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Primary prevention of sexual violence:

Tāngata whenua
evidence summary report

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Contents

Glossary	2
Kupu whakataki – Introduction	3
Wāhanga 1	5
Kaupapa Māori frameworks	5
Understanding primary prevention	6
What is sexual violence?	7
Whakapapa of sexual violence: effects of colonisation	8
Colonisation and whenua	8
Colonisation and heteropatriarchy	9
Colonisation and whānau	10
Colonisation and imposter tikanga	11
Summary	13
Wāhanga 2	15
Ngā Pou – Oranga, Whānau, Whakapapa	15
Mana	16
Tapu	17
Noa	18
Mātauranga	19
Tino rangatiratanga	20
Tikanga	21
Whānau – the site of transformation	22
Whakapapa	24
Kia Māori mai	25
Pā harakeke	25
Two worlds	26
Summary	27
Wāhanga 3	29
Te Whāriki Takapou	29
Amokura Family Violence Prevention Consortium	30
Grey Literature	32
Limitations/unmet needs: takatāpui and sexual violence prevention	34
Conclusion	37
Te mahi whai tikanga	37
Reference List	40
Further Readings	49

Glossary

It is acknowledged that translations can be dependent on the context in which words are used, therefore the words and meanings are presented specific to the context and usage as they appear within this report.

Āhuatanga Māori	Māori characteristics or features
He kākano ahau i ruia mai i Rangiātea	(I will never be lost) I am a seed sown from Rangiātea. A statement of Māori endurance and excellence
Kare-ā-roto	Emotions or inner thoughts
Kāwanatanga	Governorship
Kaupapa mai rānō	Kaupapa from our tūpuna
Kōrero mai rānō	Kōrero from our tūpuna

Kupu whakataki – Introduction

Kia whakatōmuri te haere whakamua

I walk backwards into the future
with my eyes fixed on the past.

This summary report provides context to the underpinning oranga whakapapa Pou discussed in the Issues Paper gives guidance on their implementation, and should be read in conjunction with the Guidelines for the Implementation Pou attachment in the Issues paper (Dobbs et al., 2025). The Guidelines support application of the Pou in the creation and/or assessment of potential oranga whakapapa initiatives.

We recognise that Māori are diverse, with different histories, experiences, priorities and hopes for the future. There is no single pathway to achieving oranga whakapapa for Māori.

1

The first wāhanga of this report places context to sexual violence and sexual violence prevention for Māori, focuses on the concept of primary prevention within te ao Māori, and discusses the development of the framework for implementation of sexual violence prevention pou – Whakapapa, Whānau and Oranga.

2

The second wāhanga gives further explanation to the pou and the principles they are built from in the context of sexual violence prevention.

3

The third wāhanga gives some 'case studies' and provides important te ao Māori constructs for Kaupapa Māori led sexual violence primary prevention. A conclusion section is also provided.

Wāhanga 1



Wāhanga 1

There is a well-known whakataukī – *Ngā hiahia tītiro ki te tīmatatanga a ka kite ai tātou te mutunga* – you must understand the beginning if you wish to see the end (Jackson, 1988). This whakataukī expresses the concept that present events do not happen within a vacuum but are contextualised within an understanding of our past (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010). If we understand the origins of sexual violence and the conditions for sexual violence to occur, we can prevent it.

To contextualise modern experiences of sexual violence and prevent sexual violence, we need to understand our history, and the effects of colonisation on our cultural development (Cram & Pitama, 1998; Cooper, 2012; Dobbs, 2021; Eruera, 2015; Grennell, 2006; Le Grice et al., 2022; Mikaere, 2011, 2016; Pihama, Cameron & Te Nana, 2019; Tawhai, 2016; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010). In this way, we can examine the complex impacts of colonisation on whenua, whakapapa and whanaungatanga. Drawing on our whakapapa, mātauranga and tikanga practices enables Māori communities to be well both now and into the future, in combination with wider decolonizing of the systems of oppression that constrain Māori from being able to practice ora whakapapa.

Kaupapa Māori frameworks

In colonising States, approaches to end sexual violence have typically been developed based on the colonising cultures' understandings and values. These frameworks have consistently been identified as problematic when applied to (or often imposed on) Indigenous peoples. (Chartrand & McKay, 2006; Cripps, 2011; Cooper & Wharewera-Mika, 2011; Dobbs & Eruera, 2014; Dobbs, 2015). This is true in Aotearoa, where definitions and understandings of sexual violence are typically from currently dominant Pākehā frameworks. These frameworks are then inadequate for understanding the context of sexual violence for Māori, particularly the impact of colonisation, and for eliminating sexual violence for Māori and also ignore the long history of iwi, hapū, whānau and hāpori frameworks for addressing sexual violence that existed in this place long before Europeans arrived here. As such, Māori academics and health, welfare, education, and justice professionals agree that approaches based on non-Māori thinking alone have been consistently ineffective for Māori. To address this issue, Māori have been developing frameworks which support culturally defined understandings and knowledge to understand and address sexual violence in Aotearoa (Pihama, et al., 2016). Similarly, adult approaches for reducing sexual violence for young people, and in the context of above, do not readily translate adequately to young people or taitamariki Māori (Dobbs, 2021).

We considered a range of well-known Māori conceptual frameworks for promoting ora or well-being when addressing transgressions and violations such as sexual violence. These frameworks included: Dynamics of Whanaungatanga (Tate, 2003), Te Wheke (Pere, 1991), Mauri Ora (Kruger et al., 2004), Te Whare Tapa Whā (Durie,

1985), and others. The frameworks use a combination of cultural imperatives that are key to well-being, including whakapapa, whānau, mana, tapu, noa, wairua, and mauri. These imperatives can guide analysis, transformative practices, and provide a framework for strategies to prevent sexual violence and support oranga whānau. These will be further discussed in Wāhanga 3.

Understanding primary prevention

Wilson (2023) argues that there is no standalone concept of ‘prevention’ in tikanga Māori. Rather, there are tikanga for looking after our whānau and communities. Tikanga can provide guidance for primary prevention approaches as ancestral narratives contain stories and strategies to incorporate knowledge, language and cultural insights about transformative principles and practices. As such, we understand prevention to sit within a wider context of practices to eliminate sexual violence and support mana enhancing and tapu enriched relationships. The current dominant meaning of prevention is a systematic process to promote safe and healthy environments and behaviours, and reduce the likelihood or frequency of an incident, injury or condition occurring (Rosewater, 2003). However, sexual violence primary prevention for Māori requires a comprehensive and multi-level approach, which reframes the issue from a deficit to the desired outcome – healthy, mana enhancing and tapu enriched relationships and healthy communities (Eruera, 2015).

Māori prevention and interventions need to be holistic, provided within a tikanga Māori framework, and inclusive of the historical and current impacts of colonisation (Dobbs, 2021, Cavino, 2016, 2019; Kruger et al., 2004; Pihama et al., 2016; Wilson, et al., 2019). We must acknowledge the “centrality of the collective” (Cooper, 2012, p. 162) and support a transformative strategy using the concepts of mana atua, mana whenua, and mana Tāngata. This will enable relationship interactions with “respect for the other’s uniqueness and value” (Cooper, 2012, p. 168). It is also important that interventions do not further marginalise specific populations. For example, when interventions over-emphasise that certain populations are over-represented in violence statistics without contextualising the underlying structural, cultural, and societal contexts that create risk for those populations, they can further reproduce harm against those communities. Those most at risk of victimisation are most often within the most marginalised and disadvantaged population (Eruera, 2015). This includes tamariki/mokopuna, rangatahi, wāhine, takatāpui, and Tāngata whaikaha.

A broad range of violence prevention literature suggests multi-level approaches are likely to achieve the best results (Cram et al., 2002; Grennell & Cram, 2008; Robertson & Oulton, 2008), and changes that occur at one level may also produce changes across levels. Robertson and Oulton (2008) provide examples of how multi-level transformation could occur: at the individual level the aim is often to strengthen individual knowledge and skills, and at a community level the aim is often to promote community ownership of the issue and argue that social change is most likely to be enhanced by building coalitions, and that there is a need to target organisational practices, policies and legislation. As such, prevention

approaches should work at individual, whānau and community levels, promoting healthy relationships between individuals, improved relationships within the whānau collective and ultimately wider communities.

Moewaka-Barnes (2010) describes primary prevention initiatives as those that take place before violence has occurred; secondary prevention as aimed at the 'at-risk' populations; and tertiary prevention as dealing with the consequences of violence (p.78). Primary prevention does not focus specifically on violence but works to address its underlying causes. The literature suggests three key foci for primary prevention: promoting equal and respectful relationships; promoting non-violent norms and reducing the effects of prior exposure to violence; and improving access to resources and systems of support (Eruera, 2015; Moewaka-Barnes, 2010).

Macfarlane and Andreotti (2013) advocate primary prevention approaches for Māori that are systemic and holistic (rather than reductionist), collectivist (rather than individual), and relational (focus not on individual thinking or behaviour, but on existential, social, and cultural aspects related to connections with others and the environment).

What is sexual violence?

