Kua Ngaro kei ngā Pūrehu
'Lost in the Mists'

A Situational Analysis of the 'Family Therapy Movement in Aotearoa New Zealand' Between 1989 and 1995

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MA (Applied) in Social Work

A thesis presented in total completion
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

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Victoria, Australia

April 2021

Whakapapa

Tihei mauri ora!

Tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa

Ko Pākehā te Iwi

Ko Pukemoumou te maunga

Ko Kairangi te awa

Ko Whanganui-a-Tara te whanga

Ko Upper Hutt te whenua

Ko Slains Castle, Tāmaki Makaurau, 1845, te waka

Ko Alexander me Flora Whisker te rangatira o Airangi

Ko Gilbert me Elizabeth Blackstock te rangatira o Kōtirana

Ko Lance Whisker te mātua me Cecelia Morrison te whaea

Ko Craig Whisker ahau

Kia ora koutou katoa!

Whakapāha

On behalf of my whānau, I sincerely apologise to the peoples of Te Tai Tokerau for the harm caused to you by our tipuna, Alexander Whisker, when as a foot soldier with the Irish 58th Regiment he took part in military invasions of Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Hine lands in 1845 and 1846, notably at Ruapekapeka Pā.

Nō reira, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā tātou katoa.

Greetings to the Peoples of Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa

To the people of Sāmoa,
Talofa lava

To the people of Tonga,
Mālō ‘etau lava

To the people of Fiji,
Nī bula vinaka

To the people of Niue,
Fakaalofa lahi atu

To the people of the Cook Islands,
Kia orana

To the people of Tuvalu,
Fakatalofa atu

To the people of Tokelau,
Mālo ni

To the people of Kiribati,
Ko na mauri

May love and peace be with you all

Acknowledgement of Aboriginal And Torres Strait Islander Peoples

Greetings to the First Nations Peoples of Australia[1]

Kia ora koutou katoa,

On behalf of my university department, the Bouverie Centre of La Trobe University in Melbourne, Australia, I acknowledge the Traditional Custodians of the Land on which our organisational building stands. I pay respect to Elders past and present of the Kulin Nation and extend that respect to other Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. The Bouverie Centre strongly supports the Australian Parliament's action in apologising to the Stolen Generations, thus acknowledging the profoundly traumatic legacy experienced by Indigenous Peoples & Communities in Australia.

I wish to alert readers that this thesis may contain stories about people who have passed away from the Ghangalu, Kaurna, Kuku Yalanji, Kullilli, Mutthi Mutthi, Narrungga, Noongar, and Tharawal nations. There are no photos of First Nations Peoples of Australia in this thesis.

1. In this thesis the terms 'First Nations Peoples of Australia' and 'Aboriginal' are used interchangeably to refer to the First Nations Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples of Australia.

To my loving father,

Lance Philip Whisker

[07/06/1928—10/04/2010]

“The world’s your oyster, son”

and to the Reid family,

Denny, Gwen, Shelley, Willa, Eliza, Ginny, Ray,

and mostly, Selina.

Statement of Authorship

Except where reference is made in the text of the thesis, this thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma. No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgment in the main text of the thesis. This thesis has not been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution.

Craig Philip Whisker Date of submission: 16 April 2021

All research procedures reported in the thesis were approved by the relevant Ethics Committee, Safety Committee or authorised officer.

This work was supported by an Australian Government Research Training Program Scholarship.

Other Acknowledgements

Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi, ēngari he toa taki mano/

'My achievement, was not mine alone, it belongs to many'.

Traditional whakataukī/'proverb' [2]

MY FIRST THOUGHTS ARE WITH THE WOMEN AND THE MEN who accept my invitations to take part of this study. We meet across culture, place, and time; sitting around your kitchen table or relaxing in your lounge room chairs; sometimes squeezing into a tight work schedule or listening intently to one another on mobile phones. You won't be named, yet your names are alive in me. As is the wairua, the generosity, the 'how you say what you have to say', during the time we share together. Tēnā koutou. Tihei mauri ora!

Closer to home, I am sustained and sustain others through the lives and the deaths, the fortunes and the trials, in my PhD years. I think of Gwen, and John, and Les, who all pass, and the company of my 'sisters' and 'brothers', by blood and by bond, in the Calverts, Chiltons, Grices, Johnsons, Reids, and Whiskers. Friends accept my promises of future priority and adventure, while my adult children grow in further establishing their lives and resourcefulness.

Drs. Peter McKenzie and David Healee seem to supervise the whole project with utter confidence that I will produce "the goods" no matter how long it takes. I enjoy friendship with them both and come to know that by staying in honest relationship we can negotiate all that is required. Thanks also to Dr. Elizabeth du Preez for her helpful critique in the first few years, and to Dr. Carmel Hobbs for her organising energy in the latter. The surprise 'theory/methods package' is Prof. Adele Clarke, who offers a level of genuine collegial corroboration over the life of this project that belies the many other commitments she sustains.

Colleagues to acknowledge from NZ include Bill, Colin, Gay, Gorham, Graham, Jennie, Julie, Maria, Mark, Sarah, and the AUT 'GT Group'. From Australia, my psychodrama friends, Ann, Anthony, Phillip, and Richard, plus Jeff and the lunchtime

2. Recited by Tariana Turia (2012).

‘learning circle’ at the Bouverie Centre, and the people I meet through VACCA. And from Alberta, Canada, my generous host, Tom, along with Dan, Monica, the ‘Calgary SA group’, and the 2015 Calgary Family Therapy Centre externship group.

At La Trobe University, Karen N, Karen P, Lisa, and the GRS team, all assist me to progress my research both inside and outside the library, and I enjoy block stays at Grad House and Uni Lodge in Bundoora where I meet many new friends and create lasting memories.

Finally, thank you to my old friends, Allister, Christoph, and CB, and local family members, Denny, Gwen, Shelley, Willa, Eliza, Ginny, and Ray, who connect with and ground me, while my wife, Selina, shares and encourages the journey.

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Abstract

THE ‘FAMILY THERAPY MOVEMENT IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND’ [‘FTMANZ’] is an unnamed, yet discernible social movement between the late mid-1980s and the late mid-1990s, comprising individuals and organisations informally committed to social justice. Through ‘Just Therapy’ (Waldegrave, 1990a), narrative (White & Epston, 1990) and feminist (Harré Hindmarsh, 1989) therapies, the ‘FTMANZ’ attempts to lift Western Family Therapy “into the political, social, [and] cultural domains which inform our values, beliefs and practices” (Esler, 1990, p. 51), but by the conclusion of its 1995 conference the ‘FTMANZ’ is in disarray, unable to negotiate political differences among its principal social worlds.

The situational analyses (Clarke, 2005; Clarke et al., 2018) in this study use historical discourse materials collected from extant literature and over 50 in-depth interviews to stimulate theorising about what happened in the ‘FTMANZ’ and how things might have been different. With the current availability of Western Family Therapy approaches in Aotearoa New Zealand comparing poorly against some contemporary Western societies, how might these historical reflections contribute to the diversity of thought about the future of ‘family therapy’ in Aotearoa New Zealand today?

In considering these questions three distinct situations are analysed, namely the ‘FTMANZ’ conferences in 1989, 1993, and 1995. By tracing the construction of topics, negotiations, discourses, controversies, and silences, from conference to conference, an appreciation is gained of the conditions of possibility (Foucault, 1970) available at each conference, such as matters ‘too hot to handle’ at one time that might be negotiable at another, available opportunities not taken that may still be accessible, and once silent or silenced voices now able to be heard. These conditions for change are possible future pathways along which today’s inheritors of the legacy of the ‘FTMANZ’ might tread when seeking to enhance the situation of ‘family therapy’ for families in Aotearoa New Zealand today.

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Abbreviations

Short Form	Name
AAFT	Australian Association of Family Therapy
AAMFT	American Association for Marriage and Family Therapy
AFTM	Australian Family Therapy Movement
AJFT	Australian Journal of Family Therapy
ANZJFT	Australian and New Zealand Journal of Family Therapy
CAFS	Child And Family Service
CAMHS	Child and Adolescent Mental Health Service
CGT	Constructivist Grounded Theory
CHE	Crown Health Enterprise
DHB	District Health Board
DSW	Department of Social Welfare
Dulwich	The Dulwich Centre
FCSPRU	Family Centre Social Policy Research Unit
FFT	Functional Family Therapy
FTMANZ	Family Therapy Movement in Aotearoa New Zealand
FSTAANZ	Family and Systemic Therapy Association of Aotearoa New Zealand
GT	Grounded Theory
ICAMHS	Infant Child and Adolescent Mental Health Service
MST	Multi-Systemic Therapy
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NZ	Aotearoa New Zealand
NZAFT	New Zealand Association of Family Therapy
NZCYPS	New Zealand Children and Young Persons' Service
OT	Oranga Tamariki
P	Research Participant [e.g.: P1 refers to research participant number 1]
PICF	Participant Information sheets and Consent Forms
PSS	Presbyterian Support Services
SA	Situational Analysis
SW/A	Social Worlds/Arenas
The Treaty	Te Tiriti o Waitangi/'The Treaty of Waitangi'
VAFT	Victorian Association of Family Therapists

Glossaries

Te Reo Māori to English[3]

Te reo Māori	English translation
Aotearoa	New Zealand; often translated as "land of the long white cloud"
Ariki	Paramount chief, high chief
Aroha	Love, loving, caring, empathy, charity
Atua	Ancestor with continuing influence, god, supernatural being
Hapū	Kinship group, clan, 'subtribe'; primary political unit in traditional Māori society
Hongi	To press noses in greeting
Hui	Gather, meet, gathering, meeting
Io-matua-kore	One of the names for the supreme spiritual being
Iwi	Extended kinship group, nation, people, 'tribe', descendants from a common ancestor and associated distinct territory
Kai	Food, meal, to eat, to drink [not water]
Kaimoana	Seafood, shellfish
Kāinga	Home, village, settlement, habitat
Kaitiaki	Guardian, caregiver, trustee
Karakia	Incantation, ritual chant, prayer, grace, blessing
Kaumātua	Old, aged, elderly man or woman
Kaupapa	Topic, plan, agenda, subject, theme, issue, programme
Kaupapa Māori	Māori approach, Māori customary practice, Māori institution; philosophical doctrine incorporating the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values of Māori society
Kāwanatanga	Government, dominion, governorship, authority
Kawenata	Covenant, contract, agreement
Koha	Gift, offering, contribution; especially one maintaining social relationships with connotations of reciprocity
Kōrero	Speech, narrative, story, account, conversation, statement; to tell, say, speak, read, talk, address
Korowai	Traditional cloak made of feathers that sits around the shoulders and top of the back; worn and given to mark a special occasion
Kuia	Elderly woman, grandmother, female elder
Kura	School, education, to be educated

3. Both te reo Māori and English are official languages in Aotearoa New Zealand and in this thesis both languages are written in upright type. A macron in te reo Māori indicates that a vowel should be pronounced as a long vowel and that the emphasis is on this vowel. New Zealand English generally follows British English conventions except for particular colloquialisms. Translation from te reo Māori to New Zealand English is sourced from Moorfield (2011).

Te reo Māori	English translation
Kura kaupapa	Primary school operating under Māori custom and using te reo Māori as the medium of instruction
Mana	Prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma, a supernatural force in a person, place or object
Mana motuhake	Separate identity, authority, self-government, sovereignty, mana through self-determination and control over one's own destiny
Mana whenua	Territorial rights, authority over land, power associated with possession and occupation of tribal land
Manuhiri	Visitor, guest
Māori	To be Māori, apply in a Māori way; normal, ordinary [māori]
Marae	The open area in front of the wharenui, where formal greetings and discussions take place, often used to include the complex of buildings around the marae
Mātauranga	Knowledge, wisdom, understanding, skill
Mātua whāngai	Foster parents, adoptive parents
Ngā Māori	Plural form of Māori
Ngaro	Lost, missing, out of sight
Ōritetanga	Equality, equal opportunity
Paepae	Orators' bench
Pākehā	New Zealander of non-Māori or non-Polynesian heritage
Papatūānuku	Earth mother and wife of Ranginui
Pēpi	Baby, babies
Pipi	Small edible bivalve shellfish
Pōwhiri	To welcome, welcoming ceremony on a marae
Pūao-te-Ata-tū	Daybreak; also the name of a report written by the Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Maori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare (1986)
Puku	Belly, abdomen
Pūrehu	Cloud, mist
Rangatahi	Youth, to be young
Rangatira	High ranking, chief [male or female] noble, revered
Ranginui	Atua of the sky and husband of Papatūānuku
Raupatu	Confiscate, conquer, conquest
Rohe	District, region, territory, boundary
Rohe pōtae	Tribal territory, tribal homelands
Taha Māori	Māori identity, Māori character, Māori side, Māori heritage
Tamariki	To be young, youthful, children - usually used in the plural
Tāne Mahuta	God of the forests and birds and one of the children of Ranginui and Papatūānuku
Tanga	The suffix "tanga" is added to nouns to designate the quality derived from the base noun [e.g.: see Tūhoetanga]

Te reo Māori	English translation
Tangata Tiriti	"People of the Treaty" of non-Māori origin; originally, Europeans who have a right to live in Aotearoa New Zealand under the Treaty of Waitangi but now includes peoples of other ethnic origins too
Tangata whenua	“People of the land”, local people, hosts, indigenous people
Tangi	Shortened form of Tangihanga
Tangihanga	Funeral, rites for the dead, weeping, crying
Tauiwi	Foreigner, European, non-Māori, colonist, a person coming from afar
Te ao Māori	The Māori worldview
Te ao mārama	The world of life and light, earth, the physical world
Te reo Māori	The Māori language
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	The Treaty of Waitangi
Tika	To be correct, true, right, just, fair
Tikanga	Correct procedure, custom, habit; a customary system of values and practices
Tino rangatiratanga	Self-determination, sovereignty, autonomy, self-government, control, power
Tipuna	The singular form of tīpuna
Tīpuna	Ancestors, grandparents
Tipuna whare	Ancestral house, often used for a meeting house
Taonga	Treasure, anything prized or of value [a thing, idea, method, etc.]
Tohunga	Chosen expert, skilled person, priest, healer
Tūhoetanga	The essence or quality of being Tūhoe
Tuku iho	History, oral history, tradition
Tūrangawaewae	A place where one has the right to stand - where one has rights of residence and belonging through kinship and whakapapa
Wāhine	Woman, women, female, wife
Wairua	Spirit, soul, feel, quintessence
Wairua Karaitiana	Christianity
Wairuatanga	Spirituality
Waitangi	Name of a town in the Bay of Islands, Aotearoa New Zealand
Wero	To challenge, spear, jab, pierce
Whaikōrero	Formal speech making, oratory
Whakapapa	Genealogy, lineage, descent
Whakataukī	Proverb, significant or cryptic saying, to utter a proverb
Whānau	To be born, extended ‘family’ group, primary economic unit of traditional Māori society; used in modern context to include others who may not have kinship ties to other members
Whanaungatanga	Relationship, kinship, sense of ‘family’ connection
Wharenui	Meeting house; main building of a marae where guests are accommodated; many are decorated with carvings, rafter paintings and tukutuku/‘woven reed panels’
Whenua	Land, country, ground, territory

Gagana Sāmoa To English[4]

Gagana Sāmoa	English translation
Āiga	A family, a relative, cohabitating, to belong to a family
Faʻasāmoa	To act according to Sāmoan customs, the ways of Sāmoa
Fono	Council, assembly, to hold a council
Gagana	Speech, language
Musu	To be unwilling or indisposed, unwillingness, refuse
Papalagi	Foreign, foreigner

First Persons of Australia Indigenous Terms

Aboriginal word	English translation
Koori	Koori is a regional term for Aboriginal Peoples from the approximate region of New South Wales and Victoria
Murri	Murri is a regional term for Aboriginal Peoples from Queensland and Far-Northern New South Wales

Typography

Font:	Main text - Times New Roman [12 pt.]
	Block quotations - Calibri [11.5 pt.]
	Emphasis added to words - in italics
Citations:	Items in bibliography - in rounded bracket ( )
	Reference to research participant - in angular parentheses ⟨ ⟩
	Research participant's full identifier shown in first citation in main subsections of each chapter.
Additions:	Additional comments or punctuation in square parentheses [ ]

4. Translation source: Pratt (1984).

Prelude

"I BOARDED THE PLANE OUT OF SYDNEY WITH SOME TREPIDATION, AS I WAS still coming to terms with the vivid emotional memories I had of the first Australian and New Zealand Conference held [six years earlier] in Christchurch in 1989. I arrived in Wellington in time to register for what women call the 'Other Conference' having missed both the Women's Meeting and the Cultural Caucusing that led up to it.

Official proceedings began on Wednesday with a traditional Maori welcoming ceremony in which a variety of cultures was [sic] represented. Parts of the ceremony included Maori hymns and also traditional Aboriginal ceremonial dance accompanied by the didgeridoo. Even 'Waltzing Matilda' managed to find a place—to the consternation of some and the delight of others.

The conference ended with an emotional closing ceremony, with me padding out of the University Theatre on Saturday night noticing the people around me looking like stunned mullet. I imagine that some of these people are still trying to come to terms with their mixture of feelings: anger, sadness, fear, intimidation, frustration, shame, guilt, relief, embarrassment, hope and anxiety.

Between the Opening and the Closing, tasty morsels were offered us in plenaries, workshops, lunchtime meetings, and chats over coffee or dinner. Socially I have great memories to hold on to: I saw black and white women hugging each other; roomfuls of therapists chatting together animatedly, and restaurants and pubs in Wellington filled with happy locals and noisy Australians.

The spiritual intensity was striking. And this, I think, was best summed up by the words of Samoan therapist, Kiwi Tamasese: 'Forgive me if I thought this time together would be a restful place of celebration'. Whatever it was, the conference could *not* be said to be a restful place of celebration, for difficult and painful issues were aired, and many angry voices were heard […] like Albert Wendt, Samoan University Lecturer in English who says he is 'trying hard not to submit to and give into hatred' and the voice representing the Maori caucus: 'We will *not* be assimilated!' […]

And the next time the conference is held in New Zealand? I don't know what I will do since there is this tender part inside me which sometimes gets me doubting myself as a therapist, as a woman, as an Australian and even sometimes as a human being. I work hard to protect this vulnerable centre of myself and I don't think it is going to be any easier next time to get her on that plane to cross the Tasman.

YVONNE MCDONELL

Sutherland Family Counselling Service

Sutherland NSW"

(McDonell, 1995, pp. 225-227)

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"[…]

I think of it.

I think of me as a family therapist.

I think of the value base of this discipline.

I think of individualism, of materialism, of scientific rationality,

I think of secularism, of objectivity, of linear time frames, of modernity,

I think of the living out of its definitions,

I think of postmodernity and its reluctance to look at power

difference and to consider families in history,

I think of the imposition of these values on families of other cultures,

tearing them away from their natural support systems,

leaving them vulnerable to 'helping professions' like my own,

leaving them vulnerable to state provision of services like my own.

I think of colonisation, no longer with the might of the sword,

no longer with the decimation through disease,

but through the gentle conversation of a therapist

assuming the rightness of her/his value system, or, more dangerously,

assuming that the discipline is scientific, therefore value-free,

therefore intercultural and international.

I think of it.

I think of you as you sit in your aiga in the presence of a family therapist,

I think of your body language, your eyes turned down, your head

lowered, showing your respect.

I think of the therapist's meaning to this.

I think of your mother torn away from the house of womanhood through
colonialism, another ism and ism.
I think of the loudness of her silence/musu – a state of temporary
or permanent silence signalling 'I need space to work this out.
I am in too much pain.'
[…]"

(Tamasese, 1992, reproduced in Waldegrave & Tamasese, 1993, pp. 6-7)

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INTRODUCTION

KUA NGARO KEI NGĀ PŪREHU,

'LOST IN THE MISTS':

THE 'FAMILY THERAPY MOVEMENT IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND'

Freedom is at the beginning, not the end;

the goal is the first step, the means is the end.

Jiddu Krishnamurti[1]

THE 'FAMILY THERAPY MOVEMENT IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND' ['FTMANZ'] is like a maunga/'mountain peak' kua ngaro kei ngā pūrehu/'lost in the mists',[2] in the sense that it has effectively disappeared since its prominence during the decade between the late mid-1980s and the late mid-1990s. The foundations for that decade are laid when practitioners of Western Family Therapy[3] form a Family Therapy

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1. Krishnamurti (1958, p. 25).
2. Two research participants, one a Tūhoe man, the other a Pākehā woman, independently use the phrase "lost in the mist" when reflecting on the cultural justice issues that dominate the 1993 NZ family therapy conference hosted by Tūhoe in Rūātoki (see Chapter 8 for details). Tūhoe have a special relationship with the mists that collect around the Urewera mountain range and refer to themselves as the children of the mist (see http://www.ngaituhoe.com/folders/ mistchildren.html), so it is no surprise that analogies with the mist might be used to describe the 'FTMANZ' at that time and are now being extended by this thesis to illustrate both the period 1989 to 1995 and the broader situation of 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand today.
3. In this thesis, "Western Family Therapy" refers to Western-cultural traditions of family psychotherapy that evolve since the 1950s, principally in the USA (Doherty & McDaniel, 2010). Most conceptualisations describe Western Family Therapy in terms of a developmental timeline of phases, generations, decades, etc, with that by Dallos and Draper (2000) cited by New Zealander, McKenzie (2003) being adopted and referred to elsewhere in this thesis. As a point of clarification, I follow

Interest Group network around Aotearoa New Zealand in 1978 (Epston, 1981a) and meet annually in national conferences from 1983 onwards [see Appendix F] with an underlying commitment to social and cultural justice[4] action, in keeping with their mainly radical social work backgrounds and community work settings (Pilalis, 1983). With Māori experiencing a significant cultural renaissance throughout Aotearoa New Zealand during the 1980s (Walker, 1990), the 'FTMANZ' is motivated by and attractive to Māori and Pacific activists, whose cultures[5] give prominence to family and community over the individual, and who have their own traditions for enhancing family wellbeing. Meeting together at their annual conferences—the only time when the unnamed but discernible 'FTMANZ' takes collective action—they comprise a variety of tikanga/'theories and practices'[6] for the care and development of families, extended families, communities, or related groups of people and spiritual beings, where tikanga Western Family Therapy is only one. This broad conceptualisation of 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand—referred to in scare quotes throughout this thesis[7]—is an inheritance from those times and that 'Movement'. It carries mana/'power and status' as a small but significant and—until now—relatively silent historical site of local cultural justice negotiations in Aotearoa New Zealand society.

Why does the history of the 'FTMANZ' matter today? It matters because by the late 1980s the 'FTMANZ' is a global forerunner in shifting, sometimes dragging, Western

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Doherty and McDaniel (2010); Gladding (2015); Rasheed, Rasheed, and Marley (2011); and others by including Narrative Therapy (White & Epston, 1990) in the Western Family Therapy tradition.

4. Cultural justice in 'family therapy' "embodies an understanding of justice that requires that things are tika (just, right) and not merely legal. It should not be understood in a passive or reactive sense—as a criterion for identifying or legitimating grievances—but as a positive quality reflected and enacted in all activities within society. Our professional activities […] are not exempt from this. If we are not ensuring that the way in which we work is culturally just, then we are supporting a culturally unjust and destructive practice" (Nairn, 1993, p. 34).

5. Since the 1970s, the term 'culture' gradually displaces 'race' in NZ public discourse and is used polysemously "for a wider variety of purposes, in a wider range of rhetorical contexts and more often with a political edge than ever before" (Goldsmith, 2003, p. 280). Ideologically, culture is cited "as the ground[s] for resistance and social change", a heritage to be preserved rather than politicised, a therapeutic cure, and a right of identity (Wetherell & Potter, 1991, p. 129). The term 'ethnicity' refers to a social group that has a common national or cultural tradition.

6. The first time each non-English word appears in this thesis, a translation is provided beside and separated from it by a forward slash. Glossaries of most Māori, Sāmoan, and Aboriginal words used in this thesis are also listed in the forepages.

7 When the term family therapy is used in this thesis to refer to how family therapy may be known generically around the world, it is written without scare quotes.

Family Therapy "into the political, social, [and] cultural domains which inform our values, beliefs and practices" (Esler, 1990, p. 51) and from where "a more indigenous therapy" may be responsive to demands for "bicultural awareness and some redress for the historical misdeeds of the dominant culture in Aotearoa New Zealand" (Sutton, 1990, p. 51). Its most influential innovators, The Family Centre and Narrative Therapy, spread 'FTMANZ' discourse internationally among other Western and Indigenous family therapy worlds (Tomm, 1989; Waldegrave, 1990b). Yet, by the conclusion of its 1995 conference the 'FTMANZ' is in disarray, unable to negotiate theoretical and practical differences between its principal social worlds[8] and cultural caucuses,[9] estranging some of its members and Australian allies, indefinitely suspending thirteen successive annual national or binational conferences, and unequivocally stalling its development from grass-roots social movement to professionalised organisation.

Research Questions And Their Purpose

What happened during the 'FTMANZ' years that might have contributed to such an outcome?, and how could things have been different? And with the situation of 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand today comparing poorly against other Western societies, particularly with respect to the availability of Western Family Therapy approaches (Dudson, 2013; The Werry Centre, 2009; Werry Workforce Whāraurau, 2019), how might these historical reflections contribute to the diversity of thought about the future of 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand?

This study is a first response to these historical wonderings. Its purpose is the future enhancement of therapeutic service delivery for families[10] in Aotearoa New Zealand, which it aims to support by indicating to today's practitioners an array of possible future

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8. Social worlds are "groups with shared commitments to certain activities, shared resources of many kinds to achieve their goals, and building shared ideologies about how to go about their business" (Strauss, Schatzman, Bucher, Ehrlich, & Sabshin, 1964, p. 131).

9. Cultural caucusing divides a group into two or more subgroups based on cultural identification so that each subgroup can hold separate discussions on aspects of the whole group's life. In NZ, cultural caucusing is utilised in Treaty of Waitangi education since at least 1986 (Giles & Rivers, 2017) and in the 'FTMANZ' since the 1993 conference in Rūātoki [see Chapter 8].

10. The term 'family' refers to "a group of people related by marriage, civil union, blood, or adoption, an extended family, 2 or more persons living together as a family, and a whānau or other culturally recognised family group" ("Families Commission Act," 2003, Sec. 10(2), p. 8).

trajectories[11] (Strauss, cited in Clarke et al., 2018, p. 84)—"Future Pathways" [see Chapter 12 of this thesis]—drawn from the conditions of possibility (Foucault, 1970, 1973) that exist in 2021. In this respect, the study walks backwards into the future of 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand facing its past—an orientation that resonates in the cultural worlds of the Māori, Pacific, and Aboriginal peoples who make up over half of the research participants interviewed for this study.

Situational Analysis Methodology

The research methodology that draws from both Strauss and Foucault is Situational Analysis [SA] (Clarke, 2003, 2005; Clarke et al., 2015, 2018), an unorthodox newcomer in the grounded theory [GT] (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) methodological family. SA extends the inherently interpretive grounds of Straussian GT (Strauss, 1978b, 1993; Strauss & Corbin, 1998) and renounces the traditionally positivist grounds of Glaserian GT (Glaser, 1992, 2001), while being infused in poststructural theory through Foucault. SA makes the 'situation of inquiry' the ultimate unit of analysis by constructing three unique ecological-relational maps: situational maps, social worlds and arenas maps, and positional maps. The aim of these analytical mapping exercises is to generate new forms of theorising to capture the complexities and multiplicities of social life and to produce "thick analyses" (Fosket, 2002, p. 109) that take "into account the full array of [human, nonhuman, and discursive] elements in the situation and explicate their interrelations" (Clarke, 2005, p. xxiii).

Research Design

This study is an historical investigation of the previously unexamined 'FTMANZ' between 1989 and 1995 [see Chapters 2 & 3 for the rationale behind this choice of years]. Data is gathered from extant literature and in-depth interviews with 'FTMANZ' members and people from other social worlds that contest the same social issues as the 'FTMANZ'. The cultures represented among research participants are those of Māori, Pacific

11. In Straussian terms, a 'trajectory' is more than the unfolding of the course of an event, but includes the total organisation of work done by social worlds who are involved in an event, plus the impact on the members of those worlds, including the actions they are required to perform, the tasks they need to designate, and the relationships they need to negotiate (Strauss, Fagerhaugh, Suczek, & Wiener, 1985).

Peoples,[12] Aboriginal/First Nations Peoples of Australia, non-Aboriginal Australians,[13] non-Indigenous North Americans, and various cultures among Pākehā New Zealanders.[14]

Data is analysed in relation to three distinct situations: the annual conferences of the 'FTMANZ' held in 1989, 1993, and 1995. Comparisons are made between each situation by tracing the topics, negotiations, discourses, controversies, and silences being constructed from conference to conference. An appreciation is gained of the conditions of possibility available to members of the 'FTMANZ' during or after each conference, such as matters 'too hot to handle' at one time that might be negotiable at another, available opportunities not taken that may still be accessible, and once silent or silenced voices now able to be heard. These conditions for change are possible future pathways along which today's inheritors of the legacy of the 'FTMANZ' might tread when seeking to enhance the situation of 'family therapy' for families in Aotearoa New Zealand today.

Thesis Structure

The thesis comprises four parts. In Part One, the first of three framing chapters situates me autobiographically as a participant-researcher in the field of my professional commitments, vested interests, and rare occasions of controversy over the past thirty years, and discusses the accountabilities and relational competences this positioning requires.

Chapter Two offers an account of the 'Family Therapy Movement in Aotearoa New Zealand' from the 1960s to 1995 interpreted from extant literature and is a further

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12. The term 'Pacific Peoples' refers to those people with heritage links to Sāmoa, Cook Islands, Tonga, Niue, Fiji, or Tokelau.

13. The term non-Aboriginal Australian[s] refers to Australian peoples who are not descendants of First Nations Peoples of Australia. When a research participant refers to 'white' Australian[s) I interpret this to be an Australian of European descent. The term White Australia refers to the immigration policies that exist throughout the first half of the Twentieth Century and into the 1960s when Australian governments seek to create a uniformly 'white' Australian culture. There are also 'non-white' Australians who are not descendants of First Nations Peoples of Australia but who are descendants of non-European peoples.

14. The term 'Pākehā' is a te reo Māori/'Māori language' word used in this thesis to refer to New Zealanders of non-Māori and non-Polynesian heritage (Ranford, 1999, p. 66). 'Māori' means normal or ordinary and as a word it is constructed in response to early European visitors to Aotearoa who are not Tangata Whenua/'First Peoples of the land'. Due to these colonial origins, the words 'Māori' and 'Pākehā' are politically disputed terms in NZ (Harré Hindmarsh, 2000).

iteration of earlier versions I present at two public events in 2015 and 2016 respectively and later publish in 2017 (Whisker, 2017). A case is then made for researching the 'FTMANZ' during the period 1989 to 1995 and this is further developed in Chapter 3, where sensitising concepts[15] are sought, researchable questions are refined, and the search for a suitable methodology commences.

Part Two confirms SA to be that research methodology. As no other utilisation of SA is found in Aotearoa New Zealand, greater effort is made to interpret its theoretical grounds and methods in this thesis than might be necessary in North America, Germany, or Scandinavia, where it is more established. In Chapter 4, I trace the genealogy of those grounds and discuss SA as a decolonising methodology, while in Chapter 5 the methods used to collect and analyse data are clarified and liberally illustrated.

Part Three contains the bulk of the study's findings and comprises five chapters that narrate, analyse, and theorise about the 'FTMANZ' conferences in 1989, 1993, and 1995. Chapter 6 begins with antecedents to events in the Treaty of Waitangi Cultural Justice Arena during 1989, with commentary from Māori research participants, and continues by mapping the commitments of the 'FTMANZ' at that time. Chapter 7 visits the first combined Australia and New Zealand Family Therapy Conference held in Christchurch in 1989 where Aboriginal Peoples are invited to a family therapy conference for the first time on either side of the Tasman. In Chapter 8, I zoom in on the sociopolitical issues affecting the predominantly Māori provincial district of Whakatāne during 1993 where that year's conference is hosted by Ngāi Tūhoe/'the Tūhoe people' on marae in the rural kāinga/village of Rūātoki. Tūhoe angrily challenge Pākehā members of the 'FTMANZ' to stop working with Māori whānau and to decolonise 'family therapy', and these issues come to a head at the 1995 conference, the political antecedents to which appear in Chapter 9 before events at the conference fill Chapter 10.

Part Four brings the reader up to date with the situation of 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand since 1995 and looks at the conditions of possibility in 2021 for its future. Regarding "Future Pathways", as a Pākehā man who does not live in the worlds of Māori,

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15. Sensitising concepts "merely suggest directions along which to look" (Blumer, 1954, p. 7) "but *not* what to see" (Clarke et al., 2018, pp. 310, emphasis in original).

Pacific, or Aboriginal peoples, I can only offer my affirmation and support for their moral, legal, and spiritual rights to tino rangatiratanga/‘self-determination’ ("Advancing the Treaty Process with Aboriginal Victorians Act," 2018; Government of New Zealand & Government of Western Samoa, 1962; "Te Tiriti o Waitangi/The Treaty of Waitangi," 1840; UN General Assembly, 2007). I do, however, offer a variety of possible “Future Pathways” for Pākehā interested in the development of ‘family therapy’ in Aotearoa New Zealand, and stand ready to join with those colleagues who choose to step onto them.

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PART ONE

FRAMING THE SITUATION OF INQUIRY

1

SITUATING THE PARTICIPANT-RESEARCHER

> *We are, through the very act of researching itself, directly in the situation we are studying* […] *we cannot help but come to almost any research project already 'knowing' in some way, already inflected, already affected, already 'infected'.*
>
> *Adele Clarke*[1]

ONE OF FIRST ACTS OF MY DOCTORAL CANDIDACY IS TO prepare autobiographical notes that confirm my active participation in the situation of inquiry. The purpose for doing so is twofold:

> First, it provides the student researcher a clear expression of how they have been shaped as a person, what may influence their approach to their research, and importantly, what will shape the questions they ask, the data they find, and the interpretations they generate. Second, it affords the reader an insight into these same questions and thus allows them to better judge the quality of the research presented.
>
> (Shoop, 2009, p. 11)

Given that "what you see depends on where you stand" (Clarke & Montini, 1993, p. 70), the autobiographical vignettes presented below are selected self-constructions of my embodiment and situatedness. At other times or from other viewpoints, I might describe these lived experiences differently, and so it may be when I reach the end of this study.

1. Clarke (2005, p. 13).

As qualitative research utilises "humans as instruments" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 286), these local interpretative knowledges provide some sense of how this researcher-as-instrument is already "inflected", "affected", and "infected", as Clarke proclaims in the epigraph above, the implications of which are examined thereafter.

1.1 Who Is The Researcher?

As a child I read my parents' motivations vividly. She is unhappy, spurns an unadventurous husband, looks for greener pastures, while he retreats, feels rejected, an uneasy truce. Such invitations to family therapy! The urge to assume responsibility is instinctive. I repeat aspects of my parents' marriage. I am the one among four adult children living in their locale. My children are the bridge upon which they guardedly met. In my late-thirties I begin to alter these patterns. Better late than never.

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In 1988 I forego a career as a registered land surveyor to pursue social work via a bicultural [Māori and Pākehā] master's degree program.[2] For some forgotten reason a female Sāmoan classmate and I both miss the first session of the Western Family Therapy elective where group members share stories of their whakapapa/'genealogies'. The icy reception we receive throughout the second session casts us inescapably as interlopers. To my colleague this inhospitality is deeply shaming. A mixture of cultural ignorance and self-entitlement carries me through.

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During the next fourteen years I am fortunate to secure employment in the Wellington Hospital Board's Child and Family Service [CAFS] from 1992-1993 and the Hutt Valley District Health Board's Child and Adolescent Mental Health Service [CAMHS] from 1999-2005.[3] This is how Western Family Therapy is learnt in Aotearoa New Zealand—on the job among experienced colleagues. Antony Brewer, my supervisor, is an ex-bank

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2. MA [Applied] in Social Work at Victoria University of Wellington, 1990-1992. See Cairns, Fulcher, Kereopa, Nia Nia, and Tait-Rolleston (1998) for programme details.

3. From 1993-1999 I interrupt my fledgling family therapy career to better support my young family by returning to work as a land surveyor. During most of this period I am intermittently contracted for three to four hours per week by Wellington STOP Inc. [now WellStop Inc.] to co-lead therapeutic group work and facilitate progress review meetings on their community-based rehabilitative programme for adult men who sexually offend against children.

teller; Carol Brewer, my team leader, a registered nurse; Colin Hamlin, our clinical manager, previously managed a motor vehicle importing business. Like me, each pursues training in social work to gain a CAFS or CAMHS position. Only Julie Burgess-Manning and Christoph Huelsmann hold degrees in Western Family Therapy, theirs from the United Kingdom [UK] and Germany respectively. I attend training workshops conducted by Johnella Bird in Auckland and the Just Therapy team in Lower Hutt, and later consult the Bouverie Centre in Melbourne, Australia, before Christoph and I run our first in-service Western Family Therapy training workshop in 2003. Two years later I move into private practice offering Western Family Therapy training throughout Aotearoa New Zealand and twice annually in Singapore. Over the next fifteen years I deliver 400 days of training to 2000 trainees and am still going.

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At the 2004 national CAMHS conference in Wellington, Julie and I facilitate an evening gathering of between thirty and forty family therapists' from around Aotearoa New Zealand with the aim of strengthening our connections. An email database and other initiatives are mooted but don't eventuate. In 2010 The Werry Centre-inspired national family therapy reference group[4] [the Reference Group] host another such gathering, this time in Nelson, amidst anticipation there may be a resumption of national family therapy conferencing[5] and the possibility of forming a national association. When the call goes out for motivated individuals to join the Reference Group, I eagerly volunteer.

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At the April 2011 Reference Group meeting in Auckland two subcommittees form to plan a national conference and professional association respectively. My facilitation that day appears to be a valuable contribution, so I abstain from either committee opting instead to coordinate a multi-workshop training day in June. Upon reflection, I recognise

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4. The Werry Centre for Child and Adolescent Mental Health Workforce Development (The Werry Centre, 2009) investigate extant research on effectiveness, and conduct qualitative interviews on practice perspectives, related to "Family Therapy in Child and Adolescent Mental Health". The Reference Group comprises key professional stakeholders from the Ministry of Health, universities, non-government organisations, and private family therapy practices around NZ.

5. By that time, it has been eleven years since the last national family therapy gathering or conference held in South Auckland during 1999 (Auckland Cultural Justice Group, 1999).

being a central connector at the same time as an independent actor is my favoured family-of-origin position.

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Relations in the Reference Group are strained by the different meanings members make of proposals for a conference. As conflict builds, my facilitation suffers, and I lose the confidence of key members. In August 2011, one of these members resigns and two days later co-launches the New Zealand Aotearoa Family Therapy network [the Network][6] with their business partner. The Reference Group is effectively displaced.

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With the support of external supervision, I meet separately with both parties to encourage dialogue. When the Network leaders lodge a claim for the Reference Group's funds with the District Court's Disputes Tribunal, as the Reference Group's Treasurer I am at the forefront of preparing a response. When it becomes clear the matter is not appropriate for legal resolution, the Network leaders submit formal complaints to my professional associations asserting, among other things, that I "posed as a mediator between [the Network] and the Reference Group but actually worked to disrupt the conciliation process for his own personal gain".[7] The Network leaders also send formal complaints to the employers of several other Reference Group members, none of which are upheld.

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After eighteen months on the Reference Group, the personal cost feels too high and in my letter of resignation I write:

> Holding the flame of conciliation on the stormy [Network—Reference Group] sea has been a burden I have justified through my rejection of rivalry, no matter whose boat I am in. That flame has been an occasional flicker in the waves for several months now. Perhaps it is time to return to port to wait for new responses to arise in myself and in others.[8]

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6. The Network hold their first national conference in Auckland during March 2012 where they incorporate the New Zealand Association of Family Therapy [NZAFT].
7. Correspondence from the Network to NZ Association of Counselling, dated 22 February 2012 [unpublished].
8. Email to Reference Group members dated 21 June 2012 [unpublished].

Some Reference Group members feel let down by my resignation. One accuses me of using the Reference Group to garner support against the Network's complaint. Others express appreciation for my gatekeeping.

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At the Reference Group's inaugural national family therapy conference in September 2012 I enjoy the camaraderie of many friends and colleagues. I run an experiential workshop called "Creative Lover of Life: Role Functioning for Effective Family Therapy"; an exploration of this role using action methods, followed by video excerpts illustrating my psychodramatic work with families. This attracts a range of responses. Some workshop attendees are upset by my work, citing alternative theoretical perspectives they personally favour. Others call for tolerance of difference. Afterwards, concerns are raised with the Reference Group's[9] conference subcommittee by three workshop attendees, two of whom are Reference Group members. When the conference subcommittee request that I meet with them about these concerns, I decline due to the conflicts of interest among us. Subsequently, they make a formal complaint to my professional bodies, which is not upheld.

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To expand my thinking about being subject to formal complaints by not one but two new family therapy associations in Aotearoa New Zealand in the infancy of their existence, I research and write "Personal Reflections on Respect of Difference Between Family Therapists in New Zealand and Possible Socio-Political Influences in 1995 and 2012" (Whisker, 2012). Drawing parallels between disrespect for cultural difference in Aotearoa New Zealand society and patterns of disrespect among family therapists over the years, I call for person-to-person dialogue across the new associations and for unity in the 'profession'. Later, in "Relational Tensions in the Shaky Isles" (Whisker, 2014), I encourage the Australian and New Zealand Journal of Family Therapy [ANZJFT] to "maintain balanced connections with both Associations who are experiencing unresolved relational tensions" (p. 15).

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9. At the conference, the Reference Group is superseded by the incorporation of the Family & Systemic Therapies Association of Aotearoa New Zealand [FSTAANZ].

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In 2014 I enrol as a doctoral candidate hoping to inform argument for the future development of 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand society. I interview research participants. One cries with gratitude for the honouring of past work undertaken on behalf of 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand. Another writes: "It is inappropriate for you to take this [research] on because you cannot represent family therapy in New Zealand in an objective fashion."[10] I delve into the literature to selectively re-appear versions of history 'lost' for decades. I script fieldnotes during 'family therapy' gatherings while actively shaping their plots. I choose interview participants, some of whom are known to me. I am simultaneously participant and researcher.

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These vignettes portray me as deeply, sometimes controversially, involved in the social world of 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand since the mid-2000s. The themes of attachment, collaboration, conflict, and mediation that come through in the vignettes pervade most aspects of this social world's life, and are exposed here so the reader might 'know'—always partially—something of the life experiences I bring to this research and for which I seek to make myself accountable, as described below.

1.2 Holding The Participant-Researcher Accountable

The reader will appreciate that prior to undertaking this research I am an active contributor in the contemporary situation of 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand. Not wanting this positioning to dominate or discredit my research, I recognise that "researchers' own experiences of and interests in their particular topics are often quite extensive and deserve to be put on the table" (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 35) and that "[my] experiences offer but one among many perspectives […] neither falsely denied nor weighted in privileging ways" (Clarke, 2005, p. 13).

As both a member and an observer of the social world I am studying, I must "reflexively address [my] simultaneous situatedness as participant and as researcher" (Clarke, 2005, p. 14). To be "visible and accountable for, in, and through [my] research

10. Private correspondence dated 16 November 2015.

[…] there are no easy 'answers', only processes of seeking more ethical reflexivity" (Clarke, 2005, pp. 13-14). Consequently, I employ several reflexive methods during this study [with their location in this thesis shown in parentheses], namely presuppositions interviewing of the researcher [Sec. 1.4.1], pre- and post-interview reflective note taking [Sec. 5.2.3 and Appendix M], preference for interview transcripts approved by participants [Sec. 5.2.3], reflexive memoing[11] [Sec. 5.3], inviting feedback from interview participants on my interpretation of their data [Sec. 5.5], and engaging with cultural consultants to increase my cultural accountability [Sec. 5.5]. These interventions draw from or expand reflexive methods utilised by Alonso-Yanez (2013); Anderson (2014); Carbines (2012); Moir (2009); Shalka (2016); and Shoop (2009), among others.

1.3 Participant-Researcher's Relational Competence

My positioning inside the situation of inquiry begs reflection on my relational competence[12] as a participant-researcher. Jones, Torres, and Arminio (2014) propose three areas for contemplation:

1. Why is it that I am engaged in the present study? What is it about me and my experiences that lead me to this study?
2. What personal biases and assumptions do I bring with me to this study?
3. What is my relationship with those in the study?

(Jones et al., 2014, p. 38)

1.3.1 Motivations and personal experiences

As a 'family therapy' practitioner and educator I often think about families living with distress who may not gain access to 'family therapy' services due to its relative invisibility in Aotearoa New Zealand (Crawshaw, Austin, & Ministry of Health, 2017; Dudson, 2013; The Werry Centre, 2009).[13] In moments like these I am most aware of 'family therapy'

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11. Memoing is the writing of informal notes and analyses to keep track of ideas, develop analytical insights, identifying gaps in data, and integrating new and extant knowledge. See Charmaz (2014); Glaser and Strauss (1967); Strauss (1987); Strauss and Corbin (1998) for further details.

12. Jones et al. (2014) describe relational competence as "what researchers bring to the research process [social identities, researcher positionality, power relationships, researcher pre-understanding], the relationships researchers have with participants [reflexivity, participants as multicultural subjects], and the evolving role of the researcher" (p.38).

13. The Werry Centre (2009) reports on "the fragility of the place of family therapy in the public health sector [… and] the 'underground' and covert experience of family therapy and family therapists

being a ‘political’ act of collaboration with families, and likewise as an educator, with those who would work with them, proceeding against the prevailing politics of mental health service provision. I envisage this research making a contribution to the politics of ‘family therapy’ in Aotearoa New Zealand for the sake of families whose pain family therapists bear witness to on behalf of society (Waldegrave, 2005) and for the sake of society so it may better reflect ‘family therapy’ values of inclusivity [beyond the individual to the collective], multiplicity [cultural and political diversity], creativity [changing values and norms], and mutual respect [tolerance of different meanings] (Lebow, 2014).

My motivation extends to promoting ‘family therapy’ values in relations between family therapists, and this impulse is deeply personal. I experience rejection by some ‘family therapy’ colleagues for holding perspectives that differ from their own and some may feel I visit the same upon them. The rigours of a supervised academic degree offer a haven within which to attempt some level of systemic repair. I value inclusion and wish to be seen in this light.

Completing a PhD may also create opportunities for both personal and professional gain. I experience some tension between my social justice aims and the marketplace benefits I may derive from this ‘enterprise’ in an age of embedded neoliberal politics (Esposito & Perez, 2014; Sugarman, 2015). It is simplistic to say that the former is my motivation and the latter mere consequence. As much family stress is linked to social policies that normalise marginalisation, therapists who make “the family happy and compliant in poverty” are implicated as beneficiaries of those policies (Waldegrave, 1985, p. 198; 1990a, 2005, 2009). Yet, would we say that paediatricians benefit from

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working in New Zealand. In addition, high attrition, safety concerns, limited career pathways in public health services, lack of access to quality training and supervision, professional isolation, a perceived lack of respect from other mental health professionals, and the lack of a National Association” (p. 39) all contribute to “the ‘invisibility of practice’ and ‘culture of fear’ that infiltrated family therapy practice sometime in the last decade” (The Werry Centre, 2009). Dudson (2013), a New Zealand child psychiatrist shares my concern “that people we see [in mental health services receive] such limited care regarding interpersonal relationships and the context in which they live […and that] family therapists [who have a more systemic understanding of issues] are very rare resources available to us [in those services]” (p. 246). The structural nature of family therapy’s ‘invisibility’ is reinforced by the Ministry of Health who “considers the development of family therapy skills and competence to be a component of clinical education and training across disciplines [… but] does not support the development of family therapy as a separate discipline” (Crawshaw et al., 2017) [see Appendix H for copy of the latter].

children's ill-health? Like them, my purpose is to relieve suffering, not to exploit it. Nonetheless, if 'family therapy' stocks rise in Aotearoa New Zealand, the prospects of those in the 'family therapy' industry may also rise. This largely self-funded study could be viewed narrowly as a value-adding personal investment (Sugarman, 2015); however, to my mind, the investment is being made by dozens of contributors to this research in the hope of better resourcing families in Aotearoa New Zealand and adding value to society as a whole.

1.3.2 Biases and assumptions

As a family therapist my practice evolves over the years from formative modernist influences (Bowen, 1978; Minuchin, 1974; Selvini Palazzoli, Boscolo, Cecchin, & Prata, 1980) to those underpinned by social constructionism, such as collaborative, dialogical, and narrative approaches (Andersen, 1995; Anderson & Goolishian, 1988; Tomm, 1988; White & Epston, 1990).[14] Similarly, I connect through my equally formative master's degree research (Whisker, 1992) to traditional grounded theory methodology [GT] (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), which now makes its own epistemological shift, initially through Charmaz (2006a) to constructivist grounded theory [CGT, see Sec. 1.4.1 below] before settling on "situational grounded theory" (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 6), more commonly known as situational analysis [SA] (Clarke, 2003, 2005; Clarke et al., 2015, 2018) [the theoretical grounds of SA are discussed in Chapter 4].

As for the future of 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand, my confirmation bias[15] leans toward viewing the current state of 'family therapy' poorly [see Footnote 13 in this chapter], seeking unity within the 'family therapy' community (Whisker, 2012, 2014), deemphasis on professionalisation and regulation, and promotion of local rather than imported cultural knowledges. Furthermore, I hope Aotearoa New Zealand avoids the situation seemingly exemplified in the United States of America [USA] in relation to the control licensure boards, insurance companies, and other funders exert over practitioners,

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14. Throughout this thesis citations for Michael White are shown as 'White', whereas citations for Cheryl White are shown as 'C. White'.

15. Confirmation bias is the tendency to seek and interpret evidence in ways that are partial to existing beliefs, expectations, or hypotheses (Nickerson, 1998).

educators, and professional organisations (Smith, Stevens-Smith, Wiggins Frame, & Carlson, 1996; West, Hinton, & Adams, 2013).

1.3.3 Relations with people who may take part in the study

My relationships with people in the 'family therapy' community in Aotearoa New Zealand are mostly very good. To the majority, I am either personally unknown or known only as a 'family therapy' educator who travels the country offering training workshops, reports of which may vary as can be expected. As a social connector, I have good rapport with fellow family therapists. Nonetheless, a small number of people reject me to varying degrees and I am willing to build or rebuild sensitively any relationship as the opportunity arises, including as it may through this study.[16]

1.4 The Participant-Researcher's Deduced Beginnings

Apropos my interest in transparency before the reader who having read the foregoing, might ask "how do you arrive at a starting point from here?", this section contains a description of my deduced beginnings.

1.4.1 Presuppositions interviewing

During a preparatory year immediately preceding my candidacy I complete an advanced research methods paper[17] where I read CGT (Charmaz, 2006a). Once my candidacy begins both CGT and my own systemic logic guide me to first attend to reflexivity by examining the personal values, vested interests, and assumptions I bring to this study. A précis of the autobiographical notes I construct on my embodiment and situatedness in the social world of 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand appears in Sec. 1.1 above. I also read about Aucklander, Maria Carbines (2012) arranging to be interviewed by a senior academic to explore her biases prior to embarking on research fieldwork, and it transpires that Carbines now conducts such presuppositions interviewing

16. Further reflections on the Jones et al. (2014) questions continue reflexively throughout this study.

17. Paper 179.702: Advanced Research Methods, Massey University, Palmerston North [see http://www.massey.ac.nz/massey/learning/programme-course/course.cfm?course_code=179702].

for others. She agrees to interview me,[18] and this interview is "experiential data" (Strauss, 1987, pp. 10-11) with its collection akin to:

> […] what [Strauss] sought to provoke with working groups analysing each other's data. […] incredibly valuable […] for doing whatever kind of interpretive research. Precisely because we think we understand something, and somebody else's take on it will be so different that our mind set gets ruptured. […] Good ones work like intellectual alarm clocks—wake up, wake up! Notice this!
>
> (Clarke & Keller, 2014, para. 118-120)

Ruptured indeed! My bias in initially choosing CGT methodology for its reflexivity and co-construction of knowledge, which I envisage might help to mitigate my embedment in the situation of inquiry, is exposed as obliquely assuaging a nagging perception that my 'family therapy' practice lacks the representation of constructivist and constructionist ideas.[19] I also gain clarification that my research interest lies in critical analysis of the social world of 'family therapy' as reflected in over ten years of involvement in its politics, which now appears to be a mismatch with CGT's focus on processual commonalities. The 'wake up!' question is, are my research interests shaping the methodology or are they being submerged by my presuppositions about CGT?

