorists express this aspect of their project is by emphasising the importance of dialogic relations between service providers and worker. The ethics of care can provide a bridge between practitioner self-understandings, client need and aspiration (see de Winter and Noom 2003), and new critical approaches to social work in education and training. In describing interactions as 'shared processes of discovery, expression, interpretation, and adjustment between persons' (Walker [1989] 1995, 140), the ethics of care supports social work's commitment to dialogic relations between social workers and service users.

It is also supported by current thinking offered to the Child, Youth and Family Services by Susan Kemp (2008:31) where she recognises when discussing communities such as indigenous communities "experiences of separation and removal such as those associated with child welfare involvement can revive earlier traumas; healing, in turn necessarily involves recognising historical as well as contemporary experiences." In this she recognises the dynamic of place and power where "in place, the broader social systems come to ground and are manifested in everyday life. Given that the lives in impoverished, marginalised neighbourhoods and risks to child and family well-being go hand in hand, this insight is central to child welfare practice." (ibid 2008:32) It is her conclusions and their implication for practice which are noteworthy particularly in light of this discussion about the "patch model". This is where she states; -

> What, then does it mean to 'take place seriously' (Casey 1997) in child welfare practice? An important first step is to incorporate more complex understandings of the role of place in client's lives into the linked processes of assessment and engagement. James Leigh (1998) taught social workers about the importance in culturally competent practice of 'cultural discovery', grounder firmly in local settings and knowledge. Independent of their work with particular children and families, social workers need to become deeply familiar with the places in their client's lives. This background knowledge can then provide the foundation for deeper exploration of the meaning of place in individual and family experience" (ibid 2008:32)

This commentary is interesting particularly as this is published in Social Work now the official journal of child protection social work and that one of the major critiques of Child, Youth and Family is their seeming lack of this knowledge in their practice. This seems particularly insightful and concerning in light of the official report into the deaths of Aplin sisters where the Office of the Commissioner for Children (2003:25) reported and recommended: -

> A CYF community liaison social worker based in Wellington, visiting Masterton schools irregularly, is not sufficient to build close links and collegial support at a local level. Consideration should be given to increasing the number of Community Liaison Social Workers or to adopting a model where social workers are allocated a 'geographical patch' for which they are responsible. As part of this responsibility, social workers should be encouraged to develop close relationships with school Principals in order to build trusting and cooperative relationships.

It would seem in light of this discussion and the emphasis in this recommendation that "social workers" in building these relationships that the "patch model" may have much to commend it in the current environment of social work policy and practice and particularly child welfare practice. No longer can social practice remain behind the fortress of its offices attempting to hand off it potential responsibilities for community and cultural engagement to specially mandated agencies. If social work policy and practice is to be actually serious about confronting the over-representation of Maori this engagement with place and people must surely be a serious consideration. It is however in a final word from Susan Kemp (2008:33) where she states: -

> This immersion in place is essential, yet we run the risk that our assessments will reflect (and reproduce) dominant stereotypes. To avoid this, social workers should also seek out and learn from local residents and cultural guides.

It is here that concept and role of Matua Whangai plays an imperative part in how social workers may access "local residents" and "cultural guides" in manner which leads them to create a greater potential to realise the "outcomes" of policy and practice but also the imperative of whanau autonomy as envisaged in the Treaty of Waitangi.

The Glue – Conceptualising Issues to Maintain Relationships

In the discussion above Matua Whangai has been conceptualised within a framework of "wicked problems", "communities of practice" and the "patch model" of social work service delivery. The development of this framework has identified a number of conceptual themes which will be developed further in this section. Examples of these are in the distinction between "power" and "authority", "secrets and lies" and "internal practice". These conceptual themes are seen as being critical if an invigoration of Matua Whangai is to be contemplated as being more than simply another "programme" without changing the underlying status quo. Whilst the concepts discussed above may provide a practice framework in which Matua Whangai might operate it is important that the key concepts of "whanau" centred practice and some of the underlying assumptions of current practice are discussed more deeply.

This is because it is here that there is a difficult paradox of perception in that for example Crown (kawana) concepts of "family or extended family" and the Maori (rangatira) concepts of "whanau" are not purely translatable into terms that each may understand from within their own view of the world. This becomes doubly difficult when these concepts are to be translated in what is delivered as social work policy and practice. This because it is here that the definition of "whanau" is translated into terms which are created through structural concepts that are not prevailingly Maori and into which Maori are struggling to define themselves within them. This is particularly so when members of a "whanau" become identified as "clients" that the tensions arise out of this perceptual divide. Here the potential resolution of this tension seems to have been in the development of Maori policy, service agencies and in the development of Maori social work practices. This is not to gainsay these initiatives per se. It seems however that in order for whanau to define and construct these responses it is to construct them in terms of the prevailing Pakeha or non-Maori legal and operational precepts. So a Maori social services agency is created in terms that are not Maori such as a charitable trust or some formal legal identity which is not specifically "whanau". In turn the agency employs people who are defined as "social workers" who deliver services which are in turn defined by contracts which are again not in terms that are specifically "whanau". The difficult that arises from this is the perceptual and organisational capacity of social work policy and practice to see and locate "whanau" as an autonomous entity in its own right defined in its own terms. This is in terms of ensuring (as guaranteed within Treaty jurisprudence) that "whanau" are recognised as an autonomous independent self governing (within the framework of the wider governance of New Zealand society) entity who mobilises their own resources and practices from within in order to overcome any adversity. In this context it is the "whanau" who is the "social services agency" and it is particular members of the "whanau" who are the "social workers". In this the "authority" to act as the "social worker" within ones own "whanau" from my observation is not simply defined by being a person who has gone to university and gained a "qualification" in "social work" – but they might have. Nor can this person be somebody who is specifically paid and does this as their "employment" but within their "whanau" this might be their "job". Also the practices of this person within whanau might look like "social work" in that they may undertake "social work" tasks but this is not "social work" as it would be defined as the profession. Hence if the social work profession is to be serious about living up to its legal, ethical and Treaty commitments which are all based upon the notion that "whanau" is central and autonomous then it must confront its performance to identify and sustain "whanau" even in the most trying of circumstances.