Sexual violence is defined by the World Health Organisation as "any sexual act, attempt to obtain a sexual act, unwanted sexual comments, or advances, or acts to traffic, or otherwise directed, against a person's sexuality using coercion, by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting including but not limited to home and work" (Krug et al., 2002). Sexual violence (often referred to as mahi tūkino) is a significant societal and public health problem. Sexual violence can occur throughout the lifespan but is most commonly experienced by young adults. Almost half (47%) of reported victims in Aotearoa are between 15–29 (Hawkins-Boulton, 2023).

Within Te Ao Māori sexual violence is an absolute violation of the mana of the person and the collective mana of whānau, hapū and Iwi. It is a violent transgression against a person's whakapapa that reaches back to past generations and has direct impacts on future generations. Sexual violence for Māori also includes violence perpetuated upon whānau, hapū and Iwi through colonial invasion (Pihama, 2016, p.12). However, definitions in legislation and government policies continue to focus only on individual violence, excluding colonial violence (Pihama, et al. 2016).

Colonisation attacks the way Māori understand, prevent and respond to sexual violence. Sexual violence certainly happened prior to European arrival, but it was uncommon and abhorrent. Common and widespread sexual violence is new, and a result of the colonisation culture that has imposed itself. Sexual violence is not normal in Māori culture. There are structures in tikanga Māori to prevent sexual violence, and when it occurs, there are processes to prevent ongoing, intergenerational harm. These structures are essential for sexual violence prevention.

Whakapapa of sexual violence: effects of colonisation

In order to prevent sexual violence and support oranga whakapapa, we need to understand the underlying causes of violence (Wilson, 2023), particularly the effects of colonisation (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010). Colonisation is a structure rather than an event (Kauanui, 2016). As well as direct harm to people, colonisation causes indirect harm by attacking Māori social structures – economic and cultural – taking land, suppressing mātauranga, language and tikanga (Cavino, 2016; Dobbs, 2021; Eruera, 2015; Grennell & Cram, 2008; Kruger et al., 2004; Le Grice, 2018; Pihama et al., 2016; Wilson, 2016; Winihana & Smith, 2014). At the same time, the State has been supporting and promoting its values and social structures, such as heteropatriarchy and the nuclear family. Some of the most damaging effects of colonisation come from this pressure to re-define whānau and relationships, including re-engineering gender roles, gender identity, and sexuality and diminishing the status of Māori women and children (Cram & Pitama, 2002; Jenkins & Harte, 2011; Mikaere, 2003). These have exposed whānau to the risk of sexual violence.

Colonisation and whenua

Relationships with whenua underpin Māori economic and political independence, or mana motuhake, which is the basis of mātauranga, tikanga and identity. Colonisation seeks to remove Indigenous peoples from the land to benefit settlers. It thus interferes with Māori relationships with the whenua, causing a cascade of effects. Land alienation undermines Māori structures and creates poverty and homelessness. This in turn harms people's cultural identity and personal self-concept, creating trauma. Restoring relationships with land as Tāngata whenua will contribute to oranga whakapapa and prevent sexual violence.

In a study of Ngāi Tahu whānau, Reid et al. (2017) examined how colonisation causes trauma, and how trauma in a colonising environment leads to physical, psychological, spiritual, and social impacts. They found land alienation was at the root of a wide, enduring, and traumatic colonising environment. The causes of colonial trauma are both "specific traumatising events and a broader atmosphere of threat, alienation, marginalisation and humiliation that exists for indigenous people in settler states." That atmosphere is a 'colonising environment': "created by settler states that traumatizes through economic and political instability, arbitrary justice, and constant threat." This environment "shifts over time, steadily undermining the independent social and economic structures of whānau and hapū, which directly results in poor physical, psychological and social health" (Reid et al, 2017, p. 9).

Cavino (2017) looked to her own whānau to examine colonisation and sexual violence. She found that the systems imposed by colonisation, including "new masculinities, new regimes of domesticity, and the hyper-individualism of an emerging capitalist political economy" obliterated the protective factors of tikanga

(p.286). She also highlights the importance of our relationship with whenua, homelessness, and scarcity, commenting that “what happens to land makes what happens to the bodies of women and children not only possible – but also logical and unsurprising” (p.18).

Colonisation and heteropatriarchy

Colonisation imposes Western laws and cultural norms on Māori, including heteropatriarchy and other forms of hierarchy. This disrupts communal relationships of whānau and the protection that comes with them and normalise gender inequality. Introduced heteropatriarchy has created conditions for sexual violence that did not exist before colonisation. Combined with the racism of colonisation, Māori women are particularly at risk (Mikaere, 1994). Promoting structures that support healthier relationships, such as whānau, is a key to undoing this damage, supporting oranga whakapapa, and preventing sexual violence.

Māori cosmogony promotes an ideal of gender equality and gender diversity (McBreen, 2023). This is reflected in mātauranga, which shows all genders as: powerful, influential, moral and decisive; military, spiritual and political leaders in whānau, hapū and Iwi; and loving parents, friends and partners (Dobbs, 2021; Hokowhitu 2007, 2012; Matahaere-Atariki, 1999; McBreen 2011; Mikaere, 2016). Likewise, mātauranga celebrates sexuality, sexual diversity, and sexual prowess, as seen in carvings, haka, waiata, and whakapapa kōrero (McBreen, 2012, 2023; Pere, 2002). Sex and sexuality were openly discussed (Dobbs, 2021; Le Grice, 2022; Le Grice & Braun, 2016). Kuia and Kaumātua recall playful banter with their nannies about sex, with humour and in te reo Māori as a means of learning (Dobbs, 2021, Le Grice, 2018).

Victorian values and laws brought to Aotearoa contradicted tikanga Māori and created risk in many ways. For example, they defined wives and children as household property, distinguished between expectations on public versus private matters, which protected men from scrutiny, and promoted violence through Christian sayings like the ‘rule of thumb’¹, the notion that ‘children are seen and not heard’ and ‘spare the rod, spoil the child’. These values expose particularly women, children, and those who cannot conform to Victorian ‘family’ values, to violence. Colonisation ‘dis-ordered’ the role and status of Māori women (Mikaere, 1995) and children, with colonial structures and ideologies displacing Māori structures.

Further, the colonial systems only recognised sex and gender as binary, and sex only as legitimate between a man and a woman, ideally his wife. It outlawed homosexuality, pathologised any gender or sexual fluidity and deviance from heterosexuality, and vilified women who had sex outside marriage (Aspin & Hutchings, 2006). This system exposes women and gender and sexuality-nonconforming people in particular to violence.

¹ The ‘rule of thumb’ is the belief that English law allowed a man to beat his wife with a stick so long as it was no thicker than his thumb.

Colonisation and whānau

Whānau are key sites for the intergenerational transfer of knowledge, wealth and power in Māori society and every opportunity to strengthen and build these structures will benefit Māori and the wider community. (Edwards, McCreanor, & Moewaka-Barnes, 2007, p. 13)

Often 'whānau' is translated simply as 'family' without consideration of its multi-layered, flexible, and dynamic complexities (Metge, 1995). Understanding the difference is critical for preventing violence (Dobbs, 2021; Gemmell & Pierce, 2019). The re-definition of and attack on whānau is accompanied by a re-engineering of gender roles and gender identity that have enabled heteropatriarchy and sexual violence to take root within Aotearoa.

Colonisation has privileged the structure of family, in place of whānau. Along with the problems identified under heteropatriarchy, families isolate individuals from inter and intra-generational networks (Dobbs 2021). These networks are crucial spaces through which tikanga and mātauranga of healthy relationships can be transmitted and are networks of support and protection which support expectations of behaviour and correct where needed (Cavino 2016; Kruger et al. 2004; Pitman 2013). In particular, Kuia and Kaumātua are essential members of whānau who can ensure tamariki are supported to their full potential and well-being (Dobbs, 2021).

Pākehā constructed views of Māori childhood which showed little understanding or appreciation of the importance of taitamariki within whānau (May, 2000). Taitamariki are valued members of the cultural and social structures of whānau, hapū and iwi. Māori practices and concepts of childhood were constantly subjected to colonial challenge (L.T. Smith, 1996).

The impact of colonisation on whānau structure is immense and ongoing (see further Cram & Pitama, 1998, *Ko tōku whānau, ko tōku mana*), however reclaiming mātauranga and te reo Māori has positive outcomes (Cooper & Wharewera-Mika, 2011; Dobbs & Eruera, 2014; Dobbs, 2021, Le Grice, 2022). Whānau can contest colonial constructions (Dobbs & Eruera, 2014):

Māori organisations and scholars are emphasising the traditional obligation and power of the whānau to protect all its members; women, children, and men from harm (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010).

Colonisation and imposter tikanga

While Māori have resisted colonisation and asserted rangatiratanga, after 200 years of pressure from colonisation, some colonising norms have crept in, warping the very fabric by which we understand ourselves and our tikanga (Mikaere, 2011; Kruger et al., 2004). These distorted understandings lead to practices that reflect them, which are mistakenly upheld as tikanga. Kruger et al. (2004) calls these imposter tikanga. Imposter tikanga are particularly dangerous, because they entrench and normalise values and practices that create the conditions for violence, and which are then passed on to future generations as if tika (Wilson, et al., 2019).