I start reading SA (Clarke, 2005; Clarke & Keller, 2014) and take in Clarke's advice that "Like GT, SA is iterative—you discover what you are studying as you study it" (Clarke & Keller, 2014, para. 76). I take beginning steps as opportunities arise. The next one involves pre-testing my interviewing strategies.

1.4.2 Pre-testing interviewing strategies

At about the same time as commencing my candidacy, a regional CAMHS invites me to provide 'family therapy' supervision for two of their clinicians who are working with a complex family. All parties agree to undertake case study research on the supervised

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18. This first presuppositions interview takes place three months into my candidacy. I intend to publish details about this and subsequent presuppositions interviews between Carbines and myself, with and without members of my supervisory team.

19. New Zealanders, Drewery, Winslade, and Monk (2000, p. 243n241) refer to "constructivism … [as] the tendency for people to create structures for understanding phenomena mentally, whereas constructionism refers to an epistemological position that enables people to theorize the production of meaning within webs of power relationships (Monk & Drewery, 1994)" .

practice to follow, and an ethics consent is obtained.[20] At the conclusion of the clinical work I conduct separate research interviews with the clinicians about their supervised practice experiences and at the end of each interview I offer them the opportunity to answer supplementary questions about 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand to pre-test questions I might ask PhD research participants.

I start each pre-testing interview with the question, how do you see 'family therapy' situated in New Zealand at the moment?, and seek to follow interviewees' answers with further open questions to promote deeper reflection. Though neither clinician is strongly connected to 'family therapy', I am open to the possibility that their participation may in some way influence my research design at this early stage. Later analyses of their transcripts alert me to where I am asking leading questions or introducing particular topics or interpretations into our conversations to create my own data, rather than enabling them to co-create it with me. This refinement of interviewing strategies begins early and continues as a work in progress throughout the life of this study.

1.4.3 Sensitising interviews with prominent knowledge holders

After pre-testing with informants who know relatively little about 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand, I decide to conduct sensitising interviews with prominent knowledge holders to interpret what they think is important or interesting in that relatively broad topic. By sensitising, I am referring to sensitising concepts that "merely suggest directions along which to look" (Blumer, 1954, p. 7) "but *not* what to see" (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 310). I deduce who these knowledge holders might be from my prior knowledge and, following receipt of ethics approval,[21] I write to two such people—both of whom I have previously met once, ten years before—and interview them a month apart. They both focus largely on events in the 1980s and 1990s, being less aware of more recent developments. Their focus on historical events increases my awareness of how little I know about the history of 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand and I determine to do something about that.

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20. Ethics approval from Health and Disability Ethics Committees for application 14/CEN/27 received on 4 April 2014.

21. Ethics approval from La Trobe University's Health Science Faculty Human Ethics Committee for application FHEC 14/227 received on 21 October 2014.

1.4.4 Gathering extant literature

Just short of a year into my candidacy, I exhaust extant literature databases and turn to emailing other family therapists in Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia inviting their contributions of publication titles and or text. As historical textual data reaches saturation—continuing inquiry reveals no new titles—I compile an account of historical events until I reach the mid-1990s.[22] I distribute this to informants and present it at public meetings in Wellington and Dunedin during late 2015 and early 2016 respectively, receiving feedback, refining my text, and publishing "An Account of Family Therapy in Aotearoa New Zealand From the 1960s to 1995 Interpreted From the Literature" (Whisker, 2017). Amended versions of sections of that paper appear in Chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis.

1.5 Returning To Reflexivity

Clarke (2005) contends that all researchers are directly in the situation they are researching and it is important they "put on the table" (p. 12) their experiences and interests in that situation both for their own awareness and to alert readers to the standpoints from which the research is being produced. I am both a participant and a researcher in the social world of 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand and in this chapter I have begun to "become more visible and accountable for, in and through [my] research" (p. 13). Such visibility is possible when reflexivity permeates every facet of the study so readers may be satisfied that my own partialities are not "running the show". At the same time, I want to strike a balance to avoid going "over the reflexive edge to produce a study that becomes too much about [me] and too little about 'them'" (p. 13).

In Chapter 2 the focus shifts to a review of the literature on the social world of 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand, and this leads to the identification of a gap in literary analyses on the situation of that world during a significant time period, which is then further examined in Chapter 3.

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22. My rationale for stopping at 1995 is discussed in Chapter 3.

2

AN ACCOUNT OF THE 'FAMILY THERAPY MOVEMENT IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND' FROM THE 1960s TO 1995

These are histories not of 'great men' but of discourses that claim to tell truths, not of wars and politics but of how life is organised in daily practice.

Adele Clarke, Carrie Friese, and Rachel Washburn[1]

THIS ACCOUNT[2] OF THE 'FAMILY THERAPY MOVEMENT IN Aotearoa New Zealand' ['FTMANZ'][3] is my initial interpretation of extant literature[4] between the 1960s and 1995. It traces the early influence of psychological medicine,

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1. Clarke et al. (2018, pp. 315, emphases in origin removed).
2. This account is an amended version of my paper, "An Account of Family Therapy in Aotearoa New Zealand from the 1960s to 1995 Interpreted from the Literature" (Whisker, 2017) published during my PhD candidacy in the New Zealand Journal of Counselling (Vol. 37(1), pp. 64-90). Earlier versions of what becomes the published account are given in two public addresses, firstly, at the Family & Systemic Therapy Association of Aotearoa New Zealand's AGM & Training Day in Wellington on 16 November 2015 and later at Ashburn Clinic in Dunedin on 14 March 2016.
3. The name 'Family Therapy Movement in Aotearoa New Zealand' does not appear in the NZJC publication and is added here for the purposes of this study. The name and its anagram, 'FTMANZ', are depicted in scare quotes throughout this thesis because the body of people in the Family Therapy Interest Group network around NZ, who gather annually at national conferences since 1983, do not officially recognise themselves as being a social movement nor do they refer to themselves as such. 'FTMANZ' is my term, and justification for its use is provided in Sec. 2.4.3 of this chapter.
4. The literature reviewed for this chapter comprises over 200 published journal articles, books and book chapters, newsletters, reports, minutes, public notices, and conference programmes, proceedings, and addresses. Gathering these works involves searching databases and networking via email with dozens of people with an interest in family therapy in NZ and Australia to request their bibliographical input. Only one person declines to allow their publications to be included. Any missing works are either unable to be found or are unknown to me.

social workers, and overseas experts in the 1960s and 1970s; leading to the spread of regional interest groups, annual national conferences, and mounting sociopolitical pressures on conference attendees from feminist, cultural justice, and antipoverty activists during the 1980s. Several landmark events and publications during the seven-year period between 1989 and 1995 reflect the growing stature and bright future of the 'FTMANZ', before controversy at the third Australian and New Zealand 'family therapy' conference in Wellington during 1995 appears to catalyse the stalling of further national or binational development. Critical research on the period 1989 to 1995 is proposed to explore what lessons the past may hold for the future development of therapeutic services for families in Aotearoa New Zealand.

2.1 Early Years: 1950s And 1960s

2.1.1 Influence of Departments of Psychological Medicine

Exactly how the first dose of Western Family Therapy[5] gains entry to the Department of Psychological Medicine in Auckland Hospital at about the same time that others appear in equivalent locations in Christchurch and Dunedin may never be known. Early dispatches to the New Zealand Medical Journal indicate initial contacts probably occur during the mid- to late 1950s or early 1960s,[6] perhaps prescribed by a visiting physician or brought home for dispensing in a travelling medical bag.

This medical imagery reflects the prevailing condition of mental health services in Aotearoa New Zealand as Western Family Therapy 'arrives'. The move towards family as the legitimate focus for psychiatric attention is analogous with evolving conceptualisations of schizophrenia, namely from an individual's brain disease to a pathogenic mother-child dyad and onto a whole family's interplay (Doherty & McDaniel, 2010; Lindsay & Baber, 1967, p. 223). Here views about individuals and dyads are enlarged in the context of triads and quads that might span three or four generations

5. In the Introduction to this thesis, I define the term Western Family Therapy and differentiate it from broader conceptualisations of 'family therapy' in Aotearoa NZ, however, this distinction is not made in the NZJC publication.

6. Deduced from the mid-1960s reports of their well-established therapeutic work with families by psychiatrists Baber and Lindsay (1965); Lewis (1967); and Lindsay and Baber (1967).

(Lindsay, 1968). Then a psychiatrist interviewing a parental dyad is one in a three-person system and one of four when a symptomatic child attends (Lindsay & Baber, 1967).

Publications by William Barber and John Lindsey (1965; 1967) in Auckland Hospital and Roy Muir and Peter Lewis (Lewis, 1967; Muir & Lewis, 1974) in Dunedin reflect each man's responsiveness to family psychiatry. Their applications of theory and technique reference some of the founders of Western Family Therapy in the United States of America, namely Ackerman, Bateson, Jackson, Haley, Weakland, Bowen, Boszormenyi-Nagy, and Framo. The prevailing epistemology[7] is modernism (McKenzie, 2003),[8] a worldview that authoritative truth is discoverable by reason and holds the key to unlocking social progress (Rasheed et al., 2011).

In 1966 a Department of Psychological Medicine is established at the University of Otago's Medical School, "confirming the longstanding focus on psychological medicine that the Faculty of Medicine has developed since its establishment in Dunedin in 1877".[9] Lewis is appointed senior lecturer and within two years launches the nation's first adolescent inpatient unit at Wakari Hospital (Ironside, 1974; Muir & Lewis, 1974). He wastes no time in alerting authorities to the complexities of treating severely disturbed adolescents and argues for the expansion of integrated inpatient units for children and adolescents throughout Aotearoa New Zealand. Such units would offer day facilities, schooling, welfare services, links to the Children's Court, outreach to social workers, teachers, nurses and doctors in the community, and "finally, as the most essential condition of all and one requiring psychological insight, the involvement of the family in the therapeutic process" (Lewis, 1967, p. 742).

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7. In this account, I follow Auerswald (1987) in using "'epistemology' (Bateson, 1972, 1979) to denote a set of rules used by a specific group of people to define […] universal reality. […] 'paradigm' to denote a set of rules, again used by a specific group, to define a sub-unit of a universal reality. […] 'theory' to denote an idea or a set of ideas that […] contribute to a paradigm [… and] 'model' to denote a concrete, metaphorical representation of an epistemology, a paradigm, or a theory" (Auerswald, 1987, p. 3).

8. McKenzie's (2003) commentary on family therapy in Aotearoa New Zealand utilises a developmental frame borrowed from Dallos and Draper (2000) comprising: Phase One—Modernism: 1950s to mid-1970s; Phase Two—Early postmodern and constructivist: mid-1970s to late 1980s; and Phase Three—Postmodernism and social constructionism: 1990s onward. In their fourth edition, Dallos and Draper (2015) move the division between Phases Two and Three back to the mid-1980s.

9. Retrieved from the Dunedin School of Medicine website, https://www.otago.ac.nz/dsm-psychmed/index.html on 10 March 2021.

By way of a primer for these proposals, Lewis presents case studies of adolescents recently treated in the unit without integrated services. The commitment of staff and resources is formidable, yet the outcomes are inconclusive and unsatisfactory. Perhaps he purposefully chooses to present the case of a fourteen-year-old girl whose inner state between conjoint sessions with her parents is explored "using LSD" (Lewis, 1967, p. 741). It is as if he is attempting to separate an embryonic bio-psycho-social practice of child and adolescent psychiatry in Aotearoa New Zealand from the medically dominated institutional psychiatry of a previous era.[10]

A few years later Muir and Lewis (1974) provide an account of the unit from 1968 to 1970 and reflect on the difficulty of maintaining a family-centred approach. What strikes them is their own resistance to working with difficult families, which they state "has its roots in an almost universal need to deny both the importance and the potency of family processes [...] by which a family can mobilise stressful feelings in the interviewer [...] which only adequate training and experience can reduce" (p. 178).

2.1.2 Influence of the social work profession

The introduction of Western Family Therapy to Aotearoa New Zealand is also fostered by the early professionalisation of social work. Prior to and during the introduction of a state welfare system by the first Labour Government between 1935 and 1949, social work is chiefly concerned with charitable aid and the maintenance of social order (Tennant, 1989); however, as society's appetite for social reform wanes during the prosperous 1950s and early 1960s (Bassett, 1998; McClure, 1998) "a more radical and collective form of social work [begins] to challenge its employer organisations and government policies" (Nash, 1998, p. 2).[11] From the late 1950s social workers formalise regional groups, debate what constitutes adequate practice, training, and ethical standards, and at their inaugural national conference in 1964, create the New Zealand Association of Social Workers (Nash, 1998).

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10. The community-care model evident in the Dunedin adolescent unit reflects a late-1960s transitional position with respect to a discursive shift led by New Zealand's Department of Health towards deinstitutionalisation of large mental hospitals. This policy is officially adopted in the 1980s and follows Britain, North America, and Australia (Brunton, 2003; Coleborne, 2003).

11. The first two sentences of this paragraph do not appear in the NZJC publication.

The Association's promotion of Western Family Therapy is evident when they host Don Jackson, Director of the Mental Research Institute [MRI] in Palo Alto, California, in Wellington during May 1965. His two-day interdisciplinary seminar titled "The Basis for Family Therapy" covers communication theory, family interviewing, genetic, cultural and sociological aspects of mental illness, family research, and transference (New Zealand Association of Social Workers, 1965).

Overseas influence is also apparent in social work publications on Western Family Therapy during this period. Ruth Swatland from Canada, working as a student counsellor at Victoria University of Wellington, highlights an emerging trend from individual to family casework and summarises the goals of family interviewing while noting that the general principles of such work have yet to be defined by research (Swatland, 1968). At about this time, Ken Daniels (1969), a senior psychiatric social worker at Christchurch Hospital, returns from a stint of work in the United Kingdom [UK] and is struck by the bandwagon effect that Western Family Therapy is having on social work caseworkers and psychotherapists. His concern is that "very few people have the ability and knowledge to provide adequate training", which inspires him to propose guidelines for and against the use of Western Family Therapy, the majority of which he imports from the Welsh Nation School of Medicine (p. 51).

As if in response to these concerns, social work and psychiatry combine in late 1968 when Margaret Topham, a non-Aboriginal Australian psychiatric social worker from Sydney and one of the 'parents' of Western Family Therapy in Australia (Durrant, 1994), recalls "a visiting Professor of Psychiatry from Dunedin happened upon one of my interviews. He invited me to his hospital for two weeks to demonstrate family therapy" (Topham, 1982, p. 60). Over the next decade the Otago Medical School draws other luminaries in the field to Aotearoa New Zealand to demonstrate their skills, such as Virginia Satir, Salvador Minuchin, Helm Stierlin, and Jay Haley.[12]

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12. The Marriage Counselling Movement is recognised as one of the precursors to Western Family Therapy in the USA (Goldenberg & Goldenberg, 2008; Rasheed et al., 2011), as reflected in the name of the American Association for Marriage and Family Therapy; however, in NZ marriage counselling is not similarly influential. The voluntary organisation, Marriage Guidance, is established in NZ during 1949 and mostly adopts person-centred counselling with only limited specialisation in family systems work (Daly, 1990; Webster & Hermansson, 1983). Among the streams of guidance and counselling in

2.2 Spreading The Word In The 1970s

During the 1970s growing awareness of Western Family Therapy gives rise to creative responses in both institutional and community settings. From Auckland Hospital, John Lindsay and Danuta Pollard correspond with pioneers Murray Bowen and Ivan Boszormenyi-Nagy in the USA when designing a Multiple Family Therapy programme.[13] Both mentors independently discourage in-session dialogue between families; however, the New Zealanders choose instead to follow the originator of Multiple Family Therapy processes, American Peter Laqueur (Laqueur, LaBurt, & Morong, 1964).

They promote interfamily communication by dividing multiple families into subgroups comprising the same generation, gender, or family role. Here, for example, a group of adolescents meet with a therapist to discuss their mothers while the mothers sit behind a one-way screen with a co-therapist, watching, listening, and discussing the adolescents among themselves before exchanging places with them. Some sessions include friends, flatmates, general practitioners, and others, in an attempt to replicate aspects of community life. The groups assist clinicians to adjust their thinking about family life to better reflect how it is actually being lived away from the hospital (Lindsay & Pollard, 1974).

2.2.1 Family Therapy Interest Group network

In 1978 psychiatrist Donna Kippax of the Otago Medical School joins forces with Angela Taranto, an American psychiatric social worker at Auckland Public Hospital, and David Epston, a Canadian social worker resident in Auckland who attended the first British family therapy conference in London during 1975 (Epston, 2003).[14] The trio note the irregular development of Western Family Therapy around Aotearoa New Zealand and, eager to provide a systematic framework for its future advancement, they establish a network of twenty-five regional family therapy interest groups. They envisage the

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NZ, those with the strongest links to Western Family Therapy appear to be school guidance and child and family guidance (Manthei, 1984).

13. Multiple Family Therapy involves working with more than one family at the same time.

14. Taranto and Epston combine with Auckland University's Continuing Education Department in 1977 to establish the Family Therapy Resource Centre from where Taranto coordinates a popular interdisciplinary Western Family Therapy training programme.

groups might share resources, visiting trainers, and reference materials with one another; provide local training and supervision; and liaise with equivalent groups internationally, especially in Australia (Epston, 1981a, 1981b). The network's national newsletter is discontinued after two years because, as Epston (1981a) later notes, "[it] has not met the emerging needs [...] notably in Whakatane-Tauranga, Hamilton, Palmerston North, peripheral to the more established centres of interest and there are dangers of fragmentation and isolation" (p. 18).

Despite isolation, interest crops up in some provincial settings too. Helen Bracefield (1979), a public health nurse in Golden Bay, refers to research on contemporary family life in Aotearoa New Zealand (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1978) when challenging Western Family Therapy to recognise the effects of diminishing social affluence, lower birth rates, changing gender roles, specific cultural needs for Māori and 'Polynesians' [Pacific Peoples], urban sprawl, and environmental degradation. Each issue adds potential context to the unspecified "emerging needs" and "irregular developments" previously mentioned, as Western Family Therapy spreads out from metropolitan Aotearoa New Zealand.

In 1979 the Anglican Social Services' Family Centre in Lower Hutt answers its community's call to "strengthen family life [… and respond] to local social problems" (Waldegrave, Jones, Basil-Jones, & Anderton, 1981, p. 76) by allocating two-fifths of staff time to the provision of Western Family Therapy, among other initiatives. Predictive of the leadership this Centre will provide as social researchers, they soon undertake Aotearoa New Zealand's first Western Family Therapy outcome evaluation. Their aim is to measure client satisfaction and therapist opinion as indicators of the value of the Western Family Therapy they provide to the first seventy-five families seen at their Centre. An independent researcher collects data by questionnaire and interview and the results indicate a level of consumer satisfaction in line with contemporary studies from the UK and the USA (Waldegrave et al., 1981).

The seeds of Aotearoa New Zealand's future contributions to postmodern family therapy appear to be sown in the 1970s. They are there when Lindsay and Pollard invite members of patients' communities into hospital sessions, Bracefield points to social issues affecting provincial families, and The Family Centre begin a sociopolitical 'family

therapy' outreach into their local community. Add to this the heterogeneous growth of family therapy in specific pockets around the country reported by Epston, and this modest sample reflects a growing awareness of social context in the development of 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand. If this sample is broadly representative of the many unpublished 'family therapy' activities in the country during the 1970s, then by the end of this decade Aotearoa New Zealand appears to be well placed for a burgeoning postmodern-social constructionist phase to come.

2.3 Forging Links And Rattling Chains: 1980 To 1984

The inception of the Australian Journal of Family Therapy [AJFT] in 1979 coincides with a growth spurt in publications on Western Family Therapy themes and a broader local socio-political flavour of 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand. The elaborated themes include a schema for integrating divergent models (Kippax, 1981), tips for improving therapeutic outcomes (Taylor, 1981), inclusion of children in family interviews (Pilalis, 1981), family therapy in an adolescent inpatient unit (Grant, 1981), family counselling in a private practice (Mourant, 1981), implications for working with Māori (Awatere, 1981), consumer feedback on short education courses (Pilalis, 1982), and radical feminism in 'family therapy' practice (Pilalis, 1983). The spread of authorship across professional disciplines is apparent from the journals in which these works appear, namely the Social Work Review, New Zealand Social Work Journal, Guidance in New Zealand Schools, Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry, Australian Journal of Family Therapy, and in a compilation on counselling, "A Time to Talk" (Donnelly, 1981).

In 1980 the inaugural Australian Family Therapy Conference in Melbourne attracts several New Zealand attendees and this is where Epston first meets Michael White, a psychiatric social worker at the Adelaide Children's Hospital, making possible a professional partnership that will have profound significance for family therapy in Aotearoa New Zealand, Australia, and beyond. Epston (2003) recalls that following the conference "Michael and I began to correspond and to teach and work together whenever

we could, in order to proceed with a 'community of interests' we so obviously shared" (p. 1).

The benefit of closer connection with Australia is soon evident. In January 1981, White, who is the founding editor of the AJFT, includes New Zealand in his editorial and Epston among his regional correspondents, for the first time, declaring that:

> Nineteen eighty one promises to be an exciting year for Family Therapy in Australia and New Zealand. The 'Around Australia and New Zealand' section details various [...] developments taking place in New Zealand and further information about these will be published in future editions.
>
> (White, 1981, p. 47)

2.3.1 First New Zealand Family Therapy Conference, Wellington 1983

In 1981 and 1982 Australian family therapy conferences are held in Adelaide and Sydney respectively where attendees from Aotearoa New Zealand discuss whether they might host a conference of their own. Charles Waldegrave and others in the Wellington Family Therapy Training and Supervision Group take the plunge (Epston, 1995) by inviting "those people from around New Zealand interested in family therapy" (Conference Committee, 1983) to the inaugural "Forging the Links" conference at the Clinical School of Medicine in Wellington Hospital during March 1983. Epston later describes his experience:

> The first Conference shared the same enthusiasm as was evident in the other firsts, but for me, this was home; [... the early New Zealand] conferences sustained those working in environments not entirely welcoming [of family therapy ideas and practices]. It was so good to talk with colleagues who 'talked' the same way. It forged many friendships, colleagueship, and a rather unique flavour of family therapy itself.
>
> (Epston, 1995, p. 2)

The programme begins with a half-day whole conference session by White "to carry the 'torch' over" to Aotearoa New Zealand (Epston, 1995, p. 2) and continues with concurrent workshops ranging from large social issues, such as poverty, feminism, working with Māori and Pacific families, and professionalisation, through to specific

therapeutic methods involving metaphor, story-telling, ritual, child-centred process, neurolinguistic programming, and both strategic and behavioural interventions (Conference Committee, 1983).

On the last day, White's comments "on the formal organisation of family therapy in Australia opened peoples' [sic] eyes to the issues in a way that I am sure contributed to the decision" not to form a national coordinating committee (Whitney, as cited in Epston, 1984c, p. 84) nor to begin an association (Pilalis, 1984). One issue is the lack of a "coherent network [among New Zealand family therapists, which meant ...] some significant people in locations distant from Wellington didn't hear about the conference until it was over" (Whitney, as cited in Epston, 1984c, p. 84). Having 'forged links' in Wellington it is proposed to 'rattle the chains' in Auckland the following year where organisers hope to "represent the differences in New Zealand society" (Epston, 1984c, p. 84).

Conference attendees in both Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia are mostly social workers and the majority of them are women who bring feminist critiques from radical social work on gender, culture, and socioeconomics to bear on Western Family Therapy (James, 1984; Pilalis, 1983). Many are employed in statutory positions and given "[…] the working assumptions that come from delivering services in a welfare state, you can see how, for us [New Zealanders], fairness and justice would be a natural basis for doing therapy as a social worker" (Epston, as cited in Beels, 2001, p. 172).[15]

This influence can be felt among the Auckland Therapists For Social Change group at the Mt Albert Community Mental Health Centre (Allen et al., 1983) who expose Western Family Therapy as a potential mechanism of social control and raise points of concern summarised in Figure 2-A [on the following page]. For their own part, the Centre develops a mixed clinical and community work approach to mental health care (Mintoft, Quinlan, Dowland, & Barrer, 1983) that employs Niuean and Sāmoan community workers to work with their own people, while drawing on the Centre as a resource in any way they feel appropriate. Response in the AJFT is minimal. The next edition to include "Letters to the Editor" appears six-months later and carries fourteen letters with only

15. This paragraph does not appear in the NZJC publication.

one—from Tasmania—addressing the Auckland group. Nevertheless, an interruption to family- focused Western Family Therapy by social justice activists in Aotearoa New Zealand is seriously stated and a largely non-Aboriginal Australian readership is alerted to what has been simmering across the Tasman since the mid-1970s.

Figure 2-A: Auckland Therapists For Social Change: Points of concern about [Western] family therapy in New Zealand [Content drawn from Allen et al. (1983, pp. 255-256)]	
Item	**Points of concern about [Western] family therapy' in New Zealand**
1	Therapy is never neutral. Like all social interaction it comes from a political, social, economic, and moral value base.
2	Is [Western] family therapy used to focus the attention of the oppressed on their emotional relationships so that they think it is they and their families who are failing rather than the socio-political system which is failing them?
3	Are [family therapists] getting funded, trained, and respected at last because we have proved that we can perform a homeostatic function for the wider social system?
4	Are [Western] family therapy methods culture specific? The oppressed race in New Zealand is the Maori people. Are Western notions of structure and function applicable to [...] people whose timeframe is cosmic and whose culture, such as is not yet destroyed, is land-based, communal, and spiritual?
5	Is [Western] family therapy mirroring the elitism of the capitalist societies from which it comes? The warning signs are: [...] talk of the need for professionalization of family therapy in Australia and New Zealand when we know that a professional body protects its own members, not the clients of its members.
6	Is it possible to employ the methods of [Western] family therapy to change larger social structures [... to assist] the antinuclear movement [...] or indigenous people to achieve sovereignty?

Rounding out 1983, Epston addresses the fourth Australian Family Therapy Conference in Brisbane and jokes about choosing his topic: "I thought if I restricted myself to [family therapy in] New Zealand I would only interest my sixteen compatriots, all of whom are here" (Epston, 1984a, p. 11). Instead he expounds on 'regrading' rather than 'degrading' therapies based on cooperation rather than client surrender. These he

illustrates lavishly with personal and professional stories in a testament to the ease of his outreach beyond Aotearoa New Zealand.

Florence Kaslow, a family therapist from Florida, USA, rubs shoulders with New Zealanders and Australians at the same conference and favourably compares family therapy 'down under' with its northern 'relatives'. They have common organisational concerns about national structure, accrediting practitioners and trainers, the role of their journal, and how to evolve an indigenous family therapy, yet contrast in what she observes is a southern [antipodean] laid-back obviation of status difference among novice and senior therapists (Kaslow, 1984). Perhaps Pākehā New Zealander, Jennie Pilalis (1984) is one of those who discusses the administration of 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand within earshot of Kaslow? She advocates for "defusing the ideal of homogeneity, thus the preoccupation with increased power and control in a profession [… by recognising] the range of ideologies that already exist between those practising family therapy [in Aotearoa New Zealand]" (pp. 43-44).

2.3.2 Second family therapy conference, Auckland 1984

A little over a year after the inaugural family therapy conference in Wellington, a second is held in May 1984 on the North Shore campus of the Auckland Technical Institute. There are now several workshops on wider social and political issues for the 225 attendees to choose from (Epston, 1984c), much to the relief of The Family Centre who "no longer feel like a 'voice in the wilderness'" (Christie, 1984, p. 164). Notably, Hana Tukukino presents her whānau/'extended family' psychodramatically[16] and discloses "not feeling welcome" as one of only two or three Māori at the conference (Smart, 1987a, p. 5). Later, time is allocated for informal interest groups to meet and 'rattle the chains' together in what is a departure from usual conference practice for visiting Australians (Conference Committee, 1984).

Epston (1984b), recognising the Auckland-centricity of his reporting in the AJFT's "Around Australia and New Zealand" feature, invites regional dispatches from 1984

16. Hana sculptures her family using volunteers from among conference participants to be psychodramatic auxiliaries, while "speaking to her tīpuna, weeping for their loss and rejoicing in the fact that she would be with them in the future" (Smart, 1987a, p. 5).

onwards. The impression conveyed in the first instalment is that after two conferences in Aotearoa New Zealand and recent workshops conducted by visiting non-Aboriginal Australians, notably White, Topham, and Roberts, local practitioners are being charmed by Western Family Therapy. Interest groups form, resurge, and consolidate, in Porirua, Christchurch, and Wellington respectively. New one-way screens and video equipment is installed at The Family Centre and the Hutt Child & Family Clinic among many others. Largely Western Family Therapy-oriented writing continues, touching on family law (Topham & Davidson, 1984), chronic childhood somatic illness (Epston & Brock, 1984), eclectic practice (Waldegrave, 1984), and a four-paper "Family Therapy Symposium" edition of the New Zealand Counselling and Guidance Association Journal in 1984. White's (1984) last AJFT editorial confirms "a very considerable expansion of interest in family therapy throughout Australia and New Zealand" (p. 233) during his six years as editor, as he hands over the reins to expatriate New Zealander, Max Cornwell. "The waves continue to move outwards", observes Christie (1984, p. 164), rippling steadily away from what may later be recognised as the heydays of 'non-political' Western Family Therapy in Aotearoa New Zealand.

2.4 The End Or The Beginning? 1985 To 1988

The appointment of Max Cornwell (1985a) as journal editor heralds another change. From 1985 the AJFT becomes the Australian and New Zealand Journal of Family Therapy [ANZJFT] to "formally acknowledge[...] the close links between family therapy networks in Australia and New Zealand" (p. ii). The new editor discloses:

> As a New Zealander myself, I admit to some ambivalence about a journal that seeks to bridge the Tasman, in case it is interpreted as a manifestation of Australian colonialism in the Pacific. I will certainly do everything in my power to welcome fellow New Zealanders, while fostering their independent voice within the partnership.
>
> (Cornwell, 1985a, p. ii)

2.4.1 Third family therapy conference, Christchurch 1985

At the third New Zealand Family Therapy Conference in Christchurch during May 1985, unity is apparent in a recurring call to remodel Western Family Therapy's privileging of dominant Euro-centric culture. After Tukukino's experience in Auckland the year before, organisers make the effort "to incorporate Taha Maori into the conference—we were hamstrung by our naivety, but it was a start", ably supported by Warihi Campbell from The Family Centre (Smart, 1987a, p. 5).

At the conference "the hegemony of elite professionals over the lives of others is seriously being questioned and challenged by alternative visions and practices" (Epston, 2003, p. 1). The experience is "emotional, intellectual and spiritual [...] highlighting the differences that exist between the cultures in New Zealand [... while] the struggle to understand, to share, to be a part of each others' [sic] reality, was painful, exciting and challenging" (Pilalis, Davis, Smart, & Christie, 1985, p. 174).

The focus on dominance extends to sexism when Pilalis and Anderton (1986) present research that merges feminism and Western Family Therapy to recognise the systematic suffering of women in society due to gender discrimination, while also highlighting circular links between family systems and wider social structures. Perhaps inspired by workshops such as this, Cornwell's subsequent editorial encourages local family therapists to generate "viable interventions" to go with their sociopolitical analyses and predicts that this "will be a sign of growing maturity" (Cornwell, 1985b, p. ii), while Waldegrave addresses the Australian family therapy conference in Melbourne and puts political cognisance first, predicting that Western Family Therapy "will never reach pubescence as long as it remains mono-cultural, mono-class, and denies its place in wider political and economic systems" (Waldegrave, 1985, p. 198). At about the same time Epston notes that while Western Family Therapy is still "relatively new in Australia and New Zealand, compared with the United States and parts of Europe" he foresees a future "splitting off between rigorous systemic therapists and the strategic/structural therapists" as part of a move into "more creative diversification" (Epston & Wood, 1985, pp. 73-74). Put together, these snippets reflect a variety of discourses on national and trans-Tasman relations.

Cornwell's challenge is soon answered by The Family Centre who chronicle their early remodelling since reflecting on Western Family Therapy as "only helping people to be happy in poverty" (Inglis, 1985, p. 225). One of their responses to the institutional racism inherent in national employment and housing policies in Aotearoa New Zealand is to employ four community workers—one Māori, two Sāmoan, and one Pākehā—to encourage their communities "to mobilize their own resources to bring about the political and economic change necessary to alleviate the structural forces which cause their family stress" (p. 225). Some of these community workers "act as consultants behind the one-way screen [...] to guide the therapist team in taking into account the complex cultural nuances which Pākehās would otherwise miss" (p. 226). This crossover of knowledge and skill among community workers and family therapists is a pragmatic response to the need to extend systemic and cybernetic analysis out beyond the individual family unit (Waldegrave, 1985).

2.4.2 Fourth and fifth family therapy conferences, Palmerston North in 1986 and Hamilton in 1987

"Family Therapy New Zealand Style: A Broader Horizon" is the motif for the fourth New Zealand Family Therapy Conference held in Palmerston North during May 1986. While no conference reports appear in the ANZJFT, papers and videos of some conference sessions are compiled and published by conference organisers for the first time (Massey University, 1986). Epston (1995) later remarks that sometime after the first three conferences, which he likens to "pretty serious parties" (p. 2), conferences face the dual challenge of feminism and biculturalism and "the parties got more and more serious" (p. 3).

The empowerment of women therapists receives a boost in July 1986 from a workshop tour by Americans Betty Carter and Marianne Walters of the "Women's Project in Family Therapy" (Walters, Carter, Papp, & Silverstein, 1988). The New Zealand Feminists in Therapy Group receive $6000 from the Ministry of Women's Affairs and the Department of Social Welfare to subsidise women on low income to attend. The Department also

funds Pilalis, a leading feminist, on a six-week tour of the UK to study the teaching of family therapy to social workers (Pilalis, 1986c, 1987c).

Culturally, the majority of family therapists in Aotearoa New Zealand are Pākehā and "some Pākehā are challenging each other, via the medium of racism workshops and ongoing consciousness-raising activities, in order to address the inequalities in our society which result in injustices to others on the basis of race" (Pilalis, 1986a). They name the lip service paid to biculturalism by colleagues who may not consider themselves racially biased, yet "when working with individuals and families their goals and methods are based largely on pakeha assumptions about the Universe" (Smart, 1986, p. 111). Elsewhere, Māori emphasise "family therapy for Maoris must be in Maori terms […] within the confines of Maori culture […] without compromising the ancient principles of whanau therapy" (Katene, as cited in Grant, 1986, p. 111). If recognition of the complimentary value of each culture rests on fair and equitable sharing of institutional power between them, then the historical and contemporary injustices in implementing Te Tiriti o Waitangi/'The Treaty of Waitangi'[17] [the Treaty] cannot be ignored by family therapists (Pilalis, 1986a). Each of these matters appear to be on the 1987 conference organising committee's radar when naming the fifth family therapy conference in Hamilton, "Family Therapy and Social Justice" (Centre for Continuing Education, 1987).

In 1987 Rosemary Smart from Christchurch is the plenary speaker who, in contrasting the decline in psychiatrists attending family therapy conferences in Aotearoa New Zealand with an upsurge in Australia, wonders whether this is due to New Zealand's focus on political rather than theoretical and clinical issues. Her concern is that if the "professions with the least status [in New Zealand] are producing the majority of family therapists [...] will we become increasingly marginal [...] as psychiatry is becoming increasingly biologically and pharmacologically oriented, and nationally there is a move towards conservatism" (Smart, 1987a, p. 4).

In subsequent reports on the 1987 conference, commentators grapple with the "gap between social analytical debate and [the] acquisition of therapeutic skills […] that causes]

17. See Appendices A-C of this thesis for te reo Māori, te reo Māori to English translation, and English versions of the Treaty respectively (Waitangi Tribunal, 2016a, 2016b, 2016c).

many original players and spectators" of earlier conferences to stay away (Esler, 1987, p. 168), while others are heard to say, "there was hardly anything in [the conference] about family therapy" (Mason, 1987, p. 168). Yet "the theme of the conference determined the emphasis, it didn't preclude clinical work, which was of high quality" (Bird, 1987, p. 2), and besides, some politically-oriented attendees aren't happy with the conserve of holding conferences in universities with lecture-style facilities that promote competition rather than cooperation. They name the structure of conferences as "one constraint that has prevented us from adequately addressing the issue of family therapy and social justice" (p. 3).

This situation is likened to a developmental stage "where differences are emerging powerfully [...] producing a tension that could be either creative or polarising, depending on how we use it" (Thawley, 1987, p. 168). As with any emerging change, the future is uncertain. "I wonder if [New Zealand family therapists] can develop an attitude where difference can be valued and accepted, or whether they will be fearful of difference", muses Pilalis (1987d, p. 168). To encourage the former there are pleas for cooperation and tolerance, for the use of the family therapy dictum to see 'both/and' rather than 'either/or' in a situation (Esler, 1987), and "to regard and offer challenges as gifts of opportunity rather than as statements to diminish" (Thawley, 1987, p. 168).

2.4.3 The 'Family Therapy Movement in Aotearoa New Zealand'[18]

At some amorphous time during the politically charged 1986 and 1987 conferences the national Family Therapy Interest Group network established in 1978 (Epston, 1981a) unofficially,[19] though recognisably, evolves into a small but responsive social reform movement, as the foregoing descriptions of those conferences attest. This emergent

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18. The first paragraph of this subsection and material in Figure 2-B do not appear in the NZJC publication.

19. "Unofficially" because there is no record of this transition being officially recognised or even named by family therapists in NZ. While family therapy movements in the USA and UK are recognised since the 1950s (Broderick & Schrader, 1981) and in Australia since 1981 (Lang, 1981), in NZ family therapy is known variously as a field or a discipline [see Waldegrave & Tamasese both quoted in Law (1994)]. When reminiscing on the inaugural NZ family therapy conference in 1983, Epston (2003) calls it "the 'family therapy movement'" (p. 1) in scare quotes, which fits the embryonic social movement dynamics taking place then, such as the emergence of leaders and the challenging of the conference's Pākehā-centric structures (Whitney, as cited in Epston, 1984c). Also see Footnote 3 earlier in this chapter for collaborating details.

‘Family Therapy Movement in Aotearoa New Zealand’ [‘FTMANZ’]—as I am calling it—fulfils the characteristics of a social movement specified by Turner, Smelser, and Killian (2019) [see Figure 2-B below and on the following page] and is active in the national social justice domain on feminist, gender relations, cultural justice, poverty, violence, and abuse issues.

Figure 2-B: Defining characteristics of the ‘Family Therapy Movement in Aotearoa New Zealand’ c. 1986-1987

[Content drawn from Turner et al. (2019)]

Item.	Characteristic	Fulfilment by the ‘FTMANZ’
1	Intrinsically related to social change.	Social justice: “Impossible to separate treatment from an understanding of social justice” (Allen et al., 1983; Bird, 1987, p. 2; Centre for Continuing Education, 1987; Coventry et al., 1987; Inglis, 1985; Waldegrave, 1985; Waldegrave & Coventry, 1987); Feminism: “Links between sexual abuse, the socialisation process and power relationships between men and women in our society” (Gavey, Florence, Pezaro, & Tan, 1990; Pilalis, 1987b; Pilalis & Anderton, 1986; Pilalis et al., 1987, p. 165) Cultural justice: “Maori needs are different from those of Pakehas” (W. Campbell, 1986, p. 7; Ne'emia-Garwood, Tamasese, & Waldegrave, 1987; Para, 1986; Waldegrave, Campbell, & Jones, 1985).
2	Loosely organized collective with a common social goal and values.	No formal organising committee; common goals around social justice.
3	Relatively long lasting.	Interest group network formed in 1978; increasing politicalisation since then.
4	Membership not formally defined.	No defined membership criteria.
5	Relationships in a movement not defined by rules and procedures.	No defined rules or procedures.

[Figure 2-B continues on the following page]

[Figure 2-B continues from the previous page]

Item.	Characteristic	Fulfilment by the 'FTMANZ'
6	Leaders do not possess authority in the sense of legitimatised power.	No legitimatised leadership power; informal leadership from within the 'FTMANZ'.
7	Commitment is strengthened by participation in group activities.	The 'FTMANZ' meets annually at national conference for collective activity
8	Usually, one or more organisations give identity, leadership & coordination.	Active organisations include The Family Centre, Presbyterian Support Services [esp. Leslie Centre], Continuing Education Centres.
9	Boundaries of a movement are never coterminous with an organization[s].	Organisations are subworlds of the 'FTMANZ' only.

Standing in the frontline of the 'Movement', challenging the status quo, is The Family Centre for whom "the effect of increasing familiarity with Māori and Pacific Peoples' metaphorical way of seeing the world took us deeper into cultural work with its own norms" [C. Waldegrave, personal communication, 20 July 2017]. To work more effectively with Sāmoan families in Aotearoa New Zealand, Centre staff travel to Sāmoa to learn about āiga/'family' first-hand from a fa'asāmoa/'Sāmoan perspective', and they invite a local consultant back to Aotearoa New Zealand to provide insights on working with Sāmoan people here. This co-creation of bicultural therapy is pioneering work and sits alongside their emergent community development interventions and political lobbying through the researching and documenting of social problems (Coventry et al., 1987). With a Royal Commission on Social Policy currently in session, many in the 'FTMANZ' join with The Family Centre in being sensitised to the "wider social and political context in which their work takes place" (Whitney, 1987, p. 230).

Besides feminism and biculturalism, other 'FTMANZ' publications in the late mid-1980s focus on ethical guidelines (Everts, 1986), short-term residential therapy (Corbet & Palmer, 1986), family law (Davidson, 1986), domestic violence (Davidson, 1987; Pilalis, 1986b), working in teams (Pilalis, McDougall, McKeever, Atley, & Druce, 1986),

and anorexia nervosa (Hall, 1987). Add to this a steady stream of overseas trainers, such as Michael White, whose Christchurch workshop attracts 180 people, Moshe Lang and Allan Jenkins from Australia, Luigi Boscolo from Milan, Brian Lask from the Institute of Family Therapy in London, Karl Tomm from the Calgary Family Therapy Centre in Canada, and John Weakland and Paul Carter from the USA.

2.4.4 Sixth family therapy conference, Wainuiomata 1988

By 1988 the only formal body that the 'FTMANZ' is part of is the Editorial Board of the ANZJFT [the Board], which meets annually at each Australian conference. The 'FTMANZ' contributes financially to the Board from conference surpluses to acknowledge "the value we see in the trans-Tasman link and the importance of the role the Journal plays for family therapists in New Zealand" (Smart, 1986, p. 51). In the absence of a national association in Australia, the Board also functions as the Australian "de facto national secretariat" (Crago & Crago, 2007, p. 14) led by "our Editor-cum-Executive Director" (Quadrio, 1989, p. ii), while the Family Therapy Interest Group network in Aotearoa New Zealand continues to operate informally.

Following his election to the Board by Māori and Pacific attendees at the 1987 conference, The Family Centre's Warihi Campbell [Ngāti Porou][20] announces his arrival with an emancipative editorial to mark the Australian Bicentennial.[21] His kōrero/ 'statement' reverberates with mana/'authority' and wairua/'spirit':

> Maori and other Polynesians have the right to be addressed on their own cultural terms. They do not need to have their lives forever dependent on European interpretations and definitions for the sake of accommodating European solutions and aspirations.
>
> (W. Campbell, Nokise, & The Family Centre, 1988, p. iv)

This message echoes in the practice of Jocelyn Medland (1988), a Pākeha psychologist working with Māori families in the Far North, who attempts to suspend her European

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20. The iwi of Māori cited in this thesis are listed in square brackets after their name, where known. This is not done for research participants as identification of iwi may compromise anonymity.

21. The bicentenary marks 200 years since the arrival of the First Fleet of British convict ships in Sydney on 26 January 1788, which Aboriginal Peoples refer to as Invasion Day. Sources: https://www.theaustralian.com.au/50th-birthday/bicentennial-and-beyond/story-fnlk0fie-1226936978775 and https://www.creativespirits.info/aboriginalculture/history/australia-day-invasion-day.

judgements to work in taha Māori ways. This is the world embraced by the sixth family therapy conference held at Wainuiomata Marae in Lower Hutt. The venue is a long way culturally from the Clinical School of Medicine, over the hill and across the harbour in Wellington City, where the first conference took place only five years ago. The warm hospitality and wisdom of the kuia/'female elders' speaking about their lives on the opening night sets the scene for the strengths of women to be celebrated "in the numbers attending, the giving of workshops and papers, and speaking up in discussions" (J. Campbell, 1988, p. 238; Peryman, 1988)

The conference theme, "The Use and Abuse of Power in Family Therapy", highlights the misuse of organisational power in family therapy workplaces (J. Campbell, 1988; Peryman, 1988) and comes on the heels of Johnella Bird being dismissed and reinstated as Director of Presbyterian Support Services' Leslie Centre in Auckland as a result of "conflict between a non-consultative management and a highly professional staff" (Whitney, 1988, p. 111). Within the year both she and Epston move on to private practice, establishing The Family Therapy Centre in Auckland (Esler & Kolff, 1988).

In Wainuiomata, Bird chairs the business meeting and a surviving copy of its preliminary agenda [contents reproduced in Figure 2-C below and on the following page] reveals the mechanisms, interests, and concerns of the 'FTMANZ' at that time.

Figure 2-C: Agenda items for the business meeting held at the sixth New Zealand Family Therapy Conference on 3 July 1988

[Content drawn from Smart (1988), supplemented by Bird][22]

Item	Agenda items
1	Reporting back by special interest groups, including any proposed press releases.
2	Financial reporting, including funding of ANZJFT Editorial Board representatives to the next NZ conference.
3	Election or recommendations for ANZJFT positions [NZ representative on the Board, NZ Network News coordinator, journal assessors].

[Figure 2-C continues on the following page]

22. Bird, a facilitator of the Wainuiomata conference business meeting, supplied me with a copy of the agenda that she had made supplementary notes on at the time.

[Figure 2-C continues from the previous page]

4	Whether or not to organise a Women in Family Therapy pre-conference gathering next year.
5	Short listing people to represent NZ in an accreditation and registration debate at the Australian conference later this year.
6	Discussion about structure and process for the proposed joint NZ and Australian conference in Christchurch next year.

Moves to institutionalise this 'organisation' continue to be mooted, though as Epston (2003) recalls, "most of its more committed participants were activists rather than 'committee men and women'" (p. 2) and its conferences are like:

> [...] a pretty serious party. No one owned the conference except those who convened to throw it. They more or less did it their own way [...] The last host group could only make recommendations to the next year's host group on the basis of feed-back from the conference-goers.
>
> (Epston, 1995, pp. 2-3)

Add to this the disincentives brought home from the UK by Pilalis (1987c) who characterises their Association of Family Therapy [AFT] as "a growing monster! I was so glad to be a New Zealander where we've deliberately decided *not* to follow blindly along this path but to seek creative, systemic ways of networking and developing practice and training programmes" (p. 172). Yet without a formal body "initiatives that emerged from conferences could never 'go anywhere' as there was nowhere to go. This was greatly frustrating to all concerned" (Epston, 2003, p. 2).

2.5 From Highs To Lows: 1989 To 1995[23]

The achievements of the 'FTMANZ' in the seven-year period from 1989 to 1995 inclusive are impressive both in quantity and significance [see Figure 2-D on the following two pages]. As a 'bubble' of activity they bear witness to the growing stature of the 'FTMANZ' at home, where practice innovations are catching up with political imperatives (Harré Hindmarsh, 1994b; Waldegrave, 1990a; White & Epston, 1989); in

23. In the NZJC publication, this time period is 1990 to 1995 rather than 1989 to 1995 as here. This alteration flows through the remainder of the chapter.

Australia, where the New Zealanders' politicalisation of culture is deeply felt (Quadrio, 1993); and in the Northern Hemisphere, where The Family Centre and Epston [with White] ignite the family therapy world's imagination (Cowley & Springer, 1995; Epston, 1994; Waldegrave, 1990b).

Figure 2-D: Achievements of the 'Family Therapy Movement in Aotearoa New Zealand' between 1989 and 1995 inclusive [Content drawn from literature as cited below]	
Year	**Achievements**
1989	Publication of "Literate Means to Therapeutic Ends" (White & Epston, 1989), a forebear of narrative therapy; also collected papers (Epston, 1989); Epston presents pre-conference workshop at AAMFT conference; Waldegrave (1989a) invited contributor to national Treaty of Waitangi debate; first Australian & NZ family therapy conference [Christchurch] with unprecedented invitation to First Nations Peoples of Australia; first Women In Family Therapy Meeting in NZ [Akaroa].
1990	The Family Centre publish "Just Therapy" monograph (Waldegrave, 1990a), begin teaching overseas [in Poland, England, & the USA] (McDowell, 1990b), Waldegrave keynote speaker at AAMFT conference (1990b); renaming & worldwide distribution of "Narrative Means to Therapeutic Ends" (White & Epston, 1990); critique of feminist theory influencing Just Therapy (Drewery, 1990); family participation in research (Towns & Seymour, 1990); NZ family therapy conference [North Shore].
1991	'FTMANZ' donate $1000 to ANZJFT Editorial Board following 1989 conference; Board expands NZ representation to five members (ANZJFT, 1991); separate family therapy category in NZ Journal of Counselling's 1980s bibliography recognising "the distinctiveness of family therapy" (Manthei & Miller, 1991, p. 38); NZ family therapy conference [Nelson].
1992	NZ's Principal Family Court Judge presents family group conferencing to international conference on family therapy [Israel] (Mahony, 1992); further works from Epston et al. (Epston & White, 1992; Epston, White, & Murray, 1992); second Australian & NZ family therapy conference [Melbourne].
1993	The Family Centre collaborate with First Nations Peoples in Canada on colonisation & family therapy (Tapping, 1993); Tamasese (1993b) & Waldegrave (1993) address NZ Psychology Society on gender & culture; Western definitions of womanhood impacting other cultures (Tamasese &

[Figure 2-D continues on the following page]

[Figure 2-D continues from the previous page]

Year	Achievements
1993 [cont'd]	Laban, 1993); practice innovations from Epston (1993a, 1993b); NZ family therapy conference [Rūātoki].
1994	Special edition of Journal of Feminist Family Therapy[24] edited by Harré Hindmarsh (1994b) with papers by Harré Hindmarsh (1994a), Bird (1994), & Tamasese & Waldegrave (1994); Epston (1994) appears in The Family Therapy Networker;[25] therapeutic conversations on chronic childhood illness (Towns, 1994); mothers' experiences of family therapy (Robinson, 1994); power differentials in family therapy (Law, 1994); family therapy conference of Aotearoa 1994 [West Auckland].
1995	The Family Centre receive ANZJFT distinguished service award (Stagoll, 1995); narrative therapy in Newsweek[26] (Cowley & Springer, 1995); first edition of City Side News newsletter by & for NZ family therapists (Bird, 1995a); third Australian & NZ family therapy conference [Wellington].