It is where that Puao Te Ata Tu (1988:9) is held up as a core document central to social work practice that social work policy and practice needs to look again at its recommendations. For example: -

> **"Recommendation 2**
> We recommend that the following operational objective be endorsed:

To attack and eliminate deprivation and alienation by:

(a) Allocating an equitable share of resources.

(b) Sharing ***power and authority*** over the use of resources.

(c) Ensuring legislation which recognises social, cultural and economic values of all cultural groups and especially Maori people.

(d) Developing strategies and initiatives which harness the potential of all of its people, and especially Maori people, to advance.

In light of this discussion on the centrality of 'whanau' this particular recommendation could lead a reconsideration of the core notions of 'power' (as kawanatanga) and 'authority' (as rangatiratanga). This is because seemingly these two notions have been coupled together particularly when social work policy and practice has attempted to meet the demands arising from the import of this recommendation. What is 'power and authority' and what is to be shared with whom? For instance I sense that the unresolved arguments over devolution to Iwi have been bound up in the attempts to implement this recommendation. Whilst for example Iwi Social Services as mandated in law and practice in the Children Young Persons and Their Families Act 1989 may have particular powers relating to the calling of family group conferences and for the sole guardianship of children in their name they do not for example have powers of removal where children are at risk. It is this 'power' and the 'power' to legally approve (define) these services which are reserved to the Crown and it is unlikely that this will be devolved. Hence there will always be a consideration of how the application of this 'power' is bound up in the fraught and complex reality of extended family or 'whanau' disconnection. This is also compounded by an aspect of this discussion where Maori leaders in this project are not seeking per se to have a Maori position simply enhanced by exercising the 'power' of the Crown. Rather they are seeking to have their 'authority' from within recognised to manage and uplift their own whanau from within. This dichotomy seemingly is one of those matters which can not be eradicated and somehow social work policy and practice will have to live within this ongoing uneasy tension.

Hence "power and authority" are inter-operable notions which stand in equal regard to each other. 'Power' exists within the Crown (kawana) and is shared through agencies it approves and contracts to act on its behalf. Whereas it is argued that 'authority' exists and is guaranteed within whanau as their self determining ability to ensure their own well-being. Hence ultimately the power of the Crown (kawana) can not be devolved and accordingly can not operate successfully without the 'authority' within whanau. In this way each is dependant upon the other as a resource to achieve common goals. Here however the problem is, how does the 'power' of the Crown (kawana) recognise and access the 'authority' of whanau within the 'circles of desolation' which confronts social work where all too

often this self determining ability to ensure well-being has been damaged and in some cases seemingly damaged beyond all repair. Notwithstanding it is suggested that 'authority' (rangatira) exists in all cases – no matter how fragile. As such it becomes the task for the 'power' of the 'kawana' to search out, identify, bring forward, enhance and restore the 'authority' that exists within. It is here that Matua Whangai demonstrated that the exercise of this 'authority' within exists, is natural and that when difficulties arose in this relationship that they could act to reconcile and resolve these tensions. In this manner ensure that the exercise of social work practice both internally within 'whanau' and externally within agencies generated favourable outcomes.

In order to confront this tension and to in practice to ensure that "whanau" authority is actually enhanced will also be to confront the prevailing tensions and perceptions which exist in this relationship. This will be to confront issues of mutual trust. This could be where 'whanau' may be perceived to have been so damaged that there are no resources within who may be considered safe unless they are re-defined in pre-existing terms of social work practice. That for example that in social work policy and practice 'kinship care' is redefined and colonised as a form of 'foster care'. Or from within 'whanau' the profession of social work is seen as merely more of the same and a continuing attempt to colonise Maori through the removal of children. Albeit that these interventions are now supposedly being undertaken with due regard to Treaty jurisprudence and with a commitment to bi-cultural practice. It is here that the 'secrets and lies' which lives within the actual outcomes of practice and in the stark uncomfortable realities within 'whanau' and in communities that challenges the illusions held up for the effectiveness of current policy and practice. It is therefore how this notion of 'secrets and lies' is critically confronted if the outcomes desired are to be produced and the well-being of whanau is actually achieved.