For example, our kōrero mai rānō, along with the principles and practices within them, have often been distorted and re-interpreted through a colonial, patriarchal lens. Mikaere (2011) discusses the reinterpretation of our cosmologies by Pākehā ethnographers Elsdon Best and Percy Smith, who recast powerful female figures into passive roles while inflating the significance of male figures. Māori women were turned into “distant and passive old crones whose presence in the ‘story’ was to add interest to an otherwise male adventure” (L. Smith, 1992). Best also suggests conveniently and incorrectly that Māori assign females an inferior position connected with evil, misfortune, and death (Dobbs, 2021; Pere, 2002). Colonial stereotypes about Māori women’s sexual availability and their lack of ‘morals’ are well documented (Mikaere, 2011) to support this convenient narrative. Kruger et al. (2004) suggest this “overlay” of patriarchal thinking on cultural practices gives rise to an “imposter tikanga” which justifies violence (p. 25).

We might recognise imposter tikanga in ideas that claim to work for the betterment of a collective, at the expense of women and tamariki. Examples of this include the idea that children are to be seen and not heard, or that it is tikanga for men to hit, maintain control, or punish women or children in their household or their whānau.

It might include patriarchal ideas that because women are tapu they are not entitled to make decisions for themselves, or that their essential qualities mean they are less suitable for some activities like leadership or that they are responsible for their own victimisation (see Smith, 2020; Harrison & Le Grice, 2023, for further exploration of these challenges). Exposing the colonial origins of these imposter tikanga is a crucial part of eliminating sexual violence in Aotearoa (Kruger et al., 2004).

Tāne, as those who were given disproportionate power compared to wāhine through colonisation and Western patriarchy, have an important role in changing attitudes to whānau violence: “we need to advance a new approach to decolonisation, to masculinity, to the validation of our Indigenous ways and to appreciating ‘ngā mātauranga Māori’ in support of meaningful Māori men’s education and mentoring work” (Mataira, 2008, p.35). Cultural values and practices are important to enable tāne to resist colonial norms that impose patriarchy upon whānau (King & Robertson, 2017).

Mikaere (2011) further reminds us of the important role of tikanga in transforming Māori realities: “Tikanga must become central in our thinking if we are to reinstate it as our code for living” (p. xxiii). This is especially true when tamariki Māori

are developing their self-concept (Ja & Jose, 2017), values and belief systems. Forming a cohesive identity may be a struggle for tamariki Māori with competing understandings knowledge systems, both Pākehā and Māori. Identity and 'self-concepts' are important elements of relationship behaviours, helping shape confidence, understanding of mana and tapu, and their relationships to others and the world around them (Dobbs, 2021, Le Grice, 2022).

An intergenerational approach is required to address imposter tikanga. While tamariki/rangatahi can reproduce norms of patriarchy or violence learned within whānau or the wider community, they can also resist and disrupt these norms. Dobbs and Eruera (2014) emphasise that tamariki/rangatahi are the agents of change, *doers* and *thinkers* who can create positive social transformation. They exist not independently but interdependently with others in the context of social structures, relationships, and institutions. This means that agency needs to be understood against the backdrop of wider fields of generational power.

As such, Kuia and Kaumātua have crucial roles in this elimination of violence too, both for their insights into the historical and contemporary factors have interrupted the intergenerational transfer of mātauranga, as well as being holders of mātauranga and tikanga that have nurtured whānau for generations (Dobbs, 2021). Kuia and Kaumātua see themselves as important in supporting whānau through their life stages.

With the appropriate resources and structural support, communities will be able to achieve oranga whakapapa through reasserting tikanga relating to gender, power and relationships. This quote reinforces the importance of claiming and maintaining our own tikanga:

"The challenge for Māori... is to rediscover and reassert tikanga Māori within our own whānau, and to understand that an existence where men have power and authority over women and children is not in accordance with tikanga Māori. Such an existence stems instead from an ancient common law tradition which has been imposed upon us, a tradition with which we have no affinity and which we have every reason to reject". (Mikaere, 2016, p. 34).

Summary

In this wāhanga sexual violence and sexual violence prevention has been placed within te ao Māori and the development of the pou. Colonisation has shaped some whānau, hapū, iwi and social systems, including understandings of spirituality, sexuality, gender, whānau, and tikanga (Dobbs, 2021; Kerekere, 2017; Le Grice, 2022; Simmonds, 2011; McBreen 2023). This has created the conditions for sexual violence to occur (Cavino, 2019; Cooper & Rickard, 2016; Kruger et al., 2004; Le Grice, 2014; Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019; Pihama et al., 2014; Te Wiata et al., 2022).

Preventing sexual violence requires a reaffirming of te ao Māori understandings and tikanga, to recognise the mana of all ages, genders and sexualities within whānau, hapū, iwi, and hapori Māori (Kerekere, 2015; McBreen, 2023; Pihama et al., 2020). We highlight colonisation and its effects, including imposter tikanga. Supporting mātauranga and tikanga Māori, and where necessary addressing imposter tikanga, is crucial to supporting oranga whakapapa and eliminating sexual violence in Aotearoa (Kruger et al., 2004).

Wāhanga 2 gives further explanation to the pou and the principles they are built from in the context of sexual violence prevention.

Wāhanga 2



Wāhanga 2

Ngā Pou – Oranga, Whānau, Whakapapa

We have been guided by mātauranga and tikanga Māori in developing implementation pou for oranga whakapapa and preventing sexual violence. The aim is to support whānau, hapū, Iwi, Māori providers and hapori Māori to exercise their tino rangatiratanga and to grow safe spaces for whānau and strengthen positive cultural identities.

Oranga whakapapa is key to our survival as Māori. We understand oranga whakapapa to mean the things we do to support and grow the oranga of whakapapa and whānau, based on mana-enhancing and tapu enriched relationships to prevent sexual violence. Strengthening oranga whakapapa to prevent sexual violence requires supporting tikanga Māori, mātauranga Māori and tino rangatiratanga. This is because tikanga Māori can only meaningfully operate and develop where mātauranga Māori is healthy, and both require tino rangatiratanga.

Te Ao Māori principles have many different layers of meaning (Eketone & Walker, 2013). However, Te Ao Māori has been “enveloped by non-Māori concepts” that make it more difficult to sustain tikanga. Whilst these principles come from traditional sources, they continue to be relevant and can be responsive and progressive to serve us well today. Mātauranga can support tikanga to respond to our contemporary lived realities.

The three pou of our oranga whakapapa framework will support efforts to grow oranga whakapapa and prevent sexual violence. The constructs of these pou are sourced from mātauranga Māori, and kaupapa mai rānō and are responsive and adaptable to today’s lived realities – te ao hurihuri. Te reo Māori, tikanga Māori are all conduits for transformation. Together these Pou enable oranga whakapapa and the elimination of sexual violence.

In the following section we provide further understandings of foundational constructs that enable oranga whakapapa and the elimination of sexual violence that are required to be present in any Kaupapa Māori sexual violence prevention initiative. These foundations are consistently identified across Māori literature about sexual violence, healing, and addressing intergenerational trauma.

Oranga

The term ‘oranga’ comes from ‘ora’, typically translated as healthy, well, and a general state of wellbeing. Oranga refers to broad and holistic health and wellbeing based on whakapapa, whenua, and whānau (Williams, 2006). Durie (2004) affirms that oranga is not simply being free from sickness but instead is shaped by holistic flourishing. Tā Mason Durie has sought to represent oranga through Te Whare Tapa Whā (Durie, 1985), a holistic model of Māori wellbeing with considerable influence in Māori health and wellbeing (Durie, 1999; 2003).

Using the metaphor of a wharenui (meeting house), this model articulates four interconnected domains of wellbeing integral to Māori health. Representing four walls of a wharenui (Durie, 1985), te taha wairua, te taha hinengaro, te taha tinana, and te taha whānau. These different sides reflect different parts of wellbeing; the spiritual, the mental and emotional, the physical, and the social and relational sides respectively. These different sides invite thinking about how each of these elements interrelate to generate wellbeing. Importantly, Te Whare Tapa Whā asserts that difficulties in one area influence the other “walls” of the wharenui, showing the interconnectedness of health.

While ora is one term for wellbeing, there are a variety of other terms based on related aspects of ora. For example, hauora as a term for health has deep roots within our creation narratives. It acknowledges the hau (breath) of ora (life) given to Hine-ahu-one by Tāne Mahuta (Kohere, 2003). Various scholars have recognised hauora as a form of holistic wellbeing (for example, Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019). Toiora as a term also connects to creation narratives, linking wellbeing to the environment to guide whānau back to health (Te Wiata et al., 2022). Toiora is “a dynamic term that refers to the motion, or action of healing, intrinsically connected with mauri, tapu, mana, wairua and other seen and unseen elements of life...” (Te Wiata et al., 2022, viii). Durie (2004) draws on toiora to describe the healthy lifestyles need to support flourishing Māori communities. Waioara, is a term that reflects how wellbeing is intimately connected to the environment and to Tāna-te-waioara, linking to wai (water) as foundational to all life (Durie, 1999; Ratima, 2010).