Starting with the well-received, multicultural, first Australian and New Zealand Family Therapy Conference in Christchurch during 1989 (Alexander, 1989; Caseley, 1989; S. Jackson, 1989), each item in Figure 2-D precedes the third Australian and New Zealand conference hosted by The Family Centre in Wellington during 1995 (Hansen, 1995; McDonell, 1995). Controversy is triggered in Wellington when a Pākehā plenary speaker makes individualised rather than collective responses to cross-cultural issues long raised by Māori and Pacific Peoples (Auckland Cultural Justice Group, 1999). As they leave the closing ceremony some conference attendees are "trying to come to terms with their mixture of feelings: anger, sadness, fear, intimidation, frustration, shame, guilt, relief, embarrassment, hope and anxiety" (McDonell, 1995, p. 226). With no region volunteering to organise the next annual conference (Herzog, 1995b)—and these conferences are the only opportunity for the 'FTMANZ' to undertake activities as a whole collective—the impetus of the 'Movement' is lost and annual conferences cease indefinitely.

24. An international journal published in the US since 1989.
25. A US trade magazine first published in 1982 and re-named the Psychotherapy Networker since 2001.
26. A US weekly news magazine founded in 1933.

2.6 Bookends

The foregoing account makes a case for the 1970s-inspired Family Therapy Interest Group network in Aotearoa New Zealand becoming increasingly politicalised through its support for social justice issues over the years, and that by the late mid-1980s it fulfils the criteria for a social reform movement. My review of extant literature reveals the 'FTMANZ' to be particularly active nationally and internationally during the seven years between 1989 and 1995 inclusive. Initial indications are that the first and third Australian and New Zealand family therapy conferences that bookend this period might embody the high and low points respectively in the life of the 'Movement', though there are no existing in-depth analyses of either event.

A proposal is made in Chapter 3 to conduct historical research on the situation of the 'FTMANZ' in 1989 and again in 1995 in the hope that something may be learned from the past that will assist future developments of therapeutic services for families in Aotearoa New Zealand.

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3

WALKING BACKWARDS INTO THE FUTURE WITH MY EYES FIXED ON THE PAST

Where your situation begins and ends remains an empirical question throughout your research trajectory.

Adele Clarke, Carrie Friese, and Rachel Washburn[1]

THE PURPOSE OF THIS CHAPTER IS TO BUILD A BRIDGE between my preliminary literature review of the 'Family Therapy Movement in Aotearoa New Zealand' ['FTMANZ'] in Chapter 2, which reveals a previously unstudied yet seemingly critical period in the history of that 'Movement' between 1989 and 1995, and the choice of a suitable research methodology in situational analysis [SA] (Clarke, 2005; Clarke et al., 2015, 2018). Constructing that bridge involves reflecting on my situatedness during the historical period of interest, generating researchable questions about that period, assessing related research undertaken after 1995 that may have implications for this study, and finding a research methodology that is epistemologically compatible with the 'family therapy' modalities I practice. But before that, there are the analytic musings that first conceptualise the pursuit of alternative knowledges in the situation of the 'FTMANZ' between 1989 and 1995 for which such a bridge—as one might walk backwards across—is required.

1. Clarke et al. (2018, p. 118).

3.1 Streams Of Critical Thought

With no extant research analysing the situation of the 'FTMANZ' during the late 1980s and early mid-1990s, I am left pondering several analytic questions: What conversations are emerging, in midstream, or waning during those seven fertile years between 1989 and 1995 inclusive? What is at stake for each of the social worlds or subworlds contesting arenas of concern to the 'FTMANZ' during those years? Whose collective discourses are dominant, subjugated, or absent during interactions and negotiations in those arenas? If the situation of the 'FTMANZ' in 1995 is not "a *necessary outcome of a necessarily continuous past*" (Dean, 1994, p. 21, as cited in Clarke et al., 2018, p. 315, emphasis in latter), what "specific elements that *each and all had to be in place* for this particular present [in 1995] to 'happen'"? (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 316, emphasis in original).

These streams of critical thought represent the narrowing of my research topic through familiarisation with the extant literature, analysis and memoing of preliminary interviews with historical figures [see Sec. 1.4 for my deduced beginnings], collaborations with colleagues at the University of Calgary in Alberta, Canada, who engage with SA [Sec. 5.1], and a reflexive aspiration to "turn up the volume on 'minor' discourses [… for their] *alternative* reading[s] of what we call 'the situation', and potentially to articulate means of changing that situation" (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 225, emphasis in original).

As the period from 1989 to 1995 is historical, the relevant potential articulation of change relates to the present and beyond so we might learn something from the past that may guide the future of therapeutic services for families in Aotearoa New Zealand. In this regard I am following the whakataukī/'proverb': "Kia whakatōmuri te haere whakamua/I walk backwards into the future with my eyes fixed on my past" (Rameka, 2016).[2]

3.2 Situating The Participant-Researcher Between 1989 And 1995

The relevant reflexive questions are, how am I situated relative to the 'FTMANZ'

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2. "From a Māori perspective […] the past and the present are knowable, and so are viewed as in the forefront of human consciousness, whereas the future cannot be seen and therefore is conceived of as behind. […] The individual is 'conceptualised as travelling backwards in time to the future, with the present unfolding in front as a continuum into the past'. This conceptualisation of time does not leave the past behind; rather one carries one's past into the future" (Walker, 1996, p. 14, as cited in Rameka, 2016, p. 387).

between 1989 and 1995, and how might this affect my research? Elaborating on the autobiographical vignettes sketched in Sec. 1.1, I work as a social services volunteer [1988-1989], social work student [1990-1992], family therapy clinician [1992-1993], and a land surveyor [1993-1999], before resuming as a family therapy clinician in 1999. Back among family therapy colleagues, I hear whispers of the 'FTMANZ' 'bust-up' at the 1995 conference. The topic takes on the quasi-mythical status of a symbolic marker,[3] as none of my colleagues seem to know exactly what happened or what may still need attending to. Being absent from family therapy circles before, during, and after 1995, and not knowing the supposed protagonists, I am not personally involved; however, I am intrigued about my 'interrupted' family therapy years and this intrigue is revived in 2012 when attempting to contextualise the discord I experience among family therapists in Aotearoa New Zealand at that time (Whisker, 2012, reproduced in Appendix G of this thesis).

As someone who was not closely involved with the 'FTMANZ' and who did not attend any of their conferences between 1983 and 1995, I am not historically significant and my prior knowledge is both minimal and second-hand, all of which stimulates my motivation for inquiry.

3.3 Extant Research After 1995

The only research I find that touches on the social world of family therapy practitioners in Aotearoa New Zealand after 1995 are academic theses by Phillips and Yeoman. Both contain analyses of intraworld and interworld interactions in what they refer to as the "therapeutic community" (Phillips, 1996, p. 120) and "therapy field" (Yeoman, 2012, p. 8) respectively. Lesley Phillips' (1996) master's research is an incomplete Straussian grounded theory (Strauss, 1987; 1990) on therapists'[4] perceptions of family therapy

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3. A symbolic marker in the sense of "moments and their meanings as they become relived, retold, and reconstructed in multiple ways for different purposes […] become turning points in memory that echo through consciousness. They hold condensed and crystallized meanings [that invite analysis]" (Charmaz, 2012, p. 19).

4. Phillips (1996) interviews twelve therapists who work in a provincial NZ city "with a wide variety of educational and professional backgrounds, including psychology, social work, counselling, secondary teaching, guidance counselling, theology, marriage guidance, and family therapy" (p. 22). She uses the terms "therapist" and "family therapist" interchangeably. A major limitation of her work is that

during a time period overlapping 1989-1995, among whom she identifies interpersonal tensions arising from:

> (i) "The wide range of different views and approaches to family therapy […], and the almost unanimous [sic] anxiety about standards and competence, indicate that 'family therapy' [in Aotearoa New Zealand] is not a unified or even readily described body of practice."
>
> (ii) Factions and hierarchies of status, prior professional training, and places and conditions of work.
>
> (iii) Distinguishing between uniquely New Zealand 'family therapy' and imported forms of family therapy.
>
> (iv) "If […] the metaphor of the family as a system is being replaced […], will that affect the commitment to social change that some therapists see as implied in the systems approach?"
>
> [points drawn or quoted from Phillips (1996, pp. 138-139)]

These four points resemble some of the subworld tensions within the 'FTMANZ' described in Chapter 2, such as debate on the social role of family therapy, influence of overseas modalities, schisms between proponents of modern and postmodern approaches, medical hierarchies in mental health service provision, and regulation of family therapy. This fit with Phillip's indicatory observations substantiates the relevance to my study of her call for further in-depth research.

Kate Yeoman's (2012) PhD research focuses on twenty therapists from Aotearoa New Zealand whose practices during the 2000s are informed by poststructural, postmodern, and feminist critiques of family therapy. She argues that they represent a distinct social movement among other social worlds or subworlds contesting the field of therapy. A feature of her analysis is the prevalence among therapists working in the public sector of silent or silenced discourses and associated strategies of resistance that subvert the hegemony of dominant neoliberal-inspired discourse. Yet as these postmodern therapists:

> […] keep silent, or translate their work into the dominant language of the therapy field [to cultivate an appearance of conformity], the ideas and ethical

she cites only one NZ publication in the whole study, thereby excluding a substantial body of local literature built up over a thirty-year period.

> standpoints of postmodern therapy practitioners, and the successes or difficulties of their work, are excluded from official discussion and from the public image of their workplaces [… making these resistance strategies] frequently unsustainable.
>
> (Yeoman, 2012, p. 223)

Yeoman's critique invites our curiosity about the situation two decades earlier and the prevailing "conditions of possibility" (Foucault, 1970, p. xxiv; 1973)—"possible pathways into the future based in that specifically constellated […] situation" (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 84) between 1989 and 1995—which are the "constraints, opportunities, and resources" (p. 154) that, had they been differently negotiated, may have seen an alternative new millennium for 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand. These historical reflections might then contribute to the diversity of thought about the future of 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand today.

These sensitizing concepts (Blumer, 1954) in the research by Phillips and Yeoman, namely about the interactions within and between worlds and subworlds in arenas of concern to 'family therapy' practitioners, and their covert resistance to dominant discourses, "suggest directions along which to look" (p. 7) when considering what research questions to pursue.

3.4 Research Questions

My analytic and situational musings on the foregoing sections of this chapter lead me to develop the following researchable questions to guide my research on the 'Family Therapy Movement in Aotearoa New Zealand' between 1989 and 1995:

1) How do changes in the situation of the 'Family Therapy Movement in Aotearoa New Zealand' between 1989 and 1995 come to be?
2) What are the conditions of possibility[5] at various times during this period?

5. Clarke et al. (2018) interpret Foucault's (1970) concept of 'conditions of possibility' to be asking: "Where can things go from here? Or […] starting from this situation, what are the possibilities for change?" (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 84).

3) How might these historical reflections contribute to the diversity of thought about the future of 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand today?

Questions 1 and 2 situate the inquiry historically as a pre-condition to reflecting on contemporary thought in question 3. An historical focus is supported by:

4) The period's significance in the history of the 'FTMANZ' as interpreted from the literature [see Chapter 2].
5) Leading figures from the period are still alive and may be willing to contribute to research interviews or share their textual archives.
6) During the period I am not historically significant in the 'FTMANZ'.

The situation of the 'FTMANZ' is largely unknown and the questions above represent unique research.

3.5 Implications For Research Methodology

A review of research methodologies utilised by family therapists published in the ANZJFT between 1979 and 2000 reveals a paucity of qualitative research, which the reviewer puts down to a combination of the patriarchal bias in social sciences that favours positivist science and a growing need to provide quantitative evidence of service efficacy to secure funding renewals (McDonald, 2008).[6] The lack of qualitative research on family therapy contrasts with the growing influence that constructivist, social constructionist, narrative, collaborative, and discursive theoretical perspectives are having on therapeutic approaches in the field and contradicts the influence these perspectives are also having on the diversification of qualitative research methodologies.[7] McDonald (2008) makes this link when stating: "It is my belief that if [the logical levels of ontology, epistemology, and methodology] were better understood, family therapists might be more inclined to

6. McDonald (2008) claims to be researching the Australian context yet does not appear to differentiate between Australian and New Zealand contributions to the ANZJFT. For example, she writes: "The lack of qualitative research [in the ANZJFT] is either due to the fact that little qualitative research was being undertaken in Australia and New Zealand, or that little of it was being submitted to the ANZJFT" (p. 125).

7. See the following references for qualitative research utilising theoretical approaches that also inform family therapy: constructivism (Charmaz, 2014; Clarke et al., 2018); narrative inquiry (Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, & Zilber, 1998; Reissman, 2004); discursive research (Smoliak & Strong, 2018); and dialogic collaboration (Paulus, Woodside, & Ziegler, 2008).

choose a [research] methodology that suits their own ontology and epistemology" (p. 131).

SA is a Twenty-First Century research method grounded in [with accompanying references to applications in family therapy] constructivism (Hoffman, 1988; Watzlawick, 1984), constructionism (Anderson & Goolishian, 1988; Hoffman, 1990; McNamee & Gergen, 1992), poststructuralism (de Shazer, 1991; Drewery & Monk, 1994; White & Epston, 1990) and pragmatism (Alexander & Sexton, 2002; Henggeler, Schoenwald, Borduin, Rowland, & Cunningham, 1998; Larner, 2009; Lock & Le Grange, 2013); with one family therapist going so far as to compare SA methods with those he already privileges in his family therapy practice (Wulff, 2008). SA has the methodological capacity to represent the complexity of diverse perspectives in the situation of the 'FTMANZ' by eschewing any partiality towards dominant discourses.

3.6 Shared Epistemological Stock

Utilising sensitising concepts found in the literatures of family therapy and qualitative research or held in the researcher's prior knowledge as points of departure, I draft three research questions in response to local calls for analyses that befit today's epistemological sensibilities well known to family therapy. It stands to reason that a methodology capable of adequately addressing these questions—Clarke's situational analysis—would come from similar epistemological stock.

Having framed the situation of inquiry in Part One, we turn to situational analysis in Part Two, where the philosophies upon which this study rests, and their methods of expression, are discussed in detail.

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PART TWO

SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS METHODOLOGY

Chapter 4 — Grounds of Situational Analysis

Chapter 5 — Methods of Situational Analysis

4

GROUNDS OF SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS

Studying action is far from enough.

Adele Clarke, Carrie Friese, and Rachel Washburn[1]

FOR MANY YEARS, WHICH I LATER RECOGNISE AS THE lengthy conception period of this research project, I ponder 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand. How has it got to be like it is? What is its future? What helpful contributions might I make? As gestation takes hold, my mind turns to possible resources. What do other family therapists have to say? What clues might lie buried in past literature? These musings include feasible methods of inquiry, such as talking with key knowledge holders, archive retrieval, and collaborating with peers. Seeking to organise my thoughts coherently leads me firstly to constructivist grounded theory, and once relieved of my theoretical presuppositions, to situational analysis [SA], an unorthodox hybrid of ecological-relational cartography and discourse analysis.[2] Hovering over SA are the conceptual frameworks that each contributing theoretical perspective brings: the construction of reality from symbolic interactionism, relations within and between universes of discourse from social worlds/arenas theory, and critique of power, knowledge, practices, and discourse through Foucault. Overarching everything alluded to

1. Clarke et al. (2018, p. 14).
2. All terminology in these colloquial opening statements is properly referenced in the remainder of this chapter.

above is an understanding I first feel keenly as a child when realising there is a world of socially bound knowledge known to the adults around me with respect to specific others, topics, or conditions. These subjective realities bring the—then name unknown—epistemology of social constructionism alive and it remains the predominant means through which I make sense of human experience.[3]

This colloquial sketch continues the inclusion of the researcher in the shaping of this thesis as a reminder that my choice of SA (Clarke, 2005; Clarke et al., 2015, 2018) is not made in a void, although to audiences in Aotearoa New Zealand, SA might appear 'from a void' as I cannot find another local study utilising this approach. This local absence encourages me to present a fuller account of SA's theoretical grounds and methods in Chapters 4 and 5 respectively than might be necessary, say, in North America, Germany, or Scandinavia, where SA "has gained substantial attention within and across diverse disciplines and professions" (Charmaz, 2015, p. 7).

4.1 From Grounded Theory To Situational Analysis

The genealogy of SA rests in the multi-generational grounded theory [GT] "family of methods" (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007b, p. 11; Morse et al., 2009), the origins of which date back to popular reforms in the 1960s that 'turn away' from the positivist functionalism and essentialism operating in Western democracies. In social research, "the then-dominant theory/methods package of positivism and quantitative survey research" (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 7) overshadows qualitative 'fieldwork', but with the appearance of social constructionism (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) a new interpretative turn is underway. In this climate, the 'parents' of GT, American sociologists, Anselm Strauss, "a social constructionist qualitative researcher deeply committed to interactionism throughout his career" (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 4), and Barney Glaser, "trained in more positivist functionalist sociology and largely in quantitative survey research" (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 4),[4] combine their efforts towards "improving social scientists' capacities for

3. The four-part sequential scaffolding I use in these opening statements, comprising methods, methodology, theoretical perspective, and epistemology, is drawn from Crotty (1998, pp. 1-17).

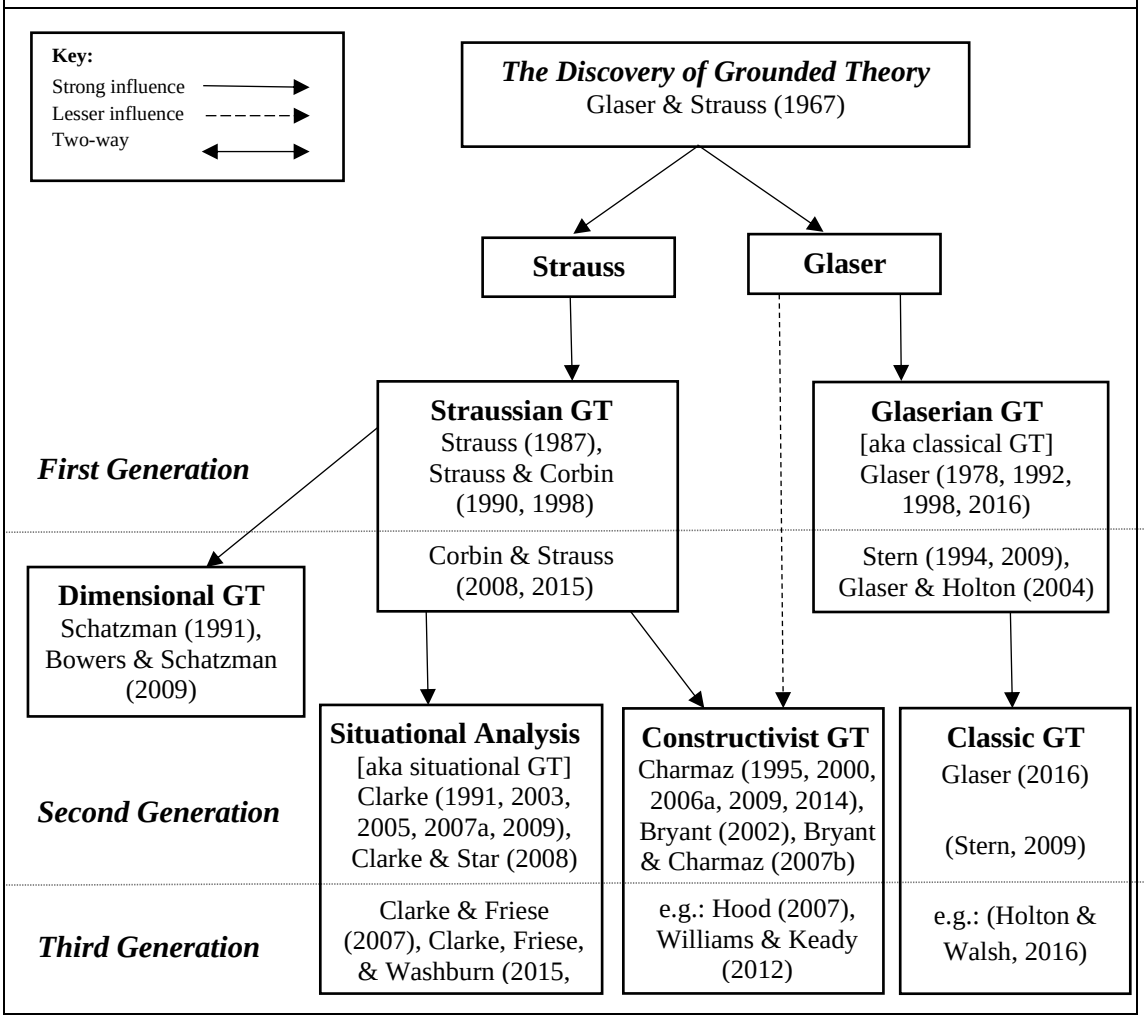
4. An equivalent 'marriage' of epistemologies is found in family therapy (see Larner, 1994) and sits comfortably with my philosophical pluralism as a family therapist.

generating theory that *will* be relevant to their research" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, pp. vii-viii, emphasis in original). Their landmark publication, "The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research" ['Discovery'] (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), contains systematic and recursive strategies for collecting and analysing data to inductively generate theory, and sparks "the renaissance of qualitative inquiry" (Clarke et al., 2018, p. xxiv).

The contrasting epistemologies entwinned in the roots of 'Discovery' lead to a major bifurcation in the first generation of the GT 'family tree' [see Figure 4-A below], from where separate Glaserian and Straussian branches appear. While Glaser (1978, 1992) upholds GT's original analytic deduction by coding and categorising of data, testing

Figure 4-A: A genealogy of Grounded Theory and Situational Analysis

[extending Clarke et al. (2018, p. 6) from original in Morse et al. (2009)]



emergent hypotheses, and building theory; Strauss explores analytic abduction[5] via his Chicago School (Clarke, 2005, pp. 37-52; Musolf, 2003) pragmatist-interpretive leanings in symbolic interactionism[6] (Blumer, 1969; Strauss, 1964)—"a theoretical perspective that assumes people construct selves, society, and reality through interaction" (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007b, p. 610)—to explicate a framework of 'conditional matrices' (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) that account for the "complex web of interrelated conditions, action/ interaction and consequences pertain[ing] to a given phenomenon" (p. 161).[7]

In seeking to bring the second generation of Straussian GT more fully around the interpretive turn, Clarke eschews the positivist remnants retained in constructivist GT[8] [CGT] (Charmaz, 2006b, 2014) that make finding commonalities among basic social processes the goal of analysis,[9] by proposing a "radically different" (Clarke, 2003, p. 554) conceptual framework where the situation of inquiry broadly conceived is "*the ultimate unit of analysis*" (Clarke, 2005, p. xxii: emphasis in original). To do so, SA researchers construct situations empirically using three unique ecological-relational maps: situational

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5. "[Analytic] abduction is the name of the research process of tacking back and forth between the empirical materials of a study and trying to analyse and conceptualise them more abstractly[,] toward making a more general set of claims about the phenomenon" (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 27), whereas analytic induction is "the process of generating a hypothesis or generalisation or theoretical statement about a social phenomenon based on field observations and/or interviews [… where] the close inspection of ever more data can be made to reveal regularities" (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996, p. 155, cited in Clarke et al., 2018, p. 28).

6. In the Chicago-school 'family of interactionists' founded by Mead (1934) and Dewey (1930), the second generation led by Blumer (1937) "saw themselves as symbolic interactionists" (Musolf, 2003, p. 101) and the name stuck.

7. For Glaser (1992), Strauss's privileging of situatedness amounts to forcing data into preconceived categories that have not earned their way emergently into conceptual analysis, producing what he calls "full conceptual description" (p. 96) rather than grounded theory per se. Strauss appears not to respond publicly to Glaser; however, the interested reader is referred to Clarke (2007b) and Charmaz (2008) who do. For other histories of GT, see Bryant and Charmaz (2007a); Glaser (2016); and Morse et al. (2009).

8. Crotty (1998) utilises "the term constructivism for epistemological considerations focused exclusively on 'the meaning-making activity of the individual mind' and […] constructionism where the [epistemological] focus includes 'the collective generation and transmission of meaning'" (n.p.), with constructionism the wider inclusive term. In contrast, Clarke et al. (2018) largely follow Charmaz in using constructivism as the wider inclusive term with respect to GT, "based on Charmaz's (2000; 2014, pp. 13-14) argument that those [people] calling themselves constructionists do not necessarily view their own work as constructed interpretations, while constructivists do" (p. 19n1). This despite Charmaz (2014) clarifying that her argument is based on the practices of constructionists in the 1980s and early 1990s and that "social constructionism has evolved over the [intervening] years and [Charmaz's current] position is consistent with the form it takes today" (p. 14).

9. Clarke's conceptualisation of GT is challenged by Martin (2006) who argues that Clarke "does not seem to understand that grounded theorists use many theoretical codes other than the basic social process" (n.p.).

maps, social worlds and arenas maps, and positional maps [these cartographic methods are discussed in detail in Sec. 5.3]; to generate new forms of theorising that capture the complexities and multiplicities of social life (Clarke, 2005).

4.2 Situational Analysis After The Interpretive Turn

4.2.1 Sensitising concepts for and against the interpretive turn

"Foundational to SA is the assumption that Straussian GT is grounded epistemologically and ontologically[10] in pragmatist philosophy and symbolic interactionist theory" (Clarke, 2005; Clarke et al., 2018, p. 24), from which Clarke

Figure 4-B: Sensitising concepts suggesting Straussian Grounded Theory and Situational Analysis are 'always already' partially around the Interpretive turn

[content drawn from Clarke et al. (2018) unless otherwise specified]

Item	Sensitising concepts
1	The influence of Mead's interactionist concept of perspective as social; "seeing the self as profoundly socially-shaped in ways that presage later poststructural interventions such as Foucault's" (p. 26).
2	Pragmatism and symbolic interactionism being central to American social constructivism, which recognises the nonhuman/material world as constructed, present and to be accounted for in research analyses.
3	Straussian GT's deconstructive open coding, which signifies there is no one-right reading of data (Clarke, 2005, pp. 7-8).
4	Straussian GT's move towards analytic abduction.
5	GT's processual approach facilitating the representation of instabilities, contingences and fateful moments.
6	GT's potential to illuminate the "incredibly variegated panorama of human living" (Clarke, 2005; Strauss, 1993, p. 49).
7	Strauss's analysis of social worlds and arenas, while underdeveloped in Straussian GT, is a defining feature of SA (Clarke, 2005).

10. "In short, epistemology concerns *how*—by what means—we can learn and know. Ontology is concerned with *what can be known*—the nature and boundaries of knowledge and knowing" (Clarke et al., 2015, p. 78: emphasis in original).

perceives various "sensitising concepts" (Blumer, 1969, pp. 147-148) [see Figure 4-B on the previous page] suggesting that both Straussian GT and its progeny SA are "always already" (Clarke, 2003, p. 558) partially around the interpretive turn.

On the other side of the philosophical fence are those remnants of positivism in Glaserian GT that Clarke frames as "recalcitrant *against*" the interpretive turn and which SA disavows (2005; Clarke et al., 2018, p. 33: emphasis in original) [See Figure 4-C below].

Figure 4-C: Positivist remnants in Glaserian Grounded Theory and Interpretive responses in Situational Analysis

[content drawn from Clarke et al. (2018) unless otherwise specified]

Item	Positivist remnants in Glaserian GT	Interpretive responses in SA
1	Pretence that "the researcher can be and/or should be invisible" (p. 34) lacks reflexivity or critique of power.	"We are, through the very act of research itself, directly in the situation we are studying" (Clarke, 2005, p. 12).
2	Researcher as tabula rasa; Glaser (1992): "analyst should just 'not know' as he [sic] approaches the data" (p. 50); avoid extensive engagement with extant literature and theories (Glaser, 1998).	"We cannot help but come to almost any research project already 'knowing' in some ways" (Clarke, 2005, p. 12); extant literature and theories help situate research, refine research questions, guide analysis, and needed for project funding.
3	"Notions of [research] giving "unmediated 'voice' to the unheard […] from 'their own' perspective(s)" (Clarke, 2005, p. 14).	"All reports are deeply mediated by the researcher" (Clarke, 2005, pp. 14-15); need to consider *different* voices, those otherwise omitted, silenced, or sanitised, and contradictory.
4	Oversimplified research reports as a response to voluminous data and the messiness of the empirical world.	More analysis and reflection needed to bring the complex, contradictory, vague and messy more explicitly into accounts as reflective of the world (Clarke, 2005).
5	Binary construction of negative cases is normal/abnormal rather than a range of variation.	"Grasping the full range of variation and differences in our data is a core analytic task" (p. 40).
6	Belief "methodological purity is not only possible but desirable" (p. 40).	"GT method [will] grow and change over time with new users" (p. 40).

4.2.2 Clarifying the relationship between SA mapping and CGT coding

Potentially contradictory messages in Clarke (2005) about the role of CGT coding as a preliminary step to SA mapping, may influence some earlier SA researchers to code their data and then to map their codes. Suffice to say, that as SA and CGT are each undergirded by "a different conceptual infrastructure or guiding metaphor" (Clarke et al., 2018, p. xxiv), they are "*two different kinds of analysis pursued separately* […] not blended together" (pp. 109, emphasis in original), and "GT codes[…] should not even be on these [SA] data maps unless they are 'in vivo' codes used by participants in your situation!" (p. 132). Further clarification is available in correspondence between Clarke and myself [see Email #1 in Appendix I] and in my review of Clarke et al. (2018), their second edition SA textbook (Whisker, 2018).

4.3 Theoretical Grounds Of Situational Analysis

Besides extending the inherently interpretive old grounds of Straussian GT and renouncing the traditional positivist grounds of Glaserian GT, SA draws on several new grounds for its major methodological strategies, namely:

1) Strauss and colleagues' social worlds/arenas [SW/A] framework [citations in Sec. 4.3.1 below].
2) Foucauldian discourse analysis [citations in Sec. 4.3.2 below].
3) Latour (2005) and others explicitly taking the non-human into account in actor network theory.
4) Deleuze and Guattari's (1983, 1987) assemblage theory and rhizomic analysis.

(drawn from Clarke et al., 2018, pp. 61-100)

These new grounds are part of the "reconfiguration of relationality […] across social sciences and humanities" (Clarke et al., 2015, pp. 43-44) through which the customary stratification of analytics into micro, meso, and macro levels is rejected in favour of seeing all levels as coconstitutive and the analytic focus shifting to "complexities, relationalities, and ecologies" (p. 44). Of the four listed above, the new grounds that most inform this study are from Strauss and Foucault, as described in the subsections below.

4.3.1 Social worlds/arenas theory

Clarke (1991) defines Strauss and colleagues' concept of social worlds as "groups with shared commitments to certain activities, shared resources of many kinds to achieve their goals, and building shared ideologies about how to go about their business" (p.131, also see Becker, 1970; Shibutani, 1986; Strauss, 1978b, 1993). Social worlds generate a life of their own around their members' shared interests, have at least one primary activity, and a site and technology to carry it out with (Strauss, 1978b). Social world boundaries are tremendously porous, causing memberships to constantly change, reorganise, and realign through segmenting or intersecting. Internal segmenting produces subworlds that represent the different perspectives on discourses that exist in the host world, while external segmenting occurs when similarities or differences in interworld discourse produce two or more new worlds (Bucher & Strauss, 1961; Strauss, 1978b).

The principal social world in this study is the 'Family Therapy Movement in Aotearoa New Zealand' ['FTMANZ'],[11] which meets annually at a national conference to share 'family therapy' theorising and practice, and to further its social justice aims. When members of the 'FTMANZ', allied professionals, overseas visitors, and various community groups, gathering at a family therapy conference commit to interacting with one another on issues pertinent to their individual interests, an "arena" is constituted (Strauss et al., 1964, p. ix) [for example, see Sec. 6.2.1 for the arenas the 'FTMANZ' is active in during the 1989 conference].

Interactions between representatives of each world in an arena may involve "negotiation, persuasion, manipulation, education, threat, and actual coercion" (Strauss, 1993, p. 250), and the power relations that determine whose discourse is represented, legitimised, silenced, or appropriated, are processes of analytical interest (Clarke et al., 2018). Discourse and other collective action is analysed by making social worlds and arenas—rather than individuals—the units of analysis, with the pluralising of 'arenas' pointing to the need to analyse *every* arena that a world participates in, *plus* the other

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11. Clarke (1990) lists three major types of social worlds: production worlds, communal worlds, and social movements; with mixtures of each both possible and common. The 'FTMANZ' is a mixed world, being both a production world "where activities produce something", namely a social service called family therapy, and a social movement "where activities focus on shared commitments to alter the larger world in which they are embedded" (p. 19).

worlds and discourses in each of those arenas, "as these are all mutually influential/ constitutive of that world" (p. 73). The analyst's task is greatly assisted by drawing a number of SW/A maps—one of three types of mapping methods that constitute SA—and examples from this study are reproduced in Sec. 5.3.3.

Clarke and Montini (1993) and Clarke (2005) extend SW/A theory with the concept of implicated actors or actants, of whom there are two distinct types: those physically present in a world or arena but made silent or invisible by powerful others, and those not physically present but made discursively present by others for their own benefit. This framing lifts the lid on relative power relations in a situation by focusing attention on the less powerful; what is not heard from them?, and how is discourse being used to manipulate them?

SW/A theory's distinction is in "permitting analyses of an array of collective human social entities [both large and small] and their actions, discourses, and power relations in the situation of concern" (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 77). For this study of the 'FTMANZ', SW/A theory's broad and complex framing and explicit awareness of the less heard align well with Research Questions 1 and 2, previously outlined [see Sec. 3.4].

4.3.2 Foucauldian discourse analysis

Clarke links Foucault to SA through the pragmatism and interactionism of both Strauss (see Clarke, 2005, pp. 52-60) and his predecessor Dewey (see Clarke et al., 2018, pp. 77-79), and utilises Foucault's theoretical perspectives on "the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects" (1982, p. 208) as points of entry for SA's critical analysis of the discourses that social worlds and arenas are awash in. Consequently, Foucault's analytics—strategies "of splitting up apparently coherent unities, looking for complex constellations and empirical relations between heterogeneous elements" (Keller, 2018, pp. 69-70)—are visible in each of SA's three mapping methods [see Sec. 5.3].

The Foucauldian concepts that Clarke (2005) and Clarke et al. (2018) draw on, and which prove useful as theoretical grounds for this study, are those of discourse and

disciplinary power, the 'gaze', and conditions of possibility, each of which is discussed next.

As a minor social world in the medically-dominated domain of mental health in Aotearoa New Zealand, Foucault might view the 'FTMANZ' as being constructed by dominant institutional discourses—"regimes of truth" (Foucault, 1980, p. 131)—that assert preferred or disqualifying versions of reality (Miller, 2008). Discourse gains power through "discipling practices that produce subjects/subjectivities through surveillance, examination and various other technologies of the self"[12] (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 80; Foucault, 1988). The surveilling 'gaze' is "always already internalised" (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 79) with no external force necessary to produce responsibilised[13] actors in society (Garland, 1996), whose self-subjection—say, in the case of some members of the 'FTMANZ' attending their annual conference—is a response to their knowledge of power relations (Foucault, 1980)—for example, with those who dominate intraworld discourse, occupy the conference stage, or control the conference programme.[14]

Foucault's analytical interest lies in which discourses come to predominate in the interaction of power relations at a specific time (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982), and how this occurs (McHoul & Grace, 1993), which fits well with Research Question 1 [see Sec. 3.4]. In relation to "where can things go from here?" (Clarke, 2005, p. 56) and "what are the possibilities for change?" (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 84), which approximate Research Questions 2 and 3, the "possible pathways" (p. 84) constitute the "conditions of possibility" (Foucault, 1970, 1973) that are the "constraints, opportunities, resources, and other elements […] based in that specific constellated […] situation" (Clarke, 2005, p. 56) at a given historical moment.

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12. "Technologies of the self […] permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, […] associated with a certain type of domination [… and] modes of training and modification of individuals, not only in the obvious sense of acquiring certain skills but also in the sense of acquiring certain attitudes" (Foucault, 1988, p. 18).

13. Garland's term, not Foucault's. See Garland (1996, p. 452n10) for origins of 'responsibilisation'.

14. As an aside, equivalent gazes frame the power relations that construct doctoral researchers too, who must account for their own discipling in their research and make conscious efforts to learn how social worlds representing minority views and marginal positions perceive reality. Also see Sec. 1.2, 1.3, and Chapter 5 for modes of researcher reflexivity utilised in this study.

4.4 Situational Analysis As A Decolonising Methodology

SA is a critical interactionalist methodology (Clarke, 2019) that "seeks to represent all the actors and discourses in the situation regardless of their power" (pp. 198-199). It asks key reflexive questions of the research and the researcher, such as:

> Whose knowledge about what counts to whom and under what conditions? Who is the researcher? How is who they are consequential? Who/what is researched? With what consequences? For whom? Who is paid for it and why? Who/what is placed at risk by this research? How? Who/what is advantaged by this research? How?
>
> (Clarke, 2005, p. 12)

Similar questions are asked by Māori researcher, Smith (2012, p. 10) in her book, "Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples". What SA offers in response is: the broad construction of the situation of inquiry empirically rather than preconfigured; SA potentially ruptures the 'taken-for-granted' with new insights that may change the inquirer and the inquiry; SA research is "contextually responsive" (Bainbridge, Whiteside, & McCalman, 2013, p. 277); promotes difference and complexity; analyses power; is deeply reflexive; takes narrative, visual, and historical discourse materials seriously; recognises "many ways of knowing"; and reveals the continuation of colonisation in contemporary societies (Clarke et al., 2018, pp. 358-359).

The implications for researcher reflexivity highlighted above shift the focus to how the methodological grounds examined in this chapter will be applied as research methods, and that is the subject of the chapter to follow.

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5

METHODS OF SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS

Methods aren't formulas but strategies to provoke us to think more and better.

Adele Clarke[1]

WHILE UNEQUIVOCAL ABOUT THE EPISTEMOLOGICAL AND ONTOLOGICAL roots of situational analysis [SA], Clarke appears uninvested in promoting orthodoxy in the utilisation of her innovative mapping methods (Strong, cited in Whisker, 2016). Instead, she encourages researchers to explicitly own their decisions throughout their studies, which I attempt to do in this chapter by going beyond the "how" to include the "why" with respect to the methods employed in this study.

The first research methods I utilise when embarking on this study in 2014 are the "deduced beginnings" reported in Sec. 1.4. They comprise presuppositions interviewing, pre-testing interviewing strategies, sensitising interviews with prominent knowledge holders, and gathering extant literature to familiarise myself with the history of 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Girded by this early data collection, my descriptions of subsequent research methods continue mostly chronologically in this chapter. They begin with initial project-design mapping that leads to moments of perceptual thinking and clarification of the role of CGT coding in SA. With further data collection, systematic mapping and memoing gets into

1. Personal communication, 9 October 2014.

full swing, provoking ‘theoretical sampling’ (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1998) through the analytic discovery of new directions of interest and the pursuit of data to explore them. Eventually, memos start to thicken and combine to inform the writing of draft thesis chapters, and feedback on those chapters is sought and received from research participants and cultural consultants. Matters relating to ethics, reflexivity, and the limitations of this study, are thought through and acted on along the way. Copies of textual analyses, maps, diagrams, memos, and other analytic collations, illustrate method descriptions throughout the chapter.

5.1 Initial Project Design Mapping

In my initial project-design mapping I seek to lay out everything I know about ‘family therapy’ in Aotearoa New Zealand as a first step to appreciating its situatedness—who and what are involved in ‘family therapy’?, what is happening?, where?, what is at stake for whom? (Clarke et al., 2018, see pp. 104-106). Individual situational elements first appear on a ‘messy’ situational map [see Figure 5-A below] and collective worlds on preliminary social worlds/arenas maps [see Figure 5-B on the following page].

Figure 5-A: Initial ‘messy’ situational map of researcher’s prior knowledge of ‘family therapy’ in Aotearoa New Zealand

Photo reproduction of Situational map #2 - version 29.06.15

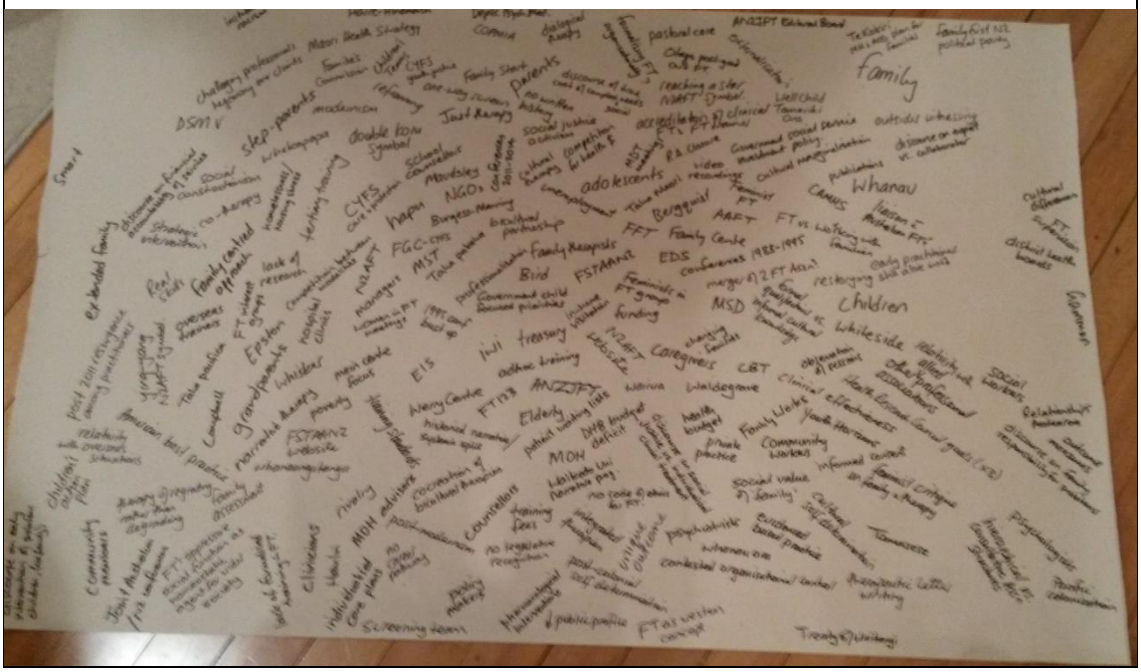
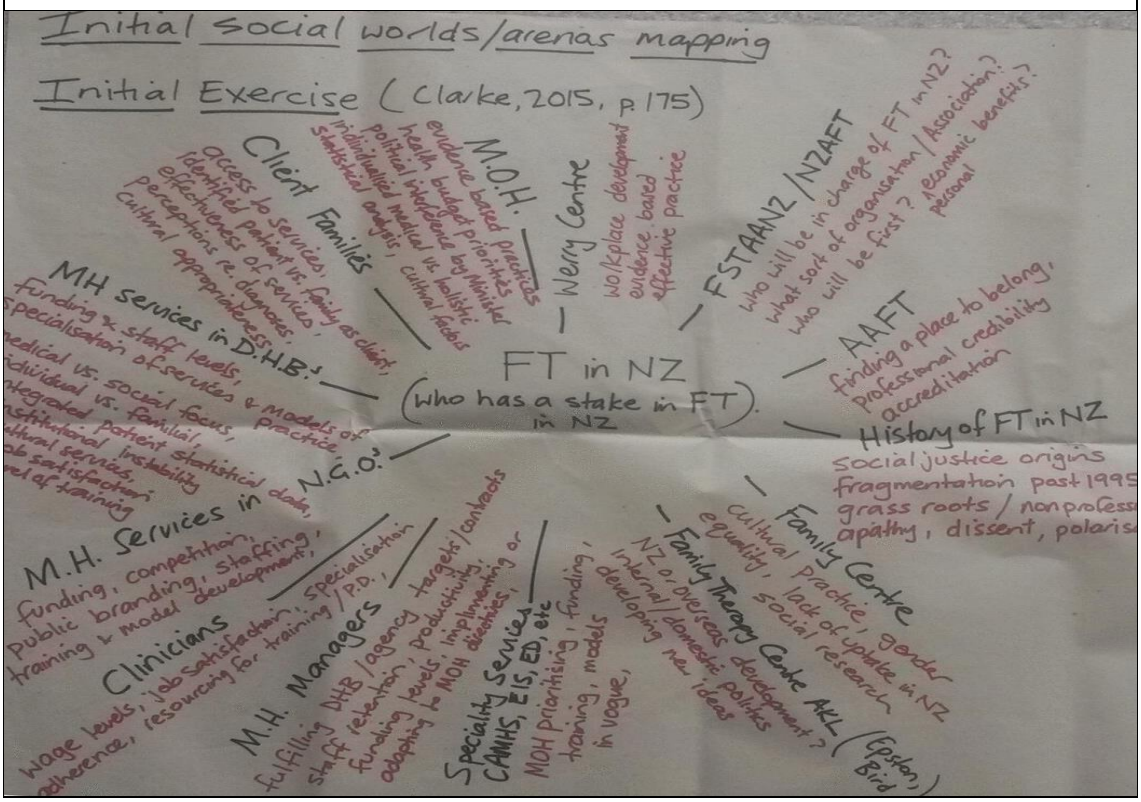


Figure 5-B Initial social worlds/arenas map of researcher's prior knowledge of 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand

Photo reproduction of SW/A map #1 of 4 - version 23.08.15



These maps are prepared immediately prior to my late 2015 consultation visit with eight members of the 'Calgary SA Group' at Calgary University, Alberta, and they stimulate our thinking about the project and the need to begin zooming in on specific situations—events, time periods, arenas of concern—of interest to me that might make for an achievable doctoral research topic. Having already pre-tested my interview strategies with two present-day clinicians [see Sec. 1.4.2] and conducted sensitising interviews with two prominent knowledge holders [see Sec. 1.4.3], the 'Group' caution me not to privilege interviewing over textual sources of data, and this leads me deeper into extant literature, and eventually to identifying the family therapy conferences held in Aotearoa New Zealand in 1989 and 1995 as the situational bookends of my historical inquiry [see Chapter 2, Sec. 2.5 and 2.6, and Chapter 3 for details of these decision making processes].

5.2 Data Collection

5.2.1 Textual data collection

The initial collection of extant literature is described in Sec. 1.4.4, and as I read text and interview participants [see Sec. 5.2.3 below] other textual sources are identified and accessed online or via library services. The textual data utilised in the situational analyses of the 1989 and the 1995 conferences are listed in Appendices J and K respectively.

5.2.2 Ethics committee approvals

Researching people in these historical situations of inquiry broadly conceived evokes human ethics oversight. Prior to conducting interviews I obtain approval for my study from La Trobe University's Health Science Faculty Human Ethics Committee in October 2014 [ref: FHEC 14/227], which later expires and is reapproved by the Science, Health and Engineering College Human Ethics Sub-Committee in December 2018 [ref: HEC18480]. In 2019 when through ignorance I interview Aboriginal Australian participants in non-compliance with my ethics approval, I receive advice from an Aboriginal cultural consultant to seek modification of that approval to include Aboriginal peoples, which I do from the University Human Ethics Committee in September 2019 [see Sec. 5.5 below for further details about the engagement of cultural consultants]. Aboriginal participants with non-complying interviews are offered the opportunity to withdraw their data from the study or re-consent under the new approval, and all choose the latter. Copies of the resultant "Participant Information Statement and Informed Consent Forms #2" [PICF] can be found in Appendix L.

5.2.3 Sampling and in-depth interviewing

The initial criteria for sampling are that participants either have knowledge of the 'Family Therapy Movement in Aotearoa New Zealand' between 1989 and 1995 or are actively involved in developing 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand today. Such people are identified from extant literature, or through 'snowball' sampling where enquiries with one source leads to the identification of previously unknown sources of participants. Initial contact inviting participation is made via email with PICF materials attached. Email addresses are obtained anonymously or, as a last resort, from an unheralded phone-

call to the potential participant. By agreeing to be interviewed for this study, it is hoped that participants will gain satisfaction from imparting their knowledge about 'family therapy' and/or cultural justice issues in Aotearoa New Zealand and/or benefit from in-depth discussion on possible future developments for 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Consistent with my orientation towards "turn[ing] up the volume on […] lesser but still present participants" (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 226) in the 'FTMANZ' [see Sec.'s 3.1, 6.3, & 7.2], I choose not to interview one or two of the most prominent figures in the 'FTMANZ' whose voices are dominant and readily accessible in textual data, while three or four other prominent figures either do not reply to my emails or decline my invitations, with two of these people voicing concern that my historical enquiries may be, or already are, upsetting for particular people they are closely connected to.

In all, I conduct 52 interviews involving 52 participants, where:

- Interviews range between 20 and 180 minutes in duration, with mean and medium durations of 90 minutes.
- Interviews are conducted in participants' homes [x 23], workplaces [x 24], a neutral institutional space hired for the purpose [x 3], outdoors sitting on a park bench [x 1], and inside a McDonald's restaurant [x 1].
- Nine interviews are audio-only via telephone, 4 are audio-visual via Skype, and the remainder are in-person.
- Twenty-three interviewees [44%] are women and 29 [56%] are men.
- Indigenous Peoples make up 50% of all interviewees: Māori, 15 [29%]; Pacific Peoples, 5 [10%]; Aboriginal, 6 [11%]; Pākehā, 16 [31%]; Non-Aboriginal Australian, 8 [15%]; Non-Indigenous North American, 2 [4%].
- Three interviews are with 2 participants together, and one is with 3 participants together.
- Three participants are interviewed twice; two to complete their first interviews and one to seek further data following theoretical sampling.

See Table 5-C on the following page for research participant details.[2]

2. I acknowledge the limitations of anonymity for research participants whose actions during 'FTMANZ' events may be recognisable to others who were there or have heard about them. This is one reason why participants are given the opportunity to veto personal content, which some have chosen to do.

Figure 5-C: Participants' identifiers, ethnicity, gender, and social worlds

[P1 refers to participant number 1, etc; NB: P3 & P36 are unused]

ID	Participant details
P1	Pākehā, man, mental health clinician
P2	Pākehā, woman, clinical psychologist
P4	Pākehā, man, family therapist
P5	Pākehā, woman, family therapist
P6	Non-Indigenous North American, man, family therapist
P7	Pākehā, woman, social work educator
P8	Pākehā, man, family therapist
P9	Pākehā/Non-Indigenous North American-born, man, psychotherapist
P10	Pākehā, woman, family therapist, ANZJFT Board
P11	Pākehā, woman, national mental health manager
P12	Māori, man, social work educator
P13	Pākehā, man, social welfare national manager
P14	Pākehā, woman, psychologist
P15	Māori, man, activist
P16	Māori, woman, whānau-hapū-iwi development educator
P17	Māori, man, whānau-hapū-iwi development social worker
P18	Māori, man, mental health manager
P19	Māori, man, tohunga
P20	Pākehā, man, psychiatrist
P21	Sāmoan, woman, family therapist
P22	Sāmoan, woman, social worker
P23	Māori, woman, social worker
P24	Sāmoan, woman, family therapist
P25	Pākehā, man, politician
P26	Māori, man, family therapist, ANZJFT Board
P27	Aboriginal, woman, government official
P28	Non-Aboriginal Australian/NZ-born/Ngāi Tahu, man, family therapist, ANZJFT Board
P29	Māori, woman, activist
P30	Māori, man, activist
P31	Pākehā, woman, social worker
P32	Cook Islands, man, mental health specialist
P33	Tongan, man, mental health specialist

ID	Participant details
P34	Non-Aboriginal Australian, man, family therapist, ANZJFT Board
P35	Māori, man, whānau worker
P37	Non-Aboriginal Australian, man, family therapist
P38	Aboriginal, woman, youth worker
P39	Non-Aboriginal Australian, woman, family therapist
P40	Non-Aboriginal Australian, man, family therapist
P41	Non-Aboriginal Australian, woman, family therapist
P42	Non-Aboriginal Australian, man, national Aboriginal organisation
P43	Aboriginal, man, Aboriginal health council member
P44	Aboriginal, man, health worker
P45	Pākehā, woman, counsellor
P46	Māori, woman, social worker
P47	Māori, woman, counsellor
P48	Māori, man, iwi authority chair
P49	Māori, man, family therapist
P50	Pākehā, man, social worker
P51	Aboriginal, woman, healing support worker
P52	Aboriginal, woman, adoption & foster care worker
P53	Non-Aboriginal Australian/UK-born, woman, family therapist
P54	Pākehā, man, economist

Subtotals:	
Māori Women	5
Māori Men	10
Sāmoan Women	3
Tongan Men	1
Cook Islands Men	1
Aboriginal Women	4
Aboriginal Men	2
Non-Aboriginal Australian Women	3
Non-Aboriginal Australian Men	5
Non-Indigenous North American Men	2
Pākehā Women	8
Pākehā Men	8
Total	**52**

Māori Iwi represented among participants are: Ngāi Tahu, Ngāi Tai, Ngāi Tūhoe, Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Hauā, Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Kurī, Ngāti Maru, Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Tamaterā, Ngāti Wairere, Pouakani, Rangitāne, Ngāti Rereahu, Rongomaiwahine, Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti, Te Arawa, Te Ātihaunui-a-Pāpārangi, Te

Rarawa, Te Whānau-ā-Apanui, and Tūwharetoa; while Aboriginal participants are from the Ghangalu, Kaurna, Kuku Yalanji, Kullilli, Mutthi Mutthi, Narrungga, Noongar, and Tharawal nations.