This is both in translating the longstanding policy expectation of kinship centeredness into actual practice. In this social workers are confronted with the whole range of perceptions and the barriers that are created in gaining access to a self perpetuating internal reality of life which besets New Zealand society in these 'circles of desolation'. It is 'secrets' and 'lies' which are identified in an African-American context where: -

> Author Robin D. Stone explores the cultural taboos and social dynamics that keep black families silent and have enabled sexual abuse to continue for generations. Among them:
>
> - A legacy of slavery and stereotypes about black sexuality
> - Distrust of the police and authority figures
> - Reluctance to seek counselling or therapy

- Reluctance to turn offenders into 'the system' "[86] (Darkness to Light 2007)

It is these legacies which are woven around these situations that have led to and surround the harm that is being done to children. Although this synopsis is framed in an African American context these notions sound, to me quite familiar and seem to align with situations in a New Zealand context. This is not just to characterise these notions as "family secrets" as discussed by Marie Connolly and Mike Doolan (2007:8). Making this concept one of 'family' and 'secrets' pathologises these as being simply in them the 'family' not in 'us' - as being 'secrets' embedded in the culture of society. Where, the historian Giselle Byrnes (2009) in "Secrets and Lies: Retelling New Zealand History" notes that "the theme of secrets and lies has a relevance here in Aotearoa New Zealand, and particularly with regard to the historical experiences of the indigenous people of these islands" (ibid 2009:4) where "the secrets and lies of historical interpretation regarding what New Zealand history means and how it might be explained, pales in comparison with the ways in which we have tended to ignore and gloss over the effects of colonization in this country." (ibid 2009:15) Hence the characterisation of "family secrets" does not capture the behaviours which create and maintain these secrets. Hence the 'secrets' are not just in a family but in 'our' culture and are sustained by an ongoing behaviour of 'lies'. This is the culture of 'secrets' and 'lies' that 'we' tell ourselves which continues to justify the status quo. Also within this discussion will be the challenges of how to conceptualise, identify and create relationships with and uplift the notion of family as whanau. This is particularly pertinent when social workers are beset with a situation where it requires courage to move beyond what Connolly and Doolan (2007:5-6) discuss as the risk averse environment[87]. It is here that not only will notions of the 'patch model' of practice appear to have merit where social work policy and practice operate in a closer relationship to where risk is located but also in how Matua Whangai played a role of locating and confronting these "secrets and lies" within.

Here these themes of colonisation and risk averse practice will be explored further. It is however this theme of colonisation and its legacies of 'secrets and lies' which is seen as fundamental to an discussion of what Matua Whangai may be as an invigorated concept of social work. It is Paul Meredith's (1998)[88] writing in "Hybridity in the Third Space: Rethinking Bi-cultural Politics in Aotearoa/New Zealand" which focuses attention on the contested notion of colonisation and what might constitute post-colonial. Doubtless this maybe be contested on all sides and could be used both as an argument of denial by some or by others as a weapon to engage guilt or

[86] As reviewed in *Darkness to Light* a non-profit sexual abuse advocacy organisation at http://www.darkness2light.org/KnowAbout/no_secrets_no_lies.asp (2/10/2007)
[87] This is discussed by Marie Connolly and Mike Doolan in "Responding to the Deaths of Children Known to Child Protection Agencies" Social Policy Journal of New Zealand Issue 30 March 2007 http://www.msd.govt.nz/documents/publications/msd/journal/issue30/30-pages1-11.pdf (2/10/2007)
[88] Meredith P. (1998) Hybridity in the Third Space: Rethinking Bi-cultural Politics in Aotearoa/New Zealand http://lianz.waikato.ac.nz/PAPERS/paul/hybridity.pdf (2/10/2007)

shame for the consequences of New Zealand history. Suffice to say that no matter what ideological position that is taken on the colonial encounter it is and will remain a critical notion for social work policy and practice to resolve in practice. Certainly the discussion of colonisation and its impacts features clearly and loudly in the social work literature by and relating to indigenous people. This is particularly so in post colonial settler nations such as New Zealand, Canada, Australia and the USA. (Puao Te Ata Tu 1988, Love C 2002, Mandell, D., Clouston Carlson, J., Fine, M., & Blackstock, C. 2003, Crichlow W. 2002, Moeke-Maxwell T. 2003) Quite simply colonisation existed and the present situation in social work is created and conditioned by its existence and from that the profession can not escape.

Here in order to meet this challenge to understand and accept these legacies, there is a need to grasp a framework which describes colonisation. Moreover not just to describe it as a process but offer social work policy and practice a pathway forward without having us fall into a rhetorical or ideological trap leaving the profession still unresolved. Particularly in this if social workers are really desirous of moving forward to deal with these consequences. The simplest framework to meet this challenge is offered by Poka Laenui (1999) in "Processes of Decolonization"[89]. Here he speaks of this decolonising process as firstly re/discovery where the opportunity is both individually and jointly to examine the past and "our" place in it. Poka Laenui (1999:4) here posits that discovery contains a sense of mourning which is part of coming to terms with these legacies and ones place in them. He discusses -

> The mourning stage can also accelerate the earlier stage of rediscovery and recovery. People in mourning often immerse themselves totally in the rediscovery of their history making for an interesting interplay between these two phases, both feeding upon one another"…. "Some people are happy to go no further than the mourning, finding sufficient satisfaction in long term grumbling. People can get "stuck in the awfulizing" of their victim-hood. Some build a career upon it.