Another term that is commonly discussed in relation to ora is mauri. Mauri is often described as the ‘life force’ that is contained within animate and non-animate beings (Mark & Lyons, 2010), or as the essence of a being. It is also recognised that people (and all life) move through different states of mauri. For example, mauri ora refers to an active state of wellbeing in contrast to mauri noho, being in a state of low activity or alertness, or mauri oho, being in a state of high activity and alertness (Kruger et al., 2004). Niania et al., (2019) describe how mauri is expressed through relationships to atua, to ancestral maunga, awa, marae, waka and to all people. Mauri thus relates to the quality of relationships between all beings (Love, 2004; O’Hagan et al., 2012; Pohutu, 2011) including people and other elements, and is connected to the internal balance of wellbeing.

What connects across these different expressions of wellbeing for Māori is the recognition of ora, and how health and wellbeing is intimately connected to the wider world. Work that is looking to address sexual violence must consider and describe how to support whānau into a space of ora, not simply as an absence of sexual violence, but towards collective and holistic wellbeing in flourishing environments.

Mana

Mana, tapu and noa are key interconnected concepts of tikanga Māori. Together they form a system for organising and regulating activities and relationships safely and for the benefit of the collective. Jackson (1988) describes them as the major cohesive force in Māori life.

Mana has been described in many ways and there is no single translation that explains the depth of meaning (Mitchel & Olsen-Reeder, 2021; Pere 1991). Matike Mai Aotearoa (2016) describes mana as the Māori concept of power (synonymous with the later term 'rangatiratanga'), which includes independence and self-determination: "The concept of mana as a political and constitutional power thus denotes an absolute authority" (p34).

Mana is often used at an individual level to mean prestige, social standing, respect and responsibilities. In this sense, it can be understood as an inherent dignity we all hold (Te Wiata et al., 2022), and it is helpful to think of it as having two aspects. The first is the mana we inherit from our whakapapa, the second is from our behaviours, skills and achievements. Mana is linked to ora as it relates directly to the wellbeing of a person, their relationships and connections, and the environment. Māori scholar Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal (2006) argues that mana is at the heart of Māori self-worth, empowerment and feeling good about ourselves. He explains that "mana is a person's knowledge and sense of knowing – knowing about what to do, what they ought to do and how to do what they should do" (Royal, 2005, p. 68).

We are all born with mana. This is often called *mana atua* or mana tūpuna. Kruger et al. (2004) describe mana atua in terms of "life's continuum", recognising our connection to atua, and all our tūpuna and tamariki mokopuna. This affirms who we are, our unlimited potential, our responsibilities to our tūpuna and all they created, and our responsibilities to future generations. *Mana whenua* reflects the mana we inherit from belonging to the whenua of our rohe, and the mana we earn from caring for the whenua. Mana whenua affects our ability to support ourselves and manaaki others.

Our mana is affected by our actions and achievements. This is often called *mana Tāngata*. It reflects how other people recognise our mana. Manaaki is key to this. Looking after people and acknowledging and respecting their mana is a very important way to enhance one's own mana, whereas mistreating, belittling or abusing people diminishes one's own mana and invites consequences (Tate, 1993; Mead, 2003). This is an effective tool for preventing violence. Because our mana is connected to our whānau, our actions affect the mana of the group. This reinforces collective responsibility, where whānau support each other to achieve for the common good and discourage behaviour that diminishes the group's mana (Ministry of Justice, 2001). Likewise, rōpū are held accountable as rōpū by others.

Tapu

Tapu is closely related to mana. It is a "recognition of an individual's inherent value" (Mikaere, 2016 p. 24). Henare (1988) helpfully distinguishes between two aspects to this, 'intrinsic tapu' and 'extensions of tapu'. Intrinsic tapu is the tapu that we are born with and inherit through whakapapa, which can never be removed. At all times, every person is tapu and must be treated with respect and care. "No individual stands alone: through the tapu of whakapapa, she or he is linked to other members of the whānau, hapū and Iwi... every person has a sacred connection to Rangī and Papa and to the natural world around them" (Mikaere, 2000, p. 4).

The second aspect of tapu extends on this intrinsic tapu: someone or something may be set apart, adding an extra layer of protection or restriction when needed. Buck (1949) likens this use of tapu to the prevention of catastrophe, where it is used to highlight and mitigate risk much like a public health notice, with the expectation that it should be respected for the safety of the whole community.

Moana Jackson usefully elaborates on this form of tapu: “In this sense, tapu was a specific restriction which could be placed on a person, an object or a piece of land, and so render it especially sacred as a type of protection or prohibition... The ritual of this process established a sacred protection or rite of prohibition which was secured by the sanction of the gods... the ritual linked the people and the event with an ancestral precedent. Any failure of the protection or breach of the prohibition would be due to human error and would be punished by ancestrally defined sanctions” (Jackson 1988, pp. 41–42).

Both aspects of tapu support health and safety. For example, they reinforce treating each other with care and respect because we are all intrinsically tapu.

Tapu has been translated as sacred or holy, and also as dirty or defiled. These translations came from the distorted understandings of early European missionaries and has led to some confusion with the underlying concept.

Noa

Tapu cannot be understood without also understanding noa and whakanoa. If it is sometimes necessary to impose restrictions using tapu, then a method must also be necessary to remove those restrictions. ‘Noa’ means a safe and unrestricted state—but still with the ‘intrinsic tapu’ intact. Whakanoa is the process of returning something to its normal state by removing the ‘extensions of tapu’.

Durie (1994) identifies tapu and noa (and rāhui) as the primary mechanisms of a Māori health system, which is dynamic and flexible enough to accommodate seasonal, human, and physical differences at the time.

Along with mana, it is a system that recognises the preciousness and interconnection of every individual and all life. This creates a social environment that prevents harm through collective support of healthy attitudes and behaviour, and collective disapproval and intervention in harmful attitudes and behaviour. Work that supports *oranga whakapapa* to prevent sexual violence will move towards these goals by reaffirming Māori understandings of mana, tapu and noa, and the integrated system of *tikanga* to which they belong.

For example, an understanding that when someone perpetrates sexual violence, they deplete their own mana, as their actions harm the mana of the person they have violated (Tate, 2020) is a powerful tool for sexual violence prevention within *te ao Māori*. Further, realigning the significance and balance of mana wahine, mana tāne, and mana tamariki – different embodiments of mana *Tāngata* – can help shape new ways of making meaning and relating with the world. When looking to address sexual violence, restoration of *mana Tāngata* is crucial (Te Wiata et al., 2022). When

engaging with sexual violence prevention, an understanding of *mana Tāngata* can be an important safeguard against violence. For example, when having discussions about mana with whānau, it may be helpful to ask how they understand the sources of mana that comprise their being (see Porter, 2014, cited in WAI 1040 report). It may also be helpful to understand how an awareness of others' mana may inform the way they engage in relationships (Le, Grice, Harrison, Tupaea & Smith, 2023).

Mātauranga

Mātauranga comes from the root matau, which means 'to know, be acquainted with; to understand; feel certain of'. We use mātauranga to mean the Māori knowledge system, which include both the accumulated Māori knowledge and experience that links past, present, and future generations, and the practices that develop and grow that into the future (Marsden, 2003; L.T. Smith et al., 2016). *oranga whakapapa* depends on mātauranga, and therefore on the strength and survival of that system.

Mātauranga belongs to Māori and is the key to Māori living and developing as Māori (Broughton & McBreen 2015). 'Through learning te reo me ōna mātauranga, we retain values and ways of life central to our identity and existence. In doing so, we create our world and assure our survival as a people' (Rāwiri, 2012, p. 1).

Mātauranga is a complete knowledge system, not just a body of knowledge. It is a dynamic, innovative and generative system developed over generations for growing knowledge and wisdom (Broughton & McBreen 2015). It is a holistic system with its own organisation and cannot be preserved in parts. Mātauranga is lived in our environments, shared in our stories or whakapapa kōrero, and expressed in our kawa and tikanga. It includes "language, whakapapa, technology, systems of law and social control, systems of property and value exchange, forms of expression, and much more" (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011, p. 22). Moana Jackson (2012, p.90) describes mātauranga as "a rich and complex response to our land and history" and "part of a construct of legal and constitutional authority."

Mātauranga prioritises experience and relationship-based learning using whānau and hapū understandings grown in their lived environments. It is developed by exploring, theorising, and testing at local, whānau and hapū levels through relationships with the environment. As such, the wellbeing of whānau and hapū and the wellbeing of mātauranga are intimately linked: "the tikanga implicit in the growth and nurturing of any knowledge was dependent upon the ongoing and effective exercise of mana and rangatiratanga" (Jackson, 2012, p.90) – for either to thrive, both must thrive, which requires that relationships between whānau and hapū and their environments must be restored (Broughton & McBreen 2015).

Building from the foundations of our Polynesian tūpuna, Māori had been developing mātauranga on these whenua for at least 600 years before colonisation. Since the New Zealand state established itself, it has privileged its own knowledge system and practices, actively suppressing mātauranga and tikanga Māori (Walker, 1990) and attacking structures that support *oranga*. This has stifled development of mātauranga and our capacity to live as Māori in an everchanging world. It has also stifled our ability to respond to the many crises and harms caused by colonisation.