My pre- and post-interview reflections are recorded on a prepared comments sheet [see Appendix M], and all participants agree to their interviews being audio-recorded and transcribed. Transcripts are sent to participants for any editing they require and 60% of them reply, some with supplementary notes that boost the data.

5.3 Data Analysis

5.3.1 Extracting situational elements from data

Situational elements are the human and nonhuman things that matter to individuals or collectives in the situation of inquiry broadly conceived, and I begin data analysis by systemically extracting these elements from each interview transcript and pre- and post-interview comments sheet, and from textual data [see Figures 5-D and Figure 5-E below and on the following page respectively], while also writing a separate memo for each interview analysis and adding memo notes to each textual analysis [see Figure 5-E for the latter].

Figure 5-D: Extracting situational elements from an interview transcript

[Excerpt from analysis of interview #8 with P7 - version 03.07.19]

Interview transcript	**Situational elements**
[CW]: When was that happening? [P7]: Well, I started up at [redacted] in 1980, so I think that was happening by the early mid-80s. It was pretty quick. Yeah. Yeah. And I was an activist feminist, so there was a strong driver from feminists being unhappy with the notion that still somehow women were to blame, you know, the mother was to blame, which was still really strong. I think actually, it revolved around thinking about the power that gurus were having and how New Zealanders were picking [it] up and wanting to work like them, and it didn't work very well for our clients. Most of those interviews, like the one Virginia Satir conducted [during her workshop in Dunedin], weren't really that successful. So there was kind of like: "The power is wrong. We've got to change the power." Yeah.	[SW = social world] SW: Feminist activists Early 80s feminist critique SW: mothers/clients SW: Gurus - influence of overseas trainers Discourse on power of therapist & need for change – origins of 'New Paradigm' SW?

Figure 5-E: Extracting situational elements from textual data [Excerpt from text analysis D4 - version 01.05.19]
Text: Janet Spink (1989a). Editorial. *VAFT Newsletter, September*, 1-2. Situational Elements: family therapy always political; privilege versus accountability; passivity of dominant culture with respect to equity & change; external issues affecting family therapy - colonisation, feminism, nuclear testing, violence, poverty, incest; "my deafness". Social Worlds: VAFT; AU-NZ FT conference 89; Waldegrave and The Family Centre; family therapy services by and for privileged white, middle-class, educated; Maori, Aboriginal, and Samoan peoples; Australian family therapy. Discourses: "I was struck by an overwhelming sense of grief and helplessness … stories of white colonisation … how privileged I was to be white, middle-class and educated"; "It was an interesting experience for me to feel the power of the Maori community in NZ"; "Can family therapists be apolitical?"; "There is little value in guilt, but there seemed a lot of value in me re-examining the way I work, with whom, and how I choose to be political". Memoing: Spink's reflections on her privilege rather than her responsibility, embracing her social position rather than challenging it; 'Interesting experience' - passive observer. What is her experience? What meaning does she make of it? The writer reflects on her experiences at the 89 conference with input from extant literature. Where is the critical analysis?

The elements from each data set[1] are then transferred to separate Data Analysis Sheets that I prepare for the purpose [see Appendix M], where they are sorted into three time periods: pre-1989, 1989-1995, and post-1995. Eventually, all of the Sheets are sorted into a separate overarching memo for each time period[2] from which SA maps are constructed.

5.3.2 Situational mapping of historical discourse materials

SA's three analytical mapping types can make SA seem more procedural and representative of the 'complete reality' of a situation than is intended. SA maps are inherently 'messy' and getting comfortable with being uncomfortable is a tension SA researchers must embrace. SA maps promote thinking about, digging into, rupturing, and abstracting data in ways that assist the researcher to see their situations of inquiry

NB: Footnote numbering in Microsoft Word automatically starts again from 1 after the creation of a new layout, as occurs when changing from one column per page to two columns per page to accommodate Figure 5-C two pages previously.

1. A data set might comprise an interview transcript, a pre- and post-interview comments sheet, and supplementary notes provided by a participant after their interview; or it might be two or more related texts, such as when the ANZJFT "Network News" section invites written responses from around the network on a given family therapy-related topic.

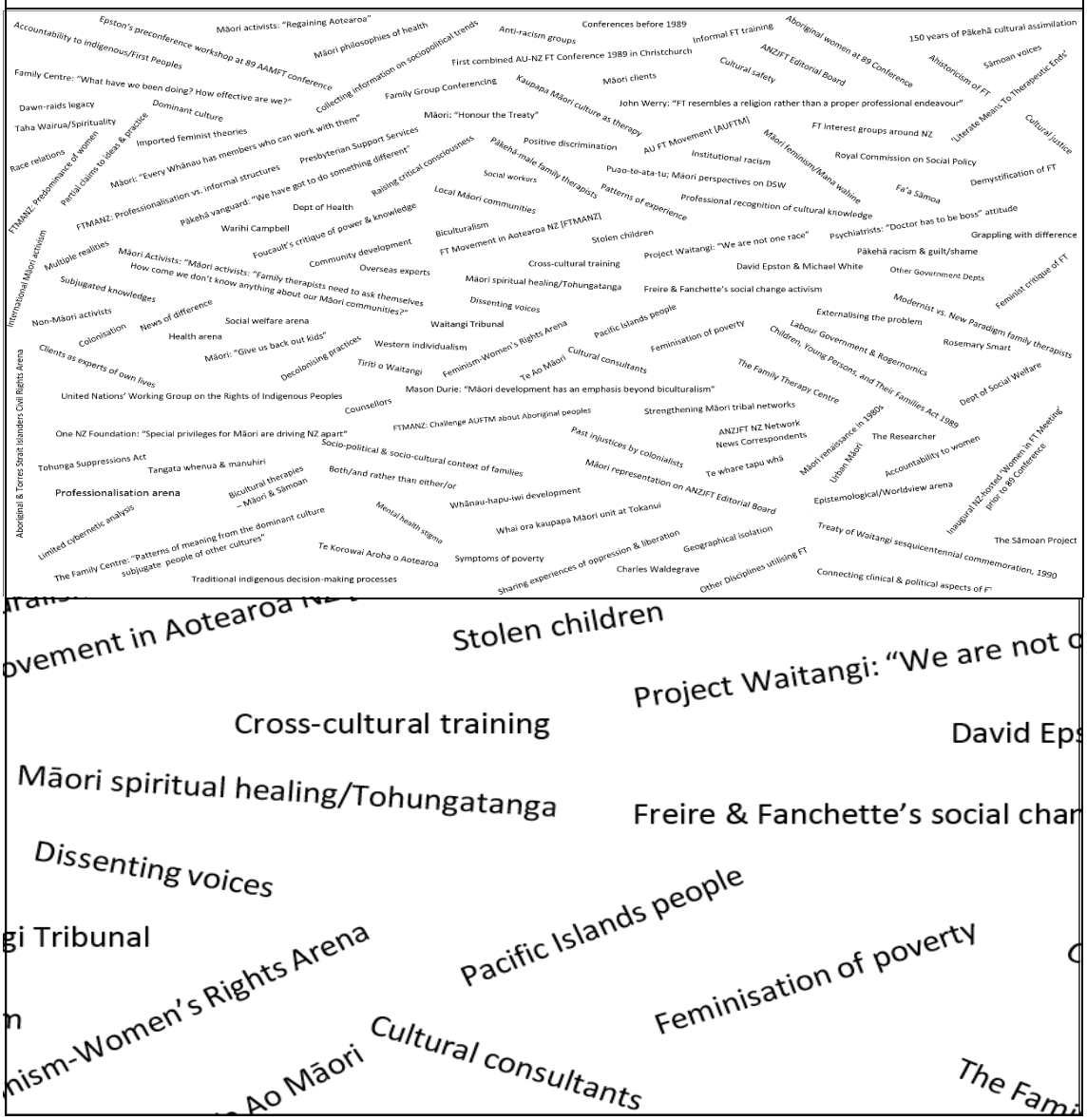
2. These methods of sorting or 'ordering' my analytical data grow organically as I get to grips with how to analyse the data. In effect, they take the place of the Ordered Situational Mapping described by Clarke (2005) and Clarke et al. (2018).

‘differently’. If their aim were ‘comprehensive accuracy’ then less obvious voices, contestations, and opportunities to theorise might go unnoticed (Clarke et al., 2018).

My main situational maps zoom in on the 1989 and 1995 family therapy conferences respectively [see Figure 5-F below for the 1989 map with a magnified portion depicted below]. As further data sets are analysed for situational elements, the maps build in size and density and I gain an appreciation of the breadth of these situations, the relatedness of some elements and the seeming unrelatedness of others. Already some elements carry a greater sense of importance, while others seem unlikely to be fully investigated for pragmatic reasons.

Figure 5-F: ‘Messy’ situational map of the 1989 family therapy conference

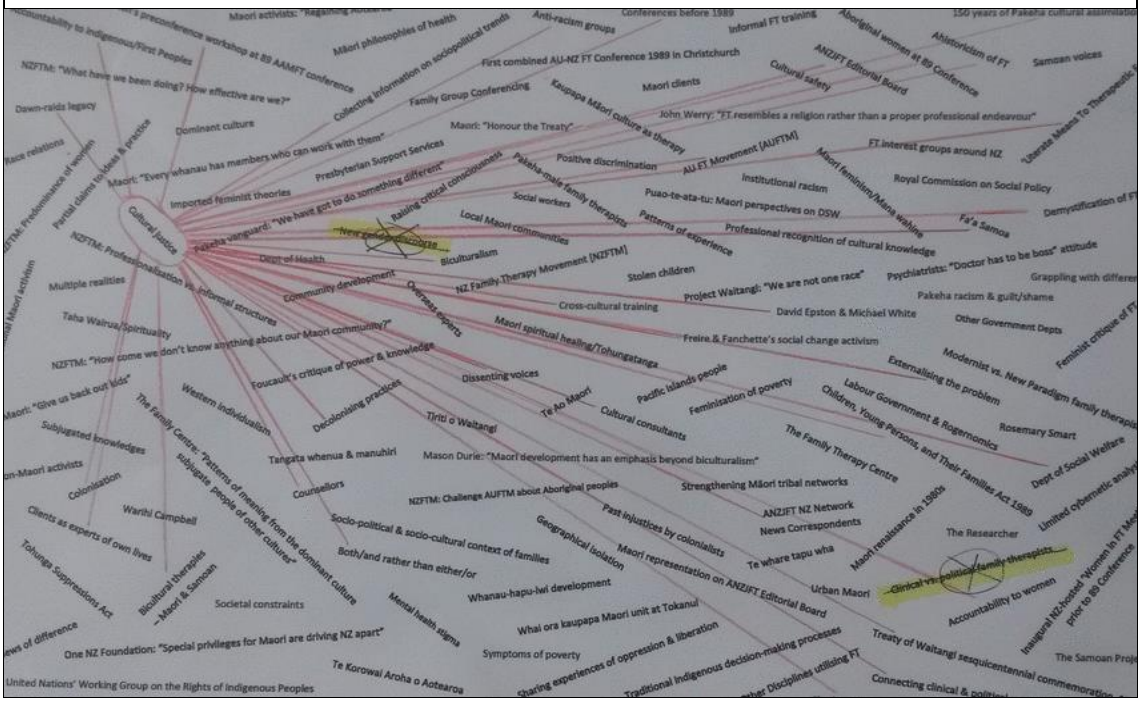
[S map #6 with magnified portion below - version 12.03.20]



A situational map reaches saturation when no new elements come to light from relevant data sources and this is the best time to do a thorough relational analysis. Relational analyses involve consideration of how every possible pair of elements on a map might be related in ways that are not obvious, and memoing any thoughts about this. It is a painstaking process that centres on each element in turn, as illustrated in Figure 5-G [below] with respect to the element of "cultural justice" at the 1989 conference.

Figure 5-G: Relational mapping of the situational element "cultural justice" at the 1989 family therapy conference

[Photo reproduction of relational map #6 - version 17.03.20]



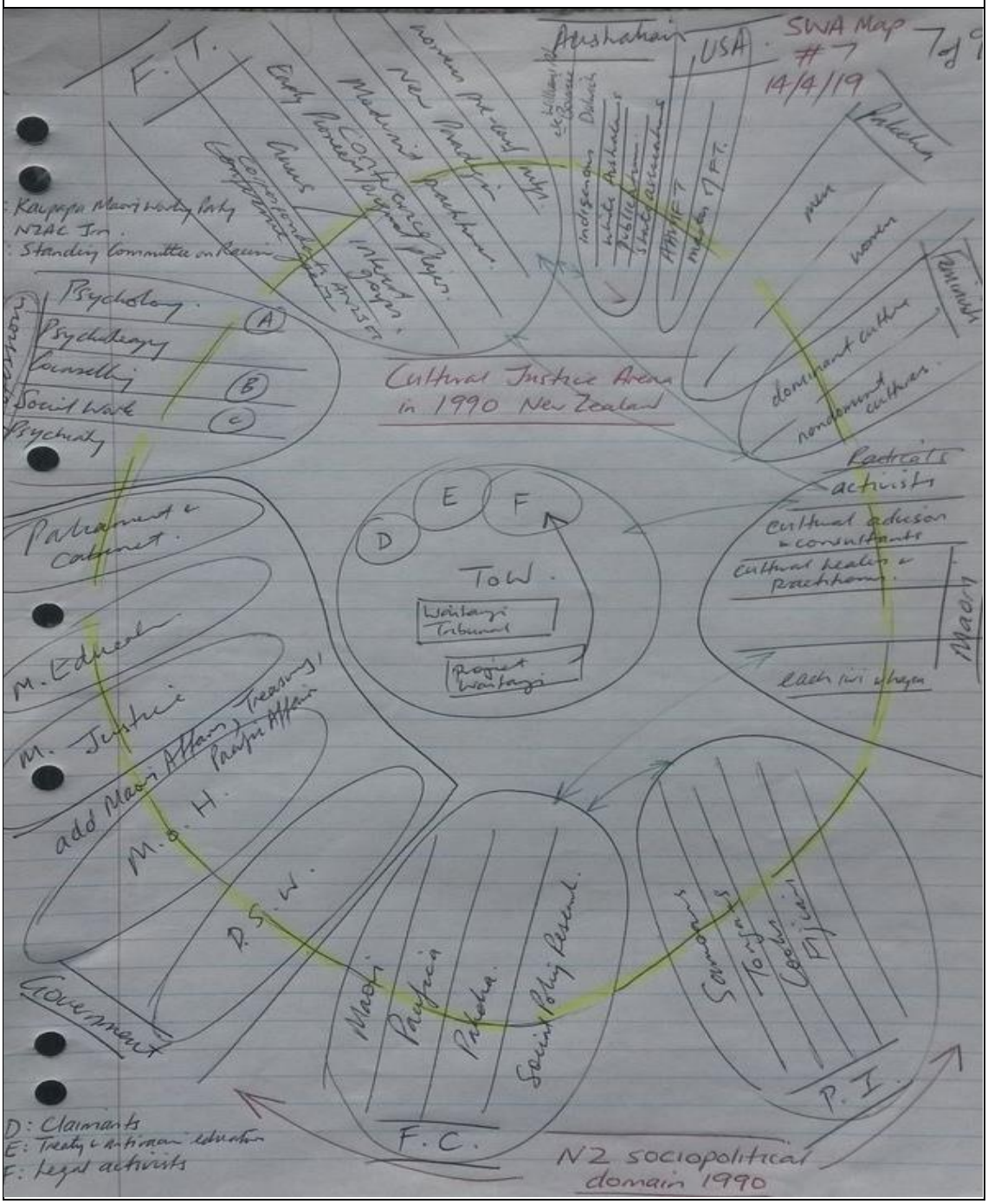
5.3.3 Social worlds/arenas mapping of historical discourse materials

The social world/arenas map [SW/A map] is the most widely used and generative SA map in this study. SW/A maps "lay out the major collective actors—social worlds, organisations, institutions, etc.—and the arenas of commitment and discourse with which they are engaged in ongoing negotiations in the situation of inquiry" (Clarke et al., 2018, p. xxiv). Each collective actor is a distinctive "universe of discourse" (Mead, 1934) and SA is well equipped to study those discourses that are dominated, silenced, silent, or missing, in a situation of inquiry.

Cultural justice is an early sensitising concept that emerges from data collection and analysis, prompting me to roughly sketch a SW/A map depicting all the collectives I think might have a stake in contesting issues in the cultural justice arena during 1989, including collectives external to the 'FTMANZ' who may not be represented at a family therapy conference but might still be influencing it [see 5-H below].

Figure 5-H: Rough sketch of the cultural justice arena in Aotearoa New Zealand during 1989 [first sketch as one whole arena]

[Photo reproduction of SWA 7 - version 14.04.19]

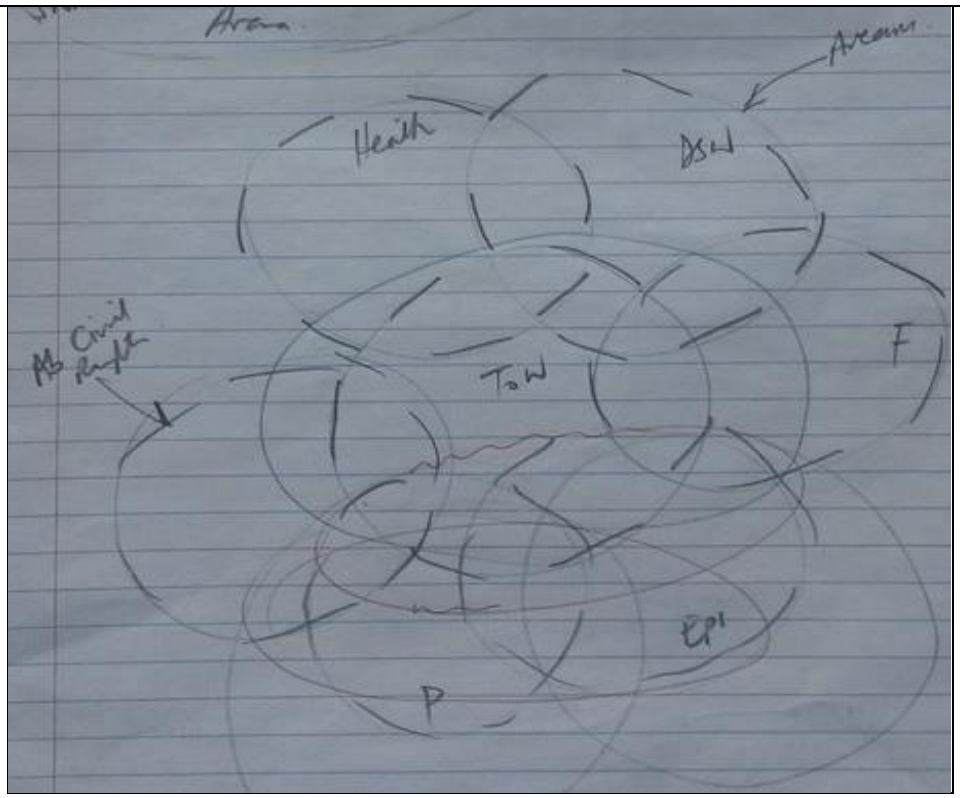


5.3.4 Theoretical sampling guides further textual and interview data collection

By taking a wide view of the cultural justice arena in 1989, as depicted in Figure 5-H, I am 'guided' to look for data from worlds external to the 'FTMANZ'. I review a second round of sociopolitical literature and seek interviewees from among decision makers, ministerial advisors, cultural consultants, managers, and practitioners of different cultures, who represent the government's executive, government departments, iwi authorities, non-governmental organisations, and universities. Each collective is also active in other social justice-related arenas and I come to realise that most of these arenas have some amount of overlap with the cultural justice arena. When I consult two well-respected social histories of Aotearoa New Zealand, one Māori (Walker, 1990) and the other Pākehā (King, 2003), I visualise a map of overlapping social justice-related arenas that the 'FTMANZ' appears to be active in during 1989, with the cultural justice arena at its centre, as depicted in Figure 5-I below.

Figure 5-I: Rough sketch of the social justice-related arenas the 'FTMANZ' is active in during the 1989 family therapy conference

[Photo reproduction of SWA Map 14 - version 01.10.20]

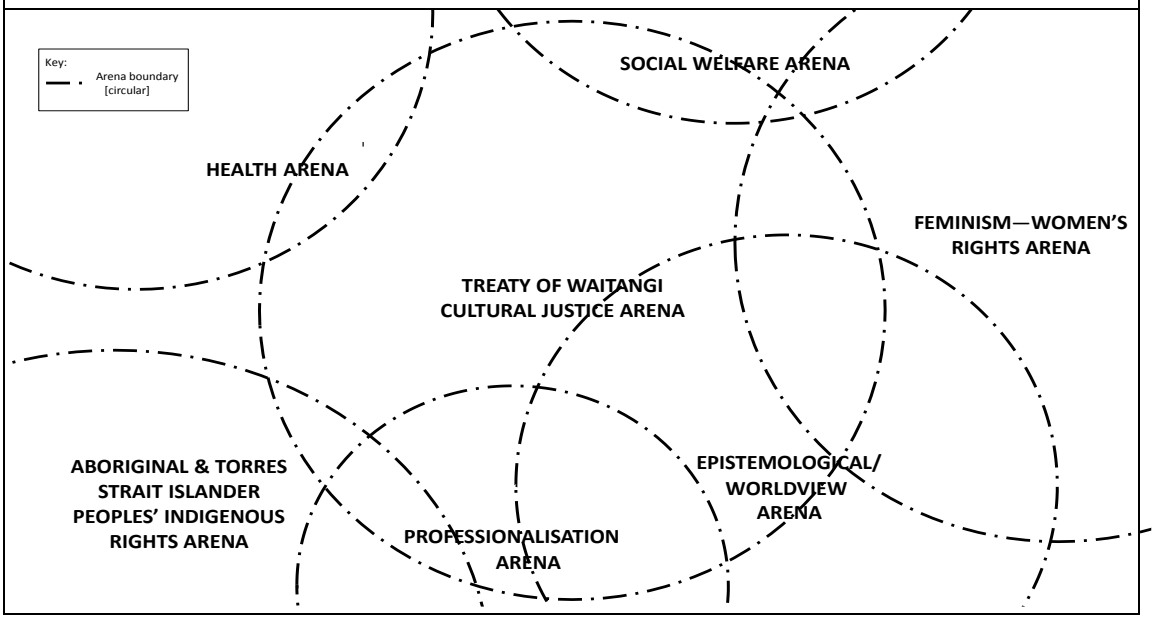


Suddenly, I have a way of depicting the broad situation of the 'FTMANZ' that goes well beyond 'family therapy'. This reminds me of moments in family therapy practise when I might work with an individual client or perhaps a couple, and later they invite their whole family or extended family to a session, and their situation looks so different.

With further SW/A sketch mapping, a clearer schematic conceptualisation of the social justice-related arenas appears [see Figure 5-J below] and this becomes the foundation on which I draw SW/A maps for the 1989, 1993, and 1995 conferences, which appear in Chapters 7, 8, and 9 respectively, replete with a level of detail obtained iteratively by analysing both textual and interview data about each representative world.

Figure 5-J: Final version of the social justice-related arenas the 'FTMANZ is active in during the 1989 family therapy conference [schematic only]

[Reproduction of Figure 7-A]



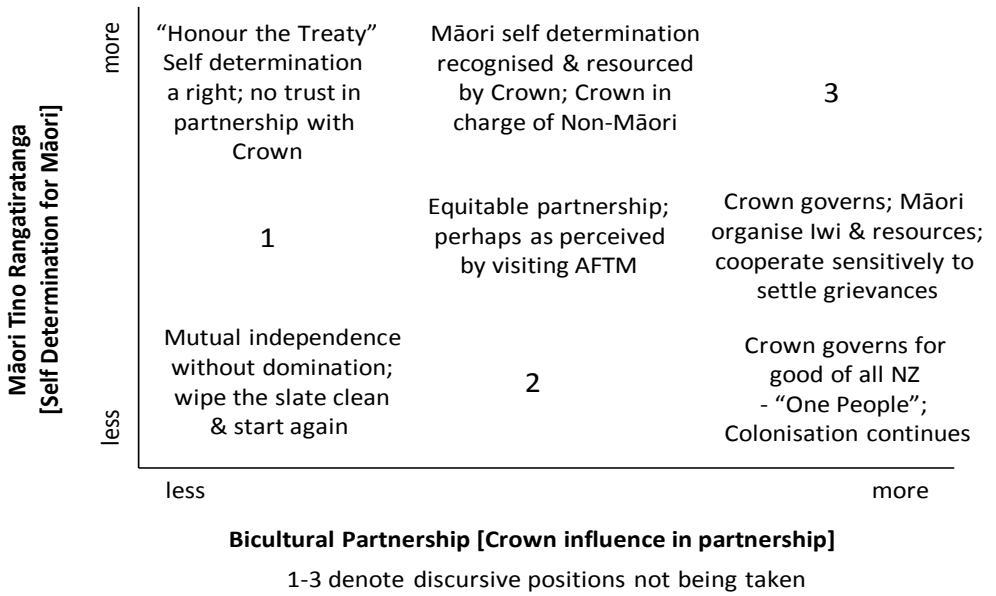
5.3.5 Positional mapping of historical discourse materials

"Positional maps lay out the major positions taken and not taken in discussions, debates, and extant discourse materials in the situation of inquiry vis-à-vis particular axes of difference, concern, and controversy about important issues" (Clarke et al., 2018, p. xxiv). In this study, they are a valuable tool for systemically checking what discursive positions are not being taken when emotions run high and fuel conflict in the 'FTMANZ'. They

ask two important questions: what new ideas might be available if absent discursive position were taken up?, and who might already be occupying an absent position but is not being heard? An example of a positional map is provided in Figure 5-K below with respect to the issue of bicultural partnership in the Treaty of Waitangi Cultural Justice Arena, which is a national arena of debate in Aotearoa New Zealand that the 'FTMANZ' is locally active in.

Figure 5-K: Positional map of discourses on bicultural partnership in Aotearoa New Zealand during 1989

[Photo reproduction of Positional Map 1 - version 18.03.20]



1-3 denote discursive positions not being taken

The apparent absence of discursive positions 1-3 seem to incline interactions towards polarisation and is the subject of theoretical sampling later in the study.

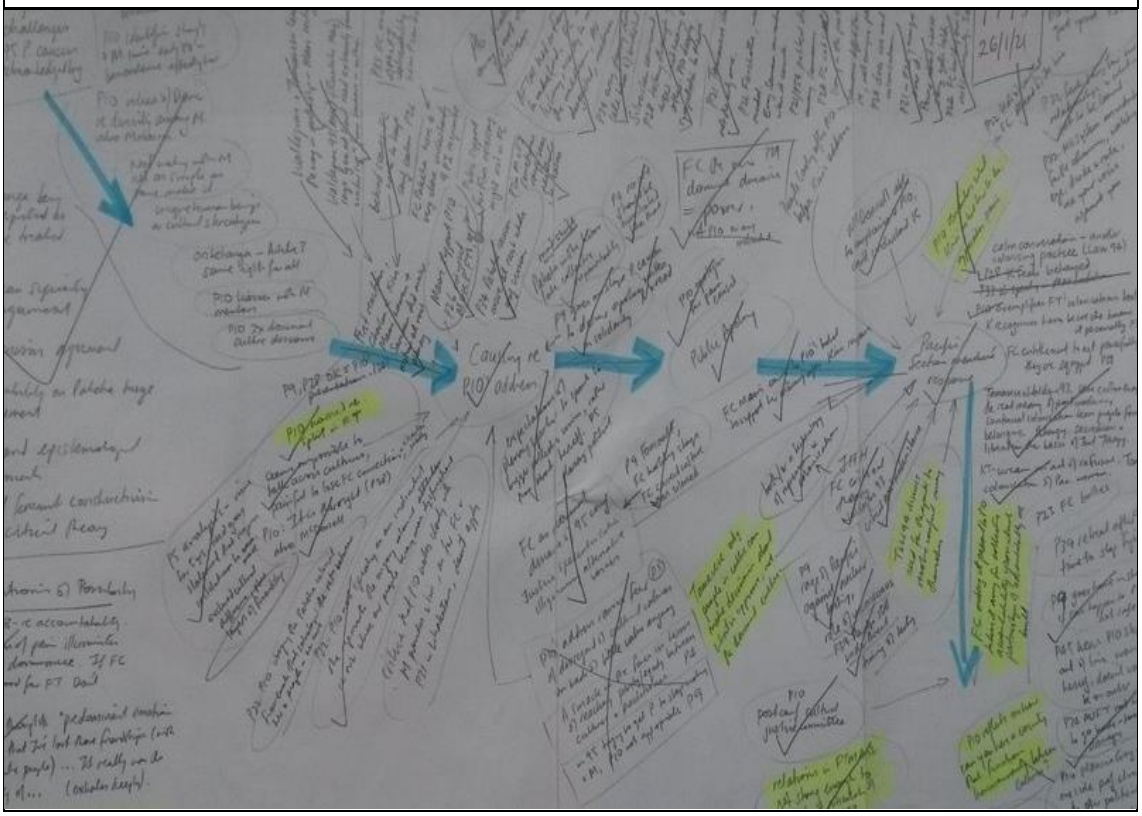
5.4 Writing Up

Analytical writing about the relations between collectives as they appear in data is a matter of great importance because SA is primarily a relational method that theorises about lesser known or marginalised relationships that might otherwise go unnoted. As the family therapy conferences in this study are organised to follow a chronological programme of events, the development of collective interactions at those conferences are

also traced, in all their spontaneity, heterogeneity, and complexity, via chronological narratives. To guard against further loss of marginalised voices, I prepare two resources, in addition to my maps and memos, with which to guide my writing. One is a series of sketch diagrams of the social worlds and discourses interacting in a given event—the example in Figure 5-L [below] depicts interactions between social worlds, events, and discourses during and after P10's plenary address at the 1995 conference—and the other is a patchwork of dozens of notes extracted from memos and placed in 'squares', which I cross off one at a time when drafting those narratives to ensure that every analysis is considered, even if it is eventually deemed to be of no consequence to the situation I am writing about. The example in Figure 5-M [on the following page] is one of two full pages also relating to P10's address.

Figure 5-L: Sketch diagram of social worlds, events, and discourses interacting during and after P10's plenary address at the 1995 family therapy conference

[Photo reproduction of "P10's address at the 1995 conference" - version 06.01.21]



[see Figure 5-M on the following page]

Figure 5-M: Writing-up 'squares' capturing events and discourse relating to P10's plenary address at the 1995 family therapy conference

[photo reproduction of 'squares', page 1 of 2 - version 13.02.21]

5.5 Feedback From Participants And Cultural Consultants

Draft chapters are submitted for feedback to every participant whose data is in some way contributing to their content, with participants' direct quotations highlighted in the personalised copies they receive. Feedback is received from 42 out of 52 participants

[77%] and ranges from one-line affirmations to extended dialogue about something a participant wants changed.

To extend my accountability beyond individual participants to the broad cultures they may be seen to be representing, I approach Māori, Pacific, and Aboriginal cultural leaders I am either previously acquainted with or meet while researching, and ask for their recommend of cultural consultants who might provide independent feedback on chapters that interpret the voices and cultures of their people. A major limitation of this approach is that these broad cultures each comprise many different nations and communities of peoples, and no single consultant or group supporting that consultant can speak for them all. Subsequently, I provide draft chapters to one consultant from each broad cultural grouping, none of whom are previously known to me. In one case I pay a modest sum for their service, while the other two provide their feedback gratis. Their broad overviews are positive and assist me to better represent their cultural perspectives.

5.6 Limitations Of The Study

The limitations of this study begin, to my mind, with its representation of culture, gender, and class. I am a middle-class, 60-year-old, Pākehā man; a product of the baby boomer era, universal employment, State housing, and free tertiary education. I have not immersed myself in any other culture or language and have few acquaintances who are Māori or Pacific people, none of whom are close friends besides my sister's now-adult adopted daughter [Te Whakatōhea, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, and the Cook Islands] and son [Ngāti Tūwharetoa]. The supervisors who are guiding me through this study are successful Pākehā academics from Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, and my university department, The Bouverie Centre, though home to an indigenous family therapy training programme run by Aboriginal people for Aboriginal people, is a dominant-culture institution.

The limitations I am speaking about in the statements above are captured in the following words by Sāmoan family therapist, Taimalieutu Tamasese:

> It is only people who belong to a culture who should make decisions about what is, or is not, oppressive or limiting for them. This is *not* the prerogative of the dominant culture.
>
> (Tamasese, quoted in Tamasese & Laban, 1993, p. 25)

I agree, and for this reason, while I welcome Indigenous Peoples making any use they may want to make of this study, I will not make recommendations or suggest future pathways for them to consider, as it is not my place to do so [see Chapter 12].

In a similar vein, mine is only one Pākehā telling of a seven-year period in the history of 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand. Other people would tell that history differently, and I hope they do.

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PART THREE

HISTORIES OF THE FUTURE

Preamble

READERS OF FOUCAULT'S GENEALOGICAL WORK MAY BE FAMILIAR with his concept of the "history of the present" (Foucault, 1977, p. 31), "the idea of using history as a means of critical engagement with the present" (Garland, 2014, p. 367). While following Clarke et al.'s (2018) interpretations of Foucault through SA, I have taken the liberty of customising his phrase for the title of Part Three[1] to better match the cultural beliefs of Tangata Whenua/'Indigenous Peoples' in Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia. In Part One, I acknowledge being willingly led in this study by the whakataukī, "Kia whakatōmuri te haere whakamua/I walk backwards into the future with my eyes fixed on my past" (Rameka, 2016). Later an Aboriginal research participant spontaneously reiterates this:

> You can't fix the future if you can't look at the past because the past is the future. That is what we still believe today and that is across the board. It is the past that is going to heal the future.
>
> ⟨P51: Aboriginal, woman, foster care worker⟩[2]

This orientation to the past informing the future is reflected to me by Māori, Pacific, and Aboriginal research participants who speak about the antecedents to events in the Treaty of Waitangi Cultural Justice and Pacific Peoples' Post-Colonial Justice Arenas between 1989 and 1995 as holding the keys to unlocking understandings about that time period.

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1. Epston coins a similar phrase, "Histories For The Future", for approaches that go back over history "watching for things that got lost or got put to one side" (Epston, C. White, & Denborough, 2016, p. 40).
2. 'P51' is a research participant identifier, in this case, Participant 51 [see Table 5-C in Chapter 5 for a full list of participant identifiers and related details]. When a participant identifier is cited for the first time in a section or subsection of this thesis, it includes a suffix with the ethnicity, gender, and related social worlds memberships of that participant. The suffix is not repeated for subsequent citations in that section or subsection, except when associated with a block quotation.

These antecedents are explored in Chapters 6 and 9 for events predating the 1989 and 1995 family therapy conferences respectively. Chapter 6 comprises two main sections. The first revisits the origins of the Treaty of Waitangi Cultural Justice Arena in 1840, before tracing the activism and renaissance of the 1970s and 1980s, the empowerment of the Treaty in legislation and the Courts, the politics of bicultural partnership, and the strong emergence of Māori independence. My writing on these matters is informed by a second phase of "ongoing literature review […] informed by raw data" (Thornberg & Dunne, 2019, p. 211) [see Sec. 5.3.4], combined with the voices of research participants mediated by my editing. The second section introduces the 'FTMANZ', its constituent subworlds and segmentations, and their commitments in various social justice-oriented arenas in 1989 that influence its collective actions leading up to that year's binational conference. In Chapter 9, I update events in the Treaty of Waitangi Cultural Justice Arena between 1989 and 1995, and add details of activism emerging in the Pacific Peoples' Post-Colonial Justice Arena.

In Chapters 7, 8 and 10 respectively, the family therapy conferences held in Aotearoa New Zealand during 1989, 1993, and 1995 are individually presented and analysed for their intraworld and interworld activities, and the conditions of possibility that each situation offers the 'FTMANZ'. These chapters are substantial responses to Research Question 1: "How do changes in the situation of the 'Family Therapy Movement in Aotearoa New Zealand' between 1989 and 1995 come to be?", and Question 2: "What are the conditions of possibility at various times during this period?" [Sec. 3.4]. Later in Part Four, I consider the last of the three research questions: "How might these historical reflections contribute to the diversity of thought about the future of 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand today?"

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6

ANTECEDENTS TO EVENTS IN THE TREATY OF WAITANGI CULTURAL JUSTICE ARENA DURING 1989 AND SOCIAL JUSTICE COMMITMENTS OF THE 'FAMILY THERAPY MOVEMENT IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND'

I do offer this encouragement, that the more Pakeha society keeps seeing Maori initiatives as a threat, the more it will delay its own destiny.

John Rangihau[1]

WHEN IN AUGUST A SUBANTARCTIC SQUALL SWEEPS OVER the protective barrier that the Port Hills provide Christchurch City, icy rain rakes the streets and parks, freezing everything caught outdoors. So it is on the morning in 1989 when those hardy folk who gather on the footpath and berm outside Rehua Marae[2] wait to be called onto the marae grounds for the pōwhiri/'welcoming ceremony' that will begin the first combined Australian and New Zealand Family Therapy Conference. Among the visiting manuhiri/'guests' is a contingent of forty to fifty people from Australia that includes four Aboriginal women who are the inaugural First Nations Peoples of Australia

1. Rangihau (1987, p. 7)
2. A marae is an open area of land in front of the wharenui/'meeting house' where formal greetings and discussions take place. The word marae is also used to describe the complex of buildings around that open area.

to be invited to attend a family therapy conference on either side of the Tasman. Readying themselves inside the marae grounds are the Tangata Whenua, who are the local people of Rehua hosting the pōwhiri and the mostly Christchurch-based conference organisers—members of the 'Family Therapy Movement in Aotearoa New Zealand' ['FTMANZ']—who Rehua now embrace as 'part of us' since a smaller pōwhiri held months before to open the first planning hui/'meeting' for this day.

How this 1989 conference comes to be infused with Māori tikanga/'customs' and to include Māori and Pacific Peoples, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians, Pākehā New Zealanders, and a smattering of Northern Hemisphere guests—proponents of one form of 'family therapy' or another—meeting together for the first time to discuss their "Patterns of Experience"[3], when other family therapy conferences around the world are dominated by Western cultures, is until now a story untold. Of the innumerous antecedents to that story none is more fundamental to the very existence of contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand society than Te Tiriti o Waitangi/'The Treaty of Waitangi' (Waitangi Tribunal, 2016a, 2016b, 2016c) [the Treaty]. By the late 1980s the social, legal, and economic stature of the Treaty, "which for so long had been neglected by the Government",[4] is given a boost on the back of a flax-roots Māori renaissance (Moon, 2009; Walker, 1990, p. 211). These are the Treaty of Waitangi Cultural Justice years, "when Government, Pākehā and Māori made race relations the preoccupation of the times" (Ihimaera, Long, Ramsden, & Williams, 1993, p. 17).

In this milieu the 'FTMANZ' becomes increasingly politicised in response to the poverty, unemployment, inadequate housing, and cultural and gender discrimination that many of their clients and communities face (Waldegrave, 1990a), increasingly so since 1984 when Aotearoa New Zealand becomes "a laboratory for pure 'free market' capitalism" (Kelsey, 1988). These respondents are social, community, and cultural

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3. Taken from the 1989 conference title (Conference Convenor, 1989).

4. New Zealand laws are monocultural from the outset in the 1850s until the Town and Country Amendment Act (1974) takes "cognisance of the culture of the colonised" (Walker, 1990, p. 212). The first time a New Zealand Court finds legislation to be unlawful because it is inconsistent with the principles of the Treaty is in 1987 ("New Zealand Māori Council v Attorney-General," 1987). The first settlement of a Treaty grievance is in 1992 ("Treaty of Waitangi (Fisheries Claims) Settlement Act," 1992).

workers, mental health clinicians, counsellors, and educators; a loosely-bound advance on the New Zealand-wide Family Therapy Interest Group network begun in 1978 (Epston, 1981a), who meet annually at national conferences since 1983 and by 1986 or 1987 constitute an unofficial 'Family Therapy Movement in Aotearoa New Zealand' ['FTMANZ'—see Chapter 2 for details].

> Anyone of that era who was interested in family therapy, it seemed to me, was interested in social justice. […] We all gravitated because of our social justice view.
>
> ⟨P5*:* Pākehā, woman, family therapist, senior leaders' group⟩

Central to the growing commitment within the 'FTMANZ' to just and equitable partnerships between Māori and Pākehā in the practice and organisation of 'family therapy'—and beyond to the whole of Aotearoa New Zealand society—is the "sacredness and significance" of the Treaty (J. Campbell, Casey, Howard, Phillips, & Waldegrave, 1990; M. Durie, 1989a, 1989b; McDowell, 1990a; Tapping, 1990b, p. 9; Waldegrave, 1989a). The Treaty is an effective "living instrument" ("New Zealand Māori Council v Attorney-General," 1987, p. 14) for the negotiation of past, present, and future matters of social, political, economic, and constitutional importance to Aotearoa New Zealand (Orange, 1987). As such, it is also an intensely contested "boundary object" (Star & Griesemer, 1989, p. 393) at the intersection of several social worlds, each of which may ascribe starkly different values and meanings to it at different times (Star & Griesemer, 1989).

Antecedents to events in the Treaty of Waitangi Cultural Justice Arena during 1989 are the focus of this chapter. In the first of two main sections [Sec. 6.1] I construct a brief and partial chronicle[5] of the life of the Treaty up to 1989 drawn from analyses of Māori research participant interviews and extant literature-of-the-day as data. While Crown and Pākehā views on the Treaty are dominant by virtue of their control of government and economic resources through majority rule (Walker, 1990), it is Māori discourse that is

5. This chronical contains a small sample of the total number of matters pertaining to cultural justice in NZ up to 1989. The matters chosen for inclusion are those raised by participants during research interviews or by authors of literature-as-data [see Appendix J for list of latter], as interpreted by me. For further reading on the Treaty, see https://waitangitribunal.govt.nz/ publications-and-resources/.

less heard and for that reason the amplification of Māori research participants' voices matter most to this study.[6]

The second main section [Sec.6.2] focuses on the 'FTMANZ' in 1989 to reveal the subworlds that comprise it and their commitments to action in at least six social justice arenas in Aotearoa New Zealand and one in Australia. With these backdrops in place, a brief final section completes the scene setting before we re-join the pōwhiri for the 1989 conference in Chapter 7.

6.1 Treaty Of Waitangi Cultural Justice Arena Prior To 1989

6.1.1 The Treaty

Since 1840 Māori seeking honour for the Treaty know theirs is "ko whawhai tonu mātou, a struggle without end" (Walker, 1990), while for Pākehā and their governments who turn a deaf ear to that struggle for nearly 150 years, "a residue of guilt remains" (Orange, 1987, p. 226). This predicament is traceable to ambiguities between Māori- and English-language versions of the Treaty (Waitangi Tribunal, 2016a, 2016b; 2016c, see Appendices A-C of this thesis for te reo Māori version, a reo Māori to English translation version, and an English version of the Treaty respectively), which the Crown[7] may suspect in 1840 but neither acknowledge nor resolve with Māori.[8] Māori-language versions grant the Crown kawanatanga over Aotearoa, which is a limited concession of power equivalent

6. Although containing excerpts from Māori research participants' interviews, this chronical is my construction and is not a Māori construction. In an attempt to increase my accountability to Māori, I have submitted this chapter to each Māori participant inviting any requirements they may have in relation to my utilisation of their words [e.g.: modification, addition, or removal of words] and also to a Māori cultural consultant who is not a research participant [see Sec 5.5 for details].

7. In 1840, Crown signatories to the Treaty represent the British monarch of the era, Queen Victoria. After many small steps towards independence since the Constitution Act 1852, NZ cuts all ties with the British Parliament with a new Constitution Act 1986, though the reigning monarch is still the official head of state, with their representative in NZ—the governor general—nominated by the government of the day. For Crown perspectives on the Treaty in the late 1980s see: Department of Internal Affairs (1988); Hill (2009); Luxton (1989); Palmer (1989).

8. The Treaty is signed by over 500 rangatira/'chiefs' at approximately fifty meetings held around NZ during 1840. The rangatira represent many, though not all, Iwi/'Nations' and most sign a Māori-language version after it is read to the gathering. Some refuse to sign, while many others are not given the opportunity as meetings are not held in their regions. (Orange, 1989).

to governorship,[9] whereas English-language versions refer to Māori ceding sovereignty.[10] Furthermore, in Māori-language versions the Crown guarantee Māori tino rangatiratanga over their land and properties of all kinds, a concept Māori equate with self-determination independent of Pākehā, whereas English-language versions only guarantee Māori possession for as long as they desire to retain it,[11] leaving Māori open to dispossession in perpetuity (Orange, 1987).

In te ao Māori/'the Māori worldview', the Treaty is imbued with wairua that guides how people are to relate to it (Walker, 1990). With many Māori embracing wairua Karaitiana/'Christianity' prior to 1840, their sense that the Treaty is like a biblical kawenata/'covenant' between them and Queen Victoria is endorsed by attending missionaries at Waitangi. To those British present, the religious analogy is part and parcel of securing sovereignty (Orange, 1987), while for the land-hungry settlers and their colonial governments who exploit Treaty ambiguities from the 1850s onwards (Kelsey, 1984), the spirit of the Treaty seems to hold no particular significance.

By the 1860s, "wars of sovereignty" (Orange, 1989, p. 53) ensue between the Crown and those Iwi/'Nations'[12] who feel deprived of their land when dubious sales by unauthorised individuals are encouraged by the Crown. When by 1870 Crown forces prevail, the Māori they subjugate lose more land to punitive post-war confiscations. "From the end of the wars the various [colonial] governments saw development of the country as more important that recognition of Māori rights" (Orange, 1989, p. 59) and so generational betrayal of the Treaty is normalised among their descendants (E. Durie, Temm, Wilson, & Kenderdine, 1989; Orange, 1987, 1989; Walker, 1990).

> The Crown's story of the Treaty has been based on the presumption that on the 6th of February [1840] every Māori in the country ceded their sovereignty and

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9. One paramount rangatira urges other rangatira to support the Treaty by describing kawanatanga as "the shadow of the land is to the Queen, but the substance remains to us" (Orange, 1987, p. 83).

10. Refer to Article One of the respective Māori- and English-language versions of the Treaty (Waitangi Tribunal, 2016a, 2016b; 2016c, see Appendices A-C in this thesis for copies).

11. Refer to Article Two of the respective Māori- and English-language versions of the Treaty (Waitangi Tribunal, 2016a, 2016b; 2016c, see Appendices A-C in this thesis for copies).

12 "Iwi, hapū, and whānau are commonly translated as tribe, subtribe, and family, but these terms are not their real meaning. They are deliberately chosen terms in a process of colonisation. Tribe is derived from the Latin for 'lowest classes'. To Māori, Iwi means 'nation', derived from Latin for 'to be born of'. Whānau is the verb 'to be born'" ⟨P30⟩.

> gave their independent authority to the Crown. Well, there is nowhere in Māori history where, say, Tūhoe woke up one morning and said, "We don't want to be the boss of Tūhoe anymore. We will go and ask Ngāti Porou[13] to make Tūhoe decisions." It just wasn't a Māori political reality nor a human reality anywhere else. […] That is what I call the great lie of the Treaty and if you accept that it is a lie then the power which the Crown has purported to exercise since then is illegitimate in Treaty terms. […] What was clear in all of the kōrero[/'talk'] in 1840 among our people was, "We want the Crown to come and sort out Pākehā who are not respecting our jurisdiction." So, the Crown has a place to regulate the lives of Pākehā. It has no authority to regulate the lives of Māori.
>
> ⟨P30: Māori, man, activist⟩

> Typical colonial mentality. They [the Crown] are determined about their superiority. They're totally in denial about that.
>
> ⟨P15: Māori, man, activist⟩

6.1.2 Activism

Since the first Treaty deceptions, Māori make continuous efforts to regain Aotearoa as a land in which they control their own destiny (Walker, 1990). That they can look back on this last decade—the 1980s—as being like no other in Māori history in terms of cultural renaissance and associated political, economic, and social gains (Ihimaera et al., 1993) is not some inevitable consequence of persistence. It could so easily have been different.

> We were activists. The 1970s was a very interesting period of time. Things were happening in South East Asia with Vietnam, in Africa, in the USA. Our manual book was that fella's there [pointing to a poster of Guevara]; Fidel Castro and Ché Guevara. […] So we have our little wee secret meetings. Shall we go to war? No, we'll get killed. We won't last five minutes. All of those thinking […] so I spent time with the IRA [Irish Republican Army] and the ANC [African National Congress]. Once you go through all that, you go, "Oh, shit! What about us!" Yeah and that's when we had to look at our own practice and our own history

13. Ngāi Tūhoe and Ngāti Porou are separate central-eastern North Island Iwi.

> so we could look at Rua Kēnana,[14] Te Kooti,[15] Te Whiti-o-Rongomai,[16] and acknowledge the freedom fighters long before their time. In fact, Mahatma Gandhi actually read about Te Whiti-o-Rongomai and followed his concept[17] [of nonviolent resistance]. So, I think that is really the start of a period of mobilising consciousness.
>
> ⟨P15: Māori, man, activist⟩

The activists' crucial strategy to mobilise Māori consciousness involves walking into the future facing their past:

> The turning point in [our] people's thinking was actually seeing the history. […] All those [leading activists] had influence in terms of understanding the principles of colonisation and decolonisation. That was important for Māori because all of a sudden the scales dropped off the eyes and we could see what we had to do to go forward.
>
> ⟨P16: Māori, woman, whānau-hapū-iwi development educator⟩

> I think that once [activist] groups like Ngā Tamatoa[18] [in the 1970s] took stories that had always been told on the marae, off the marae, and started challenging Pākehā, then that shifted the whole dynamic of Māori-Crown relations.
>
> ⟨P30: Māori, man, activist⟩

From the 1970s through the 1980s activists keep up their demands[19] for governments to honour the Treaty and in doing so they inspire a cultural renaissance that transforms Māori into a potent political force (Ihimaera et al., 1993). This is evident when in 1984 the Fourth Labour Government—newly elected with the support of Māori—radically depart from previous governments' minimal recognition of the Treaty by arming a previously insubstantial Waitangi Tribunal[20] with new jurisdiction and an expanded

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14. Rua Kēnana Hepetipa [Ngāi Tūhoe, b. 1868/1869, d. 1937]. See: Binney, Chaplin, and Wallace (1987) and http://www.ngaituhoe.com/folders/tipunaprofiles.html.
15. Te Kooti Ārikirangi Te Turuki [Ngāti Maru, b. 1832, d. 1893]. See: Binney (2012).
16. Te Whiti-o-Rongomai [Te Āti Awa, b. 1830, d. 1907]. See: Keenan (2015).
17. See https://gandhifoundation.org/2009/05/28/te-whiti-o-rongomai-a-forerunner-of-gandhi.
18. Māori activist group operating in the 1970s to promote Māori cultural justice. See: Walker, Maori Organisation on Human Rights, and Nga Tamatoa (1980).
19. For works on Māori protest and renaissance during the 1970s and 1980s, see: Awatere (1984); Harris (2004); Ihimaera (1993); Maxwell (1997); Walker (1990); Walker et al. (1980).
20. The Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 establishes the Waitangi Tribunal to investigate alleged breaches of the Treaty that may occur from 10 October 1975 onwards. The Tribunal is also the only body with authority to interpret the Treaty's English and Māori versions [see Appendices A-C].

membership to hear and make recommendations on grievances retrospective to 1840 (Orange, 1987; "Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act," 1985; Walker, 1990). For Māori this "cast[s] New Zealand firmly into the post-colonial era in which resort to ideology[21] to sustain Pakeha dominance is now untenable" (Walker, 1990, p. 254).