Here his words seem very much to echo some of the deep seated characteristics of the present environment on both sides of the cultural relationship. Certainly it may portray the situation faced by Maori in this context where he states: -

> This phase may also be expressed in great anger and a lashing out at all symbols of the colonizer. A sense of justified violence, either in words or action, can lull some into remaining in this phase, milking every advantage of the innocence of one's victimization. (ibid 1999:4)

It is however the simplicity and optimism of his framework which I suggest has what is needed to move social work policy and practice away from its committed sense of being "stuck in the awfulizing" (ibid 1999:4) of risk averse practice. Here his position on dreaming and commitment finally

[89] Laenui P. (1999) http://www.opihi.com/sovereignty/colonization.htm (2/10/2007)

framed in action seems to offer an optimistic strategy if social work was to follow it through as a process. Although as he states -

> The process of colonization and of decolonization deserves closer consideration in attempting to refashion societies. Otherwise, we may find we are merely entrenching ourselves deeper in the systems, values and controls put here by the colonizer. (ibid 1999:8)

Although this is written from an indigenous Hawaiian perspective this framework is meaningful in a New Zealand context. It may even also be meaningful to those who wish to deny or minimise the impact of colonisation and hence might seek to place themselves outside this framework. In my own context for example as a descendant of a colonising people it has been imperative for to me to discover the legacies of my own past particularly if I am seeking to create a different future.

Doubtless this discussion may also be framed in the Treaty settlement environment and it is here that other ideas of reconciliatory justice which will contribute. Regardless and because of the rhetoric and ideology that will arise it is important to confront, particularly in a social services context a reality of reconciliatory justice in operation. How for instance is it possible to confront an embedded disparity between Maori and non-Maori in this context without recourse to such notions? Here the work of Robert Joseph "Denial, Acknowledgement and Peace Building through Reconciliatory Justice" (2001)[90] provides a clarity of expression which may aid our understanding. His writing is specifically focused on the national context however it does echo the thoughts offered by many others both indigenous and non-indigenous thinkers world wide (see the bibliography listed in the Native Law Centre of Canada - University of Saskatchewan, Ryan J. 1996, Havermann P. 2005, Giwa S. et al 2006)[91]. This discussion is not only in the negative of a politics of denial which Robert Joseph (2001) discusses as: -

> Perhaps one of the most pernicious dimensions of colonial injustices given that it is a significant barrier to actualising justice. Injustices against Maori have been perpetuated through the subtle culture of denial that prevails in New Zealand society. Denial includes various processes by which people block, shut out, repress or cover up certain forms of disturbing information or else evade, avoid or neutralise the implications of this information. (ibid 2001:2-3)

Here he also proposes a positive framework which Robert Joseph discusses as a process not an event. Whereby: -

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[90] Te Matahauriki Institute http://lianz.waikato.ac.nz/PAPERS/Rob/Denial.pdf (2/10/2007)
[91] http://www.domcentral.org/library/native.htm , (2/10/2007)
http://www.usask.ca/nativelaw/publications/jah/jah_articles.html (2/10/2007
http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/journals/MqLJ/2005/4.html (2/10/2007)
http://reconciliationmovement.org/docs/Reconciliation_Evaluation_April2006.pdf (2/10/2007)

The key steps for accomplishing reconciliatory justice, the promotion of social justice through reconciliation, include:

1 • Recognition - truth finding and telling of the injustices;
0 • Responsibility and remorse - acknowledgement and apology for the injustices;
2 • Restitution - of Maori land and power to determine its use;
3 • Reparation - for injustices in financial terms recognising that ethnocidal and genocidal harms are really incompressible in this way;
0 • Redesign - of state political-legal institutions and processes to empower Maori to participate in their own governance and the government of the state.
4 • Refraining - from repeating the injustices
5 • Reciprocity – the obligation to do unto others as you would have them do unto you; to give as you have been given. (ibid 2001:11)

It is in this manner that social work policy and practice may begin to see a workable pathway through the complexities of this relationship.

Hence the discussion of the current "risk averse" practice environment and the academic and policy discussion of risk management will only be compounded and will become increasingly risky unless we actively engage in confronting these colonising legacies. This discussion will help identify some of the opportunities and relationships that are needed to manage the very real risks facing children in New Zealand society. What this will do is to create a different foundation upon which the recent academic and policy discussion of risk may be examined. This discussion has included significant analysis of how systems of child protection particularly have focused on risk and risk assessment in a way which might be more accurately predictive of whether or not formal intervention is required. Some of the dilemmas of this is discussed by James Mansell (2006)[92] in "Stabilisation of the Statutory Child Protection Response: Managing to a Specified Level of Risk Assurance". This discussion has included notions of the under or over inclusion of families who might present some risk and how this can remain being managed within a family preservation or purely forensic investigatory approach. It is here that his comments about the failure of feedback particularly in the case of "failed alarms" within "the current dynamics poor information flow and delayed feedback" which seem to contribute to the discussion of the current situation of systemic instability. It is however his comments in this context which are significantly telling. This is where he states that: -

> Bridging the gaps in information and so removing the delay in feedback will allow the consideration of all risks at once and so allow the system to target naturally towards an acceptable optimum for intervention, one that targets the optimum ability to act to save children without hurting too many others.