Mātauranga also belongs in specific relationships – decisions for mātauranga belong to the Peoples who develop the mātauranga. Mātauranga of specific hapori, lwi, hapū, and whānau has been applied for generations to support and enable oranga whakapapa. It is a crucial source of knowledge and tikanga for understanding sexual violence and oranga whakapapa, and for developing strategies to prevent sexual violence and grow oranga whakapapa into the future (Te Wiata et al., 2022).

Tino rangatiratanga

He kākano ahau i ruia mai i Rangiātea. Tino rangatiratanga has never been ceded and can never be ceded. Rangatiratanga comes from whakapapa, from Māori relationships with tūpuna, including the land, oceans and sky; it has grown from Papatūānuku, Tangaroa and Ranginui, and it will endure as long as our relationships with them endure (Mikaere, 2019).

A common definition of tino rangatiratanga is “Māori control over matters affecting the lives of Māori” (Matike Mai Aotearoa, 2016, p.12). Tino rangatiratanga is often used synonymously with mana motuhake to mean something like absolute authority, political and constitutional power, independence, self-determination and sovereignty. It is a more recent term and distinct from mana motuhake in that it is usually used in reference to Te Tiriti and Te Tiriti-based relationships (Matike Mai Aotearoa, 2016).

Inherent in tino rangatiratanga is the ability and resourcing for whānau, hapū and other rūpū Māori to make decisions for themselves, including determining their own priorities, goals, strategies, and measures of success. Just as people are borne by whānau, so too is rangatiratanga. Decisions are made collectively within whānau, and collectively among whānau. Restoring the integrity of whānau, mātauranga and tikanga includes restoring this capacity for independence and self-determination:

“The political power of mana or tino rangatiratanga became the art of recognising the interdependence of relationships, while preserving the independence of each lwi and hapū polity.” (Jackson, 2020, p.140)

Tikanga, mātauranga, and tino rangatiratanga work together and cannot be understood independently of each other. Rangatiratanga is required to build strategies that express mātauranga, while tikanga puts them into practice, which in turn informs mātauranga. Detached from rangatiratanga, tikanga and mātauranga cannot grow and adapt, and they become meaningless (Mikaere, 2019, p.8), “...a cultural garnish or a concert performance, rather than an expression of the independent power and integrity within which they are meant to exist” (Jackson, 2020, p. 148).

This has implications for a programme of oranga whakapapa to prevent sexual violence that is administered by the kāwanatanga: “decolonisation cannot occur within the systems and institutions which colonisation has established. The restoration of place in a non-colonising future can only be assured with the recognition and effective exercise of Iwi and hapū self-determination – not as a structural subset of colonising government structures, but as the basis of constitutionally independent polities” (Jackson, 2020, p.150).

Whatarangi Winiata describes a natural tension between kāwanatanga and rangatiratanga in Te Tiriti (Winiata, 2021, p. 258), where the Crown currently holds ultimate decision-making power, including distribution of resources. A key part of this project is determining how rangatiratanga can be supported by kāwanatanga to promote oranga whakapapa and prevent sexual violence. Other questions include how best to support whānau, and the role of agencies who hold knowledge, power or resources that could support oranga whakapapa and prevent sexual violence. A general principle is that decisions should be led by whānau, the capacity for decision-making by whānau should be supported and resourced as far as possible, and connections with appropriate rōpū, including agencies and other whānau, should be supported.

Tikanga

Jackson (2013) describes tikanga as “a law that was born of a great intellectual tradition to regulate and guide the lives of the tīpuna. It was a philosophical, spiritual, moral, and ethical framework, derived from a set of values and kaupapa that in a very real sense underpinned a functioning, practical legal system.” (p.9).

The term ‘tikanga’ comes from ‘tika’ meaning right or just. It is a system of law, the first law of Aotearoa (Mikaere, 2011). The integrity and effectiveness of the system depends on rangatiratanga or ‘total political authority’ (Jackson, 1992). The philosophy that underpins the system is embedded in mātauranga.

Durie, T. (1994) describes key features of tikanga. It is based on principles, goals and values that may not always be achievable, but that guide decisions, expectations and behaviour. The practice and process of tikanga varies across time, place and people, but the underlying philosophy, norms and values are consistent (Durie, T. 1994; Mikaere, 2011; Jackson, 2013). It is pragmatic, flexible and open-ended: “rules were not as important as their origins and purpose, and decision making was based on the pragmatic needs of survival” (Durie, T. 1994, p.9). This allows tikanga to adapt to changes over time, while still maintaining its integrity as a system.

Tikanga guides how we treat one another. Jackson (2020) describes it as: “a values system about what ‘ought to be’ that helped us sustain relationships, and whaka-tika or restore them when they were damaged. It is a relational law based on an ethic of restoration that seeks balance in all relationships, including the primal relationship of love for and with Papatūānuku” (p.140).

As previously discussed, tikanga uses the laws of tapu and noa to embed the most important practices for survival in mātauranga (Durie, T. 1994; Durie, 2003). Tikanga and te reo Māori are interwoven. The use of te reo Māori acknowledges respect and cultural identity and actively promotes tikanga practices in all activities – ‘te reo me ōna tikanga’. Tikanga provides opportunity for strengthening order, grace, and mana to whānau, hapū and Iwi.

We use tikanga to mean Māori values, standards, norms or appropriate conduct. This includes how we treat one another and how the human body is regarded. Each person, and every part of them is tapu.

Cavino (2017) and Pihama and Smith (2023) identify tikanga of tapu, mana and whakapapa as important for both preventing and healing from violence. Violence is understood not only as harming an individual, but as a collective harm which violates the tapu and mana of the person’s whakapapa and whānau. Likewise it is not only the person causing harm who is responsible, but their whakapapa and whānau. This is an effective system for preventing violence and supporting oranga whakapapa.

Te Wiata and Smith (2016) highlight the centrality of tikanga to ensure the safety and wellbeing of whānau in their work and the need for appropriate protocols and procedures to keep whānau safe, ensure effective mediation of tapu and noa, and safeguard the mana of participants and those impacted by sexual violence.

Whānau – the site of transformation

The term whānau is used to mean several different things. We recognise the breadth of whānau today in all its forms and expressions (Durie, 2001; Kruger et al., 2004; Mead, 2003; Metge, 1995; Pihama, 1993; Pihama et al., 2003; Walker, 2004) including kaupapa whānau. Any discussion of whānau needs to be informed by historical legacies and in contemporary contexts (Cram & Pitama, 1998) and by whānau.

In our framework, whānau refers to the institution and its tikanga. We understand whānau as a system for living well. It is a system that prioritises tikanga for growing healthy, permanent, interdependent relationships. The tikanga that we learn in whānau are the same tikanga that operate in organisations of any scale, and they are embedded in our creation theories.

Whānau are the vehicle through which values and norms, knowledge and histories are transmitted, reproduced and maintained (Cram & Vivienne, 2010; Edwards et al., 2007; Mead, 2003; Pere, 1991; Pihama et al., 2003). Whānau is where we experience our first and closest relationships; where we learn to respect each individual as well as the need for connection, interdependence and responsibility (Gemmell & Pierce, 2019). Because cohesion is a priority, norms, skills and behaviours that support relationships, including tikanga for healthy conflict, are prioritised and grown. Those relationships are permanent – we can add to them, but not take away. Children may be raised away from the whānau they were born into, adults may move to other

whānau, responsibilities may change, connections may be made and added to, but they cannot be severed. We will always belong, we can always return. Even across many generations.

Whānau are the foundation of Māori social organisation. They have their own mana motuhake, they decide who belongs and how they contribute to whānau responsibilities. Whānau are collectives, they rely on everyone working together for the good of the whānau, sharing resources, responsibilities, and decisions. Each person's strengths, characters and interests, woven together for collective safety and wellbeing. Skills, attitudes, and behaviours that enable everyone to participate and share in that mahi are valued and grown.

Likewise, whānau are judged as a collective, each person's actions affect the mana of the whole whānau, and the whānau is accountable for any harm caused by any of its people. Because whānau work closely together, and for the oranga of the whānau, whānau are involved in each other's lives. This makes violence difficult to hide. It is both a strong incentive to prevent violence and abuse, which is a threat to whānau collective well-being and mana, and endless opportunity to prevent or respond early to violence.

Diversity is understood as a strength. Tikanga encourage debate and allow for healthy disagreement and conflict. Whānau members of all ages, genders and sexualities are valued both for the value inherent in their whakapapa, and for the skills and experience they bring. Whānau members of all ages, genders and sexualities are responsible for nurturing children and keeping them safe (Cram & Pitmama, 1998; Jenkins & Harte, 2011). All of these tikanga work together to make whānau an institution for growing oranga whakapapa and preventing sexual violence. Whānau are invested in everyone's healthy development, decision-making and behaviour. Māori have understood this for centuries, and the New Zealand State documented it by at least the 1940s (Beaglehole & Beaglehole, 1947).

In centering whānau as a pou of sexual violence prevention, we acknowledge the impacts of colonisation attacking this central structure of tikanga Māori. Despite resistance, these attacks on the tikanga of whānau have affected all whānau, but some have been harmed more than others.