6.1.3 Empowerment

Dimensions of the Treaty that go beyond past grievances to include the maintenance of Māori wellbeing are progressively identified (M. Durie, 1989b). By the early 1980s the big three government-controlled arenas in this regard—social welfare, health, and justice—are all failing Māori through their provision of largely monocultural services based on Pākehā worldviews (Jackson, 1987, 1988; Pomare & de Boer, 1988; Waldegrave & Coventry, 1987). Consequently, the likelihood of being poor, unemployed, homeless, hospitalised, imprisoned or placed in an institutional children's home, dramatically increases if you are a Māori or Pacific adult or child, and more so for women.

Institutional racism in the Department of Social Welfare [DSW] is exposed in the mid-1970s (Auckland Committee on Racism and Discrimination, Nga Tamatoa, & Arohanui Inc., 1979),[22] the early-1980s (Human Rights Commission & Auckland Committee on Racism and Discrimination, 1982) and again in the mid-1980s (Berridge et al., 1985),[23] before a Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Maori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare (1986) is appointed under the leadership of John Rangihau.[24] Their report, Pūao-te-Ata-tū/'Daybreak', sheds new light—and hope—on what has long been known by Māori but unacknowledged or unrecognised by Pākehā: "That Maori people must be involved in making decisions that affect their future. This means direct involvement in [departmental] policy, planning, and service delivery at the tribal and community level."

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21. The ideology dominant among Pākehā is that stated by Lieutenant Governor Hobson at Waitangi in 1840: "He iwi tahi tātou, We are now one people", which provides the basis for the assimilation of Māori and claims that NZ treats its indigenous race well (Orange, 1987).
22. The Auckland Committee On Racism and Discrimination is also known as ACORD.
23. The nine authors are DSW employees in Auckland and members of the feminist Women Against Racism Action Group [WARAG].
24. The Committee of Māori and Pākehā, women and men, travel throughout NZ meeting thousands of people in sixty-five meetings with Māori communities and DSW teams during a year long process.

(p. 18). The report's comprehensive recommendations attack all forms of cultural racism, deprivation, and alienation experienced by nondominant groups, especially Māori.

> The Department was highly criticised for the way they had almost been successful in taking a generation of Māori children and placing them in State care 'for their own good'. In my view, the Department was also interested to devolve some of the risk they were carrying. It was saying, "We accept some of your criticism. We have operated in a way that doesn't recognise your cultural values, and we want to work with you." That was the spoken text, but underneath—whether knowingly or not—the subtext was, "Actually, you are a pain in the arse. Our institutions are full of brown kids, and we can't manage. You lot [Māori], take the mess back!" […] I think Treasury was in there boots and all. It was, "how do we invest this amount of money [in Māori communities] to save this amount of money [by closing existing Departmental facilities]?"
>
> ⟨P23: Māori, woman, social worker⟩

> As a result [of Pūao-te-Ata-tū] all social welfare offices were to build what they called a local district committee,[25] which was representatives elected by the community to give advice and direction to the social workers in DSW on how to increase their effectiveness. […] These committees would use their networks to [do] things like the early release of Māori children from State facilities or advising how to better liaise with families or local groups. […] And this caused turbulence and upset to those who believed in the conventions of professionalism and that the community were your clients [and] they could not be your advisors. That Māori, in general, were the victims and you could not appoint them tomorrow as your guides and ushers. […] So in the 1980s the lines between the professionals and amateurs, beneficiaries and benefactors, victims and redeemers, healers and the sick, they were all getting blurred and the general effect was that some long-running organisations began having huge arguments and debates about their own function, role, and purpose. People like marriage counsellors and family therapists were saying, what have we been doing? how effective are we? and how come we don't know anything about our

25. Specified in Recommendation 6 of the report: "Management Committees drawn from local communities be established for each Social Welfare institution" (Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Maori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare, 1986, p. 11).

> Māori community? We can't even spell their names right. We are not even sure how to get in contact with them.
>
> ⟨P48: Māori, man, iwi authority chair⟩

The practical and philosophical implications of Pūao-te-Ata-tū are translated by the Māori Unit in DSW Head Office for social workers in DSW, allied government departments, and social service agencies funded by the government as:

> a) The direction being taken for Iwi Maori is towards Iwi self sufficiency
> b) Funds and resources […] must progressively be made available for Iwi use
> c) Recruitment of staff and training […] targeted to the requirements of the Iwi
> d) Reallocation of current resources […] for bicultural services
>
> (Department of Social Welfare, 1989, pp. 2-3)

In November 1989 these implications are brought to life in the Children, Young Persons, and Their Families Act (1989), the capstone of Pūao-te-Ata-tū implementation. The Act's first purpose is, "To advance the wellbeing of families and the wellbeing of children and young persons as members of families, whanau, hapu, iwi, and family groups" (p. 448).

> The Family Group Conference[26] [FGC] was the pearl of the new Act […] and that gave decision making about what was best for the children to the family. The Act said that whatever plan is developed as the result of an FGC, the Department *shall* resource it—not just if the Department thinks it can afford it. […] So, in the early years some of that happened and families were resourced.
>
> ⟨P23: Māori, woman, social worker⟩

Yet the fact that it is Pākehā law created and administered by a dominant culture-controlled government does not escape critique:

> The government sells family group conferences as an effective bicultural initiative, but actually it has nothing to do with Māori restorative practice

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26. Provisions for Family Group Conferences require that most decisions about youth offenders and children in need of care and protection be made by their family members. Professionals can have input into conference discussions, but are not entitled to be present when the family makes its decisions. The family is allowed to invite whoever it wants to assist them with their deliberations ("Children, Young Persons, and Their Families Act," 1989, Parts II & IV).

> because the whole idea of restorative justice in Pākehā law is a contradiction of terms. If you are a young Māori and you do wrong, and we say that we will put you through a restorative justice process, what are we restoring you to? We are restoring you to a society that remains prejudiced, biased, economically oppressive. A Māori restorative process would require the restoration of relationships within a communitarian whole that has the power to keep those relationships balanced.
>
> ⟨P30: Māori, man, activist⟩

Meanwhile in the Health Arena, the effects of the colonial government's "Tohunga Suppression Act" (1907),[27] which outlaws tohunga/'traditional healers' in the early Twentieth Century when Māori populations are being decimated by colonisation and European diseases, are still being felt.[28] Whether the Act is meant to catalyse an improvement in Māori health (Lange, 1999), reassert Pākehā dominance (Stephens, 2001), or neutralise a prominent tohunga, the Tūhoe prophet Rua Kēnana (Binney et al., 1987; Voyce, 1989); the resultant fear of prosecution pushes tohunga practice underground (Stephens, 2001) and kaupapa Māori perspectives on health are ignored by mainstream medicine in Aotearoa New Zealand for nearly eighty years.

> Do mainstream [Pākehā] know how the spiritual world of Māori works? I'm talking about Io-matua-kore, Tāne Mahuta, Papatūānuku,[29] and all the Māori gods. All of that make up a Māori paradigm of care and protection and mental order. There is a process of maintenance [for this] that belongs to the tohunga.

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27. "Tohu means 'a sign', so a tohunga is somebody who specialises as the giver of knowledge by working with the signs they have been given" ⟨P19: Māori, man, tohunga⟩. The tone of the Act is well represented in its opening statement: "Whereas designing persons, commonly known as tohungas, practise on the superstition and credulity of the Maori people by pretending to possess supernatural powers in the treatment and cure of disease, the foretelling of future events, and otherwise, and thereby induce the Maoris to neglect their proper occupations and gather into meetings where their substance is consumed and their minds are unsettled, to the injury of themselves and to the evil example of the Maori people generally" (p. 26). The Act is not repealed until 1962.

28. In 1769 when Cook first visits Aotearoa, the population of Māori is estimated at over 100,000 people and by 1840 that figure drops to between 70,000-90,000 people (Pool, 1991, p. 234). The 1901 NZ census records 43,000 Māori [5% of the total population] (von Dadelszen, 1902), which supports an estimated population low point during the early Twentieth Century of between "½-⅓ of its size at contact" (Pool, 1991, p. 234). In the 2018 census, 775,836 people identify as Māori, which represents 16.5% of Aotearoa New Zealand's total population (Stats NZ, 2020).

29. Io-matua-kore is one of the names for the supreme being. Tane Mahuta is atua/'god' of the forests and birds and one of the children of Ranginui and Papatūānuku. Ranginui is atua of the sky and husband of Papatūānuku, the earth mother.

> […] It becomes a test for that tohunga that what he is purporting to be, stacks up, because the tohunga is accountable to that community. So the Tohunga Suppression Act did a lot to dismantle the whole structure of Māori society.
>
> ⟨P12: Māori, man, social work educator⟩

> My view is the health system treats kaupapa Māori like a virus. It immunises itself against it and defends to keep pure its colonial values and beliefs. This is how Māori cultural interventions and incursions into health are maintained at the fringes thus keeping the centre untarnished. This approach has a double benefit for mainstream by lowering the need to invest in perceived fringe kaupapa Māori units while simultaneously devaluing Māori cultural interventions as unworthy of occupying the space of conventional medicine.
>
> ⟨P18: Māori, man, mental health manager⟩

The kōrero of Māori elders' on marae around the country revives kaupapa Māori concepts of health in the early 1980s, which Mason Durie documents as the four cornerstones of Māori health (1985) or Te Whare Tapu Whā (1994b), namely wairua [spiritual], whānau [family], hinengaro [mental], and tinana [physical].

> Pākehā saw Mason's model as a thing they could use to fix a Māori family. That's why Mason says, "Don't think it is the beginning and end of everything". […] Pākehā love Mason. To know how to get Pākehā to understand the Māori mind is a strength for us and a strength for Pākehā.
>
> ⟨P16: Māori, woman, whānau-hapū-iwi development educator⟩

In 1984 the first kaupapa Māori mental health unit opens at Tokanui Hospital in the Waikato (Rankin, 1986), followed by others in Auckland and Wellington. The cultural knowledge nurtured in these units guides staff when differentiating between "symptoms of mental illness which may have Maori cultural origins […] from other categories of mental illness" (Keelan, 1986, p. 28).

> It was a battle […] but the reason [these units] progressed so strongly had to do with the feelings and thinking of Māori who worked in the mental health services at that time, that their people were being treated inappropriately and their wairua needs, particularly, were not being satisfied.
>
> ⟨P18: Māori, man, mental health manager⟩

> A lot of people who have this [relationship with wairua] are scared of doctors because if he [sic] doesn't understand it, he will medicate them, […] call them delusional or paranoid for seeing things. […] This [wairua] actually exists and our people have known about it for years and years.
>
> ⟨P19: Māori, man, tohunga⟩

On the eve of 1989 two significant reports on Māori health as a Treaty of Waitangi issue are tabled in the Health Arena. The first is a comprehensive comparison of Māori and non-Māori health status (Pomare & de Boer, 1988) that reveals "disproportionally high levels of sickness in Maori people" due to the existence of "serious social, economic and cultural inequalities" in contravention of the Treaty (p. 17).

> There was a huge debate about whether the information in this document was true or not because parliamentarians couldn't believe it. "If Māori health is that bad, how come we don't know about it?" There was the assumption that we [Māori and Pākehā] are all the same. I think the emotions stirred up by that report, and also the [Māori] renaissance going on at that time, did put some pressure on the Government and they softened a bit. […] It was the prelude to policy that established the Māori Health Provider [Māori funded to provide for Māori] sector.
>
> ⟨P18: Māori, man, mental health manager⟩

The second is a report by the Committee of Inquiry (1988) into psychiatric hospitals that features a cover illustration [see Figure 6-A on the following page] of a brown man wearing institutional pyjamas lying on a fulcrum that balances the weight of a locked psychiatric facility held by his outstretched arms against the weight of a locked jail looped over a foot. This image speaks of institutional power, enforcement, indigenous oppression, alienation, captivity, and despair. The authors propose a new era of coordinated bicultural psychiatric and forensic services throughout Aotearoa New Zealand where "the importance of taha wairua, taha whanau and tikanga Maori" is recognised in "all decisions made […] in respect of psychiatric patients" (p. 190).

Within a handful of years in the mid- to late 1980s the indigenising of the Social Welfare and Health Arenas gets underway, although in the Criminal Justice Arena the

Pākehā ideology of ‘one-law-for-all’ less protects than oppresses and controls Māori, whose own mechanisms of justice are dismissed (M. Jackson, 1989).

Figure 6-A: Cover image from “Psychiatric Report” [abbrev.] (Committee of Inquiry, 1988)

[Credit: Fraser Williamson, graphics]

6.1.4 Partnership

Ironically, the empowerment of Māori is on a collision course with Labour’s concurrent “experiment” (Kelsey, 1995)[30] with free-market neoliberalism, dubbed Rogernomics after their finance minister. Sparked by a severe foreign exchange crisis inherited from its predecessor, Labour respond improbably for the architect of New

30. Also see: Bollard and Buckle (1987); Boston and Holland (1987); Jesson (1989); Shirley (1990); Whitwell and Rosier (1988).

Zealand's welfare-state[31] by "divesting the state's assets and control of the economy to the private sector" (Kelsey, 1988, p. 1). This, and the 1987 global stock-market crash (Wheeler & Nash, 1989), cut deeply into Māori society.

> We had Rogernomics, which majorly, majorly, broke many Māori communities. So when the freezing works[32] closed in the 1980s, then the suicide rates in some parts of our tribal areas went through the roof. Domestic violence, families split up, because there were no jobs.
>
> ⟨P29: Māori, woman, activist⟩

Faced with Labour restructuring its government departments into company-styled State Owned Enterprises [SOE] to whom Crown land assets might transfer and be on-sold as commercial discretion dictates, Māori vigorously challenge the SOE Act to protect their Treaty rights (Walker, New Zealand Maori Council, & Roopu Whakawhanaunga i nga Haahi, 1987). As a result of Labour's transformation of the Waitangi Tribunal, those rights receive a boost from the Courts who look anew at the significance of legislation that pledges compliance with the Treaty, as the SOE Act does. The resulting Court of Appeal judgement (New Zealand Maori Council v Attorney-General, 1987) finds the Crown's SOE proposal to be inconsistent with the principles of the Treaty and therefore unlawful, and directs the parties to collaboratively devise a scheme of safeguards to ensure Māori claims are not prejudiced. In so doing the Court confirms that "what matters is the spirit" (p. 34) of the Treaty "as a living instrument" (p. 14) and that the "principles [of the Treaty] require the Pakeha and Maori Treaty partners to act towards each other reasonably and with the utmost good faith" (Cooke, 1987, p. 44). The Court's judgements are "vindicating [of] Maori faith in the Treaty after more than a century [… and are] the beginning of decolonisation of New Zealand in the sense of dismantling hegemonic domination of the Maori by the Pakeha" (Walker, 1990, p. 265).

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31. The first Labour Government's welfare programme contained in the Social Security Act 1938 overhauled the pension system and extended benefits to families, invalids and the unemployed (Hanson, 1980).

32. 'Freezing works' are abattoirs where farm animals are slaughtered, and their carcasses prepared for export.

> The Crown responded like it always did, by changing its rhetoric but maintaining its power. So, they began talking about Treaty partnership and they will be the senior partner and so on.
>
> ⟨P30: Māori, man, activist⟩

In 1988, as if to test its partnership authority, the Government consult Māori and then ignore their objections to abolishing the Department of Maori Affairs[33] and devolving some services to Iwi authorities and others to mainstream departments and agencies operating in a 'bicultural' environment.

> 'Biculturalism is when you put a Māori carving above the door of the house but change nothing inside the house',[34] and that is what it does. So government departments got Māori names, everyone learned waiata [Māori songs], they put cravings in prison. It is a reaffirmation of Crown power in a culturally sensitive guise. […] and we [Māori] adapt to protect our people the best we can, but adaptation never means submission.
>
> ⟨P30: Māori, man, activist⟩

One such adaption sees Māori refer to their initiatives "as 'parallel development' or 'biculturalism' to appease the general [Pākehā] population" ⟨P47: Māori, woman, counsellor⟩. What may be self-censored with Pākehā but well known among Māori is that "Maori development has an emphasis beyond biculturalism. In it, Maori people seek empowerment to manage their own affairs [… and] redefine the boundaries between government and iwi authorities" (M. Durie, 1989b, p. 285). At this juncture official Government communication is also politically correct by promising to honour the principles of the Treaty, eliminate social-wellbeing disparities between Māori and Pākehā, promote Māori economic self-sufficiency, etcetera (Office of the Minister of Māori Affairs, 1988).

> During the 1980s you had conversations around Treaty of Waitangi settlements so there was a very, very, strong emergence of Māori thought, and Māori

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33. Māori favour retaining and restructuring the department as they value it as a buffer between themselves and the government, the origins of which they trace back to 1833 and the appointment of the first British Resident, James Busby, "who was sent by the British King to be a Kaiwhakarite, an intermediary between the races" (Butterworth, 1990, p. 12).

34. P30 attributes this statement to John Rangihau [Ngāi Tūhoe, b. 1919, d. 1987].

> became a lot more assertive—I think—in response to what we now call the ventriloquists and the imposters of that time who were impostering to represent Māori. They were mainly government agencies and departments who believed they knew what Māori wanted and needed and that you didn't have to really consult them. During that time the Labour Government facilitated the decentralising of services by inviting community to be both the designers and the people running the services.
>
> ⟨P48: Māori, man, iwi authority chair⟩

6.1.5 Reconnecting

By the end of the 1980s Māori communities pour resources into preparing Waitangi Tribunal claim applications, now there is evidence that "Mā te ture te ture e patu, only the law can rule on the law" (Walker, 1990, p. 288), and those efforts galvanise a sense of Māori identity as their oral histories are revealed in the public domain (Moon, 2009). With significant gains made towards holding the Government accountable, some Māori are freer to merge local and international activism by renewing linkages with other Indigenous Peoples.

> We'd become much stronger independently. We weren't relying on the Government. We actually mistrusted the system altogether. A lot of us focused on working internally [in Māori communities] and working internationally in connection with the Pacific and indigenous groups in the USA working in social services.
>
> ⟨P15: Māori, man, activist⟩

> In 1988, Māori and other Indigenous Peoples started going to the United Nations' Working Group on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. […] their first meeting was in Geneva and so a very small delegation of Māori was sent. […] We wanted to be really clear that we would go with some sort of understanding from our people, so through Tainui[35] we met with the [Māori] Queen, we met with Sir Hepi Te Heuheu as the Ariki Rangatira[/paramount elder], and we each went on behalf of our Iwi, and that was all the mandate we needed.
>
> ⟨P30: Māori, man, activist⟩

35. Tainui, a major North Island Iwi based in the Waikato & South Auckland regions, has close connections with the Kīngitanga movement.

Together the foregoing accounts confirm the 1980s to be "a decade of extraordinary transformations in te ao Māori" (Ihimaera et al., 1993, p. 15), where interworld negotiations (Strauss, 1982) between Māori and the Crown give rise to seismic repositioning on the national cultural-justice faultline. The resultant tremors are felt by many hundreds or thousands of other social worlds operating nearby on smaller faultlines in the same broad arena, and one of these is the 'FTMANZ'. In Section 6.2, an introductory social worlds/arenas analysis of this social movement as a social world[36] is presented prior to a deeper situational analysis in Chapter 7. It begins with a schematic view of the 'FTMANZ', before identifying the social arenas it is active in during 1989 and its main commitments in each.

6.2 Social World Of The 'Family Therapy Movement In Aotearoa New Zealand' During 1989

By 1989 the attractiveness of the 'FTMANZ' to people interested in social justice makes for a "universe of discourse" (Mead, 1934) constructed by many subworlds each with their own perspectives on what constitutes legitimate work in the 'FTMANZ'. These highly fluid intraworld differences, typical of social worlds (Clarke et al., 2018), are continuously "shifting as patterns of commitment alter, reorganize, and realign" (Clarke, 1991, p. 133). Such normality is nonetheless challenging.

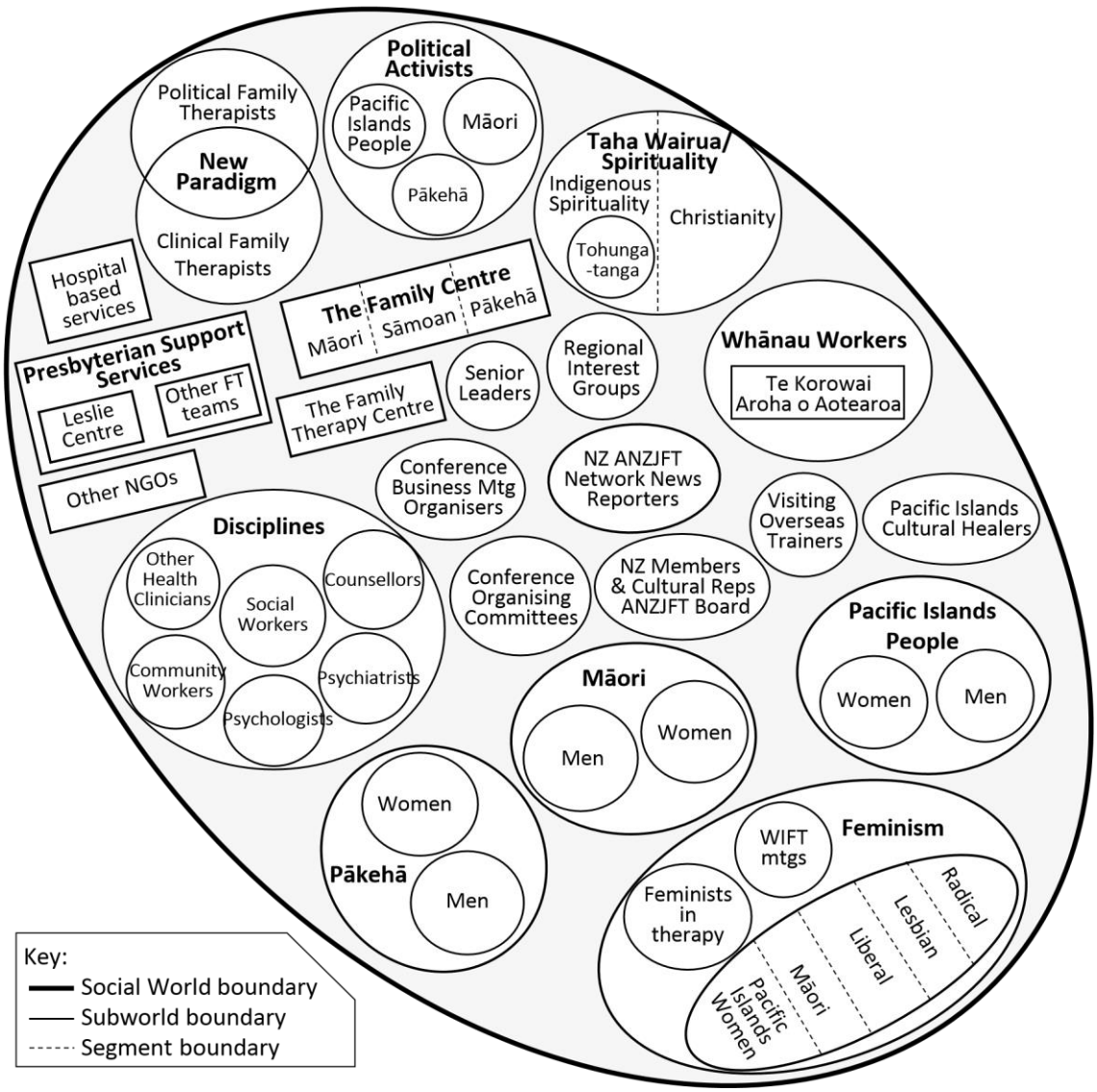
> [Social worlds] that open their door broadly are saying, "We invite multiplicity" rather than "We want to contain", and that's quite complex. It's like, "How do we have multiplicity and deal with conflict and differences?" and I think in the early years of family therapy [in Aotearoa New Zealand] because of feminism and cultural difference, we were really grappling with, "How do we do that?"
>
> ⟨P5: Pākehā, woman, family therapist, senior leaders' group⟩

The social world of the 'FTMANZ' during 1989 is depicted schematically in plane-view in Figure 6-B [on the following page]. For simplicity's sake, overlaps are not shown where people participate concurrently in a number of subworlds, for example, as women

36. I have chosen to treat the 'FTMANZ' as a social world active in various arenas, rather than as an arena being contested by various social worlds, because the former is more conducive to social investigations that reach beyond the traditional field of family therapy.

and as Pacific Peoples and as social workers and as regional interest group members, etcetera. Similarly, where segments of other social worlds participate as subworlds in the 'FTMANZ', details of these interworld intersections are not shown, such as for whānau-hapū-iwi development workers who are a segment of a relevant hapū or iwi social world, or psychiatrists interested in 'family therapy' who are a segment of the social world of psychiatry. Perhaps, a three-dimensional hologram might cope with such complexity! Instead, those intraworld and or interworld intersections most relevant to my analyses of the work of the 'FTMANZ' in specific arenas, are discussed in the situational analysis presented in Chapter 7.

Figure 6-B: Social world of the 'Family Therapy Movement in Aotearoa New Zealand' during 1989 [schematic only]

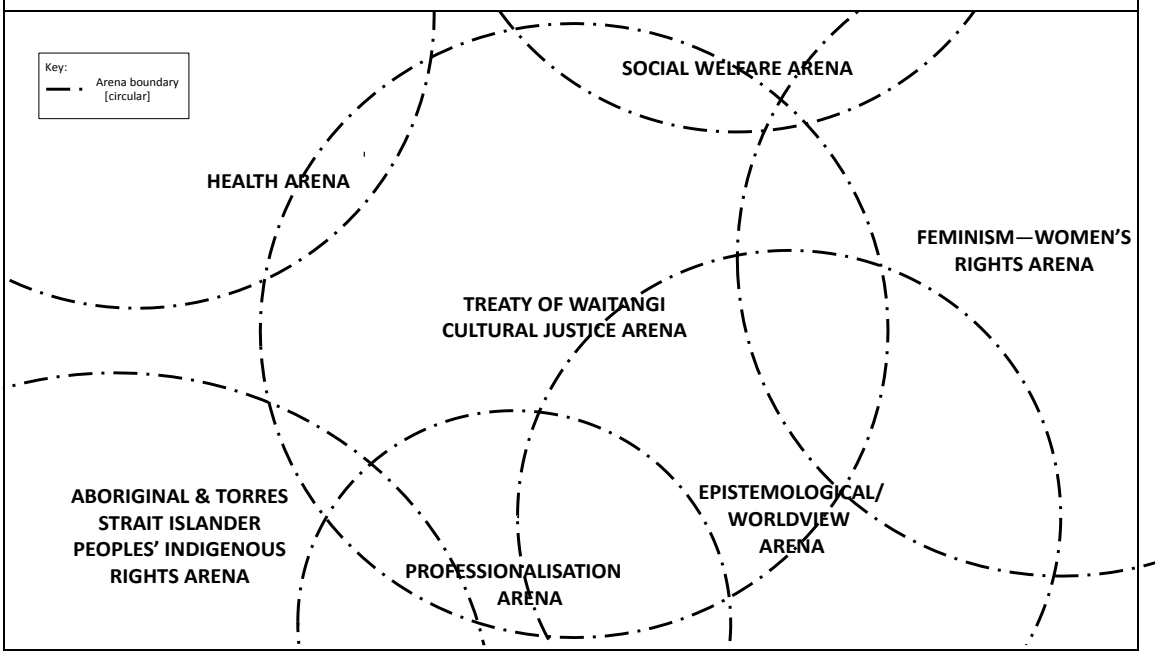


The subworlds comprising the 'FTMANZ' in 1989 represent a variety of 'family therapies', cultures, disciplines, feminisms, political activisms, spiritual beliefs, and organisations, plus particular structural roles that further the work of the 'FTMANZ'. Some subworlds appear to draw their primary social identity from the 'FTMANZ', such as The Family Therapy Centre—a private practice in Auckland—or perhaps the segment of family therapists who are senior leaders in the 'FTMANZ'. The primary identities of most other subworld members lie in another sociopolitical or sociocultural group or professional discipline. Because "people typically participate in a number of social worlds simultaneously" (Unruh, 1979, as cited in Clarke, 1990, p. 19) these subworlds can be active in the 'FTMANZ' too.

6.2.1 Social justice concerns

With the majority of 'FTMANZ' members being social workers, and with institutional racism endemic in government departments (Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Maori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare, 1986) where many social workers are frontline employees in care and protection, youth justice, medical, mental health, probation, unemployment, disabilities, community development and school guidance

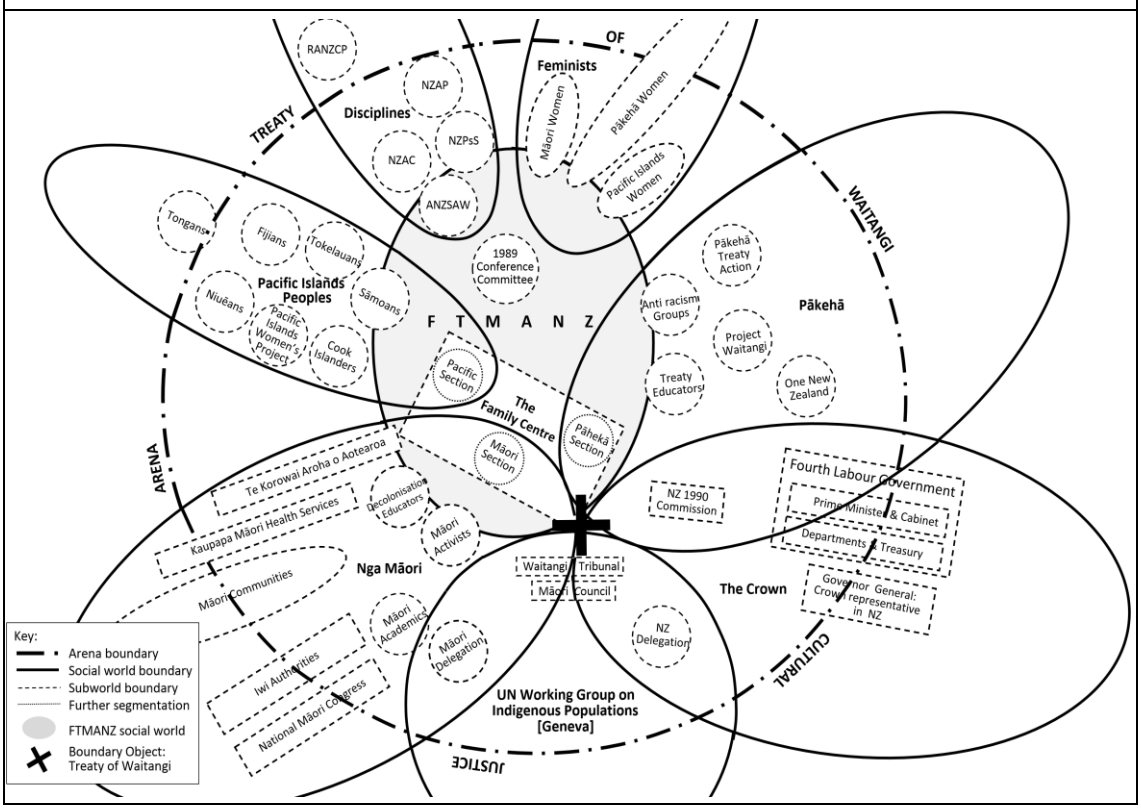
Figure 6-C: Social justice-related arenas the 'Family Therapy Movement in Aotearoa New Zealand' is active in during 1989 [schematic only]



roles, it is of little wonder that matters of cultural justice are prominent among the collective commitments of the 'FTMANZ'. A social worlds/arenas analysis of those commitments reveals the 'FTMANZ' to be active in at least seven social justice-related arenas during 1989,[37] six in Aotearoa New Zealand and a seventh in Australia [see Figure 6-C on the previous page]. The commitments of the 'FTMANZ' in each arena can be briefly stated as:

A) **Treaty of Waitangi Cultural Justice Arena** [see Figure 6-D below]: Honouring the Treaty by entering authentic bicultural partnership with Māori, upholding Māori self-determination and other rights under the Treaty, and addressing past and current losses. Post-colonial justice and self-determination for Pacific Peoples.

Figure 6-D: Treaty of Waitangi Cultural Justice Arena in 1989 centred on the 'FTMANZ' [Schematic Only][38]



37. See Chapter 5 for details of analytical methods employed.

38. Figure 6-D combines zooming out on Figure 6-B and zooming in on Figure 6-C [see preceding pages] to show what this central arena—the Treaty of Waitangi Cultural Justice Arena—looks like when centred on the 'FTMANZ' in NZ society during 1989. Later In Chapter 7, Figure 7-A combines features of all three of these Chapter 6 figures to depict the social worlds and arenas present at the 1989 family therapy conference specifically.

B) **Health Arena**: Honouring Māori self-determination in health, including mental health. Equitable resourcing of kaupapa Māori and kaupapa Pacific services, training and expertise.

C) **Social Welfare Arena**: Honouring Māori self-determination in whānau-hapū-iwi development. Equitable resourcing of kaupapa Māori and kaupapa Pacific services, training and expertise.

D) **Feminism Arena**: Honouring and resourcing self-determination for Māori and Pacific women.

E) **Epistemological/Worldview Arena**: Promotion of nonpathologising epistemologies and therapeutic paradigms that reflect the diversity of people, cultures, genders, spiritual beliefs, and other nondominant perspectives on reality in Aotearoa New Zealand society.

F) **Professionalisation Arena**: Opposition to professionalisation as a barrier to recognising the expertise of Māori, Pacific Peoples, and other people of nondominant cultures or societies, who work within their own cultural traditions; and against 'family therapy' becoming another practitioner-centred, regulatory, and disabling bureaucracy.

G) **Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islander Peoples' Indigenous Rights Arena**: Full recognition of First Nations Peoples of Australia as the Tangata Whenua of that land, the accordance to them of equitable rights and resources for their self-determination, and the addressing of past and current loses.

Of the seven arenas listed above, the antecedents to events during 1989 in arenas A-C are discussed in Sec. 6.1 of this chapter, and those in arenas D-F are discussed in Chapter 2. How 'FTMANZ' activities in the Treaty of Waitangi Cultural Justice Arena come to include direct support for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in arena G is only partially explained by Māori reconnecting with international Indigenous communities during the late 1980s [see Sec. 6.1.5 above]. The particulars of how this arena comes to influence events at the 1989 conference are discussed next.

6.2.2 Aboriginal Peoples as implicated actors

'FTMANZ' activity in the Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islander Peoples' Indigenous Rights Arena in Australia goes back at least to the Australian Family Therapy Conference in Melbourne during September 1985. It is unclear why the Victorian Association of Family Therapists [VAFT] choose a Māori family therapist living in Aotearoa New Zealand to make contact on their behalf with a local Aboriginal group prior to that conference. Word of his role in the first significant inclusion of te ao Māori in a New Zealand conference held in May 1985 might reach VAFT from the handful of Australians in attendance. Perhaps this inspires discussion about similar recognition of Aboriginal Peoples at Australian conferences, which they feel he might be able to contribute to:

> I got rung by VAFT to come over [to Melbourne] ten days before the [1985] conference to make contact with local First Nation people and test out their interest in attending. […] I talked with my local Māori support group and my people [P35's whānau]. I knew a St Kilda [Melbourne] Māori group already and that there was an Aboriginal group not far from them. […] in the end they took me across to the local Aboriginal folk.[39]
>
> ⟨P35: Māori, man, whānau worker⟩

When nothing comes of this approach and no Aboriginal group attends the conference, P35 challenges the Australian Family Therapy Movement [AFTM] from their 1985 conference floor:

> "You need to deal with your First Nation people. [...] You're having trouble recognising them for whom they are" […] and there was an uproar in the meeting, and they suggested that I should leave, which I declined. Afterwards [another New Zealander attending the conference] came over and had a talk with me [… saying] "Instead of doing it alone, use the supports you have got".
>
> ⟨P35: Māori, man, whānau worker⟩

39. This attempt to engage with local Aboriginal people on behalf of VAFT is verified by one of the conference organisers, P39.

In 1987 these supports stand behind the first dual representative of Māori and Pacific Peoples' on the ANZJFT Editorial Board [the Board] when he confronts what he perceives is the non-Aboriginal Australian status quo:

> I said, "How do you fellas [non-Aboriginal Australians on the Board] know about culture when you haven't done anything with the Aboriginals here?" So, I said, "When you decide about Aboriginals, then you and I are on a talking point."
>
> ⟨P26: Māori, man, family therapist, ANZJFT Board⟩

Sparing continues in print (W. Campbell et al., 1988) and at the 1988 Australian conference in Hobart where "It wasn't *all* comfortable. The Kiwis spoke to us of cultural co-operation and questioned our capacity to do this with our Aborigines [sic][40] but their criticism was gentle" (Perry, 1988, p. 239). At the state representatives' meeting there, the New Zealand representative takes a negotiatory tack by suggesting "that the Australian Association consider ways in which Aborigines [sic] working with families or interested in family therapy could be encouraged to participate in future family therapy conferences" (Perkins, 1989, p. 25), starting with fully funding two or three Aboriginal people to attend next year's first binational conference in Aotearoa New Zealand. As their campaign of intervention continues, the 'FTMANZ' inspires a variety of responses from AFTM members:

> New Zealand has been a good influence. It [their suggestion to invite Aboriginal people to conference] probably sparked [and] got 'white'[/non-Aboriginal] Australian family therapists moving. There was an awareness of the great level of support that the Māori people involved in family therapy had for giving voice and strength to the Aboriginal people here and if you didn't [have that awareness] then that was part of the education about the importance of those cultural experiences for 'white' Australian family therapists.
>
> ⟨P37: non-Aboriginal Australian, man, family therapist]⟩

> The formal family therapy hierarchy [in Australia] was bewildered and a bit embarrassed about what the New Zealanders were saying. […] People would

40. Although grammatically correct, the term 'Aborigine(s)' has negative connotations for many Aboriginal Peoples. The use of 'Aboriginal person' or 'Aboriginal people' is preferred (NSW Health, 2019).

> talk in wonder about the extent to which Māori people, and for all I know, other minority groups, had a loud voice in the [NZ] family therapy movement, which was a bit unnerving. That is not to say that [non-Aboriginal] people in the Australian family therapy movement were inherently racist, but we just hadn't travelled far enough [in terms of Indigenous rights]. There was no politicisation of it so the unease that New Zealand managed to instil around Aboriginal participation was about as tough as it got.
>
> ⟨P53: Non-Aboriginal Australian/UK-born, woman, family therapist⟩

> The [non-Aboriginal] Australians would sit and listen to ['FTMANZ'] people hectoring them, as they saw it, and telling them what they ought to be doing from a position of ignorance. It was a bit like the little guy who wants to be taken seriously. […] The New Zealanders saw [non-Aboriginal] Australians as having a despicable history with Aboriginals. My take on that is, when people get caught up in their sense of righteousness it blinds them to all the inconsistencies, contradictions, and ambiguities that are in any history. As they close it down, it makes it harder to understand what the other parties [Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians] are trying to wrestle with. […] You have got to keep opening it out to look. Keep the arena open because you may not be able to go in a straight line, but you work around and gradually break down the opposition.
>
> ⟨P28: Non-Aboriginal Australian/NZ-born/Ngāi Tahu, man, family therapist, ANZJFT Board⟩

These challenges, uproars, and negotiations between 'FTMANZ' and AFTM representatives discursively construct the presence of Aboriginal peoples in a local corner of the Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islander Peoples' Indigenous Rights Arena in Australia, despite them *not* being physically present in either movement. Aboriginal peoples are then "implicated actors" (Clarke, 2005; Clarke & Montini, 1993, p. 65) who are "constructed by others for other's purposes" and are not "invited to participate nor to represent themselves on their own terms" (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 76). This framing lifts the lid on relative power relations in the situation of inquiry and invites us to focus on the less powerful, what is not heard from them, and how discourse is being used to manipulate them (Clarke et al., 2018). For these reasons, wherever possible in the remainder of this

thesis, previously unheard Aboriginal voices are brought to the forefront to speak for themselves.

In Australia during the 1980s popular discourse on Aboriginal cultural justice issues, such as deaths in custody (Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody, 1991), land ownership rights ("Mabo v Queensland (No 2)," 1992), and generations of stolen children (Commonwealth of Australia, 1997), is yet to include governmental admission or widespread public acknowledgement of past and current atrocities against First Nations peoples.

> We had the referendum in 1967[41] and under the assimilation policy[42] our people were moved from missions into suburbia and started forming large associations within Aboriginal communities to take national issues to the Federal Government. So that movement goes back to the 1930s and 1940s. By the early 1970s, there was a [self-determination] movement to set up organisations around First Nations' health, which first started in Victoria with the Aboriginal Health Service [see Mushin et al. (2003)] and the first Aboriginal legal service, with Aboriginal organisations receiving federal funds. […] Then in the 1980s, it is about consolidating the work that our pioneers had done. We were still struggling with [financial] accountability because we didn't have the responsibility when we walked off the missions, so we had to engage the support—often voluntary support—from non-Aboriginal people who made a significant contribution to the cause during that period.
>
> ⟨P43: Aboriginal, man, Aboriginal health council member⟩

> In the national organisation [SNAICC: Secretariat of National Aboriginal & Islander Child Care] it still felt like we were having hostilities with government

41. In the 1967 Australian referendum, 90% of voters support Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples being included in determinations of population and having laws passed specifically for their racial groups (Parliamentary Library of Australia, 2014). "While we became eligible to vote, some of us believed at the time we gave up our sovereign right to our country. So, a lot of people would say it was a bad move, but it seemed like a good thing to do at the time. That discussion has never taken place [publicly], but it is always raised [among Aboriginal peoples]" ⟨P43: Aboriginal, man, Aboriginal health council member⟩.

42. Eckermann et al. (2010), in a collaboration between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians working in the health sector, summarise the evolution of Australian government policies towards Aboriginals as: colonisation [1788-1880s], segregation/protection [1890s-1950s], assimilation [1950s-1960s], integration [1967-1972], self-determination [1972-1975], and self-management [1975-1996].

> organisations in the way they dealt with us and the way we approached them. […] I'm talking about the 1980s when they didn't even want you in the room to talk about any of these things. They weren't overtly racist about anything, but they didn't believe anything needed to be done to change.
>
> ⟨P42: Non-Aboriginal, man, national Aboriginal organisation⟩

In this sociopolitical milieu a representative of VAFT drives across Melbourne sometime after the 1988 Hobart conference to visit the Victorian Aboriginal Child Care Agency [VACCA] to "do the right thing" ⟨P39: Non-Aboriginal Australian, woman, family therapist⟩ by a confluence of personal conviction, social conscience, and professional connection.

> The story of the invasion of Australia by 'whites', of colonisation, and taking children away, is actually part of my family story too in Eastern Poland. So, I could always feel a connection with what Indigenous People had suffered. […] We [the AFTM] were being challenged [by the 'FTMANZ'] and it was a shortcoming. We had no Indigenous representation on our Board. We had no Indigenous participants on committees. […] It was accurate […] appropriate […and so] I went to VACCA, partly because I knew a [non-Aboriginal Australian] psychiatrist [from VAFT] who was already involved with the [Victorian Aboriginal] Health Service.[43] […] I sat there and joined in the yarning and spent half a day and basically said, "We will go together and have a listen to Māori and Pākehā in New Zealand [to hear] how they work and to learn from each other." […] They gave me a good hearing. I think they were tentative at first. I hadn't known about the necessity to be patient and to wait and to be still, because that was a core part of it. […] I also wanted their involvement at the next conference in Melbourne,[44] so the importance of Welcome To Country and a smoking ceremony was already being discussed.
>
> ⟨P39: Non-Aboriginal Australian, woman, family therapist⟩

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43. "The late 1980s is when the first meetings started at the Aboriginal Health Service about mental health, and family therapy come up." ⟨P51: Aboriginal, woman, foster care worker⟩. These meetings led to the creation of the Koori Kids Mental Health Network in Melbourne. See Mushin et al. (2003) for details, including intercultural adjustments made by both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal workers for the Network to succeed.

44. When planning a combined conference, the AFTM & the 'FTMANZ' agree to have reciprocal conferences in Christchurch in 1989 and Melbourne in 1992. P39 is foreseeing the latter during these preliminary discussions with VACCA.

There are mixed responses among Aboriginal peoples to the invitation:

> It was a great idea that they ['FTMANZ'] did that. […] We can learn a lot and gain a lot from each other.
>
> ⟨P38: Aboriginal, woman, youth worker⟩

> It gave Australia a wake-up call, didn't it! […] They probably thought that Aboriginal people didn't need therapists. Except at the Agency I was dealing with this [family issues] all the time. That is probably why it come so late and had to come from New Zealand.
>
> ⟨P51: Aboriginal, woman, foster care worker⟩

> It just shows that we have got a lot of colonised Indigenous nations throughout the world who have this solidarity. […] I think it was good to have that exchange [at the conference] and we went there to learn about what was happening in New Zealand, compare the issues, and to highlight our plight to all the nations that were attending, and also to those [non-Aboriginal] people from Australia who attended.
>
> ⟨P52: Aboriginal, woman, adoption & foster care worker⟩

> It was good that Māori people advocate for us, but it would have been too early because we weren't ready. […] Timing is everything.
>
> ⟨P43: Aboriginal, man, Aboriginal health council member⟩

> I would never agree to that proposition, not in my whole life. I was always taught that I was as good as anyone else [… and] I think *we* should be taking the initiative, always. And maybe there was a reason why [Aboriginal] people weren't taking the initiative? […] the experiences that they have had [with non-Aboriginal institutions] over generations. […] [CW: What I am hearing you say is that the whole idea of a challenge to 'white'[/non-Aboriginal] Australians about their family therapy institution and where are the Indigenous People in it, is likely to meet…?] Hostility [laughs], let me not put too finer point on it. [CW: From Aboriginals?] Too bloody right! There is always a stigma associated with mental illness and the need for family therapy. […] They [the 'FTMANZ'] didn't have the right to speak on behalf of Australian Aboriginal 'brothers and sisters', did they? […] I don't understand that way of behaving because you are not speaking for me, and yet that is typical colonial thinking.

⟨P27: Aboriginal, woman, government official⟩

On the surface, inviting Aboriginal peoples to the 1989 binational conference provides an opportunity for them to speak for themselves or for their social worlds, and by so doing, to construct their own discourses on Aboriginal realities rather than having them constructed in absentia by others. However, if Aboriginal people attending the conference "are generally silenced, ignored, or invisibled by those in power" (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 76), including discipling themselves to keep silent about particular arena issues when under the "gaze" (Foucault, 1973, 1977, 1980) of the dominating cultures they encounter in 'family therapy' institutions, they will remain implicated actors in those arenas despite now being physically present (Clarke et al., 2018). This applies as much to this study as it does to the 1989 conference [see Sec. 4.4 for decolonising methods embedded in SA]; therefore, in the analyses of that conference that follow in Chapter 7, the voices of the four Aboriginal women attendees are heard wherever possible.

6.3 Heading To The 1989 Conference

A Māori renaissance in the Treaty of Waitangi Cultural Justice Arena during the 1980s, laid out in Sec. 6.1 of this chapter, revitalises and strengthens Māori communities throughout Aotearoa New Zealand and is of crucial importance to members of the 'FTMANZ' who are broadly committed to social justice action. That action extends to challenging the practices of the 'Movement' itself, including how it meets collectively and how its members work with families and whānau. This 'problematisation' (Foucault, 1984)[45] of practices that might previously go unquestioned—to hold annual conferences at a university or to deliver papers and conduct workshops on clinical applications of Western Family Therapy—makes the development of new practices possible (Koopman, 2011). During the 1989 conference this is reflected in the event being co-hosted on a marae and specific invitations being sent to First Nations Peoples of Australia for the first time [see Sec. 6.2], among other initiatives.

45. Foucault's term 'problematisation' "is more than arguing; it is a practical context for thinking. As such, it lies largely beyond conscious strategy" (Warner, 2002, pp. 154-155, as cited in Barnett, 2015, p. 5).

Such new practices are not simply a consequence of historically constant processes: "Things 'weren't as necessary as all that'" (Foucault, 1981, p. 6). It was not self-evident that the practice of 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand would become so politicised, nor that the politics of race and culture would take centre stage. Instead, the conference is an event constituted of multiple processes and the analytic task is to rediscover "the connections, encounters, supports, blockages, plays of forces, strategies, and so on[—"a sort of multiplication of causes" (p. 6)—]which at a given moment establish what subsequently counts as being self-evident"[46] (p. 6).

The binational family therapy conference in Christchurch during 1989 is the subject of Chapter 7 to follow. Among the "Patterns of Experience"—to borrow from the conference name—constituting that event, there is a positive valency within SA towards "offering analyses that represent the […] marginalized, the quiet, the silent, and the silenced" (p. 226) discourses and practices, and I will be attempting to "turn up the volume" on several of these (Clarke & Keller, 2014, para. 115).

∞

46. Foucault coins the term 'eventalisation' as a useful procedure for the analysis of an event (Foucault, 1981), which is reflective of his pragmatist parallels with Clarke's situational analysis. See Clarke et al. (2018, pp. 77-85).

7

1989 CONFERENCE:

"PATTERNS OF EXPERIENCE"

Our history is to be found in the 'unhistoric', in the suffering of an oppressed people, struggling with the question of what it is to be human and Aboriginal in a seemingly inhumane world.

Colleen Brown[1]

WHEN THE FAMILY THERAPY MOVEMENTS IN AOTEAROA NEW Zealand and Australia combine their annual conferences in 1989 and invite tangata whenua from each country to join them [see Figure 7-A on the following page],[2] a multiverse of discourse (Mead, 1934) is created. At the heart of this chapter are fragments of that discourse found in the margins of the conference or in dormant literature written about it. Theorising about these 'minor' discourses as possible sites of difference, resistance, recalcitrance, or rejection of dominant cultures' major discourses (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 226) may reveal complexities in the situation of inquiry otherwise unseen or unheard. In this situational analysis these 'minor' discourses are like pebbles in the shoes of the 'major' discourses, demanding to be noticed rather than subjugated beneath their treads.