[92] Social Policy Journal July 2006
http://www.msd.govt.nz/documents/publications/msd/journal/issue28/28-pages-77-93.pdf (2/10/2007)

> If the system is changed by removing the delay and incomplete feedback of risk screening, then a virtuous cycle of continuous improvement in the ability to target resources effectively is likely to emerge. This new set of dynamics will replace or supersede the previous oscillating system that continually misses the optimal threshold for intervention (ibid 2006:84)

It is however his concluding comments which are, the most telling.

> True and enduring change will only be accomplished where the dynamics underlying the problem are understood and addressed as part of that change. Attempting to remedy the symptoms by force is likely to be costly, further destabilise the system and ultimately unravel as the underlying dynamics reassert themselves. (ibid 2006:92)

Whilst supporting a move to a more "general child protection response" much of his analysis appears to be framed in developing a more sophisticated structure of risk assessment[93]. It is these tensions which seem to have framed the ideas behind the establishment of a Differential Response Model whereby following intake investigations may be assigned to different agencies depending upon levels of assessed risk. It is suggested that notwithstanding the possible merits of this approach however there are a number of critical shortcomings. The most important of these is in "bridging the gaps in information and so removing the delay in feedback" (ibid 2006:84). This is particularly important when attempting to deal with the 'secrets and lies' of damaged internal realities within whanau. This is particularly pertinent when considering the intervention by agencies that are perceived of as doing more harm than good. It is here that a different paradigm of operation and practice maybe required.

Understandably it is within a child protection system where the risk of failure has significant consequences not just for the system which is expected to be fail-proof but also in the consequence of harm for society's most vulnerable children. Here parallels could be draw between the analysis and the study of risk management in what are known as high risk industries. These are industries, where human or systems failure has huge and often catastrophic consequences. Such as the oil and gas industry particularly offshore rigs and the airline industry in such things as pilot and air traffic control. It is here that the Norwegian researchers Karina Aase and Geir Nybø (2002:2) in their paper "Organizational Knowledge in High Risk Industries: What are the alternatives to model-based learning approaches?" begin to examine some possible alternatives which maybe considered. Particularly in this context of social work policy and practice, the policy desire to address Maori disparity and to uphold core social work professional values of bi-cultural practice whilst confronting the ever present risks of harm. In their work they draw upon their studies of the Norwegian oil and gas industry where their conclusions demonstrate that:

[93] See Mansell J. 2006 The Underlying Instability in Statutory Child Protection: Understanding the System Dynamics Driving Risk Assurance" Social Policy Journal July 2006 http://www.msd.govt.nz/documents/publications/msd/journal/issue28/28-pages-97-132.pdf (2/10/2007)

> Learning and knowledge transfer is typically organised around the model-based view of knowledge and learning as the dissemination of fact-type information (easily coded and made explicit). Considerable resources are devoted to the development and implications of databases, specifications, and other formal instruments to codify and conserve knowledge and experience. Such formal repositories of experience often fail to achieve the expected impact. People working in offshore development projects often find face-to-face interaction and informal channels of experience and knowledge (e.g. personal networks) better serve their information and knowledge needs. Our assertion is that the requirements of transferring experience and developing knowledge in more uncertain and organizationally driven domains imply a human inquiry approach to collectively develop, make sense of, and disseminate tacit and sticky knowledge.
>
> The human inquiry perspective implies aspects of experimentation, commitment; interaction, collective thinking, and mental models should form the basis of these learning approaches. The trying conditions of high risk industries regarding the potential of catastrophic consequences and interactively complex technology require even more savoir-faire in the development of such human inquiry based learning approaches. In this setting, elements of imagination, intelligent failure promotion, stories, collective training, and case studies will be introduced with the aim of improving learning conditions in high risk industries.

Certainly consideration of this approach would appear to have merit in the situation current faced within current social work policy and practice where as Ian Hyslop (2009:71) notes

> The broader policy vision for child protection must take cognisance of the essential nature of child protection work as an engaged, interactive, and innovative process of social practice, as opposed to a disembodied science of calculation and compliance.

This where Karina Aase and Geir Nybø's (2002:20) discussion becomes germane in their support for the application of communities of practice in high risk industries. This is particularly where they note that: -

> Safe work practices are thus learned through the display and observation of action. The members of a community learn safe work practices by participating in the community's present and past practices, just as much as they do from their education and traditional training methods. The narratives that circulate in a community of practice both transmit what is safe or dangerous and construct collective identity (Gherardi & Nicolini 2000:12). In building collective training based upon communities of practice, dialogue is a key issue. Isaacs (1993:25) defines dialogue as "sustained collective inquiry into the processes, assumptions, and certainties that compose everyday experience". By means of dialogue, fundamental assumptions,

> differences of opinion and defences can be revealed in order to understand why they exist and gain new insight. Dialogue requires the ability and the will to listen with an open mind and reflect upon the information given, and to engage in a collective process of inquiry.

This is a paradigm shift which places the ownership of risk and risk assessment in a more appropriate context. One in which the risks are shared within a community of practice between agencies and whanau. It is here that discussion of the patch model, "cultural guides" (Kemp S. 2008:33) and the facilitative role of Matua Whangai becomes germane. Particularly in the social work policy and practice context with whanau where there are significant barriers in the formation of dialogue particularly at the sharpest points of these relationships and where the greatest risk of harm is likely to occur. It is here that Matua Whangai potentially plays a critical role in promoting, facilitating and sustaining this dialogue.