The sustained colonial and State attacks on whānau undermine its protective potential. Structural transformation that has harmed whānau must be reversed for whānau to enjoy oranga whakapapa and to prevent sexual violence. At the same time, whānau can be supported to identify and address pathways to reinforce their mana and capacity for oranga whakapapa and preventing sexual violence. This might include but is not limited to learning how colonisation has affected their whānau, hapū or hapori, and to re-engaging with kāinga, mātauranga and tikanga.

We honour this whakapapa of resistance to retain our culture, mātauranga and tikanga and ensure oranga whakapapa for future generations. Many whānau continue to challenge sexual violence and provide protection from harm for those within their collectives (Te Wiata et al., 2022). If we can support whānau to grow community knowledge, skills, and awareness of how to prevent sexual violence, we can support oranga whakapapa within communities.

Whakapapa

Whakapapa is a complex concept that underpins all mātauranga and tikanga. Roberts (2013) states that whakapapa is a narrative, a story told layer upon layer, ancestor upon ancestor to the present day and beyond into the future. Whakapapa implies that all things have an origin (Burgess & Painting, 2020). Additionally, within Māori cosmogony, all things are related. In this way, whakapapa is a guiding framework for making sense of the world through understanding the relationships everything has in the world to one another. This network of relationships is the reality that Māori navigate which is embodied through the whakapapa held within each person as representatives of their tūpuna.

Whakapapa then enmeshes a person within broader social realities, fostering an interconnected sense of identity and wellbeing, where collective wellbeing and flourishing is as relevant to identity as individual advancement (Durie, 1997). Whakapapa allows Māori to relate to all areas of the environment, physically and spiritually locating themselves within networks of kinships. These relationships are recognised within collective group identities (whānau, hapū, and Iwi) (Rata, 2015; Roberts, 2013). Whānau and hapū are associated with particular marae that are the cultural epicentre of Māori life. Marae is embedded within landscapes (with landmarks that are also part of whakapapa identities), supporting the creation of a cohesive narrative of a whānau, hapū, or Iwi (McIntosh, 2005). Knowing these places of significance weaves Māori realities together through shared whakapapa kōrero – producing a collective identity unique to each community and place.

Whakapapa informs the shared narrative and history of Māori collectives with the land, to the extent that Māori identity is shaped through the lens of whenua, whānau, hapū, and Iwi. In this way, the Māori 'self' is made meaningful through the metaphysical connections that are bound up in whakapapa and encapsulated in pepeha (King, 2019). Belonging to a particular place, and particular networks of people that belonged to land, is the usual way of expressing identity and engaging in relationship building (Boulton et al., 2021). Whakapapa shapes both the collective identity of a person and the roles and responsibilities they assume within Māori communities across the country (Kerekere, 2017). While a collective Māori identity may assume a sense of similarity across experiences; these whakapapa identities are also (re)negotiated by each whānau, hapū and Iwi (Poata-Smith, 2013).

Through reciprocity and obligation, whakapapa creates productive and enduring relationships. It is the framework on which mātauranga is built. In order to grow oranga whakapapa and prevent sexual violence, we must understand their whakapapa, but also be able to engage with whakapapa and support whānau (Te Wiata et al., 2022).

Kia Māori mai

We use *kia Māori mai* in our framework to prioritise Māori understandings and institutions, including Māori concepts of sexuality, gender, *whānau* and *tamariki*. These are crucial tools for addressing the imposition of colonisation and the Imperialist project to impose Western forms of governance, economic systems, and social and spiritual norms that maintained the regulation of an extractive capitalist system (Le Grice, 2014). Compulsory heterosexuality, the subjugation of women and marginalisation of children in favour of men's prowess within the economic unit of the nuclear family, has harmed *whānau* (Kerekere, 2017; Le Grice, 2014; Pihama, 2020; Pihama et al., 2020).

The impact of settler Christian beliefs on *whānau* is immense. Support structures within *whānau* have been attacked, eventually creating conditions for violence to take root (Kruger et al., 2004; Mikaere, 2011; Pihama et al., 2014). The entrenchment of the nuclear family model harms Māori social structures and supporting *whānau* can in turn contest the impact of colonisation (Dobbs, 2021; Dobbs & Eruera, 2014).

Who we are, the culmination of our lived experiences, and the relationships that contextualise us from the past to the present and into the future, inform our relationship to different *kaupapa* we are invested in and work within. We reflect on our suitability for engaging in particular *kaupapa* based on our skills, capacity, and relational investments. We also consider the suitability of those we are upholding as leaders in our initiatives, recognising the importance of safe and reciprocal relationships within our *kaupapa*.

For example, Te Wiata et al., (2022) provide a strong foundation for markers of good practice in the sexual violence space for working with *whānau* Māori. These include a strong knowledge of *tikanga*, *mana*, *mātauranga*, a decolonial lens, and working with *wairuatanga*.

Pā harakeke

Different generations within *whānau* (e.g. *tamariki*, *rangatahi*, *mātua* and *kaumātua*) will have different needs and bring different understandings and knowledge about sexual violence and its prevention. All are essential to supporting *oranga whakapapa* within the collective.

Sexual violence is a social issue that has been compounded by intergenerational effects of colonisation, oppression, and marginalisation (Cavino, 2016; Pihama et al., 2014). We need to create initiatives responsive to the unique needs and aspirations of each generation, creating spaces of possibility for the next generation, as well as supporting prior generations to access spaces to heal and contribute. Given the intergenerational impacts of imposter *tikanga* and colonisation, there is a deep need for intergenerational healing (Te Wiata et al., 2023). This may require having challenging and ongoing dialogue across generations to support transformation.

Two worlds

We use the phrase two worlds here to describe how Māori today are living in ‘two worlds’, engaging with both Western and Māori knowledge systems to guide their behaviours and beliefs. However, not all Māori will have the same levels of access to both worlds. In particular, suppression of intergenerational teaching of tikanga and the importance of whakapapa across generations has been impacted by the suppression of te reo Māori. Consequently, tamariki/rangatahi and whānau will have various levels of familiarity, comfort, and interest in Māori and Pākehā knowledge systems. The knowledge and understanding of traditional practices may vary between groups as a consequence of colonisation.

Many tamariki/rangatahi Māori and whānau are exposed to and influenced by Western gender norms (Beres, 2017; Gavey, 2012; Ruwhiu et al., 2009; Towns & Scott, 2008). For example, boys may be encouraged to be dominant (with this being seen as ‘masculine’) in their relationships – and girls may be expected to be submissive (with this being seen as ‘feminine’). As previously discussed, Māori understandings and expectations of gender do not position any gender as being dominant over any other.

It is also important to consider that many tamariki/rangatahi Māori and whānau are managing overlapping identities in Aotearoa that reflect mainstream, ethnic and sub-culture allegiances (Martin, 2002), for example, tamariki/rangatahi may speak English at home, attend a school which is total immersion Māori education and identify through a sub-culture with black American Hip-Hop music and culture (Dobbs, 2021; Eruera, 2015) when understanding sexual violence prevention with them.

The complexity of the issues around identity does not stop a strong belief that what tamariki/rangatahi and whānau require are particular forms of cultural connections to promote their well-being and their secure cultural identity. Māori are not a homogenous group and for tamariki/rangatahi and whānau not connected to their culture having feelings of ‘not being Māori enough’ can evoke feelings of whakamā (shame) and embarrassment and need to be considered. By supporting strong and vibrant Māori identities we can counteract racialised understandings of Māori that can lead to harmful behaviour to oneself and others, including violence.

Work that affirms the mana and potential of rangatahi and tamariki (Dobbs, 2021; Hamley et al., 2022; Le Grice et al., 2017; F. Smith, 2020; Te Wiata et al., 2022) can mitigate racialised understandings of Māori that may inform rangatahi and tamariki to see themselves and other people in this way, to prevent them from engaging in violence. Tamariki and rangatahi are our agents of change (Berryman, SooHoo, & Nevin, 2013; Dobbs, 2021; Eruera, 2015) and conduits of decolonisation processes (Kidman, 2018).

The most likely place for tamariki/rangatahi to seek help and support is from whānau. Whānau are perceived as less likely to be judgmental of their relationships or them. This means whānau need tools to help support tamariki (Dobbs, 2021, Smith, 2020).

Tamariki/rangatahi views of their world are not static and are influenced by our changing world, as they negotiate their place in it. There has been a 'shift' in the present generation of tamariki/rangatahi to be more responsive and interested in te ao Māori than were earlier generations (Crengle et al., 2013; Kidman, 2012). For example, Ormond (2017), suggests that social media has allowed taitamariki to gain knowledge around Te Tiriti o Waitangi and they seem to have better knowledge of whakapapa and appear prouder of being Māori. This suggests that while negative stereotypes of taitamariki can influence and counter their own individual lived experiences, having knowledge of te ao Māori can assist in countering negative self-images within a sociohistorical context (Dobbs, 2021, Hamley et al., 2022).

Acknowledging the importance of retaining our oranga now and into future generations, Kuia and Kaumātua argue this cannot be achieved without a collective tribal approach, whānau, hapū and Iwi (Dobbs, 2021). Having such knowledge are protective factors to the influences and tensions of living in 'two worlds'.