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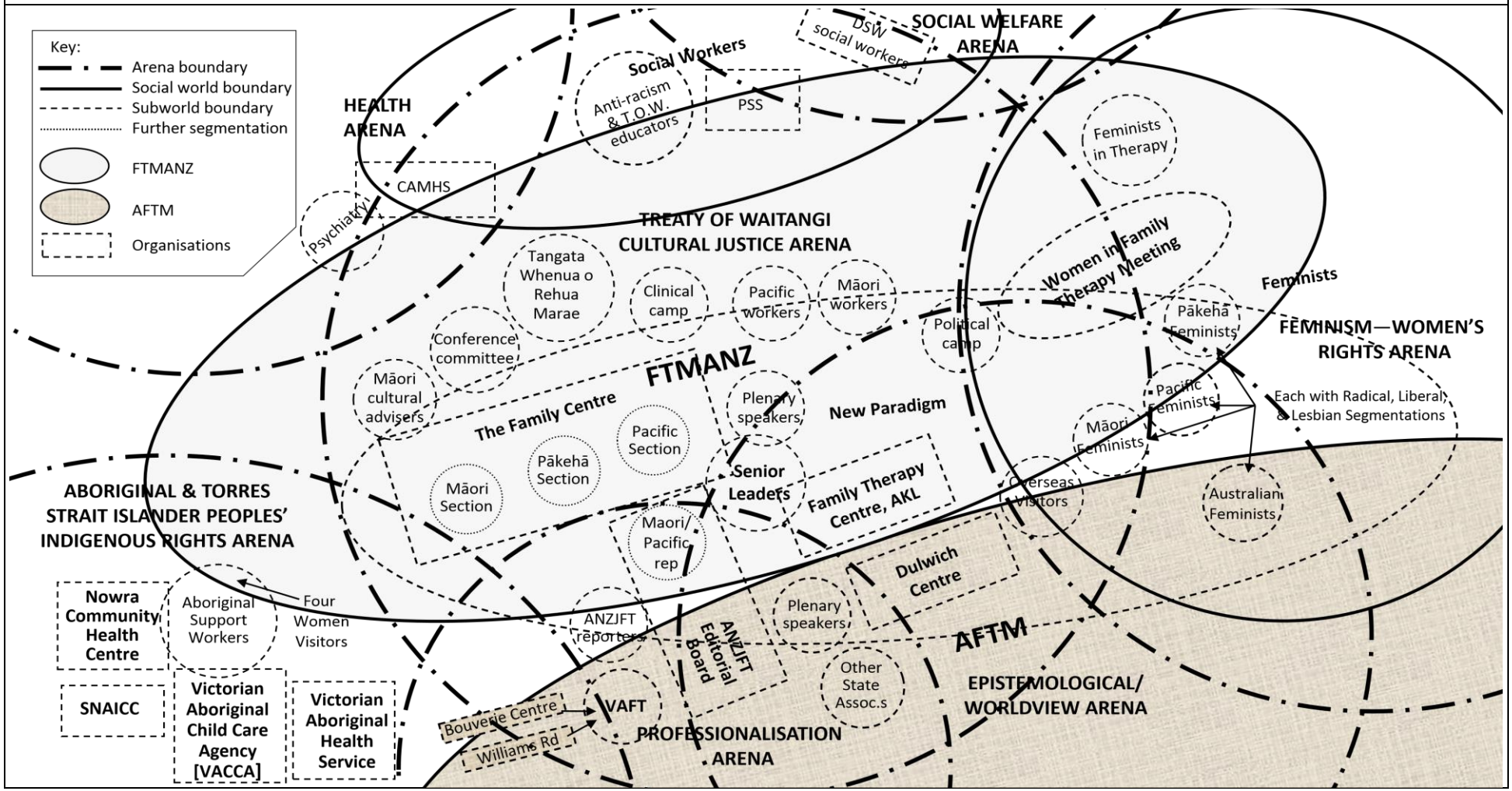
1. Leenaars, Brown, Taparti, Anowak, and Hill-Keddie (1999, p. 356).
2. Social worlds/arenas maps like Figure 7-A are "partial and contingent representations of more complex historical realities [… that emphasise] a fundamental set of relations at the empirical heart of [the situation of inquiry that compose] the basis for a detailed historical account [to follow]" (Clarke et al., 2018, pp. 323, 328).

Figure 7-A: Social worlds/arenas map of the first Australian and New Zealand Family Therapy Conference held in 1989



This chapter follows the conference chronologically except where prior events are integral to understanding research participants' reflections. It begins by exploring the diversity of commitments that make the conference possible; continues by examining the range of discourses present in specific encounters between cultures, genders, and philosophical positions during the conference; and concludes with consideration of the conditions of possibility (Foucault, 1970, 1973) for the future that exist when the conference ends. Throughout these analyses the words of research participants and authors-of-the-day appear as artefacts of 1989.

7.1 Commitments

If the seedbed for the first binational conference in Christchurch during 1989 is being prepared from 1980 onwards when a handful of "entrepreneurs" (Becker, 1963), who are senior leaders in the family therapy networks of both countries, criss-cross the Tasman[1] to attend each other's national conferences,[2] then seeds are sown in 1985 when "close links between family therapy networks in Australia and New Zealand" (Cornwell, 1985a, p. ii) are acknowledged by the renaming of the Australian journal, the "Australian and New Zealand Journal of Family Therapy" [ANZJFT], and inviting New Zealand representatives onto its Editorial Board [the Board, see Chapter 2 for further details].

With a New Zealand-born Journal Editor-cum-'executive director' in Australia wanting "for many years to see a combined conference [… as] we have certainly demonstrated […] how productive we can be as a bi-national network" (Cornwell, 1989, p. 1), it is a fellow Board member from Aotearoa New Zealand who takes up the task of organising one.

> The first Australian-New Zealand conference […] came out of my connections with the Journal and Australia, then talking to [another senior leader in NZ] and then putting it into action in Christchurch.

NB: Footnote numbering in Microsoft Word automatically starts again from 1 after a change of page orientation from portrait to landscape or vice versa.

1. The Tasman Sea separates NZ and Australia by approximately 4000km/2500mi, typically a 3·5-hour flight from NZ to Victoria, NSW, ACT, or Queensland.

2. See Appendix F for list of family therapy conferences in NZ between 1983 and 1999, and Crago and Crago (1999) for those in Australia between 1980 and 1998.

⟨Pākehā, woman, family therapist, senior leaders' group, ANZJFT Board, 1989 conference organiser⟩

P10 is not new to the role as she and half of the 1989 Conference Organising Committee [the Committee] are returnees from the equivalent committee who organised the 1985 New Zealand Family Therapy Conference where…

> […] we wanted to make a conference that reflected New Zealand and was applicable to everybody, but we were not very knowledgeable about things Māori nor had *any* idea how to go about it. […] it was terribly perfunctory and slightly embarrassing. […] an attempt but it was a very poor one.
>
> ⟨P10: Pākehā, woman, family therapist, senior leaders' group, ANZJFT Board, 1989 conference organiser⟩

The Committee is now more knowledgeable about te ao Māori because for one thing, since 1985…

> […] there were challenges galore around the dominant culture [Pākehā] really dominating family therapy, and because family and the whole notion of meeting collectively for family therapy is particularly attractive to Māori and Pasifika,[3] so we had participation by Māori in ways that other conferences did not. […] We were having some very strong dialogues quite early on around our *lack* of both advocacy for Māori but also making the [conference] environments friendly for Māori.
>
> ⟨P5: Pākehā, woman, family therapist, senior leaders' group⟩

"Much of that had to do with the undoubted influence […] The Family Centre were having on the politics and the very practices of those conferences" (Epston, 2003, p. 2). By 1989 that influence extends beyond the politics of the 'Family Therapy Movement in Aotearoa New Zealand' ['FTMANZ'] to having direct input into national Treaty of Waitangi debate:

> There is now too much exposed evidence of Pakeha betrayal [of the Treaty]. […] Partnership [with Māori] requires us to address our history honestly[, …] to share all our resources fairly, and develop authentic bi-cultural processes and management of all our major institutions.

3. An inclusive term for Pacific Peoples who call NZ home.

(Waldegrave, 1989a, pp. 50-51)[4]

The Family Centre's message appears to resonate with the Committee:

> [Cultural awareness] was part of a movement that clearly happened in my own personal experience [as a social worker] somewhere in the early 1980s and in family therapy through the 80s leading up to the [89 conference] planning process. […] Having become aware of that, then there is the inevitable responsibility of doing something about it.
>
> ⟨P50: Pākehā, man, social worker, 1989 conference organiser⟩

> The Family Centre had a *huge* impact on me, […] very, very influential. I respected their approach [… and] going up to their workshops was a very important trigger for [questioning] "what do I believe and what do I want to do?"
>
> ⟨P10: Pākehā, woman, family therapist, senior leaders' group, ANZJFT Board, 1989 conference organiser⟩

P10's commitment to further things Māori is deeply personal. Growing up in Christchurch, New Zealand's most English city, there are no Māori in her school nor anywhere in her acquaintance; yet when she is a child her father buys her a hafted Māori adze[5] and a Māori-authored book, "The Coming of the Maori",[6] and she treasures both. She doesn't consciously recognise meeting anyone Māori until attending university in her forties, where a Māori kaumātua/'elder' becomes her spiritual and professional mentor. Soon afterwards she lives with a Māori partner for many years and through his whānau meets a close Māori female friend. Days spent at the tangihanga/'funeral' for the partner's father, and later for the friend, form part of her education in tikanga Māori. When P10's adult daughter dies it is the things Māori that give her spiritual solace, yet they are things that cannot be put into words. They become a part of her being.[7]

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4. This publication is an invited chapter for an edited book of essays about 1990, the year of sesquicentennial commemoration of the signing of the Treaty. The book is published by the Citizen's Association for Racial Equality [CARE].
5. A toki or hafted *Māori* adze is a ground stone and wooden-shafted tool.
6. Author: Hiroa (1949).
7. Details in this paragraph are drawn from my interview with P10.

> I was totally committed to supporting tikanga Māori in all that I did. I believed that I could help bring about change in Aotearoa New Zealand. […] I dreamt of a New Zealand where we undid the injustices of the past and worked together to support each other.
>
> ⟨P10: Pākehā, woman, family therapist, senior leaders' group, ANZJFT Board, 1989 conference organiser⟩

From personal to organisational, local to international, past attempts to present opportunities, these are some of the commitments that motivate the planning and provision of this particular binational conference. The Committee's attempts to honour the Treaty by entering into authentic bicultural partnership with Māori are expanded upon in the section below.

7.2 Treaty Of Waitangi Cultural Justice Arena

7.2.1 Negotiations

From the outset Te Rangiāniwaniwa Rakuraku [Ngāi Tūhoe], Head of Māori at Canterbury University, and Rev. Maurice Manawaroa Gray [Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Kahungunu, Rangitāne] work closely with the Committee, and the negotiations between Māori and Pākehā proceed with goodwill and humour on the firm understanding that Māori are in charge of things Māori.

> While the local Māori people appreciated us deferring to them and asking for their assistance, they were making damn sure we weren't using them or attempting to get by in a tokenistic way. […] Part of that was what I call friendly 'mickey-taking', so there were planning meetings we had where we invited a Māori leader to come along and open up the meeting with a karakia[/'prayer'] and then having him stand up and say, "That is the brown overlay. You can get on with your meeting now", with a big smile. That was part of their recognition, I think, that on the one hand we were being honest in trying to develop down that [cultural] pathway but also making damn sure that we got it right.
>
> ⟨P50: Pākehā, man, social worker, 1989 conference organiser⟩

The Committee choose a pair of venues, one from each culture and 5 kms apart, at Rehua Marae in the suburb of St Albans for the pōwhiri, some conference sessions, and

limited lodging for conference attendees, and the Student's Association Complex at Canterbury University in Ilam for its large theatrette, separate workshop spaces, and the bulk of the lodgings, with buses operating between the two. On the first morning of the conference, as organisers and attendees gather at Rehua for the pōwhiri, local Māori realise that one of the senior manuhiri who might expect to speak on the marae[8] in reply to their welcome is a woman.

> A couple of [Māori from the Committee] came to me and said "We have got a problem. The President of the Board is a woman so she can't speak for the guests. We want you to go and tell her." […] Then they said they want me to do it [speak for the guests]. I hadn't been on a marae before, but I got the impression they didn't trust an Australian to do the job properly and this [job] is important to them, and I'm Australian but I'm not because I'm New Zealand-born and I've got 1-2% Ngāi Tahu—in fact, they would say, "When are you coming back to be with your people"—so I do it.
>
> ⟨P28: Non-Aboriginal Australian/NZ-born/Ngāi Tahu, man, family therapist, ANZJFT Board⟩

In this delicate situation, Māori use their "inherited [social world] technology" (Strauss, 1978b, p. 122) of whakapapa to press one of their own, however unfamiliar he might be with tikanga Māori, to resolve a potential interworld impasse. Fortunately he recognises the importance of the "job", the President graciously—by P28's account—steps aside, and the Australians rally to accommodate another unfamiliar protocol. Yet the absence of their female leader on the paepae/'orator's bench' during the pōwhiri is felt at least by one "overseas visitor[… who] made reference to gender issues" (Alexander, 1989, p. 251) to a conference reporter, indicating that in this early exchange the pattern of Australian experience may be more one of subjugation than negotiation.

The challenge of new patterns is also felt by some local Pākehā who are suddenly not the dominant culture, whether willingly or not, which is a role reversal with Māori for whom the domination of Pākehā society is otherwise an ongoing reality.

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8. See Walker's comments on women's speaking rights on marae in Carrol (1997).

> Because I was a male leader in the organising group, I wound up sitting on the paepae absolutely terrified and not knowing what I was supposed to do. […] I was sent out to pick up the koha[/'visitor's gift'] after [their kaumātua] brought it out from the manuhiri, and I said, "What the hell do I do now?" He more or less said, "Just pick it up and take it back to where you came from."
>
> ⟨P50: Pākehā, man, social worker, 1989 conference organiser⟩

Elsewhere, the warmth of exchange between Māori and Pākehā, Australians and New Zealanders, can be felt in the following recollections:

> The experience of the Māori people and their connection with the Pākehā people in the presentation of their country experience was powerful for me. […] I came into that with a sense that we need to do this, to embrace people who have been disadvantaged by broad-spectrum racism.
>
> ⟨P41: Non-Aboriginal Australian, woman, family therapist⟩

> It was an overwhelming experience, to think that it is so important that we are doing this.
>
> ⟨P37: Non-Aboriginal Australian, man, family therapist]⟩

> Everybody had to rub noses with everybody else and I thought that was a *very* nice idea. […] The welcoming took almost half a day. It was a very connecting ceremony.
>
> ⟨P39: Non-Aboriginal Australian, woman, family therapist⟩

> […] and then the hongi, and you can imagine something like 400 people doing lines [tangata whenua lining up in one line, manuhiri in another, and the lines slowly move past one another so that each person presses noses in greeting with every person in the other line] and they all went through.
>
> ⟨P35: Māori, man, whānau worker⟩

> The Australians came and I think were blown away by the experience. They said they wept. They'd never been to a conference opening that was just so emotional and touched them at a deep level. That was the Māori component of it. It was beautifully done. [...] The whole thing—for Christchurch—was absolutely extraordinary. I'd never been to anything that was so truly bicultural.
>
> ⟨P10: Pākehā, woman, family therapist, senior leaders' group, ANZJFT Board, 1989 conference organiser⟩

For non-Aboriginal Australian family therapist, Michael White, the pōwhiri exemplifies an effort to provide adequate space for the performance of alternative stories associated with "subjugated [Indigenous] knowledges" (Foucault, 1980, p. 81), which "we [conference attendees] have all witnessed and participated in" (White, 1989b, p. 9).

Each of the foregoing interactions indicate the "always already ongoing" (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 73) negotiations that each social world attending the conference engages in with other social worlds in order to further their commitments in particular arenas. For Māori, their primary commitment is self-determination in all things Māori in order to regain te ao Māori in Aotearoa (Ihimaera et al., 1993). For the 'FTMANZ' it is to honour the Treaty through authentic bicultural partnership as the basis for a just society (Waldegrave, 1989a). For the AFTM, the need is enrichment through collaboration and the forging of binational links (Quadrio, 1988). As the pōwhiri winds down and attendees move onto post-lunch plenary addresses at the university theatrette, nobody yet knows how these worlds and various subworlds will respond to further post-colonial challenges to put "hidden partialities […] on the table rather than metaphorically hidden under it […] and to seek consensus that is always already provisional" (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 73).

7.2.2 Silences

The first plenary address by Pākehā social worker/educator, Jennie Harré Hindmarsh (1989) calls for the breaking of silences and asks her audience, if the silences of Māori and Sāmoan people, and heterosexual and lesbian women were broken, "what would you have to give up that is sacred to you?" (p. 2). Over the coming days other plenary speakers respond. From The Family Centre, Waldegrave (1989b) stresses how the dominant culture's patterns of meaning subjugate those of dominated cultures, yet this is barely acknowledged in family therapy literature. His colleagues, Fele Nokise (1989) and Kiwi Tamasese, lay bare the devastations of colonial imposition on Pacific Peoples and its possible perpetuation in family therapy through predominantly European-oriented practitioners and theories of practice.

The breaking of silences in plenary addresses, in dozens of workshops, social events, and the day-to-day facilitation of the conference encourages attendees to be more

expressive, share pain and hopes, and break down polarisations (S. Jackson, 1989). Yet like every social world, the 'FTMANZ' might at any moment have several subworlds intersecting with other subworlds to contest various polarising issues and instead of making this widely known, as some do, they may choose to keep this dynamic known only to their members or other interested parties and so create "partially invisible arenas" (Strauss, 1978b, p. 124). As sites of silence, such arenas may remain unknown to the wider social world unless someone-in-the-know discloses them, as one research interviewee in this study does.

In the 'FTMANZ' P35 is in a subworld of Māori intersecting with three other subworlds, who are the Māori, Pacific, and Pākehā/'European' Sections of The Family Centre, to form a partially invisible arena contesting particular cultural justice issues (Strauss et al., 1964). P35's disclosure of this arena is uncorroborated, as reports from sites of silence are prone to being, and is a co-construction between him as interviewee and reviewer of what I write about what he says to me, and me as interviewer, transcriber, and author of these pages. The following is a précis of what he has to say.

> When you think in terms of The Family Centre, they lived with each other every day and so a lot of their [internal relational] stuff is sort of gilded over […] but when you are a newcomer in there and you are used to hearing nuances more than the straight word, then you start to pick up a lot more of what people mean. And that is what I did. […]
>
> My issue with [the Pākehā Section] was they were coming in and claiming all the rights to do the work with my people and I didn't think at the time they were giving my people room enough to develop for themselves. […] I thought they were staying in control too much […] not giving Tangata Whenua time to get their thoughts in a position where they felt comfortable speaking them. […]
>
> The power play [by the Sāmoan workers in the Pacific Section] was commencing in about 1987. […] They wanted to take over from Māori. They wanted the top position and were not prepared to accept the Europeans, Tangata Whenua, or anybody else would know how to do it [lead family therapy in Aotearoa New Zealand] any better than they could. […] I have no problem with Sāmoans being here [living in Aotearoa New Zealand] but they don't try to topple the Tangata Whenua, and that's been my attitude.

⟨P35: Māori, man, whānau worker⟩

P35 is raising specific concerns about the rights of Māori in both The Family Centre and the 'FTMANZ' during the late 1980s. As described in Chapter 2, significant negotiation of Māori rights in family therapy conferences and publications[9] since 1985 are integral to the emergence of the 'FTMANZ'. In 1989, open criticism of The Family Centre for marginalising Māori—as novel as that idea might seem given their championing of Māori culture—might be silenced by the aforementioned influence The Family Centre is having on the politics and practices of conferences, or shared privately with The Family Centre or with others, as P35 does with me. The nearest my data comes to capturing anything similar is in another private comment:

> Once the 'Sāmoan' Section[10] became powerful—it became more powerful than the Māori Section in the Centre, I believe—it altered the balance [between the Māori, Sāmoan, and Pākehā Sections] and that balance didn't seem to apply the same way.
>
> ⟨P10: Pākehā, woman, family therapist, senior leaders' group, ANZJFT Board, 1989 conference organiser⟩

Sentiments like P10's & P35's may be representative of the 'lows of challenge' that The Family Centre receive during the mid- to late 1980s:

> After a period we began to share the [Centre's] work. To our surprise, people appeared really interested. This was followed by the highs and lows of challenge and encouragement that new work often brings. We nearly abandoned taking it further. It was a number of Australians, as a matter of fact, and some colleagues at home who encouraged us to write it up, teach more, and get it out.
>
> (Waldegrave & Tamasese, 1993, p. 2)

P35 describes himself as being on the fringe of the 'FTMANZ', a position preferred by "mavericks" (Becker, 1982, p. 233) who are individuals or small groups following their convictions "against the grain of a social world's conventions and practices" (Clarke

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9. For publications or conference presentations on Māori cultural justice in 'family therapy', see: Allen et al. (1983); W. Campbell (1986); W. Campbell et al. (1988); Christie (1986); Christie, Campbell, and Tuhaka (1988); Grant (1986); Waldegrave (1985); Waldegrave et al. (1985).

10. P10 is referring to the Pacific Section, the majority of whose members are Sāmoan.

et al., 2018, p. 72). If we decentre P35 by taking a wider view of the situation that this partially invisible arena is at work in during the late 1980s, what comes into relief is New Zealand's national cultural justice politics. A Māori renaissance for the ages is in full swing (Ihimaera et al., 1993; Walker, 1990). At the same time, Pacific Peoples are recapturing their own stories of colonial injustice (Tamasese, Masoe-Clifford, & Ne'emia-Garwood, 1988) and bringing them to the attention of a Royal Commission on Social Policy (1988), something—they assure Māori—"not meant to take the focus away from […] Tangata Whenua" (p. 575). This allaying of Māori concern may signal the presence of national intercultural tensions captured in my late-1980s data by the following statements [with salient discourse underlined]:

> One of the worst things that colonisation has done to our people is make us forget that we are Pacific peoples […] A lot is made of differences between Māori and Pacific Peoples but that is just another [Pākehā] divide tactic.
>
> ⟨P30: Māori, man, activist⟩

> Some of my Sāmoan colleagues have felt uncomfortable because they see us Māori as very privileged [by the Government]. They are saying that the way we are being treated is part of their problem. I say to them, "You need to be very clear that we have sovereignty issues. You have other issues, but they are not sovereignty issues."
>
> ⟨P29: Māori, woman, activist⟩

In the first underlined discourse, Māori and Pacific Peoples stand together familially to resist ongoing Pākehā colonisation. In the second, Pacific Peoples are ignored by Pākehā and try to recruit Māori assistance. In the third, Māori reject Pacific People's urging and engage Pākehā on their own behalf. In each discourse Pākehā hold the most power, Māori are increasingly powerful and assertive, and Pacific Peoples are the most subjugated. In contrast, P35's convictions about The Family Centre contradict these national arena power relations by ranking the Pacific Section as more assertive than their dominated Māori Section counterpart. Not only does this highlight difference, it may reveal the Pacific Section's local resistance to dominant discourse.

The value to this study of the partially invisible arena P35 is alerting us to is that it contains nondominant perspectives in a localised corner of the Treaty of Waitangi Cultural Justice Arena that the 'FTMANZ' is so committed to. The purpose of zooming in and out analytically to expose the complexities of this partially invisible arena is not to reduce those complexities to homogenous understandings, but to clarify the existence of "contradictions, ambivalences and even the irrelevances" (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 14) in the social life of the 'FTMANZ'. It is by "turn[ing] up the volume on lesser but still present discourses, lesser but still present participants, […] the silent, and the silenced" (p. 226) that we might see beyond dominant discourses to realise that "things can always be otherwise" (Hughes, 1971, p. 552).

Further evidence of 'things being otherwise' at the 1989 conference is found when shifting commitments in the feminist, clinical, and political subworlds lead to segmenting through subdivision or intersection to make new subworlds (Bucher, 1962), as featured in the following two subsections.

7.3 Feminism Arena

Immediately prior to the conference, women in the 'FTMANZ' host the first Women In Family Therapy Meeting [WIFTM] in Aotearoa New Zealand, following six previous annual meetings in Australia where "New Zealand family therapists have played a significant part" (Chamberlain, 1992, p. 49). Earlier in 1989 one of the New Zealand WIFTM organisers attends the International Family Therapy Association's conference in Ireland where, along with two English women:

> […] we initiated a women's forum. This caused much upset as we wanted this meeting to be exclusively women. Women walked out, etcetera. It was at this point that I realised how different and—from my perspective—advanced the context was at that time in New Zealand.
>
> ⟨P5: Pākehā, woman, family therapist, senior leaders' group⟩

The "Celebration of Difference"-themed (Harré Hindmarsh, 1989) WIFTM is held over three days in Akaroa, 80 kms from Christchurch, where "two issues emerge[…]: the

invisibility of lesbians and respect for Indigenous Peoples" (Chamberlain, 1992, p. 50). From a Lesbian Feminism subworld perspective:

> The thing is, we don't want to speak for others, do we? […] and [liberal and radical] feminists spoke for everyone and then we [lesbian feminists] said "You can't do that"
>
> ⟨P31: Pākehā, woman, social worker⟩

From a cultural perspective it is Māori, Pacific, and Pākehā women working in the intersection of the Treaty of Waitangi Cultural Justice Arena with the Feminism Arena who are the strongest advocates for cultural justice and the raising of new gender-relations discourse within the 'FTMANZ':

> I don't think you can separate cultural justice from the gender-relations and feminism work that was being done [… because] it was the women who were standing up at conferences challenging and part of that challenging was around cultural relations and cultural justice. So those two really go hand-in-hand.
>
> ⟨P5: Pākehā, woman, family therapist, senior leaders' group⟩

> Many Pākehā antiracist[educators …] are also lesbian so those worlds have cross over.
>
> ⟨P31: Pākehā, woman, social worker⟩

> It is interesting to consider which voices are given an authoritative and thus legitimate place in any dialogue and subsequent institutional memory.
>
> ⟨P5: Pākehā, woman, family therapist, senior leaders' group⟩

P5's latter comment echoes the feminist challenge made to Pākehā men within the 'FTMANZ' who articulate their initiatives in the Treaty of Waitangi Cultural Justice Arena without acknowledging feminist influences on their work (Drewery, 1990) and who use language as power:

> I called the [dominant] Pākehā men to account in terms of my experience as a lesbian feminist who felt very excluded by language that was beyond my comprehension. [Their] writing and the way [they] present [their work], in *my* view […] is very dense and risks excluding people. […] I probably started distancing myself from [them …] because I felt there were unspoken gender issues that pissed me off.

⟨P31: Pākehā, woman, social worker⟩

The feminist discourse above resist the claims of dominant discourse to speak for, silence, or baffle them. At the 1989 conference they speak out in mixed-gender forums and create space for women to meet away from men. With a clutch of Pākehā men dominating new paradigm initiatives leading up to the 1989 conference, women continue to apply feminist lenses to critique those initiatives while also offering alternative approaches to working with families and organisations; however, "these often *disappear* under the weight of *out-of-conscious gender bias*" ⟨P5, emphasis in original⟩ (Bird, 1989; Gavey et al., 1990; Harré Hindmarsh, 1989; Pilalis, 1987a, 1987b; Pilalis & Anderton, 1986; Tredgold, 1987).[11] Such tensions play out continuously at the conference within and across multiple arenas with varying degrees of engagement and withdrawal. While the Feminism Arena is a major site of difference within the 'FTMANZ' in 1989, some of the strongest intraworld tensions appear in the Epistemological/Worldview Arena, as described below.

7.4 Epistemological/Worldview Arena

7.4.1 New Paradigm subworld

Since the early 1980s, clinical and political 'camps' (Sutton, 1990) among family therapists in Aotearoa New Zealand contest a local front in the "paradigm wars" (Gage, 1989, p. 4) sweeping epistemological/worldview arenas throughout the Western world[12] [see Chapter 2 for details prior to 1989]. By 1989 the emergence of—what I am calling—the New Paradigm subworld at the intersection of the Clinical and Political subworlds [see Figure 6-B] is a discernible segmentation that marks the tremendous fluidity of the 'FTMANZ' as a social world that "won't and can't stand still" (Strauss, 1978b, p. 123).

The New Paradigm subworld is a "new universe of discourse" that draws agency from "the evolution of technology" (Strauss, 1978b, p. 123)—new ideas about theory and

11. Pilalis [formerly] and Harré Hindmarsh is the same person with different surnames.

12. The so-called paradigm wars are between proponents of positivist and constructionist epistemologies in academia. International contributors in the late 1980s include: from education (Gage, 1989; Guba, 1990; Howe, 1988; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Schwandt, 1989); psychology (Gergen, 1985); feminism (Lather, 1988; Luepnitz, 1988); and anthropology (Freeman, 1983; Said, 1989).

practice in family therapy—principally generated in the partnership between David Epston and Michael White and with those whom they inspire.[13]

> [They] were *Southern* [Hemisphere] ideas, if you like, that came out of having to rethink colonisation that they didn't have to think about in the Eurocentric North. I just think it kind of bloomed and went off on a new track, but it was a *clinical* track. I think people gripped onto that because it gave you a way of working. Up until then it [modernist practice] had been criticised. "You can't do that anymore. That's not right. That is a power trip that you're on", and then suddenly—well not suddenly because it developed—but suddenly there is, "Okay, we do have to address power but [now] we've got ways of doing it."
>
> ⟨P7: Pākehā, woman, social work educator⟩

> They were both influential on my thinking. I enjoyed the cerebral part of Michael's approach even though it tested me intellectually over those years, but I loved the personality and creativity of David's approach, and they fizzed off each other. […] It brought a level of hope and a sense that what had brought me into this area of work—values from my upbringing about doing good and helping others—was likely to be a hell of a lot more effective if I listened and wrestled with the ideas that these fellas had.
>
> ⟨P50: Pākehā, man, social worker, 1989 conference organiser⟩

At this point their work is known as the "White/Epston type interview" (Epston & Roth, 1995), as they are "steadfast in our refusal to name our work in any consistent manner" (Epston & White, 1992, p. 9).[14] A few months prior to the 1989 conference they co-author the book, "Literate Means to Therapeutic Ends"[15] (White & Epston, 1989), where White brings Foucault's (1980) power/knowledge linkage to bear on the rationality of pathologising stories in therapy, and both authors promote the re-storying of meanings

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13. Subsequent segmentations of the New Paradigm subworld contribute to the development of narrative (Cheshire & Lewis, 1996; Epston & White, 1992; Epston, White, & Ben, 1996; Maisel, Epston, & Borden, 2004; Monk, Winslade, Crocket, & Epston, 1997; White & Epston, 1990), cultural (Bush, Chapman, Drummond, & Fagaloa, 2009; NiaNia, Bush, & Epston, 2017; Tamasese & Laban, 1993; Waldegrave, 1990a; Waldegrave & Tamasese, 1993), feminist (Harré Hindmarsh, 1994a) and relational (Bird, 1994, 2000, 2004) therapies in NZ and beyond.

14. In the same year, 1992, their Canadian 'apprentice', Madigan (2011), adopts the name "narrative therapy" when opening the Vancouver School of Narrative Therapy, while the first use of the terms "narrative therapy" and "narrative therapist" in NZ literature may be by Hart (1995).

15. First published by Dulwich Centre Publications in Adelaide, the book is renamed "Narrative Means to Therapeutic Ends" the following year when published by WW Norton in New York (Epston, 2003).

made from severe life events as liberative narratives published in unique letter forms (Tomm, 1989).

To Epston's knowledge their book "represents the first major engagement with ideas such as social constructionism, poststructuralism and postmodernism expressing their radical possibilities rather than merely a nihilistic critique" (Epston, 2003, p. 2).[16] The referencing of others' engagements as "nihilistic" may be a form of what Berger and Luckmann (1966)[17] refer to as "nihilation" (p. 114f), the ascribing of a negative ontological status to a competing "form of life"[18] as a strategy toward neutralising it (ter Borg, 1988). Perhaps in 1989 the New Paradigm subworld is threatened by "the impinging of other worlds" (Strauss, 1978b, p. 123) who offer "a real alternative for the form of life they [the New Paradigmers] themselves live in or long for" (ter Borg, 1988, p. 12). Contemporaneous engagements by Northern Hemisphere practitioner-theorists with one or more of the trio of theoretical perspectives cited by Epston include brief solution-focused (de Shazer, 1982, 1985, 1988), reflective (Andersen, 1987), collaborative (Anderson & Goolishian, 1988; Anderson, Goolishian & Windermand, 1986; Hoffman, 1985), eco-systemic (Auerswald, 1987) and dialogical (Boscolo, Cecchin, Hoffman, & Penn, 1987) approaches.

If made artlessly, the New Paradigm co-leader's statement may reflect Aotearoa New Zealand's antipodean isolation in 1989, perhaps compounded in the 'FTMANZ' by a general repudiation of most overseas 'experts' in favour of local knowledges.[19] A weakness in this proposition is that he is remembering the New Paradigm subworld in

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16. Epston is writing a guest editorial in 2003 for the Social Work Review, the official journal of the Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Workers [ANZASW] at that time. In the editorial he presents "a biased 'genealogy' of Narrative Practices and Just Therapy [… with] no time to consult with those to whom I refer and for that reason, what follows is my particular version of events" (2003, p. 1). In that light, his statement about "Literate Means To Therapeutic Ends" quoted in the main text above is his personal position when remembering and reflecting back on events in 1989, much as research participants do when being interviewed for this study.

17. Sociologists, Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman (1966) introduce the term "social construction" to the social sciences, having been strongly influenced by the work of Alfred Schütz (p. 9).

18. Ter Borg (1988, p. 12n10) uses this term from Wittgenstein (1953) in its widest sociological sense as "a set of rules, values in which people live, and which […] constitute their paramount reality", which I equate with Strauss' (1978b) concept of a social world.

19. "[During the 1980s] New Zealanders were wanting to work like the overseas gurus, and it didn't work very well for our clients. There started to be a reaction *against* these overseas ideas [… and] how much did they fit for us? Their [use of] power was wrong. We've got to change the power." ⟨P7: Pākehā, woman, social work educator⟩.

1989 from a vantage point in 2003 where he can appraise himself of other's engagements at the earlier time.

If made antipathetically, the New Paradigm co-leader may be claiming that their subworld is "more authentically of [… or] more representative of" (Strauss, 1978b, p. 123) the radical possibilities of these theoretical perspectives through the quality and essentialness of their activities. For such claims to be taken seriously, as this one evidently is—the book is an international success the following year when republished as "Narrative Means to Therapeutic Ends" (White & Epston, 1990)—authenticators need to have "the 'power' to authenticate" (Strauss, 1978b, p. 123). The subprocesses of such power "presumably include the allocating, assigning, and depriving of resources" (p. 123) and these resources are most on display during the annual national conference of the 'FTMANZ', where local organising committees invite plenary speakers to address the whole conference and sponsor select individuals or teams to conduct pre- or post-conference workshops. These resources are made available to senior figures of the New Paradigm subworld at the 1989 conference, namely Epston (Marisa & Epston, 1989); Harré Hindmarsh (1989); Tamasese (Nokise, 1989); Waldegrave (1989b); and White (1989b).[20]

7.4.2 Pushback

The New Paradigm subworld's critique of others may also have links to push-back from within the Epistemological/Worldview Arena by the institution of psychiatry, whose discipling practices (Foucault, 1977, 1980) Epston likens to a "ritual of degradation" (Garfinkel, 1956, as cited in Epston, 1987, p. 16). Psychiatry's representative, John Werry (1989), returns fire by attacking family therapy's credibility in "Family Therapy: Professional Endeavour or Successful Religion?", which may reflect psychiatry's discomfit with a potential New Paradigm shift in its sphere of influence:

> I evaluate family therapy as a rather sad sack relying for its status largely on assertion, self-congratulation, guruism and denigration of alternatives. […] at

20. Senior members of the New Paradigm subworld deliver five of eight plenary addresses at the 1989 conference (Conference Committee, 1989), while White and Epston also conduct a pre-conference workshop.

> the moment family therapy has many of the hallmarks of a religion with several competing sects led by feuding charismatic prophets each claiming to have a premium on Truth, but few of the attributes of a professional endeavour rooted in scientific ethics and scepticism.
>
> (Werry, 1989, pp. 380-381)

Whatever the provocation, the activity of degrading one another seems to be how issues are being fought out—it is a paradigm war!—in this local arena. Another research participant recalls the prevalence of disrespect at conferences of that era:

> I think there was a real schism in the late 1980s, early 1990s. […] People were polarised around models of practice and they stopped respecting that difference. It's ironic, eh? I'm talking about respecting people's theoretical differences and being able to talk about them. […] But I think there was this big absolute *blob* of disrespect, and I'm sure it comes from the best of intentions, right? People thinking they're right […] but I think we can hold to our views without disrespecting people.
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> ⟨P8: Pākehā, male, family therapist⟩

Given that "the methods the [New Paradigm] segment evolves for coping with their members' problems have important implications for the formation and alteration of professional identity" (Bucher, 1962, p. 43), then the levels of antagonism and disrespect among members of the 'FTMANZ', evident in 1989, may indicate a rocky road ahead in the local Professionalisation Arena, discussed next.

7.5 Professionalisation Arena

7.5.1 Professional discipline or social justice movement?

At the 1989 conference two very different meetings are held in the Professionalisation Arena by the 'FTMANZ' and the Editorial Board of the ANZJFT [the Board] respectively. The 'FTMANZ' business meeting is held as an open conference session where anyone can attend, and the informality of its protocols lead to heated challenges from some attendees who assume the 'FTMANZ' has the authority and capabilities of a formal organisation.

> I remember at the Christchurch conference [a Pākehā colleague] and I were facilitating [the business meeting …] and somebody stood up and really had a go at us. You people are 'this' and you people are 'that', and I go, "Well, I'm nobody in particular. I'm somebody who has been asked to facilitate this meeting." […] I'm not the person that has institutional power. I have no power except the power I hold around my practice, I suppose. […] The challenge was that we weren't doing *enough* to create social change, and you know what it looks like? Two Pākehā sitting out the front? It felt to me like all the injustices and frustrations of the everyday were being projected to some extent onto this 'organisation' that wasn't an organisation.
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> ⟨P5: Pākehā, woman, family therapist, senior leaders' group⟩

> Forming an association was mooted [but] all the conferences were so packed with politics and these [organisational] considerations just seemed minor by comparison. There never was a group of people that really wanted to or had the time to form an association, which of course is a major undertaking.
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> ⟨P4: Pākehā, man, family therapist, senior leaders' group⟩

In contrast, the Annual General Meeting of the Board takes place on the day before the conference and proposes the sharing of responsibilities for conferences with local organising committees to assure the Board "a more stable financial base" (Quadrio, 1989, p. ii), and the formalising of "an adequate constitution and incorporation" to protect the legal status of Board members (Spink, 1989b, p. 15). This meeting is also where the first Māori and Pacific Peoples' dual representative completes his two-year term, a position sought by Māori and Pacific members of the 'FTMANZ' in 1987 (Smart, 1987b). While the President's report describes the representative's contributions as touching the Board with "the gentleness, the strength, and the richness of his person and his culture" (Quadrio, 1989, p. ii), privately the cross-cultural experience is not easy for either side:

> I said to [P26's Pākehā colleague on the Board], "I feel uncomfortable because I am a black face going onto a white supreme [sic] group […] I must have some skills?" I was doubting me, but she says, "But they need what you have got. The Māori expression and the wairua of it."
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> ⟨P26: Māori, man, family therapist, ANZJFT Board⟩

> […] and we wanted to support him [P26] at his first [Board] meeting and so we just turned up. […] [P26] expected a welcome of course and they [the Board] were like stunned mullets […] it's like the New Zealanders are taking over. And [P26] speaks and then we waiata and somebody else speaks and there's another waiata, and there's a declaration that if he's not looked after then we will take him back, and then we leave him there, but we've brought him in.
>
> ⟨P5: Pākehā, woman, family therapist, senior leaders' group⟩

> […] and he [P26] didn't say a word through the whole morning. The Australians are thinking, we have got this guy over here, why isn't he talking? And after lunch he got up and said, "I haven't been welcomed so I am going to welcome you", which they accepted, but it came across as a challenge. Hostility. How could they be expected to know? [...] So, that sort of process repeated a number of times creates bad blood both ways. Personally, some of it I hold [The Family Centre's Pākehā team] responsible for. […] The self-righteousness, which is the worst way to address most Australians […] is symptomatic of one aspect of New Zealand culture. We have it too. The wowsers, we call them. They always adopt the high moral ground without bothering to find out what is going on and try to impose that view.
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> ⟨P28: Non-Aboriginal Australian/NZ-born/Ngāi Tahu, man, family therapist, ANZJFT Board⟩

> The 'white'[/non-Aboriginal] Australian men were the hardest on the Board. They said, "Oh, I don't believe in what [P26] is saying". I said, "That is your problem. I don't have a problem at all." […] In other words, they couldn't say much because I was selected by Aotearoa to come [onto the Board]. I said to [P26's Pākehā colleague], "There are too many toffee-apples in this outfit. Hmm, I've had enough. Why should I waste my energy?"
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> ⟨P26: Māori, man, family therapist, ANZJFT Board⟩

In 1989, the Board propose ratifying their existing policies as the basis for a legal constitution before opening them for review (Quadrio, 1991); however, the New Zealanders don't wait for the review to debate the hot issue of their cultural representation:

> The fight was over the placement of Māori and Sāmoan [representatives] on the Board. That blew up in 1989. […] The Board for us was a way of keeping a

> check on what was happening, how it was happening, who was making things happen, and what was our role or position in it. That just means we [Māori] wanted to take another step up. […] I can recall getting up and making a very short speech and then sitting back down again, and two rows of Māori women and men got up and sang [in support of P35] and that was when I got my appointment—*on the spot*—to the Board.
>
> ⟨P35: Māori, man, whānau worker⟩

> [Sāmoan family therapists] especially were seeking to decolonise practices [including those of the Board …] and there's nothing too surprising about that now, but if you just go back almost thirty years [to 1989] those ideas were shocking [...] and the [non-Aboriginal] Australians were offended.
>
> ⟨P4: Pākehā, man, family therapist, senior leaders' group⟩

The contrasts and tensions extend to the role of disciplinary power in each movement.

7.5.2 Disciplinary power

While the AFTM seek to instil disciplinary attitudes in the minds of its members through the gatekeeping of institutional qualifications, credentialing, and accreditation; most mechanisms of professionalisation are absent in the 'FTMANZ'.

> If we had developed an association and produced people who called themselves Family Therapists, we were buying back into the 'expertness' that goes with a profession and we were very reluctant to do that for a long time in New Zealand. […] Maybe it was because of the strong influence of social workers in family therapy and the struggle within social work [in Aotearoa New Zealand] to develop a profession. […] [Non-Aboriginal] Australia didn't have the same reluctance because they were so much further down the path of colonisation that it wasn't a problem to be an expert.
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> ⟨P7: Pākehā, woman, social work educator⟩

Whereas in Australia, tertiary-level family therapy qualifications are widely available during the late 1980s (Australian Association of Family Therapy, 2020), in Aotearoa New Zealand…

> […] there was no official training, so it was on the job training […] with people who were *passionate* about that way of working with families and really inculcated that kind of passion in you.
>
> ⟨P7: Pākehā, woman, social work educator⟩

> People working in family therapy [in Aotearoa New Zealand] saw themselves as the avant-garde. They really got into reading, going to [ad hoc] workshops, and seeing this as '*the* way' of working. […] it was all experimental.
>
> ⟨P14: Pākehā, woman, psychologist⟩

> There was no legitimate body going, "you can't call yourself that…" or "you haven't trained with this group, so you can't do that…", and there wasn't such strong ownership or personal belonging, you know, "I've invested ten years learning this and I'm not going to give it away". You didn't have that.
>
> ⟨P5: Pākehā, woman, family therapist, senior leaders' group⟩

By way of a juxtaposing illustration, in 1989 the Victorian Association of Family Therapy, the largest state association in Australia, formalise their incorporation as VAFT Inc. (Australian Association of Family Therapy, 2020), adopt AAMFT[21] criteria for accrediting supervisors (Goding, 1990), and tighten clinical membership criteria to protect the "very desirable […] Clinical Member of VAFT" designation (Holmes & Datnow, 1990, p. 15), while in Aotearoa New Zealand, discourse on gatekeeping is reversed to recognise and resource marginal knowledges in their own right:

> We were talking about the equitable distribution of resources in the therapy world. If there is a cultural difference against a professional difference, how do you identify that? And can a Māori person who is more spiritually associated, more knowledgeable around their whakapapa, more knowledgeable about how communities live from a Māori perspective, etc, but who lacks the [formal] qualification to be the therapist…? Now that becomes a resourcing issue.
>
> ⟨P12: Māori, man, social work educator⟩

As the AFTM forges its way towards professionalisation—knowingly or not—since the first issue of its enduring journal in 1979, the 'FTMANZ' philosophically eschews

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21. In 1989 the AAMFT is nearly fifty years old and has a membership of 16,000 family therapists (Hutchins et al., 1989), making it the most powerful disciplinary body of family therapists in the world.

professionalisation in solidarity with the social justice activists beating a drum in the hearts of so many of its members. With such different aims there is no wonder that these binational conference partners experience frustration with one another:

> [We] were very keen to get the New Zealanders onboard. We wanted the New Zealanders as part of the network, and they were very keen at one level and at another level they didn't do anything. We saw and were offering, "Look, you want to get training programmes up, you want to build a movement. We are here to help you."
>
> ⟨P34: Non-Aboriginal Australian, man, family therapist, ANZJFT Board⟩

> We decided that we needed to do something about inviting Aboriginal people [to the 1989 conference] and if that embarrassed the [non-Aboriginal] Australians, whose presentation of Aboriginals […] as the First People of the land in Australia was invisible in their communication to us, then we needed to call that out. And it is quite pleasing that some of them were a bit pissed off about that because that's what it was all about.
>
> ⟨P50: Pākehā, man, social worker, 1989 conference organiser⟩

The hostility implicit in some of the cultural challenges from the 'FTMANZ' is not lost on non-Aboriginal Australian family therapists, as their Board notes earlier in this account. Yet no challenge to date is more calculated to provoke than the 1989 Christchurch conference organisers' pièce de résistance when effecting the formal inclusion of First Nations Peoples of Australia at a family therapy conference for the first time in either country.

7.6 Aboriginal And Torres Strait Islander Peoples' Indigenous Rights Arena

7.6.1 Interworld encounters

Four First Nations of Australia women travel to Christchurch to attend the 1989 conference: P51 and P52 from the Victorian Aboriginal Child Care Agency [VACCA] in Melbourne, and Iris McLeod, Senior Aboriginal Health Worker, and Colleen Brown,[22]

[22.] Colleen Brown [d. 2002]. See Larner (2004); Stagoll (2002).

Aboriginal Health Worker (Brown & Larner, 1992), from the Community Health Centre in Nowra on the NSW South Coast.[23]

> [P51] and I worked at VACCA and we went to the [1989] family therapy conference. They thought we worked in a childcare agency, but we were right on the front line really. We were both involved in extended care, foster care, and adoption in Melbourne. We hadn't had a lot of contact with family therapy.
>
> ⟨P52: Aboriginal, woman, adoption & foster care worker⟩

> We worked in foster-care and we was dealing with families all the time. [P52] was also working with stolen children who were adopted out with closed files. […] We worked with families, mums, and children, sometimes parents would both be in rehabs. There would be access weekends, stuff like that. That is probably why we was chosen [to go to the conference].
>
> ⟨P51: Aboriginal, woman, foster care worker⟩

The women receive "a warm welcome" from their Māori, Pacific, and Pākehā hosts, and meet non-Aboriginal Australian family therapists among whom "some people are really genuine, compassionate, […] and want to familiarise themselves with the culture in case they have Aboriginal clients", while others, perhaps not thinking that will happen, "didn't really want to know about the issues." The two pairs of women meet each other for the first time and "you know what black fellas are like, we just clicked straight away". Sticking together to talk about their work back in Australia attracts "a couple of strange comments [that] the Aboriginal people are shy". For P52 "it was a nerve-racking experience to go overseas and leave my country […] and meet these family therapists […who] will all be talking like Sigmund Freud". There is relief to go to conference workshops where family therapy is "demystified" as something "quite straight forward and simple". Family therapists "find out what the issue was and talk through a few things and work out a few strategies that would be achievable, […] and that is what *we* do!"

23. I do not know how Brown and McLeod are chosen to go to the 1989 conference in Christchurch. Brown and Larner (1992) write that the women "were invited by Wally Campbell and Kingi Arapeta" (p. 175), who are part of the conference organising group, although how that group connects with the Nowra Community Health Centre is not clear. Larner, who in 1989 is Brown and McLeod's non-Aboriginal Australian colleague and a family therapy specialist at that Centre, doesn't recall the two women having any contact with family therapy prior to the 1989 conference: "I say this because I still remember my surprise and delight at the time" when learning they would be attending that conference [G. Larner, personal communication, 20 July 2019].

They make a point of going to non-Aboriginal Australian workshops "to strengthen professional ties so we could work together [back in Australia] when our clients need family therapy." Their own presentations are both planned and impromptu, and "people were interested to come and listen to what we had to say, […] a two-way process where they were learning from us and we were learning from them". After meeting "a lot of lovely people […] I thought, 'Oh, yes, we are the same. We are dealing with the same problems' [… and] that is what I got out of it [the conference]."[24]

Brown recounts that "one day we were taken by our Maori brothers and sisters to their sacred meeting place [the wharenui at Rehua marae]. I have never felt so calm as walking into that place and have never looked back since. It gave me spiritual strength and a sense of where Aboriginal people need to go, in building their own culture and community"[25] (Brown & Larner, 1992).

For P51, a similarly deep connection with Māori exists from her mother's work with those Māori women who travel to NSW in the 1960s and 1970s to establish Aboriginal family education centres in a project led by New Zealand early childhood educator, Lex Grey, and the Van Leer Foundation (Grey, 1972, 1974).[26]

> It doesn't surprise [me] that the connection was meant to happen. It is back to New Zealand and Australia again. I have *always* known that connection [through P51's mother]. […] We all want solutions and it is going to come from the Australia-New Zealand connection and it will.
>
> ⟨P51: Aboriginal, woman, foster care worker⟩

7.6.2 Accountabilities

In stark contrast to both P51 and Brown, P52 encounters racism at the conference that triggers instinctive anxiety originating in a childhood lived in the long shadow of

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24. This paragraph is a collage of some of P51's & P52's experiences at the conference as described by them in separate in-depth interviews.

25. This brief passage from Brown and Larner (1992) is the only first-hand description of the 1989 conference by one of the Aboriginal women found in extant literature.