Holding the Relationship Together

Matua Whangai from how I have attempted to outline it in this thesis is not a single discreet model practice. Hence Matua Whangai can not be described as for example as model of practice like "strengths based practice". This is where if a social worker were to simply follow the dictums of that practice that outcomes would be produced. Here Matua Whangai is postulated as a strategic relational practice in which almost any specific practice model may be deployed in action around the core relational model proposed above. The critical aspect of this is that Matua Whangai does not just exist as disembodied simply as organisational model of practice or as an aggregation of practices. Rather it is how this organisation and aggregation of practices are grounded firmly and absolutely in the application of key recursive principles and values. These are recursive in that practitioners continuously reflect, challenge and are guided in their practice to ensure that these values and principles are never subsumed or colonised.

This final section of this thesis will attempt to articulate what could be seen as the core principle and value positions which would sustain Matua Whangai as a strategic practice of practices. Doubtless here a whole thesis in itself could be dedicated to describing these positions and in articulating the debates around them. The purpose here is in these few words to identify them and to allow the possibility of this debate to develop in a manner which might allow them to flourish in actual practice. Doubtless some of these principles and values maybe contested. Ultimately this is not about whether my personal argument or defence of these is right or wrong rather that social work engages in this debate with the explicit purpose of ensuring that its practice does actually achieve the outcome of whanau autonomy. It is here that Matua Whangai plays a critical role facilitating the possibility of this discussion which is directed towards achieving whanau autonomy as guaranteed within Treaty jurisprudence.

Here it could be suggested that the most contentious concept proposed here is that of acknowledging and accepting the "authority" within whanau to act autonomously to achieve their well-being. This is notion challenges the professional power of social work particularly in position of statutory intervention. In this event to be able to recognise and support the action of whanau to protect their own children where this action maybe in competition with the power of social work acting on behalf of the Crown. It is here that it is asserted that this is where the most damage has been done and may be potentially be done by social work. It is also here that social work in this role may face critical issues of trust particularly when confronted by branches of a whanau where seemingly all semblance of this authority appears to be beyond repair. This will take, it is suggested an absolute commitment by social work in every case to find, recognise, uplift and enhance this authority in all circumstances. In this the task of social work is to ensure that no child or member of a whanau in any circumstance is placed outside their own whanau or direct lineage of their kinship. It will be also incumbent upon whanau when acting to exercise their authority that this is done with a commitment to maintaining and upholding their own integrity. Hence the absolute implication that whatever practices are mobilised by social work and whanau in producing outcomes of whanau autonomy they are undertaken with absolute integrity. It is however Matua Whangai which holds the critical role in mediating and facilitating these practices so that this integrity is maintained by both parties in the relationship.

Accordingly it is here the notion of takepu as defined by Taina Pohatu (2005: 3-4) becomes a core of Matua Whangai as a strategic relational practice in action. Here he defines these as: -

> *Takepu* have a simple and timeless intent, offering unswerving purpose for being, ways of interacting and 'figuring things out'. It points to the potential of consciously positioning *Maori* thinking and rationales into *kaupapa* to advance our preferred ways. Connected with this simplicity is the associated presence of complexity and the shades within that will show themselves in *kaupapa* as and if actively sought. They invite Maori and others to constantly reflect on standards and quality, to consider *takepu* place and value in any context and time. As we reflect on their importance to our practice and how they may be reworked and reinterpreted into our *kaupapa* and applications, then do we cultivate a true appreciation of just how close the companionship really is between principle and 'application'. As ways are developed of looking at them, so do we 'see' further depths of understanding and so clarifying for ourselves, 'our practice'. In this process, an appreciation of the close linkages between the simple and the complex within *kaupapa* are highlighted, in the movement towards enlightenment.

What this thinking does in my reading of it, is that is secures as of right the equal and un-subsumed place of Maori thought in any practice of social work. In that event this is not simply of Maori for Maori when it involves Maori. Here the application of these principles allow for in any situation of

practice for the application of both Maori and non-Maori thinking to be brought play. Not only does this begin to ensure that members of whanau who have been dislocated seemingly to be no longer associated with their whanau to brought within and reconnected but also to apply this thinking of both worlds to situations of any other people faced with similar dislocating situations of desolation. It is also to recognise that all too often these situations do not simply involve Maori alone. It is here that often the issues of desolation require social workers in this context to unravel and reweave complex and fractured webs of kinship. This makes the application of a value and principle framework identified in this thesis imperative. In this event it is suggested that the following insights articulated by Kenneth Gergen and his colleagues (2001) in their work "Towards a Vocabulary of Transformative Dialogue" become important: -