“What opportunities were being lost by those such as myself applying an adult-centric, developmental lens to rangatahi and their initiatives? A quick look into the ages of some of our past leaders, Whina Cooper, Apirana Ngata and Hone Heke Ngapua when first embarking upon political work, highlighted how our ancestors had valued and utilised rangatahi as a powerful force for change. I had to ask myself: When had my views of rangatahi become colonised?” (Tawhai, 2016, p. 87)

Summary

This wāhanga has given further descriptions of the foundational pou and principles relevant in the context of sexual violence prevention. Sexual violence impacts oranga by violation of tapu, disconnection of whakapapa, disruption of mauri and the trampling of mana. We see the Pou as being intrinsically interconnected with each other and do not work independently of each other. Tikanga, tapu, mana, noa, wairua, mauri and other principles discussed above are interconnected with Oranga, Whānau and Whakapapa and each other. Their interconnection and understandings of them are critical to any initiative or design for sexual violence prevention and should be apparent. Initiatives should be required to show how the pou fit together – describing how understandings of Pou Whakapapa lead to actions described in the Pou Whānau and how will those actions lead to transformation described by Pou Oranga.

Wāhanga 3



Wāhanga 3

This section explores components of successful Kaupapa Māori initiatives. While there is limited research on the efficacy of initiatives and programmes, we might also consider the expertise and insight of Kaupapa Māori sexual violence services, and the many kaimahi Māori who have worked in the sexual violence sector for decades. Māori authors suggest that Māori are more likely to look to past practices and models to help inform contemporary approaches. There is also confidence amongst Māori sexual violence practitioners that more tikanga-based approaches that supports te ao Māori protective factors within whānau will support wellbeing.

Dobbs and Eruera (2014) argue that culturally responsive initiatives and programmes that restore and strengthen whānau and communities are central to eliminating violence within whānau contexts. In particular, Kaupapa Māori conceptual frameworks, for example the Mauri Ora framework, advocate for the development of Māori models that change the way violence within whānau is understood and managed. Therefore, sexual violence prevention initiatives and the design of these initiatives should come from kaupapa Māori models of sexual violence prevention.

As previously discussed in this report, central to these models and frameworks are practices and mātauranga such as whakapapa, whānau, tikanga, wairua, tapu, mauri, and mana that have the potential to inform and transform how we as a nation eliminate sexual violence. In addition, te reo Māori, tikanga and āhuatanga Māori are all conduits for transformation from whānau violence to whānau well-being. The following are some examples of kaupapa Māori initiatives which will highlight the pou.

Te Whāriki Takapou

Te Whāriki kaupapa is to assist in the reclamation of traditional relationship practices with taitamariki for transformation – reclaiming mātauranga Māori – and was launched in 2018 as an online resource, in both te reo Māori and English. The collection of resources, *Te Aitanga a Tiki: Māori dimensions of sexuality*, provide resources for schools, kura, communities, and health promoters on Māori approaches to sexuality education for taitamariki Māori. The resource uses pūrākau, waiata and mōteatea which focus on healthy intimate partner relationships, contraception and *kia takaroa I te pā kūwhā me te piringa ai* (delaying sexual activity and sexual relationships until you feel ready). The resources are framed within mātauranga Māori and identify three characteristics:

1. Positively expresses Māori understanding of sexual and reproductive health;
2. Reflects Māori and Iwi-specific knowledge systems; and
3. Affirms Māori knowledge as growing from historical and contemporary Māori interactions with the world.

The resources use well known traditional stories – pūrākau, for example that of Rongomaiwāhine, to facilitate conversations about taitamāhine ability to initiate consensual sex without shame, and to reinforce that the pleasures of sex are celebrated, and that sexual activity is openly talked about within te ao Māori. This traditional story also opens up conversations that reinforce that views of women’s sexuality within te ao Māori are positive; and to contrast this to the negative, colonising views today on taitamāhine sexuality and the gendered ‘slut-shaming’ that can transpire. The underlying kaupapa for this particular section of the resource is to promote the message that taitamariki can exercise their mana to initiate and enjoy sexual activities.

Using another pūrākau of Puhiwāhine facilitates discussions about the right to initiate, enjoy or decline sex, and to have enjoyable non-sexual relationships. It also raises awareness for taitamariki Māori that more long-term sexual partnerships were often chosen or created by whānau to maintain links to other Iwi or hapū (whakapapa). Discussions are also facilitated to equate the consequences of peer pressure and social media on young people today to have sex, the messaging for taitamariki being that it is okay not to have sex if you are not ready – exercising your mana to delay having sex (Green, et al., 2016).

Te Whāriki Takapou have developed National Guidelines for Sexual and Reproductive Health Promotion with Māori (2016) as a response to requests from both ‘mainstream’ and Māori sexual and reproductive health organisations. “The aim of the Guidelines is to assist sexual and reproductive health promoters to undertake effective, Māori community-responsive health promotion as this is interpreted in its broadest sense. The Guidelines will assist promoters to engage Māori communities and individuals in meaningful dialogue, which is the basis for effective sexual and reproductive health promotion with Māori” (Green et al., 2016, p. 2). Whilst acknowledging that other Kaupapa Māori models of health could be used, the Guidelines used the Pōwhiri model (McClintock, et al., 2012) based on traditional pōwhiri processes of engagement, relationship- building and transformation, as discussed by Mead (2003). The model incorporates Māori cultural values, beliefs and protocols that, when correctly implemented, facilitate respectful and mana-enhancing relationships between health promoters and Māori communities (see Green et al., 2016).

Amokura Family Violence Prevention Consortium

The Amokura Family Violence Prevention Consortium is one example of an Iwi initiative and of a multi-level approach to whānau violence prevention, including sexual violence. The Consortium was established in 2004. The Consortium led an integrated community change initiative to promote whānau wellbeing and violence prevention in Te Tai Tokerau, led by chief executive officers of seven Iwi authorities for the region: Te Aupouri, Te Rarawa, Ngāti Kahu, Whaingaroa, Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Wai and Ngāti Whātua. Amokura provided strategic leadership to build whānau violence primary prevention, early intervention and community action capacity within

whānau, hapū, lwi, community and providers within Te Tai Tokerau. The Consortium approach was guided by the Mauri Ora framework to effect transformation of whānau violence towards whānau ora. The initiative worked to strengthen whānau and collective approaches to whānau violence rather than individual, pathological interventions and to understand 'whānau' as opposed to 'family'.

Amokura strategic direction and activities developed through the six years they were in operation into four work streams to progress this important kaupapa. They were: advocacy (national and regional), provider development and training (intersectoral training opportunities to build competence in preventing and intervention approaches), research (kaupapa Māori research and evaluation for whānau violence prevention), community awareness and education (using social marketing and other strategies).

Amokura maintained the belief that lwi are the enduring political base for social organisation in Te Tai Tokerau and the consistent high-level advocate for the well-being of all those who live there. As a result, Amokura strategies had the goal of strengthening whānau wellbeing in a broad and innovative range of ways, thus contributing to reducing or removing opportunities for violence to occur. One practical example of Amokura work towards strengthening whānau wellbeing was the production of a whānau resource book called 'Aroha in Action'. This resource was produced to give whānau practical information and advice on:

- How to provide a safe and nurturing environment for all whānau members, especially children
- The impact of violence and abuse
- How to enact the belief that violence is unacceptable and not culturally valid
- How to act and know if violence is or has occurred.

The resource was used by whānau themselves, by professionals and non-government organisations in their work with whānau.

'Step Back' was an Amokura whānau violence prevention message, communicated primarily through the medium of radio jingles, music (predominantly hip hop which was the most popular genre with young people) and community concerts (one attended by 1600 people). The 'Step Back' brand invited people to step back and think before acting, and to take responsibility for the choices they made. The 'Step Back' brand encouraged young people to participate in declaring that whānau violence is unacceptable and provided messages with positive alternatives to violent behaviour.

Amokura undertook two youth-based research projects that examined taitamariki perspectives to whānau violence prevention. Erai & Pitama (2006) completed the first project, which was a photo voice study called 'Vision'. Eruera and Dobbs completed the second project in 2010 "Taitamariki Māori kōrero about intimate partner violence". The Consortium advocated at a national level, with the mandate of their tribal councils, for an amendment to legislation that would repeal section 59 of the Crimes Act 1961 and thereby remove the legal justification for child assault.

Amokura ceased to operate in June 2011 due to government re-appropriation of funding to frontline services. The closure of Amokura saw frontline providers and family violence prevention networks at that time without advocacy, research, training, education and promotion services, reducing the multi-level approach to whānau violence prevention. A spokesperson for the Consortium (Naida Glavish) gave this comment:

“Amokura was never intended to be the ambulance at the bottom of the cliff; and we’d never compete for funding with the frontline services we were set up to support. As a preventative initiative, Amokura is unique in bringing seven Iwi together, standing arm-in-arm at the top of the cliff to turn our whānau back from the edge”.

Grey literature

This next section synthesizes the grey literature and evaluative data on what key stakeholders and whānau within Kaupapa Māori services state helps to eliminate sexual violence in their communities. The following case studies are sourced from Te Puāwaitanga o te kākano report on sexual violence, commissioned by Te Puni Kōkiri and draws on the experience and wisdom of Māori with extensive experience in the sexual violence sector. All sector experts emphasise that sexual violence had no place in te ao Māori given the centrality of whakapapa, tapu, and mana, and that mātauranga and pūrākau demonstrated the ways in which tikanga were drawn on by whānau, hapū, and Iwi to address sexual violence.