26. One of these Māori women is Hana Tukukino (1970a, 1970b, 1992), who is prominent in the 'FTMANZ' and in decolonisation training for Māori in the 1980s, and is a founder of Te Korowai Aroha o Aotearoa, a kaupapa Māori education provider. She recalls that "Lex developed a training programme that showed all the positive strengths that Māori mothers and fathers each brought to a playcentre and we all thought, that's *exactly* right. He articulated and we recognised it, and so we supported the Playcentre Movement." [H. Tukukino, personal communication, 30 November 2018].

persecutions dating back to her grandparents' generation:

> I remember talking to a 'white' New Zealand woman about this new legislation[27] coming in and I just got the impression from her body language and what she said, like "the legislation is being forced on us", and she didn't sound too pleased about it, and I thought, "oh, it [the conference] seems so good and polite on the surface, but then when you talk to people […] about real self-determination for Indigenous People you could tell there was a bit of resistance there." […] I was not one to sort of speak up—now I do if I hear injustice—but I didn't want to get into trouble giving an opinion [… because] I grew up knowing how our people were treated. My mother was brought up on a reserve up in Queensland and because my grandfather, who was a horseman, because he wanted to manage his own money and not have the superintendent on the reserve manage it, he was kicked off the reserve. They said, "well, you don't need protection now", [… and under] the Aboriginals Protection Act[28] every single aspect of their lives was overseen by the Protector of Aboriginals.[29] […] So my grandparents, my aunties and uncles were all banished. […] I grew up in a time when you had to be on your guard because you didn't want to get into trouble with authority figures. You know, you [a child] could get taken away at any time. [… with the 'white' NZ woman] I probably just thought, well, I am on the same level as Māori, you know, and if they are prejudiced against Māori they would be prejudiced against Aboriginals. […]
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> I remember going into a shop downtown in the middle of the day and there was a young Māori woman who seemed to be having some problems […] she was drunk or stoned or something. That is what I see in Melbourne at home […] and I thought Māori people had really made some gains and maybe they were in a better position than us, but [then] I thought, "yeah, you just have to go out and really see people with the same issues as at home."
>
> ⟨P52: Aboriginal, woman, adoption & foster care worker⟩

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27. "Children, Young Persons, and Their Families Act" (1989).
28. "The Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act" (1897) applies in Queensland at that time.
29. The "Protector of Aboriginals" is a "fit and proper person" appointed "for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Act […] within the districts assigned to them" ("Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act," 1897, p. 6175, cl. 6).

P52's experience of self-silencing to avoid getting into trouble with the 'white' woman at the conference illustrates the "gaze" (Foucault, 1973, 1977, 1980) emanating from a site of power and authority—in this case the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly in Nineteenth Century Queensland—now internalised by the granddaughter of the man subject to its provisions. In this manner the Act lives on, amplified as an efficient panopticonic[30] solution, "not for power itself [… but] to strengthen the social forces—to increase production, to develop the economy, spread education, raise the level of public morality; to increase and multiply" (1977, p. 208) as may be valued by an invading colonial society. The process of discipling P52 "is always already incipient" (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 80) through the continuous exposure of Aboriginal peoples to a dominant discourse of nationalised racism, which they internalise as "technologies of the self" (Foucault, 1988, p. 16)—ones not requiring external enforcement—the presence of which in P52's early childhood she poignantly recalls below:

> At primary school […] we always thought that Aboriginal people got into trouble. The police would seem to just pick on us and there seemed to be a lot of disapproval in the 'white' community about Aboriginal people, so you really had to almost prove yourself. There was a lot of pressure *consciously knowing* that we were like second-grade sheep.
>
> ⟨P52: Aboriginal, woman, adoption & foster care worker, emphasis added⟩

The 'white' woman at the conference may be quite unconscious of the dominant discourse affecting her physical and verbal responses to the new legislation she and P52 are discussing and to their contribution to P52 silencing herself. Being physically present but silenced is another way Aboriginal people can become implicated actors [see Sec. 6.2.2 for earlier discussion of this term] in a given arena of concern. During the 1980s The Family Centre develop internal accountability processes to avoid dominating cultures turning dominated cultures into implicated actors. To achieve this, all work with Māori or Pacific Peoples is accountable to their respective cultural sections, while work with men is accountable to the women in the Centre, thus deactivating the cultural and gender

30. Foucault analyses Bentham's (1843) architectural figure of the panopticon, an annular building in which a supervisor positioned in a central tower can observe every occupant in their individual cell.

biases promulgated in dominant societal discourse (Waldegrave, 1990a). At the 1989 conference when the 'FTMANZ' challenge the AFTM on their relations with Aboriginal peoples, such accountability to Aboriginal peoples, both those who are present and those who are not, appears to be lost in favour of a discourse of nationalistic rivalry from smaller and younger Aotearoa New Zealand towards larger and older Australia.[31]

> When I was a kid in New Zealand, I was already being taught that we are good people here and those Australians are loud braggarts. New Zealanders talked about Australians a bit like the way Australians and Brits talked about the Americans. All those negative stereotypes were seeping in.
>
> ⟨P28: Non-Aboriginal Australian/NZ-born/Ngāi Tahu, man, family therapist, ANZJFT Board⟩

> I was a newbie [at the 1989 conference and…] what struck me with some heaviness is the way the New Zealand contingent attacked the [non-Aboriginal] Australian contingent for their poor relationship with Aboriginals, and it was a pretty heavy attack, kind of separating out 'us' and 'them'. […] It was done from the [conference] stage, so the stage is held by people with power [… and] the [non-Aboriginal] Australian contingent were being hammered with the responsibility of Australia. [… The attack] went from consciousness out there [in the conference] but never having been properly addressed, […] the issue went underground to sleep but with great potential danger lurking.
>
> ⟨P9: Pākehā/Non-Indigenous North American-born, man, psychotherapist⟩

If the 'FTMANZ' does want to be accountable to Aboriginal peoples prior to challenging the AFTM they would need to receive mandates from the collective Indigenous communities standing behind the four Aboriginal women attending the conference, as The Family Centre demonstrate doing through much of the 1980s in partnerships with Māori and Sāmoan communities in both Aotearoa New Zealand and Sāmoa (J. Campbell, 1988; Coventry et al., 1987). Without mandates the 'good' intentions of the 'FTMANZ' are open to being interpreted as 'protectionism'—"for the better Protection and Care of the Aboriginal and Half-caste Inhabitants of the Colony" as

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31. In the mid- to late 1980s diplomatic relations between NZ and Australia are strained by the "New Zealand Nuclear Free Zone, Disarmament, and Arms Control Act" (1987), which jeopardises the ANZUS Treaty thereby compromising Australia's defence arrangements with the USA.

the preamble to the "The Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act" (1897) reads—a policy pursued by Australian governments during the first half of the Twentieth Century (Eckermann et al., 2010) with disastrous consequences for Aboriginal peoples.[32] Only the First Nations Peoples of Australia can say whether the actions of the 'FTMANZ' that implicate them in relations between the New Zealand and Australian family therapy movements in the late 1980s are empowering, disempowering, or potentially dangerous to them. On the evidence of the modest sample of such Peoples in this study, 'the jury is still out'.

7.7 Conditions Of Possibility At The Conclusion Of The 1989 Conference

Where can things go from here for the 'FTMANZ'? What are the possibilities for change? (Clarke et al., 2018). At the conclusion of the 1989 conference these questions point to the conditions of possibility for the 'FTMANZ' and their answers may be found in the "discourses that claim to tell truths […] of how life is organised in daily [conference] practices" (p. 315).

7.7.1 An assimilative consciousness

The decision to combine national conferences for the first time in 1989 and to host the AFTM in Aotearoa New Zealand is an historical moment where "an array of possible trajectories" (Strauss, as cited in Clarke et al., 2018, p. 84) might be taken. That the 'FTMANZ' conference organisers and their supporters choose to take political action in the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples' Indigenous Rights Arena—undergirded by the discourse they have been constructing over recent years about non-Aboriginal Australian family therapists not doing enough to acknowledge the First Nations Peoples of Australia—without establishing robust relational, cultural, and political accountabilities with national and state Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander

32. From 1910 to 1970 somewhere between 10% and 33% of all Aboriginal children in Australia—including newborns—are forcibly removed from their families and communities and placed with non-Aboriginal families, government institutions, missions, or children's homes. While some children in foster and institutional placements experience affection and happiness, many more suffer harsh conditions, including insufficient food and resources, physical and sexual abuse, education suitable for menial labour only, and no wages when authorities place them into work. Contact between these "Stolen Generations" and their families is discouraged or prevented, with many children told their families do not want them or that their parents are dead (Commonwealth of Australia, 1997).

organisations, is reminiscent of colonial protectionism. The assumption of Pākehā superiority runs through colonisation and facilitates an assimilative consciousness that would propose an intervention that the coloniser thinks 'is the right thing' for the colonised, without expending the time, effort, and resources to build genuine partnerships with the First Nations Peoples on their terms. If such relations were built, these peoples would be in a position to express their *own* needs in those partnerships, to propose their *own* solutions to those needs, and to ask for any assistance *they* might require.

Instead, the outcomes for First Nations Peoples of Australia who attend the conference are much like those under former Australian Governments' protectionist and assimilative policies [see Sec. 6.2.2], where some individuals are empowered—as Colleen Brown evidently is—while others, like P52, discipline themselves to be physically present but self-silencing implicated actors in those arenas where dominating cultures are in control.

7.7.2 A climate of hostility

For many non-Aboriginal Australian family therapists, the conference fans the winds of disrespect swirling around trans-Tasman relations in recent years over matters of cultural justice, cultural representation on the Board, and professionalisation. While Australians are deeply moved by close encounters with Māori and Pacific cultures during the conference, there is a prevailing climate of hostility hanging over the conference that is broadly prevalent across the 'FTMANZ' itself. This can be felt in how challenges are made by Māori and Pacific Peoples against Pākehā dominance in the 'FTMANZ'; in the antagonism between political and clinical camps in the 'FTMANZ' over competing theoretical perspectives; in gender tensions between feminists and dominant Pākehā men over the unacknowledged influence of feminist theorists and the power of language to exclude people; in the antipathy between the psychiatry establishment and New Paradigm proponents; and in the revelations by P35 about Pākehā and Sāmoan dominance over Māori within The 'culturally accountable' Family Centre.

This climate of hostility is first noted during the unnamed transformation from a national Family Therapy Interest Group network to a social reform movement [the 'FTMANZ'] only two to three years previously [see Sec. 2.4.3], which inspires musings

among local ANZJFT correspondents about whether New Zealand family therapists “can regard and offer challenges as gifts of opportunity rather than as statements to diminish” (Thawley, 1987, p. 168). At the conclusion of the 1989 conference that statement appears more apt than ever. Can the ‘FTMANZ’ turn challenges into gifts, or will intraworld and interworld hostilities eventually destroy it?

7.7.3 Opportunities for change

Opportunities for change are scattered in “the dense flotsam and jetsam of contingency in the historical flows” present at the 1989 conference (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 316). Goodwill is extended to the ‘FTMANZ’ by First Nations Peoples of Australia and AFTM members who travel internationally to attend a conference imbued with unfamiliar Māori and Pākehā protocols, while the Australian-based Board offers to assist the ‘FTMANZ’ to develop both professionally and organisationally. There are deepening cross-cultural connections between Māori and Pākehā within and beyond the ‘FTMANZ’, between the VAFT and the ‘FTMANZ’, and the Dulwich Centre and The Family Centre. Pacific Peoples are rising above their subjugated histories to place their post-colonial social justice issues, both past and present, on the ‘FTMANZ’ table. The Family Centre and Epston are set to wow family therapists globally with home-grown alternatives to dominant Northern Hemisphere theories and practices. Each offers a new pathway of opportunity as the Nineteen Nineties beckon; however, will the Pākehā-dominated ‘FTMANZ’ be encouraged to develop authentic respect for difference; to become more accountable to the values and histories of dominated peoples; and to give away its inherited Western-centric colonial power? Or will the protectionist and assimilative consciousness out of which the Pākehā-dominated ‘FTMANZ’ acts at times during the 1989 conference—having not been fully exposed and accounted for at that event—go "underground to sleep but with great potential danger lurking”? ⟨P9: Pākehā/Non-Indigenous North American-born, man, psychotherapist⟩.

7.8 An Unexpected Detour

In Chapters 9 and 10, I present a situational analysis of the 1995 conference, the other ‘bookend’ to the 1989 to 1995 period; however, before doing that, there is an unexpected

detour to take in Chapter 8 through the Whakatāne District, and specifically, the rural Māori community of Rūātoki, where the 'FTMANZ' gather for their annual conference in 1993. This cameo-like event is brought to my attention by several research participants who consider it a turning point in the life of the 'FTMANZ'.

Tailpiece

After the 1989 conference the four Aboriginal women fly home to Australia.

> I'd have been in court the next day with children, we were just so busy at the agency. These sort of things [conferences] get put aside to get on with what was right there and then. […] My plan when I left New Zealand was to come to Sydney and be a family therapist because of the need for it, but that didn't happen.
>
> ⟨P51: Aboriginal, woman, foster care worker⟩

In the early 1990s, VAFT's credibility with VACCA is carefully established through the efforts of a couple of dedicated non-Aboriginal Australian members who make themselves available and then wait patiently to be invited to provide family therapy education and clinical supervision for Aboriginal case workers.[33]

> After we came back [from the 1989 conference] I was one of first VACCA workers who went to this wonderful organisation called the South Eastern Child and Adolescent Service [in Melbourne …] where we were learning about family therapy. […] I really wanted to go on and do family therapy and counselling, but I left Melbourne [in 1992 or 1993] and returned home to start a family and worked in the Aboriginal community.
>
> ⟨P52: Aboriginal, woman, adoption & foster care worker⟩

33. After two or three years this work is presented in a joint workshop by four Aboriginal case workers and the non-Aboriginal VAFT members at the 1993 Australian Family Therapy Conference in Canberra, and later culminates in the preparation and presentation of a joint submission to the Royal Commission into the Stolen Generation in the mid-1990s (Commonwealth of Australia, 1997). These early collaborations by family therapists contribute to the establishment of an Indigenous family therapy training program at The Bouverie Centre in Melbourne (Moloney, 2014), which currently includes a Postgraduate Certificate in Family Therapy, designed and taught by Aboriginal educators for Aboriginal and or Torres Strait Islander students working in community ⟨P41: Non-Aboriginal Australian, women, family therapist, personal communications, 22 December 2018 and 18 April 2019⟩.

In Nowra, NSW, Iris McLeod[34] and Colleen Brown return to the Community Health Centre, from where Brown goes on to become an integral member of the AFTM, an international workshop presenter, an ANZJFT Board member, coordinator of the Board's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders Consultation Group, and recipient of the Board's Award for Distinguished Service to Family Therapy in Australia and New Zealand (Brown, 1991; Brown & Denborough, 2001; Brown & Larner, 1992; Larner, 2004; Quadrio, 1992; Stagoll, 1997, 2002).

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34. I have no information about Iris McLeod's connection with family therapy after 1989. I am informed by her former colleagues that she is now retired.

Te Mihi

To the precious tīpuna of Ngāi Tūhoe,
Who stand on the shoulders of Maungapōhatu,
Greetings, greetings, thrice greetings.
While the streams and rivers of Te Urewera
Tirelessly feed Te Moana-a-Toitehuatahi,
You are always already there
In a marriage between mist and mountain.
Your presence is felt throughout your rohe –
In the rustle of Kahikatea leaf,
In the beat of Kererū wing,
Te Mana Motuhake o Ngāi Tūhoe sounds.
In the kura and kāinga in the valley,
From the lips of your mokopuna,
Your reo lives.
Greetings from among those who have blown in
With the silvereye and the shining cuckoo,
The companion and the opportunist,
Who are not of you.
Tell your people from our people:
We admire your mana, your mauri,
Your Tūhoetanga.
We often lack the vision of interdependence we see
Drawing your whānau and their communities together.
We thank you for the opportunity to listen and learn,
To kōrero with you, as best we are able.
Again we say to you, with aroha in our hearts and
Respect for your strategic thinking in our minds,
Greetings, greetings, thrice greetings.
Ngā mihi nui.

The following chapter is dedicated to

Anthony Gordon [Tony] Palairet

[28/05/1945—07/05/2007]

Conference co-initiator, family therapist, social worker, farmer.
Believer in the potential of his community.

> *His mantra was that our whānau have the ability to provide good solutions for themselves and if we are in their lives more than five minutes, it is our need, not the whānau's.*
>
> *(P47: Māori, woman, counsellor, 1993 conference organiser)*

8

1993 CONFERENCE:

"KIA WHAKA TĀNE AUE AHAU"

The men of the Mātaatua waka/canoe were exploring their newfound whenua/land, Aotearoa. The men forgot their responsibilities to the waka and their women—the waka drifted out to sea. Wairaka, the daughter of Toroa, chief of the Mātaatua waka, uttered this whakataukī: "Kia whaka tāne aue ahau/Aha, let me act the role of man". Muriwai, the aunt of Wairaka, then proceeded to bring to the shore the Maawe and like her niece Wairaka, acted to perform the sacred duty. She placed the Maawe into its sacred place, known today as Muriwai's cave.

Ngāi Tūhoe Whakapapa[1]

AS MEMBERS OF THE 'FAMILY THERAPY MOVEMENT IN Aotearoa New Zealand' ['FTMANZ'] leave their homes in the late-autumn of 1993 to journey to the rural North Island kāinga of Rūātoki for the ninth[2] national family therapy conference, they are—wittingly or not—delivering themselves into the kaupapa[3] of the

1. Kōrero/'account' reproduced from the Aotearoa Conference Organising Committee's (1993) conference advertising brochure.
2. There are eleven annual NZ family therapy conferences between 1983 and 1993; nine national conferences and two binational conferences with Australia, the latter in 1989 [Christchurch] and 1992 [Melbourne].
3. In the sense of a plan, purpose, scheme, proposal, agenda, subject, issue, or initiative (Moorfield, 2011).

Tangata Whenua/'hosts', the Tūhoe people.[4] That kaupapa is illustrated in the epigraph above and is an expression of Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe/'the Mana Motuhake of Tūhoe', which is the essence of Tūhoetanga[5] (Miles, 1999; Rangihau, 1975). Mana motuhake is "a philosophy but also a burning inner drive to be absolutely and totally independent of outside authority so as to protect the [Tūhoe] people and their way of life" (Waitangi Tribunal, 2009, p. 96). It has "connotations of unique power and authority, freedom, liberty, nationhood, self-determination, independence" (p. 78) and also "interdependence, because despite being [geographically] isolated […], Tūhoe have always maintained and relied on relationships with others outside of Te Urewera" (Higgins, 2014, n.p.).

> [The conference] was a display of interdependence. So, it wasn't just a new site for a conference. It was essentially a display of life, still living, still alive, and being interdependent with the Crown. […] It was a collaboration of people who believed in themselves and who believed that a community needed to be in the middle, in the heart of all social work; not the State, the Crown. […] The interdependence is that we still had people who were employed by the Government, so their stomach was with the Government, but their heart was with their community. […] the theme [in the epigraph above] means being responsible. It is freeing yourself from reliance on the Crown.
>
> ⟨P48: Māori, man, iwi authority chair, 1993 conference organiser⟩

For the reader to better understand Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe and the "enigma" (Boswell, Brown, Maniapoto, & Kruger, 1990, p. 42; Warne, 2013) that Tūhoe are, we need look no further than the history of Tūhoe-Crown relations, as we do in Sec. 8.1 below. In this light, the family therapy conference in Rūātoki is perceived as an event in—what I am calling—the historical and ongoing Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe Cultural Justice Arena, which is a localised articulation in the national Treaty of Waitangi Cultural Justice Arena in Aotearoa New Zealand [see Chapter 6 for details of 'FTMANZ'

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4. Ngāi Tūhoe/'Tūhoe people' are descendants of their progenitor, Tūhoe Pōtiki, "[who] was born and raised in the Rūātoki district about 1100AD [… and is the] great-grandson of Toroa who captained the Mātaatua waka in the great migration across the Pacific Ocean from Hawaiiki in Eastern Polynesia to Aotearoa" [Retrieved from https://www.ngaituhoe.iwi.nz/people].

5. The essence or quality of being Tūhoe. The suffix "tanga" is added to nouns to designate the quality derived from the base noun (Moorfield, 2011).

involvement in the latter]. A cameo-like situational analysis of that conference reveals it to be a significant turning point in the life of the 'FTMANZ' between 1989 and 1995, and the conditions of possibility (Foucault, 1970, 1973) that exist for the 'FTMANZ' in 1993 are reflected upon to round out this chapter.

8.1 Crown-Tūhoe Relations From 1840 To 1993

8.1.1 Confiscation, invasion, deception

Tūhoe people innately identify themselves as coming from Te Urewera (Higgins, 2014; Stokes, Milroy, & Melbourne, 1986), a region of rugged mountains in the central-eastern North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand [see Figure 8-A on the following page]. The remoteness of this location delays their 'on-home-soil' contact with Europeans,[6] so that in 1840 when Crown emissaries take copies of the Treaty of Waitangi [the Treaty] around the country for signing by receptive hapū leaders, they fail to bring a copy to Tūhoe who are then not bound by it (Waitangi Tribunal, 2009, see Appendices A-C of this thesis for te reo Māori version, a reo Māori to English translation version, and an English version of the Treaty respectively).

The Crown first interferes directly in Tūhoe affairs in 1865 in response to the murders of a clergyman and a Crown official by members of a neighbouring Iwi who subsequently hide in Te Urewera. In retaliation for the murders and the 'harbouring' of perpetrators, the Crown confiscate a swath of approximately 200,000 hectares[7] of land from multiple Iwi—known as the 1866 Eastern Bay of Plenty confiscation—including 50,300 hectares (Waitangi Tribunal, 2009, p. 164) of the northern-most Tūhoe territory comprising their best arable land and their only access to the Bay of Plenty coastline rich in kaimoana/ 'seafood'. "The inland confiscation line, which cuts across the Ruatoki and Waimana Valleys [see 'confiscation boundary' in Figure 8-A on the following page], has become

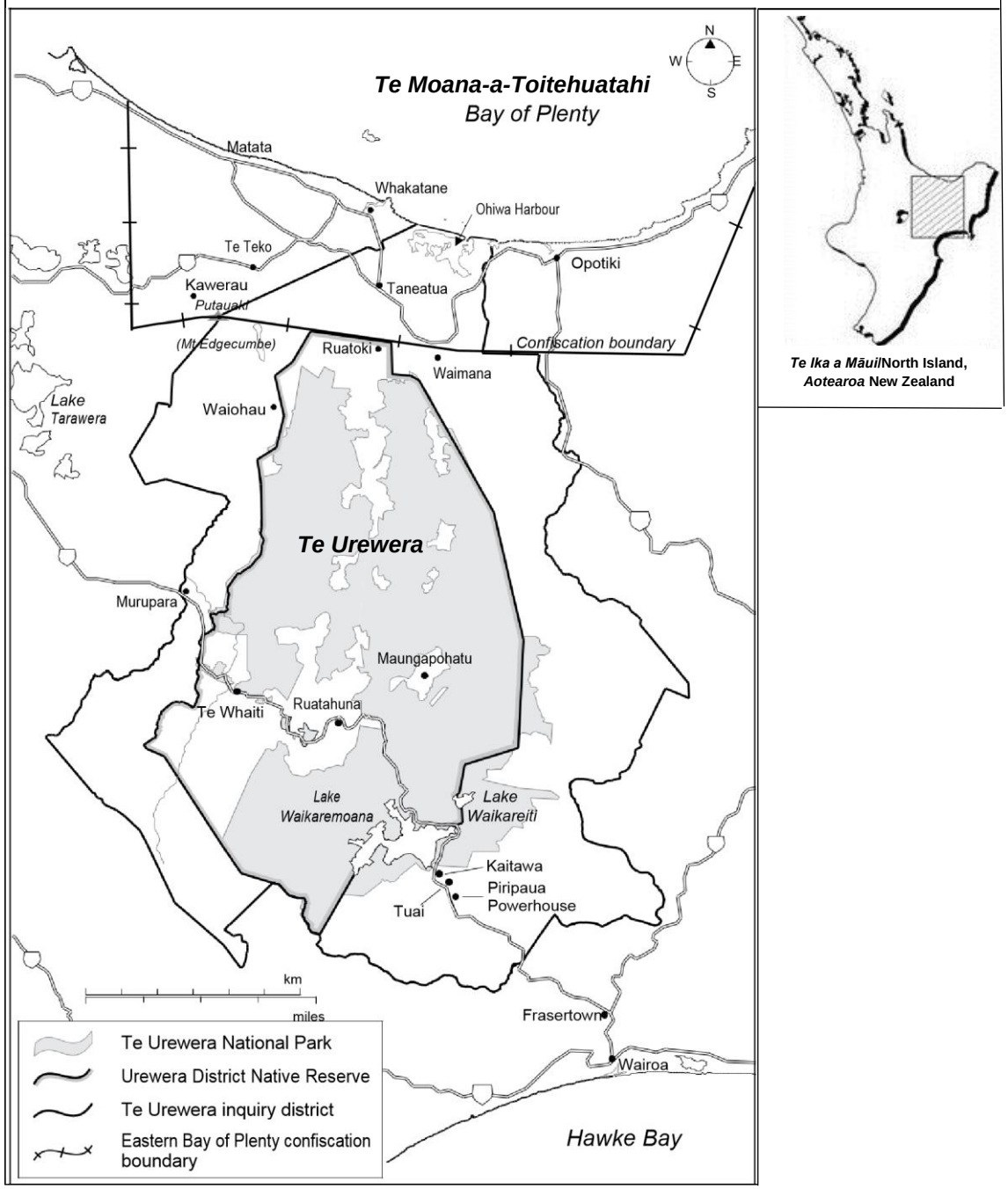
6. "European missionaries […] ventured into the Urewera in search of converts in the 1840s and 1850s. […] By 1862, when the resident magistrate […] visited the region [… he] described an atmosphere of widespread suspicion of Pakeha motives and a general reluctance to admit the machinery of government to the Urewera" (Miles, 1999, p. 97). See Laugesen (2007); Miles (1999); New Zealand Government (2014); O'Malley (2014); and Waitangi Tribunal (2009) for historical accounts of Tūhoe-Crown relations.

7. In the Waitangi Tribunal's (2009, p. 170n149) report, the total area of land confiscated by 1873 is retrospectively calculated at 497,000 acres, which is approximately 200,000 hectares.

an indelible marker of Tuhoe's permanent alienation from their land." (p. 155). That same year in the south-eastern territories of Tūhoe, near Lake Waikaremoana, Crown forces pursuing East Coast Māori attack and kill twenty-five innocent Tūhoe, executing some and indefinitely exiling others (New Zealand Government, 2014). Such atrocities intensify anti-Crown sentiment among Tūhoe.

Figure 8-A: Te Urewera location maps

Adapted from Waitangi Tribunal (2017c, p. 2740);
[Credit: N. Harris (2014)]



When in 1869 the 'political offenders' (New Zealand Government, 2014, n.p.) and exile escapees, Te Kooti Ārikirangi Te Turuki[8] and his troop, seek permission to pass peacefully through Te Urewera to evade Crown forces, each Tūhoe hapū exercises its mana motuhake when deciding to permit such passage.[9] In response the Crown instigates a 'scorched earth' policy to eradicate Tūhoe through "wave after wave of bloody invasion" (O'Malley, 2014, n.p.); the destruction of homes, crops, and livestock; starvation, forced displacement, rapes, and killings. Worn down by the unprecedented devastation of war with the Crown, Tūhoe forge an uneasy peace in 1871, agreeing to unconditionally surrender — though Te Turuki is not given up and subsequently slips out of Te Urewera unharmed — in exchange for the Crown's 'withdrawal' from Tūhoe affairs (Laugesen, 2007; New Zealand Government, 2014; O'Malley, 2014).

In 1872 a council of Tūhoe rangatira, Te Whitu Tekau/The Seventy, is formed to uphold Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe in Te Urewera (New Zealand Government, 2014, n.p.) and they close what is now an encircling boundary around their remaining rohe pōtae/'tribal lands', with the catch-cry: "Kaua te rori, kaua te rūri, kaua te rīhi, kaua te hoko/No roads, no survey, no leasing land, no selling land" (McGarvey, 2006, p. 138). Despite this stance, during the 1870s and 1880s the Crown continues to exert pressure on Tūhoe to open up Te Urewera for colonial settlement by establishing a local Native Land Court to convert communally held Māori customary land into transferable Crown-grant freehold titles, and by threat of raupatu/'confiscation' if Tūhoe refuse to sell. In this manner "colonisation [now] became largely a matter of legal procedure rather than military might" (Laugesen, 2007; New Zealand Government, 2014; O'Malley, 2014, n.p.).

Following petitions by Te Whitu Tekau to the Colonial Government in Wellington, promised relief arrives from a "loving friend" of Tūhoe, the Premier, Richard Seddon,

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8. He is known as Te Kooti by Pākehā and most others throughout NZ; however, Tūhoe refer to him as Te Turuki.

9. In the Crown's view, Tūhoe is providing sanction for Te Turuki; however, for Tūhoe it is an issue of protecting their authority over their land, and with many Tūhoe already following Te Turuki's Te Hāhi Ringatū spiritual faith, they have their own reasons for permitting his passage (Melbourne, 2017).

who draws up the "Urewera District Native Reserve Act, 1896"[10] with the intention of consolidating the remaining Tūhoe customary land into a Native Reserve ostensibly in their "ownership and local government".[11] This unique experiment in legalising a form of Iwi self-governance proffers the possibility of discourse beyond the dominant ideology of 'one nation, one law' (Binney, as cited in Laugesen, 2007, p. C3), but tragically, Seddon dies in office before the Act is implemented and later amendments made without the consent of Tūhoe turn it into "a new form of entrapment" (Binney, 2009, p. 404) through which the Crown alienates even more Tūhoe land (New Zealand Government, 2014).

In the meantime, famine and disease account for the deaths of 23% of the Tūhoe population between 1896 and 1901 (Binney, as cited in Laugesen, 2007, p. C3), and out of this decimation steps Rua Kēnana, a pacifist claiming to be the Mihāia/Messiah prophesied by Te Turuki to lead his people to freedom. Such hope stirs around 600 Tūhoe to set about creating Hiruhārama/New Jerusalem at Maungapōhatu, deep in Te Urewera in 1907, and over the next eight to nine years they develop a thriving social, commercial, and religious community. Kēnana promises his followers the return of their ancestral lands (McGarvey, 2006) and encourages them not to fight in Pākehā wars as the spectre of World War One looms large (Iti, 1992). By 1916 the Crown has had enough of his 'subversion' and dispatches over fifty policemen to the peaceful settlement to arrest Kēnana and in so doing they kill two Tūhoe men, one of them his son (Waitangi Tribunal, 2009). Kēnana then spends two years in the Auckland goal while the settlement at Maungapōhatu collapses permanently (McGarvey, 2006).

8.1.2 Land nationalisation, depopulation, economic deprivation

In 1922 the Crown repeal the Urewera District Native Reserve Act and Tūhoe are left with just 16% of the land that the original Act sought to secure under their control. This residue is insufficient to support a growing local population and "by the 1930s large

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10. Seddon signs off the Act: "From your loving friend, R. J. Seddon, Premier, and Minister of Native Affairs" ("The Urewera District Native Reserve Act," 1896, p. 71).

11. 'Ostensibly' because the Urewera District Native Reserve would be administered by a commission of five Tūhoe and two Europeans appointed by the Governor in Council, which ensures the government will retain significant influence of the Reserve. The quotation in the main text is drawn from "The Urewera District Native Reserve Act" (1896, p. 66).

numbers of Tūhoe began moving elsewhere in search of employment opportunities" (New Zealand Government, 2014, n.p.). In 1954 the Crown consolidates its holdings as Te Urewera National Park and places it under the management of the Department of Lands and Survey, all without consulting Tūhoe who feel aggrieved that the Park "is part of the Crown's ill-gotten gains and that they [Tūhoe] are denied proper recognition as tangata whenua with the ability to exercise kaitiaki[/'guardianship'] responsibilities" (Waitangi Tribunal, 2009, p. 14). The Park also curbs the ability of Tūhoe to develop their adjoining lands or to gain access to customary resources (New Zealand Government, 2014).

In the fifty years between the mid-1930s and mid-1980s Māori populations in Aotearoa New Zealand migrate from being 83% rural-based to 83% urban,[12] resulting in over four-fifths of Tūhoe living outside of Te Urewera.

> Back in the 1960s and 1970s the old people used to say, "whaia ma tauranga te Pākehā/follow the Pākehā way". Go to school, blah, blah, blah. They invested in a lot of our people to go to those boarding schools […] the trouble is that a lot of those fellas didn't ever come home. They got offered jobs. Big pay, you know? They have become brown middle-class bourgeoisie and they got lost in the mist.
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> ⟨P15: Māori, man, activist, 1993 conference organiser⟩

In 1987 Tūhoe lodge their first Treaty of Waitangi settlement claim with the Waitangi Tribunal[13] and the following year on Waitangi Day[14]—being sceptical of a Government-designed Tribunal—150 Tūhoe set up a road block on the 1866 Confiscation Line demarcating substantial Pākehā farms from relatively uneconomic Tūhoe blocks (Waitangi Tribunal, 2009) and "we stopped the cars and just informed them about the

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12. Source: Derby, M. (2011). 'Māori–Pākehā relations - Māori urban migration', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand; retrieved from http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/maori-pakeha-relations/page-5 on 26 July 2020.

13. Historical claims are made by Māori against the Crown for breaches of the Treaty (New Zealand Government, 2017). This first Tūhoe claim is lodged on 31 March 1987 under the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 by James Te Wharehuia Milroy and Tamaroa Nikora, and is assigned Waitangi Tribunal claim number WAI 36. It is later managed by the Tūhoe Waikaremoana Trust Board and later still by Te Kotahi a Tūhoe, where it joins thirty other Tūhoe claims in the wider Te Urewera investigation known as WAI 894 (Waitangi Tribunal, 2017b).

14. Waitangi Day is the national day of Aotearoa New Zealand and marks the anniversary of the first signing of the Treaty of Waitangi on 6 February 1840. It is commemorated by a public holiday, various ceremonies around the country, and protest action by Māori and Pākehā activists.

confiscation and the Treaty of Waitangi [… otherwise] people wouldn't know about the issues" (Iti, 1992, p. 15). Nearby, graffiti reinforces the message: "IN 1800'S THEY RIP US OFF" and "GET OFF! YOU ON MAORI LAND" [see graffiti on the side and end walls of the building in Figure 8-B below].

Figure 8-B: Rūātoki protest, 1987

Source: Whakatāne Museum and Resource Centre [ref: D511-01]; Photographer unidentified.

The pursuit of radical market liberalisation by successive Labour [1984-1990] and National [1990-] Governments triggers the longest economic recession in Aotearoa New Zealand since the Second World War,[15] and rural and provincial regions like Te Urewera are the hardest hit (Easton, 1997). When the Government closes local State forestry operations—the principal local employer[16] and a housing provider—and banking, post office, and public transportation services, "96-97 percent[17] of our [Tūhoe] people are [left] unemployed, relying on DSW handouts.[18] We are now dealing with the social problems from this; the violence, the drugs, the alcohol" (Iti, 1992, p. 14). The Crown's callous

15. The 'Rogernomics' recession sees per capita gross domestic product fall or stagnate every year between 1986 and 1994 [see Easton, B., (2010), 'Economic history - Government and market liberalisation', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/economic-history/page-11]. Also see Sec. 6.1.4 of this thesis.

16. Māori in Te Urewera are dependent on the timber industry in part because they cannot support themselves on their own land for the reasons previously stated (Waitangi Tribunal, 2017d, p. 3765).

17. Boswell et al. (1990, p. 39), reporting on community responses to localised unemployment, estimate that among the 7000 people living in the Tūhoe tribal area, perhaps 70% are unemployed.

18. Welfare payments made by the Department of Social Welfare.

disregard is later contextualised by the Waitangi Tribunal (2017d) when they state: "Despite the new political prominence of the Treaty,[19] the Crown was as ready to prioritise its interests over those of Te Urewera hapu and iwi as it had been a hundred years before" (p. 3759).

An upside of the Treaty's prominence is the Crown's devolution of some State-funded social services to Iwi authorities, although "the Crown held the power and controlled the money, and Maori organisations had to fulfil its [the Crown's] requirements rather than setting their own path" (Waitangi Tribunal, 2017d, p. 3758). Nonetheless, the release of Pūao-te-Ata-tū—a report offering Māori perspectives of the Department of Social Welfare (Ministerial Advisory Committee [abbrev.], 1986) [see Sec. 6.1.3 of this thesis]—inspires the local manager and team in the Department's Whakatāne office to elevate the Māori community's role in their social welfare interventions:

> Locally at our social welfare office in the late 1980s and early 1990s there was more progressive thinking and it was starting to become Māori working with Māori whānau, even though it was still under the DSW umbrella. There was a strong belief that within a whānau there were people who could work with that whānau […] supported by a social worker from DSW's Māori team. […] and DSW had a discretionary budget that would pay that whānau worker to do that. […] So, it didn't feel like we had our backs against the wall at that time. We still believed that communities collectively, if we wanted that change, we could make that change.
>
> ⟨P47: Māori, woman, counsellor, 1993 conference organiser⟩

Yet when DSW is restructured in mid-1992,[20] the resultant New Zealand Children and Young Persons Service [NZCYPS][21] precedes to close its doors on guidance from the

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19. Following the Court of Appeal's judgement, "New Zealand Māori Council v Attorney-General," (1987), as discussed in Sec. 6.1.4.

20. In 1992, the Department of Social Welfare is restructured into five autonomous business units, namely: the New Zealand Children and Young Persons Service; New Zealand Income Support Service; New Zealand Community Services Funding Agency; Social Welfare Policy Unit; and Information Technology Services Business (Garlick, 2012, pp. 149-158).

21. The NZCYPS is empowered to provide care and protection for children who are being abused or neglected or who have problem behaviour, and deals with young offenders in the youth justice system in conjunction with Police and the Courts (New Zealand Government, 1992).

community and reverts to a more risk adverse style of case management with Māori families ⟨P47⟩.

The Crown's 'trampling' on Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe through the confiscation of their northern lands, their military persecutions, the further alienation of Tūhoe land by deception or threat, the subverting of the Urewera Native Reserve Act 1896, the invasion of the Maungapōhatu settlement, the sequestering of Te Urewera as a National Park, the rupturing of Tūhoe communities through neoliberal economics, and the wiping of Pūao-te-Ata-tū off the sociopolitical table, all of this and much more[22] has lasting and profoundly negative effects on relations between Tūhoe people and the Crown. During the year before the 1993 family therapy conference, Tūhoe activist, community worker, and one of the conference organisers, Tāme Iti, sums up his feelings about Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe at that time:

> I am a great believer in total control. I want our people to take control over our own destiny. We have to convince people of that. If this means we have to build a borderline around the Tuhoe area we may have to do that. […] These are the sorts of changes we need to make; otherwise we are totally dependent on the government.
>
> (Iti, 1992, p. 15)

In the next section I identify the social worlds contesting Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe Cultural Justice Arena in the months, weeks, and days prior to the 1993 family therapy conference in Rūātoki. Local, national, and international issues concerning the citizenry of the Whakatāne District and other communities within Te Urewera at this time are recounted for the intraworld and interworld dynamics they inspire in that Arena, as this is the situation that the 'FTMANZ' is about to walk into.

8.2 Te Mana Motuhake O Tūhoe Cultural Justice Arena In 1993

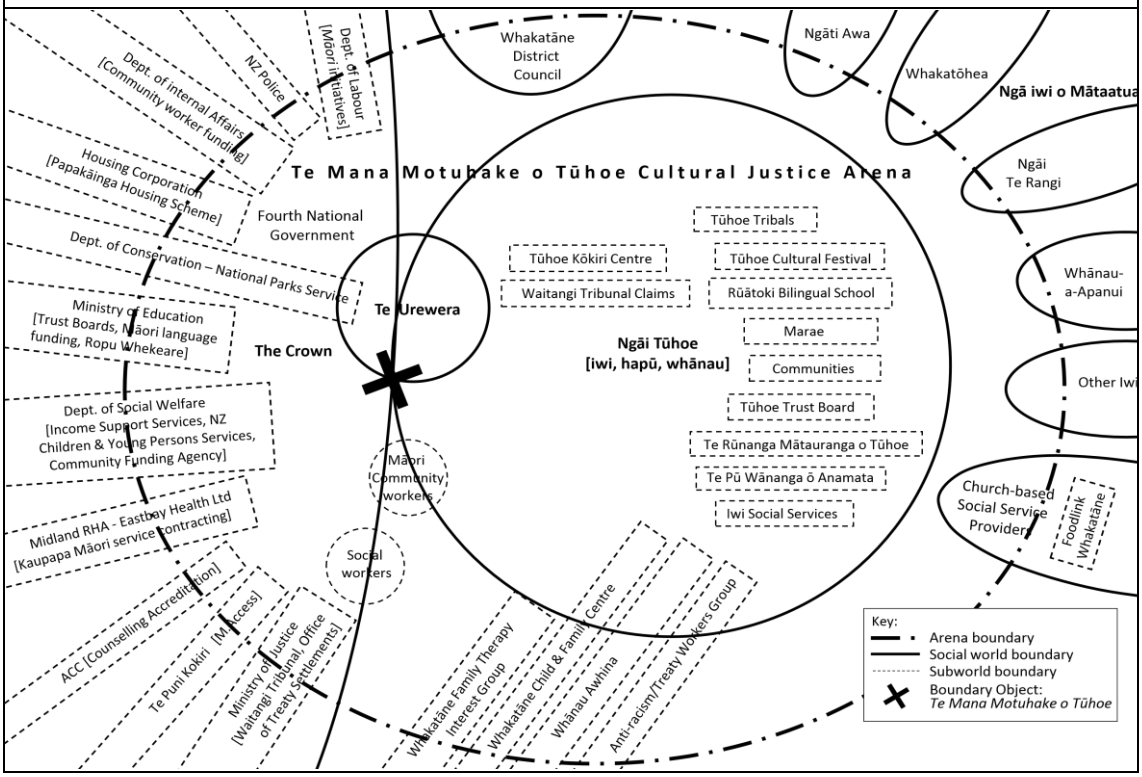
8.2.1 Contesting Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe

In 1993 Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe Cultural Justice Arena primarily comprises the Tūhoe people reaffirming that "My Tūhoe identity is my mana motuhake […] interwoven

22. See the full eight volume report on the settlement of the Tūhoe Waitangi Tribunal claim, Wai 894, for further details of claimant grievances (Waitangi Tribunal, 2017a).

in all [Tūhoe] things […] from ancient times, present times and time still to come" (Kruger, 2005, as cited in Waitangi Tribunal, 2009, p. 77); and the Crown and its local and national agents who seek some degree of influence over the tino rangatiratanga/ 'sovereignty' of Tūhoe, based on a "legally and morally" (p. 129) flawed presumption of cession despite Tūhoe having never ceded their sovereignty to the Crown (Waitangi Tribunal, 2009, pp. 125-153). The social worlds/arenas map (Clarke, 2005; Clarke et al., 2018) in Figure 8-C [see below] depicts these social worlds together with their organisational and institutional subworlds active in the broad situation of inquiry. At the juncture of the primary worlds sits the concept of Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe, which is the boundary object over which they are contesting (Star & Griesemer, 1989).[23]

Figure 8-C: Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe Cultural Justice Arena in 1993 [schematic only]



In the Whakatāne District[24] mana motuhake is present among community-driven tikanga Māori programmes begun in the early to mid-1980s, such as Kōhanga Reo and

23. A further map locating the 1993 family therapy conference within this broader situation is provided as Figure 8-D in Subsection 8.2.2 [to follow].

24. The Whakatāne District is in the eastern Bay of Plenty region of the North Island, NZ. In 1993 its population is just over 30,000 people spread over an area of 4450 square kilometres, which is two

Kura Kaupapa/Māori-language pre-schools and primary schools, and Mātua Whāngai/ foster parenting;[25] and in a flush of newer grassroots initiatives in the late 1980s and early 1990s, such as Te Rūnanga Mātauranga o Ngāi Tūhoe,[26] the Whānau Awhina Women's Refuge, the Whakatāne Child and Family Centre, and numerous small organisations who are ready—as the authors of "Pūao-te-Ata-tū" (Ministerial Advisory Committee [abbrev.], 1986) note—"to promote a philosophy of self-help" (p. 6) in their communities ⟨P47: Māori, woman, counsellor, 1993 conference organiser⟩.

> It was a direct response to [these sorts of] community collaborations that the [incoming] National Government saw all of that as folly and an erosion of Crown authority and power, and they would undo all of that. […] The community groups fighting for rights and more participation and input were now largely ignored but they did not die. They reinvented themselves and then appeared all over the place—on school boards of trustees, pre-employment programs under the Labour Department, and Iwi-based community work—still continuing the messages of change.
>
> ⟨P48: Māori, man, iwi authority chair, 1993 conference organiser⟩

By the autumn of 1993 the National Government's extension of their predecessor's free market economic policies to include mainstream social services, in the form of welfare benefit[27] cuts and the commercialising of public healthcare and tertiary education (Boston, 1992; Easton, 1997), is biting in the District. News of a substantial increase in the demand for food parcels from Foodlink Whakatāne, a foodbank[28] set up by local church groups, reaches the New Zealand Parliament's debating chamber (The Whakatane

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and a half times the size of Greater London. The District is named after its principal town, Whakatāne, which is located on the District's northern seacoast.

25. A traditional Māori nurturing concept within extended family.

26 Also known as Tūhoe Mātauranga, this community health agency is "established in 1992 with the objective of enhancing the social and economic well-being of all Tuhoe in a manner that promotes and preserves the integrity of Tuhoetanga" (Murton, as cited in Waitangi Tribunal, 2017d, p. 3742). In 1993 Tūhoe Mātauranga develop a strategic plan in conjunction with the Ministry of Education to "improve educational outcomes for Tuhoe […] and develop better relationships between schools and the Tuhoe community" (Boasa-Dean, as cited in Waitangi Tribunal, 2017d, p. 3755).

27 The domestic purposes benefit for sole parents, sickness, and unemployment benefits are all cut, while the universal family benefit—the State's support for families—is abolished. These cuts largely affect low income families who are disproportionately Māori and Pacific families. In the three years from 1990-1993, the income of welfare reliant households falls from 72% to 58% of the average national income (Coughlan, 2018).

28. A place where stocks of food are supplied free of charge to people in need.

Beacon, 1993h) on the same day as the NZ Income Support Service announces savings of over $40,000 in the Eastern Bay of Plenty subregion during the first week of a nationwide welfare benefit fraud amnesty (Warner, 1993). On the health front, Crown Health Enterprises [CHE] Minister, Paul East, pays an election-year visit[29] to Whakatāne and advocates selling off 'surplus' hospital land to fund CHE services, stating: "What's more important—that people get glue-ear operations […] or that they get a park?" (The Whakatane Beacon, 1993d, p. 1). He is shadowed into town by the Opposition's health spokesperson—and future Labour prime minister—Helen Clarke, who wants to change "the very idea that the [health] system can be run as a profit-making business" (The Whakatane Beacon, 1993f, p. 2). The two spar over whether CHE Board meetings, currently being held behind closed doors to protect "sensitive financial matters" (The Whakatane Beacon, 1993i), will ever be open to the public scrutiny that previous generations of Hospital Board meetings were (The Whakatane Beacon, 1993c).

Elsewhere, in education a Whakatāne primary school opens a bilingual Māori-English unit so five- to seven-year-olds can continue the bilingual education they begin at kōhanga reo (The Whakatane Beacon, 1993a), and a Whakatāne high school bucks the national trend of growing numbers of Māori students receiving school suspensions, by instigating kaupapa Māori programmes for their at-risk students (The Whakatane Beacon, 1993g). Two local high school principals also jointly reject the Government's defunding of tertiary institutions, claiming this will make gaining a university or polytechnic education impossible for many Eastern Bay of Plenty students (The Whakatane Beacon, 1993j).

From kicking the political football of rural Māori poverty around Parliament, to working kanohi ki te kanohi/'face-to-face' with whānau to support them to cope with poverty's desolations, each of the subworld actions described in the paragraphs above reveal the respective commitments of the Crown and of Tūhoe in Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe Cultural Justice Arena. That the Crown seeks to maintain its dominance through the machinations of government is unremarkable to Tūhoe. They critique the Crown's colonisation of the Tūhoe nation as being a continuous and as yet incomplete invasion:

29. New Zealand has a three-yearly national election cycle. At this point, the next election is being held on 6 November 1993.

> Colonisation is when you create somebody to your own image. Their language, the way they dress, what they believe, how they live. You customise them to be just like you. One hundred and fifty years of that is like ten generations, so you have created a different people altogether. To find pockets of resistance to that is a miracle.
>
> ⟨P48: Māori, man, iwi authority chair, 1993 conference organiser⟩

8.2.2 Thinking strategically

That in 1993 there are still pockets of Tūhoe people committed to strategically resisting the Crown's domination as an expression of their mana motuhake is not an inevitable outcome. They might just as well have given up. For many Tūhoe "the [historical] hurt is so grievous and so deep that there are no words left to describe [it]" and they are left "to unlearn despair, distrust, [and] fatalism" (Kruger, 2017, n.p.).

> [Yet] our tīpuna[/'ancestors'] were very strategic. We didn't just come here by accident. If you have a look at the make-up of our rohe, it is made up of tribal areas that are quite distinctive. We have been able to negotiate our way with Whakatōhea, Tūwharetoa, Te Arawa. Significant tribal areas. […] We have to be strategic. Our cousins from Whakatōhea might take a pipi[/'small shellfish'] off of us [P47 laughs]. So, those are learned things. Generational learning. Each generation has given us that ability.
>
> ⟨P47: Māori, woman, counsellor, 1993 conference organiser⟩

"Each generation has given us that ability" is a testament to the many contributions made under different historical conditions to develop the strategic resources of Tūhoe (Binney, 2009; Binney et al., 1987; Rangihau, 1975; Stokes et al., 1986; Waitangi Tribunal, 2017a). In 1993, their strategic thinking is again to the fore when two Pākehā members of the 'FTMANZ' return home to Whakatāne from the 1991 family therapy conference in Nelson to announce to their Māori and Pākehā colleagues that they have volunteered their community to host the equivalent conference in 1993.[30]

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30. Typically, towards the end of each annual conference whoever is interested in hosting the next year's conference makes this known and a decision is made by those present. With the 1992 conference already confirmed as the second binational Australian and New Zealand Family Therapy Conference to be hosted by the VAFT in Melbourne, participants at the 1991 conference look further ahead to 1993 for their next national conference hosts.