> The hope is to foster a vocabulary of relevant action along with a way of deliberating on its functions and translation into other practices. (ibid: 3)
>
> It is in this context that we may appreciate the potentials of relational responsibility. If all that we take to be true and good has its origin in relationships, and specifically the process of jointly constructing meaning, then there is reason for us all to honor – to be responsible to – relationships of meaning themselves. The quest, then, is for means of sustaining processes of communication in which meaning is never frozen or terminated, but remains in a continuous state of becoming. (ibid: 5-6)
>
> Needed in the dialogue are what might be called imaginary moments in which participants join in developing new visions of reality. (ibid: 13)
>
> Is it possible, Coopperrider asked, that within every organization – no matter how embroiled in conflict – one locate beauty? And if beaty can be found, can organizational members use it as a basis for envisioning a new future? (ibid: 13)
>
> To draw them out, to place them in motion, proposes Cooperrider, is also to sew the seeds for alternative visions of the future. And in listening to these stories confidence is stimulated that indeed the vision can be realized. (ibid: 13-14)

It is on this basis that it has been suggested that social work policy and practice could read the Treaty from article 4 first. In this way it will be to locate the discussion of a valued and principled framework in the guarantees offered to protect the ethical and moral perspectives contained not only within Maori world-views but in the world-views of others. Also given the impact of colonial legacies upon whanau and how this has generated differing moral and ethical memberships within makes it all the more important for social work to have access to a valued and principled framework. It is this framework which allows for the possibility of effective communication between these often competing world-views and for the

possibility of how children and vulnerable people may be protected and nurtured within their own whanau or kinship system.

In this discussion of such frameworks there is however from a Matua Whangai perspective (as I would understand it) some strongly held value positions. It is these value positions which it could be suggested as being the ones which are to be protected within the meaning of Article four. The first of these from my experience surrounds the cultural world-view of original sin which has within it the deeply embedded notion that children are born in sin. It is suggested that this notion is very deeply embedded in the cultural psyche New Zealand society as exemplified by the response to the "smacking debate". Here it is suggested that this embeddeness extends well beyond the explicit expression of lobby groups such as Family Integrity and its association with this debate. In contrast however there is the less well articulated notion of "original blessing". This notion was propounded by the early Christian thinker Pelagius and which has been developed further by the Matthew Fox a contemporary religious scholar. It is how this doctrine underpins the research ethos of this thesis and how this doctrine appears to resonate more closely with Maori thought about children as a blessing. I would suggest that this value position aligns closely with what could be advanced as a Matua Whangai perspective. Certainly it could be suggested that the pervasiveness of the doctrine of original sin has been a significant contributing factor in the colonising legacies of desolation currently faced by all too many members of whanau. In this setting however the role of Matua Whangai would be to uncover how these doctrines impacts upon the situation faced by whanau and in this support them to achieve a well-being which sees all their children as a blessing. Also in this setting through the application of their valued and principled framework guide and facilitate reconciliation between what might be entrenched positions around these doctrines particularly when the well-being of children is in question.

Here also questions will arise of what are the fundamental definitions of family and what is the natural family? It is here that the collective life notion of tribalism becomes central. In this the words of the African American social ethicist Theodore Walker Jr. (1997: 1) when writing about the Native American perspective on tribalism articulates a position which could be supported from a Matua Whangai perspective. This is where he states: -

> According to Native American social wisdom about human peoples generically, tribalism is important, anthropologically-sociologically normal, fundamentally good, ethically prescriptive, and religiously appropriate. Throughout most of the many generations of human existence, most human peoples have been tribal peoples. Normally, and rightly so, human peoples are tribal entities.

Or to put this more into a contemporary Western perspective when in "about Traditional Christian Family Values: (so-called)" (Walker T. 1997:1) he discusses that :-

> The contemporary valuation and normalization of the nuclear family is a very recent development, even among modern populations.
>
> For Native Americans, modernity began in 1492.
>
> Very much more recently than this, the nuclear family structure became the modern norm, and even more recently, the modern nuclear family became so highly valued that it was baptized by modern hybrid and hyphenated-American Christian religions.
>
> The modern nuclear family is now christened "traditional," "Christian," and in accordance with "family values."
>
> The contemporary family of so-called traditional Christian family values and moral prescriptions are:
> (1) not traditional,
> (2) not biblical, and
> (3) not actual or possible or desirable in practice.

These notions of family and what Theordore Walker Jr describes as

> Righteous tribalism's defining social ethical purposes are to contribute to the welfare and prosperity of the people, and to contribute to proper relations (respect and reciprocity) to other life, including especially the land.

Accordingly it is suggested that these perspectives from a non-Maori but indigenous perspective that could be shared as a perspective of Matua Whangai. It could be suggested that Maori as whanau who have achieved and maintain their own well-being would support these perspective. Undoubtedly they would expect the same from Matua Whangai in its contribution to guiding social work policy and practice. This is because it is only the whanau and its equivalent extended family structures in other people which endures once all the social workers have gone home.

Accordingly this thesis has attempted to develop Matua Whangai as a important concept of social work which is operated and managed within a framework of “wicked problems”, “communities of practice” and delivered within a patch model of service provision. In postulating this concept of Matua Whangai is also to locate Matua Whangai not just in a disembodied structure but grounded firmly within a valued and principled framework of action. In so doing to offer a response to and provide social work with a means whereby with “hope and courage” it may resolve the un-comfortable lived realities of whanau.