Te Puna Oranga

Te Puna Oranga is a Kaupapa Māori provider based in Christchurch providing a range of programmes for Māori women, whānau, youth and children under five in the suburb of Linwood. The mission of Te Puna Oranga is the restoration of whānau in terms of their mana, dignity and pride as Māori; and as a Māori whānau through a journey of healing using te Whare Tapa Whā as discussed above. The values that underpin the work are informed by Kaupapa Māori, tino rangatiratanga, mana Motuhake, Kotahitanga, tika and pono, and aroha ki te Tāngata. The central aims being to restore dignity and pride to Māori women and their whānau; assisting whānau, hapū and Iwi to take charge of their wellbeing and health through education and healing; and providing aid and support for whānau to stop the cycle of abuse.

Korowai Tūmanako

Korowai Tūmanako, is the only service of its kind in the North and delivers to whānau, hapū, and Iwi who have been affected by sexual violence, focusing on harmful sexual behaviour. It also offers sexual violence prevention education and support to whānau and provides therapeutic supervision and training to local professionals. Korowai Tūmanako also supports workers and provides clinical treatment for young people and adults who have committed sexual offences. Korowai Tūmanako engages with Māori communities (leaders, whānau, hapū, and Iwi) about practical, applicable ways of incorporating sexual violence prevention strategies within their communities. Core principles of the organisation are: Whanaungatanga – Connecting together, Kotahitanga – Standing together, Manākitanga – Urging together towards integrity, Kaitiakitanga – Guarding and protecting each other, Rangatiratanga – Stepping into responsibility. Wairuatanga – Spirituality is the cohesive binding principle, which weaves through all the others and draws them together. Korowai Tūmanako describe their approach as follows:

“(the service comprises) Māori clinical practitioners (who) offer a unique Māori clinical approach to their work with whānau. Māori clinical practice refers to the application of both Māori cultural and clinical knowledge and applied specifically within the sexual violence sector. Practice is informed by Māori values and principles and utilises knowledge and experience from the fields of sexual violence prevention education, survivor services and sexual offender treatment.”

Kite Rapu i te Ora

Kite Rapu i te Ora a is a Kaupapa Māori provider based in Ōpōtiki. It provides a range of programmes for Māori women, whānau, youth and children under five. Kite Rapu i te Ora uses Māori models as a form of intervention with Māori whānau. Whānau are positioned at the forefront of any intervention with the provider working at their pace, not according to time limitations. The organisation utilises whakapapa and te ao Māori elements as a healing process and works with the strengths of the whānau and in te reo Māori. The whānau-centric, tikanga-oriented, and mātauranga-informed work of the organisation was reported as a key strength and success factor for the organisation to deliver its work for and with whānau.

Tū Wāhine Trust

Tū Wāhine Trust is a Waitakere-based Kaupapa Māori organisation that has operated for more than 35 years. Tū Wāhine workforce consists of Māori professionals who are experts in working with Māori whānau affected by rape, incest, and sexual abuse; and who are grounded in mātauranga Māori and tikanga Māori. It provides a range of programmes for victims and survivors of violence and abuse at no cost. Tū Wāhine Trust has a systemic/prevention layer to the organisation, engaging in education and advocacy, as well as crisis and long-term recovery and support. Central values that are pivotal to the success of the organisation are: Mauri Ora, Mana Wāhine, Whānau Ora, Tu Tāngata, and Tūtahi Te Iwi Māori.

Wāhine Māori, Wāhine Ora, Wāhine Kaha: preventing violence against Māori women.

Further to these case studies, a 2015 report for the Ministry for Women draws on data from 11 hui across Auckland, Hamilton, Wellington, and Christchurch. From their experience, successful primary prevention initiatives were:

- Developed and designed principally by those in the communities in which they were being implemented
- Focussed heavily on positive relationships within whānau, extended whānau and communities
- Strengths-based rather than deficit-focused
- Led by those who are part of the community
- Have a component of Māori culture, for example, kapa haka, te reo Māori
- In line with the existing values and principles of the communities in which they are implemented
- Not necessarily Government-funded (power sat with community)
- Sustained and ongoing rather than one-off programmes.

Hui participants included women and men who were representatives from Kaupapa Māori social service providers, Iwi organisations and whānau who work in the sexual violence sector.

Limitations/unmet needs: takatāpui and sexual violence prevention

One important part of the Māori community that has had little research is the takatāpui community. This brief search found no specific services or initiatives dedicated to takatāpui that addressed their intersectional needs in relation to sexual violence prevention. Dickson (2016) highlighted that Rainbow communities have specific needs that are often not met by mainstream services or programmes which often reinforce a gender binary or position gender as fixed and immutable. Dickson et al., (2021) co-developed a resource to support healthy relationships for young people in Rainbow communities. This resource specifies that Rainbow youth people need:

- Respect, space, and information to support who they are
- Inclusion of diverse Rainbow identities and relationships within general healthy relationships and consent education material
- Visible pathways to support
- Effective delivery of healthy relationships and consent material
- Online resources and support
- Resources that also include friendships and other non-romantic relationships
- Peer pressure education that includes pressure around sexuality and gender identity
- Development and dissemination of appropriate programs and materials that are guided by best practice supported by Rainbow educational facilitators.

Scanning the takatāpui literature, Māori participants in the study by Fenaughty et al. (2006) of male sexual violence felt that it was important that the issue was addressed with Māori and in particular forums. Like cis and heterosexual Māori, they saw their concerns as communal issues, with Māori communities being appropriate sites for prevention and healing.

Rainbow Violence Prevention Network released the *Rainbow Best Practice guidelines: Working with Rainbow Communities in Primary Violence Prevention*. In the resource, they note similar core themes to more general Māori sexual violence prevention: the importance of contextualising violence within colonisation, the importance of mātauranga (including pūrākau of tūpuna takatāpui), and ways in which Western understandings of gender, sexuality, and whānau as family may have negatively impacted takatāpui. Likewise, InsideOUT² is a national charity providing education, resources, consultation, and support for anything concerning rainbow and takatāpui communities. Offering guidance, professional development and workshops for schools, workplaces, and community organisations across Aotearoa.

Kerekere (2017) highlighted that for many takatāpui, whānau can also be shaped by both whakapapa and kaupapa whānau, those who have come together to support and nurture takatāpui. In Kim McBreen's analysis of how heteropatriarchy can be seen "creeping into interpretations of tikanga and kōrero tawhito" in reference to sexuality, she notes:

We need to be clear that homophobia does not come from tikanga. It comes from the colonisers. Whakapapa is about inclusion – there needs to be a really good reason to exclude or demean someone in any way. Who they sleep with is not a good reason. (2012, p. 63).

2 <https://insideout.org.nz/respectful-relationships-programme>

Conclusion



Conclusion

Te mahi whai tikanga

Based on the literature, successful Kaupapa Māori primary sexual prevention should:

- Address the wider impacts of colonisation that have enabled sexual violence such as state violence and kāwanatanga usurping of tino rangatiratanga
- Advance constitutional transformation to enable tino rangatiratanga and healthy environments for tikanga and mātauranga to flourish
- Challenge and disrupt 'imposter' tikanga that seek to legitimise violence within whānau
- Draw on mātauranga and tikanga as solutions for healing and transformation
- Centre whānau, hapū, and Iwi as enactors of tino rangatiratanga
- Support existing Kaupapa Māori sector workers and networks who are already engaged in violence prevention
- Utilise te ao Māori and mātauranga for sexual violence prevention
- Engage in wider ecosystem transformation (i.e. addressing poverty, addiction, educational and health inequities etc.)
- Be community-driven and locally tailored
- However, important gaps still remain in the literature especially in relation to takatāpui and Tāngata whaikaha sexual violence prevention.

The general research on successful primary prevention to address violence highlight several key factors for success.

This includes the following:

- A comprehensive scope e.g., multi-level approaches (societal, community, family/whānau, individual)
- A theory of change/initiative/approach must reflect the cultural knowledge systems of the community
- Programmes and initiatives should be locally designed and culturally specific
- There must be space for positive approaches
- The community should be involved in driving interventions
- The prevention must address structural factors (e.g. gender inequality, income inequalities, racism, ageism).

These are relatively consistent with Te Toiora Mata Tauherenga: Report for action on sexual violence (Ministry of Justice, 2009). This report on action for sexual violence provides some additional information about programme and initiative success.

Based on the international and national literature, the report states success factors are:

- Challenging cultural norms and promoting respectful sexual behaviour
- Being tailored to the audience
- Fostering networks and partnerships, with a community approach
- An empathetic approach to victims
- Including men within solutions
- Being able to deal with disclosures of sexual violence and address inappropriate sexual behaviour
- Consideration of diversity
- Being well resourced.

The Ministry of Justice report has more generalised prevention strategies and have been critiqued for missing key elements/lens of Indigenous understandings of violence/sexual violence and wellbeing/oranga. As previously discussed, Māori academics and sector experts argue that initiatives, that are solely based on Western or mainstream thinking alone have been consistently ineffective for Māori.

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