Concluding Comments

Tackling the Question of this Thesis

In this event it might be asked 'on whose authority do I act' in making any proposal relating to Matua Whangai? In one sense I have no authority other than being in a position to attempt this task and as such I believe that the ultimate authority rests with us as social workers and teachers and policy makers and the people with whom social workers interact. In that circumstance therefore I feel confident to put forward in a suitably academically manner a set of ideas which may contribute to a potential resolution of this disquiet with the rest being up to us as people to discuss, debate or reject these ideas or to take them further to change the outcomes of our social services delivery landscape.

The question posed by this thesis "Matua Whangai – Can we invigorate an important social work concept?" poses a number of difficulties as a research question. As a question it would seem that it may only be answered by yes, no or maybe. It also presupposes that the researcher acts within an allowable period for a thesis research project during which time the attempt demonstrates some semblance of a result. The question being: Did an answer emerge within this period? Were the actions taken suitable and sufficient for this purpose? Contingent on this will also include defining what Matua Whangai is for the purposes of answering the question and an attempt to clarify and define whether Matua Whangai is indeed in any way connected to social work or as a concept of social work.

Firstly in order to answer any of these questions it has been taken as a given that Matua Whangai is important. Hence my actions to test this question have always come from the initial position that Matua Whangai can be invigorated and that it is an important concept associated with social work. Hence all the action associated with this research project has proceeded from this premise. In so doing this has not precluded the possibility that the answer to the question maybe no. That Matua Whangai may not be invigorated or that is may not be associated with social work as a concept. Another stark illustration of this came in a question from Kuini Puketapu[94] whose response to the question was "Is it?" This challenge has also been echoed by my colleague Joy Bullen whose comment has been "But you know that Matua Whangai never went away – so why does it need to be invigorated?[95]" In order to address these challenges firstly is to acknowledge that the internal whanau practice of Maori to confront and deal with their own welfare pre-existed and continues to exist despite the programme known as Matua Whangai. Indeed it was this energy and drive within whanau that was drawn upon and from whence the gifts of practice were offered in what became Matua Whangai as the programme. This gives rise to what are boundary riders and process sentinels required for

[94] Personal communication at Koraunui Marae February 2009
[95] Personal communication, January 2009

relationship maintenance. This is between the internal practice of whanau and the impact upon social work. This was facilitated through Matua Whangai as a core aspect of the programme. It is therefore the nature of social work policy and practice facilitated through Matua Whangai that suggests the question in this project and its importance as a concept of social work.

The simplest outcome of this question is that an invigoration of Matua Whangai in the present replicates the original programme. This would be in simply placing as an instrument of social policy, two wise and skilled predominantly Maori practitioners in as many as possible district offices of critical social work institutions. Whilst this may offer some redress in managing the boundary and process tensions I suggest that the effectiveness of Matua Whangai would be compromised. This is unless social work policy and practice fundamentally addressed the landscape in which these tensions exist. Hence it is suggested that any examination of Matua Whangai should include some critical examination conceptual themes which underpin social work policy and practice. That such a critical examination is undertaken from perspectives within the lived experience of the issues confronting whanau. This is so that these themes maybe directly judged as positively contributing to addressing whanau concerns and to advancing the possibility that disparity may be addressed. In this manner the policy and practice landscape of social work enhanced so that if Matua Whangai is invigorated as a programme it potential for success is enhanced. Also in addressing this landscape and in positioning Matua Whangai along the fraught processes and boundaries of practice it could be argued that the possibility of current efforts to address disparities maybe enhanced.

It is realised that to suggest that Matua Whangai be invigorated is that is has been already been policy and programme in that name. It has been suggested by my colleague Joy Bullen[96] that governments are unlikely to re-introduce policy or programmes from the past with the same name. I agree with her position. Certainly my experience with "Homebuilders" and the current social work experience with "Family Start" gives credence to this position. This suggests that the governments are unlikely to take policies and programmes of previous administrations. Rather, in order to enhance the public perception of the Government it seems that policy and programmes are given new names and new guises. Possibly this is so that the Government may lay claim to be the administration which created the policy. Therefore being the administration which may lay claim to having achieved the outcomes or being blamed for them by the following administration. Accordingly if Matua Whangai were to be invigorated it is argued that to give it any other name would be to diminish its potential to inspire "hope and courage". It is also because Matua Whangai is an "awesome brand" that it is also broader than government policy and is embedded in wider cultural concepts of Maori people. In this regard it is not simply a social work policy and practice concept. In this regard the concept of Matua Whangai being explored here, is even if were to be

[96] Personal communication June 2009

delivered as a programme is only part of a continuum of Matua Whangai as a whole. Accordingly the name Matua Whangai I suggest must be retained in connection to invigorating it as strategic policy and practice at the sharpest end of the relationship between social work and whanau. It is the name which inspired action in the past and it is the name which lives in the present.

More importantly however is the realisation that Matua Whangai as policy has never as such gone away. It lives on albeit buried in the policy document Te Pounamu. Social workers require no mandate other than their courage of conviction in order to invigorate Matua Whangai in the present. Certainly the currently lived realities of whanau and social work's own explicit commitment to make this different would demand no less than this courage of conviction being translated into action. In this way translated into action in which resolution of the ever present tensions and relationship difficulties are facilitated and reconciled through the guidance of leadership which was exemplified by Matua Whangai. In this I think our people as a nation can expect no less of social work and its practitioners.

Closing Comments

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