> We were increasingly uncomfortable with the dominant [Pākehā] worldview being promoted at previous [family therapy] conferences and simple matters like cultural protocol being clumsy. […] We were wanting to have a rural conference because we imagined that in such a place *something else* would become possible. […] When we put our hands up, we were confident that we would have people at home who would help us. What that speaks of is that there was no way we were going to put this conference on without our partners. When we went back [home] we said, "We want to host this conference and where might we do that and who might we do it with?", and that is when those two influential Tūhoe men who were part of our lives stepped forward and said, "Yeah, we're up for it. We'll do it with you."
>
> ⟨P31: Pākehā, woman, social worker, 1993 conference organiser, emphasis by P31 ⟩

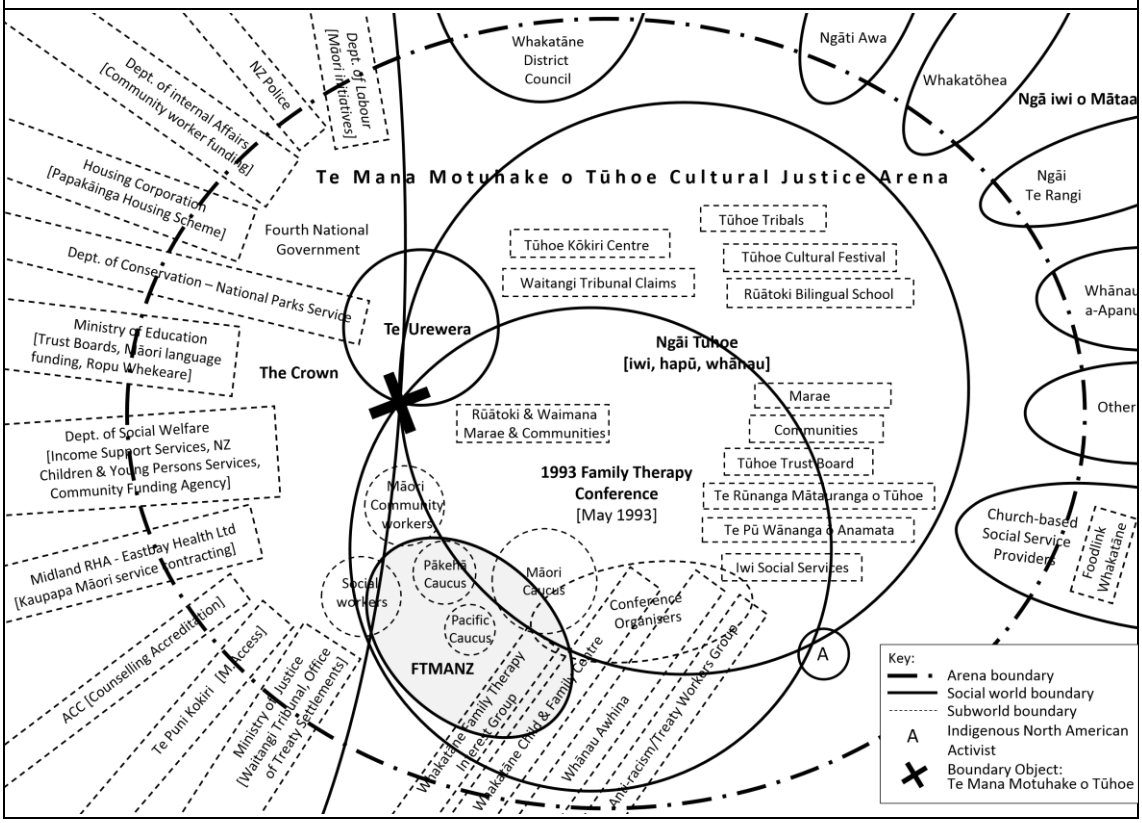
Their "partners" include a trio of local groups with some common members, a few of whom have attended previous 'FTMANZ' conferences. The Antiracism and Treaty Workers Group is committed to eradicating racism and promoting local education and advocacy for the Treaty of Waitangi (Consedine, 2011). The Whānau Awhina Women's Refuge emerges through the Pākehā-dominated National Collective of Independent Women's Refuges in 1989 as a new Māori-centred service (McCallum, 1993; Te Are, 2019). The Whakatāne Child and Family Centre forms in 1993 to serve the overflow of local NZCYPS clients and matches its counsellors with their clients' gender and culture (Whakatane Child And Family Centre (Inc.), 1993).[31] Interactions among this trio involve "Pākehā and Māori working hard up against and beside one another" ⟨P31⟩, "negotiating, collaborating, struggling with other groups, and seeking […] the power to achieve their goals" (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 150).

In 1993, while the Crown turns the economic screws on its working-class citizenry with disproportionally adverse effects on rural Māori communities, the Tūhoe people supporting the conference initiative seize the opportunity to take joint action with their trio of local allies in Te Mana Motuhake Cultural Justice Arena [see Figure 8-D to

31. The Centre's stated policy is "that Maori clients will only be seen by Maori counsellors, that only women will work with women clients[,] and families will have a mixed team of counsellors" (Whakatane Child And Family Centre (Inc.), 1993).

follow]. Their purpose for wanting to interact directly with the largely middle-class, Pākehā, 'FTMANZ' is to turn the tables of colonial domination by exposing them to the realities of mana motuhake in a Tūhoe community and to challenge those who as actual or quasi representatives of the Crown continue to colonise Māori whānau with their Western theories and practises.

Figure 8-D: Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe Cultural Justice Arena during the 1993 Aotearoa New Zealand Family Therapy Conference [schematic only]



The larger national arena agenda of Tūhoe is to deliver a message to the Government:

> I think at that time to host [the conference] at Rūātoki[32] among Tūhoe was also a significant decision because we could have hosted it in Whakatāne. It would have been better because the airport is here, a lot of hotels, a lot of conference centres. We could also have gone elsewhere. So, to host it in Rūātoki is a significant message as well. It says, "We really do not need the Government to

32. Rūātoki is a small rural kāinga/'village' located 20 kms south of Whakatāne, with its environs bordering on the foothills of Te Urewera. In 1993, Rūātoki has a population of approximately 600-700 people.

> tell us what to do. We can do this by ourselves. We should. […] We are not going to ask the Department of Social Welfare for money. We are not going to ask them to run this conference. We are not even going to ask them to participate in terms of managing it. Because, we are not going to go back to the same consciousness that created problems for answers."
>
> ⟨P48: Māori, man, iwi authority chair, 1993 conference organiser⟩

Hosting the conference in Rūātoki reaffirms Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe and rejects the Crown's "consciousness"—their state of awareness and responsiveness—towards Tūhoe that has, by past and current evidence in 1993, been disastrous for the latter. One hundred and twenty-seven years of continuous injustice since the first land confiscation in 1866 is heating a political cauldron that the 'FTMANZ' is about to enter, and with Tūhoe infamously erecting "TRESPASSERS WILL BE EATEN" signs on their borders in the 1870s,[33] do the visiting 'FTMANZ' members know what they might be in for?

8.3 The Rūātoki Conference

8.3.1 "Eat your own medicine"

Driving into the rainy and foggy Rūātoki Valley on the first afternoon of the conference, some members of the 'FTMANZ' have been travelling for up to seven hours to reach Te Rewa Rewa Marae by the advertised 3:00 p.m. welcome. Instead of gathering in a warm building for a cup of tea and a bite to eat, as they might expect to do upon arrival, the manuhiri—several of whom will be visiting a marae for the first time (Haultain, as cited in The Whakatane Beacon, 1993e, p. 4)—are in for a series of surprises. To start with, there has been a recent death in the Rūātoki community and the tangihana[34] is taking place on the marae.

> Our tikanga was, we will follow the protocols and rules of Tūhoe. You can't ignore a tangi. So, we gathered and said, "You will come with us to pay your

33. Eru Tamaikōhā, a chief of Te Whakatā hapū of Waimana, erects such signs around his land in the 1870s during a self-imposed isolation from Pākehā by Tūhoe. In 2019, Tūhoe activist, Tāme Iti, calls his exhibition of artistic work about confiscated Tūhoe land: "Trespassers will be eaten". For details of the later, see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PiWrLItw64I.

34. A tangihanga [or tangi for short] is a funeral and rites for the dead. The deceased's body is brought onto the marae by their whānau and lies in state in an open coffin for about three days. During that time groups of visitors come onto the marae to farewell the deceased with whaikōrero/'speech making' and waiata/'song' (Moorfield, 2011).

> respects. You will take that [piece of clothing] off and put on something more respectable. You have to cover yourself up." We were very directive.
>
> ⟨P46: Māori, woman, social worker, 1993 conference organiser⟩

> Afterwards the kai[/'food'] was late and the [bathroom] showers were cold. People were uncomfortable about being split into groups to sleep on different marae around the valley. It was a total immersion experience and looking back on it, you know, we totally immerse Māori in our [Pākehā] worlds all the time and ask them to get on with it. In some ways it was like a radical political act.
>
> ⟨P31: Pākehā, woman, social worker, 1993 conference organiser⟩

> We were really focused around what it is like to live rurally because the rural whānau voice was not heard anywhere else. […] We had all agreed not to placate the [conference participants'] anxiousness. That wasn't our purpose. We were increasingly sick of Government directives that are 'one-size-fits-all' coming into our rohe without any consultation or informing, so this became our practice [at the conference]. […] That was their introduction to coming onto our whenua[/'land'].
>
> ⟨P47: Māori, woman, counsellor, 1993 conference organiser⟩

If the small contingent[35] of 'FTMANZ' members weren't aware that they might be subject to purposeful and sustained political action during their stay in Rūātoki, these introductions leave little room for doubt.

> There was a simmering anger that was displayed in a whole lot of ways toward us. The desire of the business meeting at the previous conference [in Nelson] was like, "Come on guys[36] [in the 'FTMANZ']. You're doing this little tiny bit around biculturalism. Let's have a meeting on a marae so Māori people feel more comfortable coming." [… Instead] we entered the politics of the [Tūhoe] region and the politics of—if you like—'race relations' that had *nothing* to do with family therapy but everything to do with culture.

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35. The 'FTMANZ' contingent is small compared to the 100-200 people at previous Pākehā-led conferences held annually in main centres since 1983. It appears the Rūātoki organisers expect a similar number (The Whakatane Beacon, 1993e); however, attendees I speak with for this study estimate that several tens rather than hundreds of participants are present. The majority of the 'FTMANZ' contingent are Pākehā; however, there are small numbers of both Māori and Pacific Peoples among them.

36. 'Guys' generally refers to men rather than women; however, in the modern NZ vernacular it can include a group of men and women together.

⟨P5: Pākehā, woman, family therapist, senior leaders' group, ANZJFT Board⟩[37]

> It was their hui, absolutely, […] and it was their message that was getting across. It was about them rather than family therapy. […] I think there was some anger there. You felt it because they had strong feelings and the family therapists were kind of one-down. We were there to be told and we were there to hear, and we accepted that.
>
> ⟨P45: Pākehā, woman, counsellor⟩

The Tūhoe hosts intend for the 'FTMANZ' contingent to "eat their own medicine" ⟨P48: Māori, man, iwi authority chair, 1993 plenary speaker⟩ in a reversal of the roles normally enacted when Pākehā are in charge. Many of the local Māori who are present have no connection to family therapy and would never go near to a family therapy conference if it wasn't in their backyard—"and that was kind of the point" ⟨P31⟩. Several are articulate speakers and when standing on their marae surrounded by their people, including their tīpuna, they have a strong sense of what Pākehā need to hear. This is not so much about what the 'FTMANZ' is or isn't doing, but rather what is or isn't happening in Aotearoa New Zealand, particularly with respect to 'homegrown' initiatives like "Pūao-te-Ata-tū" (Ministerial Advisory Committee [abbrev.], 1986)[38] and grievances about church-based agencies receiving Government funding to "mess about" in Māori whānau ⟨P31⟩. The Rūātoki conference provides Tūhoe with opportunities to express their fury and they take it.

8.3.2 By Māori for Māori

From the outset the hosts are determined not to utilise the template of previous conferences but to do things their own way without fear they might upset their guests. Their keynote speakers are local men, plus Russell Kwasistala, a visiting Laichkwiltach Nation man from British Columbia, Canada (The Whakatane Beacon, 1993b); all of whom kōrero on Indigenous experiences of colonisation rather than on family therapy per se. With the conference themes in action at every point, Tūhoe give the 'FTMANZ' contingent little choice but to surrender much of their angst and resistance in what

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37. P5 joins the ANZJFT Board in 1993, prior to the Rūātoki conference.

38. 'Homegrown' in the sense that the leader of the Ministerial Advisory Committee is the—by then deceased—Tūhoe rangatira, John Rangihau.

transpires to be a quick cultural immersion ⟨P47: Māori, woman, counsellor, 1993 conference organiser⟩.

For the first time at a family therapy conference in Aotearoa New Zealand the hosts instigate cultural caucusing where Māori, Pacific, and Pākehā meet in separate cultural groups to discuss matters of interest to them, with a view to bringing anything they want to share with other caucuses to a combined meeting on the last day of the conference. Several Māori wāhine/'women' have prior experience of caucusing[39] when seeking equity with Pākehā in the Women's Refuge Movement (McCallum, 1993):

> They [the 'FTMANZ' contingent] felt like our Tauiwi[40] Caucus in Refuge. "Eek, this is scary. I feel unsafe." That was a catch phrase in Refuge, you know. "I feel unsafe because these Māori women are being bossy." So we were used to it and knew what to expect [at the conference].
>
> ⟨P46: Māori, woman, social worker, 1993 conference organiser⟩

The Māori Caucus comprises hosts and visitors and has strength in numbers as the largest of the three. With so many members of the Māori Caucus having no prior experience of the 'FTMANZ', they ask the more experienced among them questions like, how is 'family therapy' accountable to Māori? The position they come to is that Pākehā should not be working with Māori without some accountability, and that Pākehā should be actively building relationships with Māori to work biculturally ⟨P49: Māori, man, family therapist⟩.

When the caucuses are called together on the final day, a series of stinging challenges are delivered to the 'FTMANZ' members in the Pākehā Caucus. Some in the Māori Caucus are "radical, well educated, bloody stroppy, and pissed off", and they cite the prevalence of Māori children still being removed by Government services because their whānau is poor or their parents are regularly inebriated, when demanding that Pākehā

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39. As have members of The Family Centre, an organisational subworld of the 'FTMANZ', who have utilised both gender and cultural caucusing to the point of institutionalising cultural caucusing within their organisation as three separate cultural sections (Tamasese & Waldegrave, 1994).

40. Tauiwi is a similar but more formal term than Pākehā. Both mean foreign, European, or non-Māori and non-Polynesian. Their main difference appears to be that Pākehā can also be used to describe anything that is foreign or introduced, not just people; and its usage is more common when describing New Zealanders of European descent. Tangata Tiriti (Network Waitangi Otautahi, 2020) is a more recent term referring to non-Māori people who have a right to live in New Zealand under the Treaty of Waitangi, including people of non-European descent.

"Get the fuck out of our whānau. Leave them alone. Look after your own." ⟨P31: Pākehā, woman, social worker, 1993 conference organiser⟩. Given the National Government's recent turn to dictatorial social welfare practises [see Sec. 8.1.2] Māori have a lot to be angry about, and with no particular alliance or long-standing relationship with the 'FTMANZ'—unlike the reciprocity they enjoy with the family therapists working in the Whakatāne Child and Family Centre, for instance—they feel free to express themselves bluntly. Besides which, in tikanga Māori, marae are places of encounter where challenges are to be met and disputes debated. The challenges by Tūhoe are made in this spirit and are meant to provoke thinking among the 'FTMANZ' and to see how they respond.

> You can't stop people saying anything they want to say. People have to let it out somewhere and then we come up with new language, new thoughts, and so we can lay everything out and everyone can see what is going on. That is why you must have the space where people are able to let go of these things. […] The ancient stories hold the key elements in our practices. We must go back to the beginning [when the children of Papatūānuku/'Earth Mother' and Ranginui/'Sky Father' create space between their parents to bring te ao mārama/the physical world into existence]. […] You need space because a lot of stuff we contain in the puku/'belly'. We hold it in, but you've got to be able to let it go. *Haahhh!* [P15 exhales forcefully]. You have to be able to *breathe* again. So that's the practice and we believe in it.
>
> ⟨P15: Māori, man, activist, 1993 conference organiser⟩

The challenges are not coming from Māori alone, as local Pākehā also have their own critique of the 'FTMANZ':

> We [the two Pākehā who initiated the Rūātoki conference] were part of it [the 'FTMANZ'] but were also critical of it, whereas there were a bunch of people who were part of it and who were uncritical of it. Those [latter] people were so 'expert' that they thought they could say and do whatever they liked, with whoever they liked. That culture didn't matter or that somehow you could be cleverer than or above culture. In some ways I was one of these people who, because of a degree of cultural competence, you could trick yourself into thinking that you were doing an okay job with Māori.
>
> ⟨P31: Pākehā, woman, social worker, 1993 conference organiser⟩

The purported ‘coup de grâce’ occurs when Tūhoe tell the visiting Pākehā:

> “You will not leave this marae until you give us your word that you won’t work with Māori again.” […] It felt like we’d gone back at least a hundred years. It was an *extraordinary* feeling. It was raining, and we were in a very old meeting house [pictured in Figure 8-E below]. It was quite small and had old tukutuku panels on the [inside] walls.[41] I’m sure other people felt like we did when they were *threatened* on a marae a hundred years ago.
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> ⟨P10: Pākehā, woman, family therapist, senior leaders’ group, ANZJFT Board, emphasis by P10 ⟩

Figure 8-E: Tipuna whare with Aotearoa New Zealand Family Therapy Conference participants at Te Rewa Rewa Marae, Rūātoki, May 1993

Photo credit: R. Smart [1993] private collection

The Pākehā Caucus is a mixture of shock, outrage, and hurt. Shock that the blows are being delivered with a ‘sledgehammer’, outrage at the prospect of having to stop working

41. Ornamental lattice work used to decorate the interior of a tipuna whare.

with existing Māori clients, and hurt by the implied accusation they are racists ⟨P49⟩. Some plea that they are not in positions of institutional power in their workplaces, and while they might agree to advocate for change, they cannot dictate institutional policies ⟨P5: Pākehā, woman, family therapist, senior leaders' group, ANZJFT Board⟩, while others advocate for their Māori clients who do not want to reveal personal details to Māori workers for fear they may be shared in their communities ⟨P45: Pākehā, woman, counsellor⟩.

The Māori Caucus holds its ground and allows the Pākehā Caucus a few minutes to formulate their response. When the caucuses face off again—for the last time at the conference—senior leaders in the Pākehā Caucus, speaking on behalf of their members, resolve to address the issues over the following twelve months and to report back to the Māori Caucus at next year's conference in West Auckland ⟨P10⟩.

> It was a humbling experience because we were hearing directly from Tūhoe people [about] how they saw things. It was very educational and important that we got those messages. And I think there were some resolutions passed […] that as a group we would bear in mind those ideas of Māori working with Māori and not making assumptions from a Pākehā point of view in work and daily life.
>
> ⟨P45: Pākehā, woman, counsellor⟩

Notwithstanding P45's sentiments, for many in the 'FTMANZ' the effects of these close-quarter encounters are destabilising. They call into question some of the assumptions Pākehā make about what is and is not okay when practising family therapy in Aotearoa New Zealand and which form the bases of their individual and collective identities (Strauss, 1959/1997). While the blunt message from Tūhoe is to leave their whānau alone, the nuanced message that better reflects the interdependence inherent in Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe ⟨P48: Māori, man, iwi authority chair, 1993 conference host⟩ (Higgins, 2014) goes something like: "If you are going to work with Māori whānau, how will you do it safely?, how are you connected to Māori communities?, how are you accountable?, how will you show us what you are doing?" ⟨P31⟩. However, these nuances do not seem to be given much attention by either Tūhoe or the 'FTMANZ', which—given

the ‘bluntness’ of the current Government’s socioeconomic policies and their direct bearing on Te Mana Motuhake Cultural Justice Arena—may be a sign of the times.

8.4 Reverberations

A tense silence engulfs the ten or so Presbyterian Support Services [PSS] team members travelling back to Auckland together in a van at the conclusion of the conference. The challenges by Tūhoe are testing people’s loyalties to family therapy—to stay with how things were prior to Rūātoki or to commit oneself to real change—and their personal loyalties to each other as close-knit friends and colleagues.

> I can think of a Pacific colleague who I worked with and she was really torn because she felt like her Pākehā friends and colleagues had been personally attacked and she found that really hard.
>
> ⟨P49: Māori, man, family therapist⟩

Tension is also being carried from the land at Rūātoki and the history of Pākehā injustice and Māori devastation.

> I walked that land and the tension was palpable and the thing I learned from that—which was a really important learning for me personally—is the arrogance of the dominant culture—my arrogance—in believing that I could walk into this place and be safe, and yet I had done nothing to create safety. I’d done nothing.
>
> ⟨P5: Pākehā, woman, family therapist, senior leaders’ group, ANZJFT Board⟩

Some of that learning informs senior leaders in the ‘FTMANZ’ as they plan for future conferences in 1994 and 1995 during a lunchtime at Rūātoki. There is a wish for the next conference to bring a larger group of ‘FTMANZ’ supporters together by creating a more respectful and productive atmosphere for everyone. The unspoken tensions at Rūātoki were very difficult for many Pākehā, and this gives them insight into how equally difficult it must be for Māori and Pacific Peoples to walk into what Pākehā think is a suitable conferencing environment. These parallel experiences might be a starting point for discussions with Māori and Pacific Peoples about how the ‘FTMANZ’ could become culturally accountable to them. The staff of The Family Centre offer significant resources

in this regard as they are well advanced in developing organisational cultural accountabilities of their own (Waldegrave, 1990a; Waldegrave & Tamasese, 1993) ⟨P5⟩.

The openness of the Rūātoki conference to the influence of people and processes with little or no connection to the 'FTMANZ' highlights the lack of formal structure in the 'Movement'; for instance, there is no elected executive committee and no membership criteria. Such structures raise the spectre of professionalisation, which is nothing new [see Sec. 7.5 for actions in the Professionalisation Arena in 1989], and until now debate has favoured informality as a strength of the 'FTMANZ' ⟨P49⟩. The Rūātoki experience puts some kind of 'formal structure' back on the agenda—if it had ever left—among senior leaders:

> I don't know what a more formal structure would be. […] In those times we were one of the few conferences in this country [NZ] that had a [significant Māori and Pacific] presence so it would have been a really interesting challenge to see what we could create.
>
> ⟨P5: Pākehā, woman, family therapist, senior leaders' group, ANZJFT Board⟩

Meanwhile, as the last of their visitors leave Te Rewa Rewa Marae, the hosts can look back over the four days with satisfaction that their actions reaffirm their authority in Te Mana Motuhake Cultural Justice Arena and their adherence to Tūhoetanga provides a foundation that dissipates some of their visitors' anxieties and assists them to connect with and enjoy aspects of life on a marae. There is also time to reflect on what might have been done differently, as when the local Pākehā initiators of the conference wonder whether it was irresponsible of them to offer the 'FTMANZ' a 'different' lived experience at Rūātoki when they—the initiators—have no control over tikanga practises and their consequences. Their own comfort in that local social world, where their partnerships with Māori are real and highly functional, may be more nuanced than they fully grasped at the time ⟨P31: Pākehā, woman, social worker, 1993 conference organiser⟩.

Now that the building up of Māori-Pākehā relations in the 'FTMANZ' over the past decade is shattered by the raw anger of Māori and their Pākehā supporters at Rūātoki, will the reverberations from the 1993 conference be too strong for the 'FTMANZ' to come back from? With no other national family therapy forum available outside of each annual

conference, there is a paucity of opportunities for representatives of the various regional subworlds to come together as a whole to construct shared understandings across intraworld chasms. Instead, regional interest groups and local workplace teams are the subworld sites where 'FTMANZ' members are most accessible to one another, and this distinctly geographical segmentation highlights the difficulties 'minor' voices face in being consistently heard and responded to in a unifying manner.

8.5 Lost In The Mist

On the penultimate day of the Rūātoki conference the organisers schedule a 'wellbeing' afternoon where participants are given the opportunity to engage in outdoor activities, such as walking, biking, or horse riding, among other options that include a brief excursion to a local site guided by one or two Tūhoe people.

> I went with a small group of people in a car and we drove up to a gate and a paddock, and we were taken on this walk and told, "If we weren't with you, you'd be shot for coming through here". So we walked through this bare paddock and [to] the most desolate looking river. Now, my fantasy was there were going to be ferns and trickling streams and rocks and a sort of beautiful New Zealand walk. [Instead] it was muddy in patches and dry in other patches and bare. And I look back at it and think, what in God's name was wrong with me?, why didn't I ask them the history of the area? I feel totally embarrassed. Nobody made an intelligent comment or a query. We walked in this peculiar place and we walked back again, and that was it. Obviously there was going to be a message there and we just didn't hear it. […] If only somebody had said something, but then again, who's the person that has to be the person to speak? And that is a big part of [the 1995 conference] isn't it? If nobody speaks, nothing can change, […] and I guess that's why I spoke at the 1995 conference. I mean, in a wider sense, the problem always is "you don't know what you don't know" and how that is a gap that is difficult to cross, isn't it? […] But, then again if you look at family therapy, it is the curiosity and the asking of good questions that enables movement to occur.
>
> ⟨P10: Pākehā, woman, family therapist, senior leaders' group, ANZJFT Board⟩

P10's evocative memories and musings about these moments in a paddock near Rūātoki and their corollary at the third Australian and New Zealand Family Therapy Conference two years later in Wellington, bear witness to the singularity of her impulse to take inaction in one situation and turn it into action in another. The motivating force is her heartfelt commitment to do her part in the national Treaty of Waitangi Cultural Justice Arena by honouring the Treaty partnership as best as her current worldview will allow. That this becomes the catalyst for unprecedented controversy in the 'FTMANZ' and this controversy appears to bring down the curtain on thirteen annual conferences in succession—and to this day there has been no other national family therapy movement in Aotearoa New Zealand—is the subject of Chapters 9 and 10 to follow.

Tailpiece

One month after the Rūātoki conference, Ngāi Tūhoe are one of Nine Tribes of Mātaatua[42] in the Bay of Plenty region jointly hosting 150 delegates from fourteen countries at the First International Conference on the Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples (Kaihau, 1993) on marae around the Whakatāne District. While the implications of the conference for colonialists and the colonised are complex and far reaching, it is localised inter-tribal contestations about which Indigenous group has the 'rights' to certain sites or objects that are hardest to acknowledge (Te Awekotuku & Nikora, 2003, p. 34). Once again, Tūhoe are in the thick of such politics, strategically expressing unwavering belief in their mana motuhake.

Tātau katoa, tātau ka toa

Through our collective power we can succeed[43]

Āke ake ake

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42. Mātaatua is the waka described in the epigraph to this chapter from which the Nine Tribes of Mātaatua descend.

43. Tūhoe Establishment Trust (2009, as cited in Higgins, 2014).

9

ANTECEDENTS TO EVENTS IN THE TREATY OF WAITANGI CULTURAL JUSTICE AND PACIFIC PEOPLES' POST-COLONIAL JUSTICE ARENAS DURING 1995

> *I am not an individual; I am an integral part of the cosmos. I share divinity with my ancestors, the land, the seas and the skies. […] I belong to my family and my family belongs to me. I belong to my village and my village belongs to me. I belong to my nation and my nation belongs to me. This is the essence of my sense of belonging.*
>
> *Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Ta'isi Efi*[1]

THROUGH BROODING WINTER MONTHS PRIOR TO THE 1995 Australian and New Zealand Family Therapy Conference to be held at Victoria University in Wellington on the cusp of spring, two Pākehā women who are senior leaders in the 'Family Therapy Movement in Aotearoa New Zealand' ['FTMANZ'] singly reflect on the 'Movement''s shortcomings in accountability to its Māori and Pacific members. For P5 ⟨Pākehā, woman, family therapist, senior leaders' group, ANZJFT Board⟩ the practice of making resolutions at annual conferences as if the 'FTMANZ' is a cohesive formal body, only to have those decisions lie dormant between conferences, is "at best, inept and at worst, insincere" ⟨P5⟩. At the 1993 conference, the Māori Caucus challenge the Pākehā Caucus to report back at the next conference on what they are doing about cultural issues,

1. Tui Atua (2003, p. 51).

which they agree but fail to do. Then at the 1994 conference the Pākehā Caucus resolve "both on a personal and institutional level [to] act to ensure that Maori clients have access to Maori workers", to which the Māori and Pacific Caucuses each reply with far reaching requirements[2] (Pakeha et al., 1994). How will the 'FTMANZ' equip itself to act in good faith in what are effectively local negotiations in both the national Treaty of Waitangi Cultural Justice and the emergent[3] national Pacific Peoples' Post-Colonial Justice Arenas respectively?

For P10 ⟨Pākehā, woman, family therapist, senior leaders' group, ANZJFT Board⟩ the dilemma lies in the missed opportunities for personal accountability at both the 1993 and 1994 conferences. To have the Pākehā Caucus fail to fulfil its 1993 undertaking, and then to hear the challenge issued again in 1994, leaves P10 wracking her brains about how to respond. The opportunity is all the more momentous because during the 1994 conference a member of The Family Centre's Pacific Section, who is co-convening the forthcoming 1995 conference, invites her to deliver a plenary address at that event. Months later, as the 1995 conference looms, P10 is firmly gripped by a singular conscientiousness: "I will do what has been asked [by Māori] and I will talk about the work I have been doing [with Māori]" ⟨P10⟩, causing her to unintentionally blank out any guidance the Pacific Section member may have provided.

As P5, P10, and many others prepare to attend the 1995 conference the organisers advertise the event as: "A chance to address issues as they impact on *your* families and those of your clients, opening up opportunities to value, critique and stimulate debate about family therapy." (Conference Committee, 1995, emphasis added). Is there a hint

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2. The 1994 Māori Caucus require that mana whenua/'specific iwi or hapū with authority over land' "need to be consulted to initiate tangible partnership models that facilitate ongoing participation and protection [of Māori] at all levels", and the Pacific Caucus want resourcing for Pacific family therapists to attend decolonisation retraining; recognition of their cultural knowledge by family therapy agencies and government departments; uniform implementation of the Children, Young Persons and Their Families Act across cultures; and resourcing for a 3-day national fono/'assembly' for Pacific family therapists before or after the 1995 family therapy conference (Pakeha, Maori, & Pacific Island Caucuses, 1994, pp. 1-2).

3. Emergent in the sense of this arena becoming more prominent during the mid-1990s and more so thereafter by sheer weight of numbers in the electorate; however, post-colonial justice has long been sought by Pacific Peoples in NZ, perhaps most famously in 1982 when the Sāmoan community in NZ take the case of Sāmoan-born, Falema'i Lesa, to the British Privy Council where her NZ citizenship by birth is confirmed ("Lesa v Attorney-General," 1982).

here of how personally these issues are being felt by the organisers? Does the conference title, "Tū Putanga Tai Raro/Out From Down Under"[4] [see Figure 9-A below], with its imagery of liberation from oppression, suggest an incoming wave—a tsunami?—of emancipative fervour from those who are 'at the bottom' of Aotearoa New Zealand society—Māori, Pacific Peoples, minority women—that might overwhelm the conference?

Figure 9-A: Title and motif for the third Australian and New Zealand Family Therapy Conference in 1995

In this brief chapter the antecedents to events in the Treaty of Waitangi Cultural Justice and Pacific Peoples' Post-Colonial Justice Arenas in 1995 are highlighted for their wider influence on the situation at the family therapy conference that year. These mark a new phase of activism in each arena since 1989, with Pacific Peoples particularly notable for their increasing visibility in national cultural politics, despite what seems like collective 'memory loss' among Pākehā about their colonisation of Pacific Peoples (Tamasese, 2014). Following analysis of this activism, the sociopolitical commitments of the 'FTMANZ' in 1995 are clarified, before a situational analysis of the family therapy conference—foreshadowed at the beginning of this introduction—fills the next chapter.

4. Literally, to emerge [Tū Putanga—to stand, come out] from a lowly position [Tai Raro—sea bottom].

9.1 A New Phase Of Activism

An air of frustration hangs over cultural relations in Aotearoa New Zealand during 1995 (New Zealand Catholic Bishops Conference, 1995). A new phase of national activism in the Treaty of Waitangi Cultural Justice Arena is steadily coming to the boil since the National Government's 1991 'mother of all budgets' (Richardson, 1991) tears at the welfare blanket so purposefully wrapped around New Zealanders since the Social Security Act of 1938, by broadly implementing 'free market' reforms to social policy that disproportionally affect Māori and Pacific Peoples (Boston, 1992; Easton, 1997; Waldegrave, 1991a) [see Sec. 8.2.1 for the effects of these reforms in the Whakatāne District]. The Government adds insult to injury during December 1994 by unilaterally proposing a one-billion-dollar 'fiscal envelope' to fund the settlement of all historical claims against Crown breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi (Office of Treaty Settlements, 1994), including the 500-odd claims currently before the Waitangi Tribunal and all subsequent claims (Mutu, 1996; Pihama, Moko Productions, & University of Auckland Research Unit for Māori Education, 1995; Smith, 1994).[5] The Crown wants a fixed budget to negotiate against when determining what is a 'fair and reasonable' settlement for each successful claimant.

> If you have an unlimited amount, where do you start a negotiation to reach any conclusion? […] At the time there would have been under 10% [of New Zealanders][6] who thought the claims had some legitimacy. […] After all, the economy was not in good shape and here we have a government who is going

5. Mutu (1996) interprets the Crown's proposal as including: complete Crown control over negotiation and settlement processes; Māori who enter negotiations must forego any subsequent legal recourse; all settlements to be full and final, meaning no further claim can be made if further historical breaches are later uncovered; the Crown proposes to consult other Iwi about what they think a fair settlement might be for a successful claimant Iwi; and Crown conservation land—which amounts to one-third of NZ—will not be available for settlement purposes nor will other natural resources, such as water, minerals, or geothermal power, etc.

6. P25's figure is surprisingly low given that in 1996 Māori make up 15% of the total NZ population (Statistics New Zealand, 1996a). Durie (1994), a leading Māori advocate, perceives the Treaty as being accepted—however hesitantly—by the majority of New Zealanders. In 1995, Pākehā antiracism and Treaty education groups, such as Action for an Independent Aotearoa (1995), Aotearoa Action Coalition (Martin, 1995), Conference of Churches in Aotearoa-New Zealand (McKenzie, 1995), and Network Waitangi (1995), are active in promoting cultural justice messages to Pākehā; while nationalist groups, such as One New Zealand Foundation Inc. (1988/2020), oppose any 'privileging' of or 'separatism' by Māori.

> to give a whole lot of money to Māori. "How can this be justified? and what am I going to miss out on?" are really the bottom-line questions [asked by] a broad cross-section of New Zealand.
>
> ⟨P25: Pākehā, man, senior government minister⟩

Māori protest boils over on the Treaty Grounds in February 1995 during the Government's Waitangi Day commemorations. Infamously, Tāme Iti [Ngāi Tūhoe]—one of the hosts of the 1993 conference in Rūātoki and now wearing a T-shirt emblazoned with "10th Family Therapy Conference of Aotearoa 1994" [see Figure 9-B below]—spits in contempt when confronting the Governor General, Prime Minister, and other dignitaries, prompting the Crown to curtail the day's proceedings (Maxwell, 1997).

Figure 9-B: Tāme Iti [Ngāi Tūhoe] protesting during national Waitangi Day commemorations on 6 February 1995 at Waitangi

[Source: Maxwell (1997). The Radicals [film], with permission R. Waru].

Over subsequent months various hapū assert their mana whenua over land previously appropriated by the Crown and now marked for privatisation, by indefinitely occupying Pākaitore/'Moutoa Gardens' in Whanganui (Moon, 1996), the former Takahue School in

the Far North (Gifford, 1995), and part of Coal Corporation's land holdings in Huntly (Robb, 1995); activist strategies not seen in Aotearoa New Zealand since the 1970s.

Meanwhile, Māori reject health and welfare reforms that rely on a 'free market' to efficiently allocate resources, as backtracking on the hard-won devolution of kaupapa Māori services to Iwi in the early 1990s (Laing & Pomare, 1994; Tuwhainoa Associates, 1994). Māori regard the Crown's honouring of its obligations under the Treaty as central to their well-being (Pōmare et al., 1995) and overall development (Durie, 1994a), which can best be achieved through Māori autonomy and self-provision of highly localised social services with uncontested population-specific Crown funding (Prince, Kearns, & Craig, 2006).

> From a health equity perspective, the research is very clear. Unless you have an effective kaupapa Māori model functioning in your services somewhere, the disparities [between Māori and Pākehā] will never converge. In fact, they may diverge.
>
> ⟨P18: Māori, man, mental health manager⟩

Some Government leaders are unconvinced that colonisation and tino rangatiratanga are as relevant as Māori believe them to be, favouring the enhancement of Māori economic status through the Treaty settlement process as a more holistic way of improving Māori lives in contemporary society:

> The problems of Māori and Pasifika health have been around for a long time […] and I can't tell you whether colonisation is the reason—and I surmise that you can't tell me either—or whether that is a justification, and there is a clear distinction between those two positions. […] If we were able to lift their economic status by whatever amount, would their health and other status also improve? […] I wonder whether [… some people] are trying to have too much of an ethnic explanation rather than a more holistic explanation?
>
> ⟨P25: Pākehā, man, senior government minister⟩

In other words, the Government's Treaty Settlement Programme, like most other major policy areas in the early to mid-1990s, is driven more by neoliberal economic imperatives (Boston, 1995; Kelsey, 1995) than a wholehearted desire to dismantle structural

colonisation. A similar dilemma is facing many social service professions operating in a new-normal 'free market' environment where "it became important to position yourself within a particular model and grab an area of expertise and sell it as an individual or an institution [… which meant that] very few institutions saw any value in cultural knowledge" ⟨P5: Pākehā, woman, family therapist, senior leaders' group, ANZJFT Board⟩.

At the same time, more than a decade of sustained activism in the Treaty of Waitangi Cultural Justice Arena is forcing those same professions—some of whose members are active in the 'FTMANZ'—to take beginning steps towards decolonisation. These include the New Zealand Association of Social Workers [NZASW] splitting into Māori and Pākehā Caucuses in 1986, each with its own president (Beddoe & Randal, 1994; Ohia, 1988); the Psychological Society of New Zealand [NZPsS] establishing a National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues in 1992 (NSCBI, 1992), who hold a national symposium on cultural justice in 1993 (NSCBI, 1993); the New Zealand Association of Counsellors [NZAC] entering partnership with Māori through the receiving of symbolic ngā kete mātauranga/'baskets of knowledge' from Māori in 1993 (Lang, 2005; Sharples, 1993); and the New Zealand Association of Psychotherapists [NZAP] aligning their constitution with the Treaty of Waitangi in 1995.

9.2 Pacific Peoples' Post-Colonial Justice Arena

9.2.1 Pacific Peoples in Aotearoa New Zealand

The lumping together of Māori and Pacific Peoples, as P25 does above, belies the burgeoning social and political presence of Pacific Peoples as distinct subgroups in Aotearoa New Zealand. In the decade from 1986 to 1996 the Pacific population increases by 55% to over 200,000 people, of whom 58% are New Zealand born (Statistics New Zealand, 1996b).[7] Having successfully lobbied for an independent Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs[8] in 1990, local Pacific communities are frustrated at still being excluded

7. Six percent of the resident population in NZ are Pacific Peoples of whom 50% are Sāmoan, 23% Cook Islanders, 16% Tongan, 9% Niuean, 4% Fijian and 2% Tokelauan. With half of this population from Sāmoa, much of the NZ-based Pacific literature from this era reflects Sāmoan experience.

8. Now known as the Ministry of Pacific Peoples.

from meaningful influence over mainstream policies that might "address the specific needs of Pacific peoples in New Zealand" (McCarthy, 2001, p. 277). Instead, they lag behind other New Zealanders on critical social indicators, such as health (Pulotu-Endemann, 1994), housing (Waldegrave & Sawrey, 1994), employment (Krishnan, Schoeffel, & Warren, 1994), criminal justice (Epati, 1995), education, and income levels (Statistics New Zealand, 1996b), presaging "the spectre of an underclass" (Tamasese, 1994, p. 27).

Pacific Peoples' political analyses are that the histories from which they have come to be in Aotearoa New Zealand have "defined many of our people to the realities they now live out in this country" (Tamasese, 1994, p. 24). The histories of Pacific Peoples are similar yet different depending on what the colonial arrangements were[9] (Waldegrave & Tamasese, 1993), though any "invitation for people whose cultures had undergone colonisation to remember their own stories is an invitation into pain" (Tamasese & Laban, 1993, p. 23). The history of Sāmoa bears witness to this.

Starting with New Zealand's conquest of German-occupied Sāmoa in 1914 and its imposing of military rule; the New Zealand-borne pandemic in 1918 that kills at least 25% of the Sāmoan population; its paternalistic administration suppressing Sāmoan resistance and independence movements, including the killing of unarmed civilians;[10] an imbalance of trade and revenue exchange favouring New Zealand during the 'prosperous' 1950s and 1960s; the politicising of immigration to enable Sāmoan people to fill New Zealand's factories in the late-1960s and early-1970s, and their subsequent dawn-raid jailing and

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9. These histories vary for each nation and range from the colonisation of Sāmoa by successive German and NZ administrations in the Twentieth Century before regaining independence in 1962 and signing a Treaty of Friendship with NZ; the Tokelau Islands joining the Realm of New Zealand as a dependent territory in 1949 and the Cook Islands and Niue as freely associating self-governing states in 1965 and 1974 respectively; the Kingdom of Tonga's continuous monarchical system of Indigenous governance during British colonisation before independence in 1970 and the forming of diplomatic relations with NZ; and Fiji similarly gaining both independence in 1970 and diplomatic relations with NZ, the latter interrupted in 1987 by the first of three military coups (Fairbairn, Morrison, Baker, & Groves, 1991; King, 2003; "Te ara: The encyclopedia of New Zealand," 2020).

10. Perhaps the most infamous incident takes place on 28 December 1929 when the Sāmoan pro-independence movement, O le Mau a Sāmoa [the Mau], parade peacefully and unarmed in occupied Apia to welcome home two of its members who have been exiled in NZ. When NZ policemen seek to arrest prominent Mau members, the Mau resist, fighting breaks out, police fire their guns, and the result is eight Samoans and one Papalagi policeman dead. Among them is Mau leader, Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III, who is shot dead while calling for calm (Field, 1984, 1991, 2006).

expulsion from New Zealand as ‘overstayers’ in the late-1970s when a local economic recession deems this expedient; and the New Zealand Government’s circumventing of a successful challenge by the New Zealand Sāmoan community to the British Privy Council confirming New Zealand citizenship on all Sāmoans ("Lesa v Attorney-General," 1982) by passing a law restricting such citizenship to Sāmoans currently living in New Zealand on 14 September 1982 (Anae, 2020; "Citizenship (Western Samoa) Act," 1982; Field, 1991, 2006; Hartill, 1998; Tamasese, 1994; Wright & Hornblow, 2008).

Such histories of colonial injustice, resistance, hope, and self-determination, borne silently and invisibly by Pacific Peoples for decades (Pacific Section, The Family Centre, as cited in Tapping, 1990a, p. 39), are gradually revealed to New Zealand family therapists since their third conference in 1985 when Sāmoan family therapist, Sui Ne’emia-Garwood, and her Māori and Pākehā colleagues from DSW in Porirua, hold a “Culture and Family Therapy” symposium (Gordon, Waaka, Ne'emia-Garwood, & Featherstone, 1985). At the 1989 binational conference, one of eight plenaries to address colonisation is given by the Pacific Section of the Family Centre (Nokise, 1989), and by 1995 numerous publications,[11] workshops, and conference addresses by The Family Centre further establish post-colonial justice for Pacific Peoples among the sociopolitical concerns of the ‘FTMANZ’. This social activism in—what I am calling—the national Pacific Peoples’ Post-Colonial Justice Arena [see Figure 9-C on the following page] comes relatively early for the ‘FTMANZ’ compared with most other disciplinary worlds or professional organisations in Aotearoa New Zealand, a situation due in large part to the dynamic influence of the Pacific Section Coordinator, Taimalieutu Kiwi Tamasese, and her āiga.

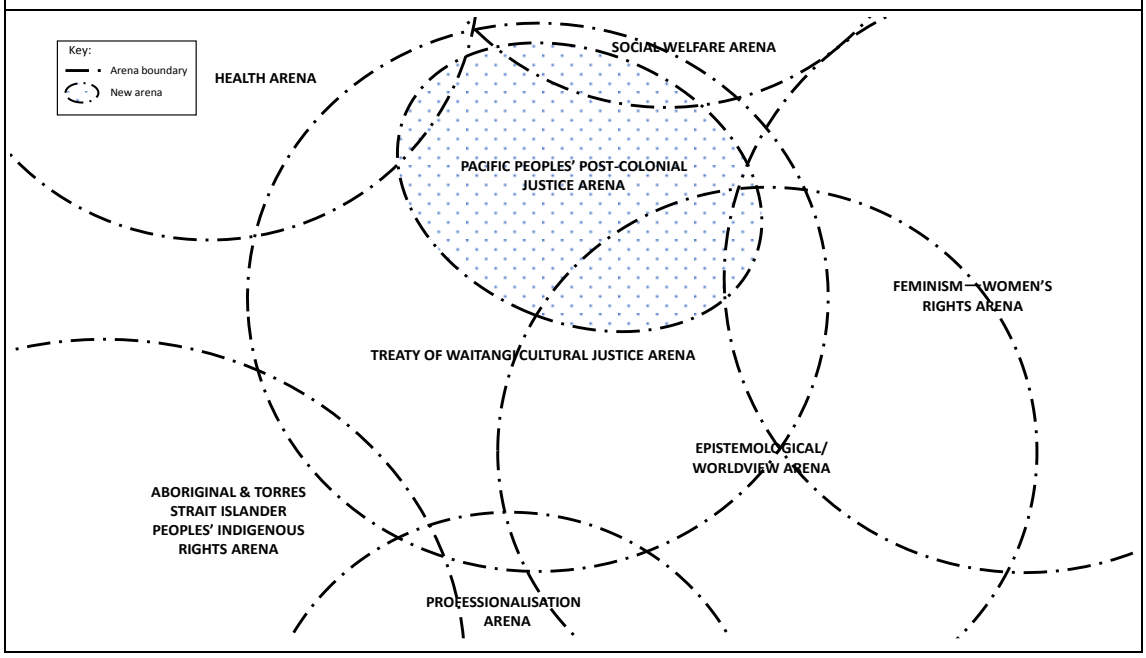
9.2.2 Commitments of the ‘FTMANZ’ to Pacific Peoples’ post-colonial justice

In 1995, the Pacific Peoples’ Post-Colonial Justice Arena is nestled among other social justice-related arenas that the ‘FTMANZ’ is active in since the mid- to late 1980s [see

11. Papers written prior to the 1995 conference by The Family Centre on issues relating to Pacific Peoples’ post-colonial justice, include: W. Campbell et al. (1988); Coventry et al. (1987); Ne'emia-Garwood et al. (1987); Nokise (1989); Tamasese (1993a, 1993b); Tamasese and Laban (1993); Tamasese and Waldegrave (1994); Tapping (1990a, 1993); Waldegrave (1990a); and Waldegrave and Tamasese (1993).

Figure 9-C below].[12] Back in 1989, the social justice commitments of the 'FTMANZ' to Pacific Peoples are a loose extension of their growing awareness of Māori cultural justice issues under the Treaty [see Sec. 6.2.1, subparagraph A], and since the 1993 conference in Rūātoki those issues focus squarely on the 'rights and wrongs' of cross-cultural practice

Figure 9-C: Social justice-related arenas the 'Family Therapy Movement in Aotearoa New Zealand' is active in during 1995 [schematic only]



with Māori, side-lining specific Pacific concerns. Even so, during the 1994 conference the Pacific Caucus take up direct negotiations with the Pākehā Caucus seeking, among other things [see Footnote 2 this chapter for details], a fully funded three-day national fono/'gathering' for Pacific Island workers immediately before or after the 1995 conference (Pakeha et al., 1994). However, there is no mention of the latter in the conference advertising, and with no organisational accountability in the 'FTMANZ' from

12. The overlapping of the emergent Pacific Peoples' Post-Colonial Justice Arena with the existing Treaty of Waitangi, Health, Social Welfare, Feminism-Women's Rights, and Epistemological/Worldview arenas, as depicted in Figure 9-B, is schematic only. These appear to be the main existing arenas where negotiations are taking place between collective parties who are also active in the new arena. For example, while Pacific Peoples' Post-Colonial Justice is not a Treaty of Waitangi matter per se, Pacific peoples have long supported Māori in their struggle for Treaty justice and have also debated with Māori about how the latter's Treaty relationship with the Crown might be problematic for them. Also, the schematic depiction of arenas in the Figure is not meant to imply that the new arena does not have concerns in the Professionalisation or Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples' Indigenous Rights arenas, however, the limitations of a 2-dimensional figure makes the representation of every interworld activity impractical and I have chosen to depict those intersecting arenas that appear to be most relevant to the 1995 conference.

one conference to the next (Bird, 1995b), the commitments of the Pākehā Caucus in the Pacific Peoples' Post-Colonial Justice Arena during 1995 are at best uncertain.

What *is* clear is The Family Centre's commitment to "the decolonisation of family therapy and psychology and psychiatry all around the world" (Tamasese, 2014, p. 9), and with them hosting the 1995 conference and with their Pacific Section prominent in all of this work, the voices of Pacific Peoples in the 'FTMANZ' are likely to be heard.

A situational analysis of the 1995 conference set in the prevailing social conditions in Aotearoa New Zealand society described in this chapter is offered in Chapter 10 to follow.

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10

1995 CONFERENCE:

"OUT FROM DOWN UNDER"

We say in Samoa, "A iai ni lape poʻo faʻaletonu, ia faʻatafea ia i nuʻu lē ainā". Which means that whatever wrongs and transgressions took place, let these be consigned to uninhabited lands.

Tuila'epa Lupesoliai Sa'ilele Malielegaoi[1]

AS THE NATIONAL FAMILY THERAPY MOVEMENTS IN AOTEAROA New Zealand and Australia gather for their third binational conference in 1995, they are joined by two new social worlds, each of which is now a distinct "universe of discourse" (Mead, 1934) with its own identities, activities, sites, and technologies (Strauss, 1978b), since previously being formative members of the New Paradigm subworld during the 1989 conference. The first of these new worlds extends the longstanding collaboration between David Epston, Ann Epston, and the Family Therapy Centre in Auckland,[2] and Michael White, Cheryl White, and the Dulwich Centre in Adelaide (Epston et al., 2016), to include national and international communities of practitioner-contributors interested

1. Malielegaoi and Swain (2017, p. 175). Malielegaoi is Prime Minister of Samoa [1998-present).
2. David Epston and Johnella Bird teach together for many years as co-directors of the Family Therapy Centre in Auckland. "We ran courses for a week where David would do 2½ days and I would do 2½ days, and I insisted that they were *not* to be called 'narrative family therapy' because I felt that was problematic [in that] it denied the influences of other therapeutic approaches" [J. Bird, personal communication, 14 November 2014]. Epston adds: "I know few people anywhere as independent-minded as Johnella is. […] We separately developed along the same lines" (Epston, 2003, p. 3).

in narrative approaches to therapy,[3] referred to here as Narrative Therapy.[4] The second is The Family Centre who, since publishing their "Just Therapy" monograph in 1990 (Waldegrave, 1990a), are leaders in the development of indigenous and bicultural therapies at home and abroad (Tapping, 1993; Waldegrave & Tamasese, 1993), seek to influence equitable social policy through their Family Centre Social Policy and Research Unit [FCSPRU] (Stephens, Waldegrave, & Frater, 1995; Waldegrave, 1991b, 1992; Waldegrave & Frater, 1991), and promote post-colonial justice in Aotearoa New Zealand as previously noted [see Chapter 9].[5]

In this chapter, I present a situational analysis of this conference constructed—as in previous chapters—with an inflected ear towards nondominant discourses of the day. It begins by identifying the social worlds constituting the conference, before shifting to their interactions in pre-conference activities, conference workshops, plenaries, and business meetings. P10's controversial plenary address, post-plenary cultural caucusing, and the conference organisers' replies from the plenary stage on the last day, are all subject to social worlds/arenas analyses prior to my reflections on the conditions of possibility (Foucault, 1970, 1973) for the 'Family Therapy Movement in Aotearoa New Zealand' ['FTMANZ'] at conference end.

10.1 Social Worlds At The 1995 Conference

The social worlds and subworlds participating in various arenas of concern at the 1995 family therapy conference are depicted in the social worlds/arenas map (Clarke, 2005; Clarke et al., 2018) in Figure 10-A [on the following page], and for ease of comparison an equivalent map of the 1989 conference is reproduced on the page thereafter as Figure 10-B.[6] Broadly speaking, in the six years between conferences the 'FTMANZ' and the

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3. See the "Dulwich Centre Newsletter" (C. White (Ed.), 1989-1995) for evidence of this community, plus other publications leading up to the 1995 conference, such as Cowley and Springer (1995); Epston, Morris, and Maisel (1995); Epston et al. (1992); Madigan and Epston (1995); Monk (1996); O'Hanlon (1994); Parry and Doan (1994); Penn (1995); and Winslade and Cheshire (1995).

4. The term Narrative Therapy first appears in North American in the early 1990s and its first use in NZ-based literature may be by Hart (1995).

5. Epston notes that The Family Centre is sometimes "included under the banner of narrative therapy and I believe that to be very unfair to them. [… They] have constituted a unique voice across many disciplines" (Epston, 2003, p. 3).

6. The original social worlds/arenas map for the 1989 conference is in Figure 7-A of this thesis.

Figure 10-A: Social worlds/arenas map of the third Australian and New Zealand Family Therapy Conference held in 1995

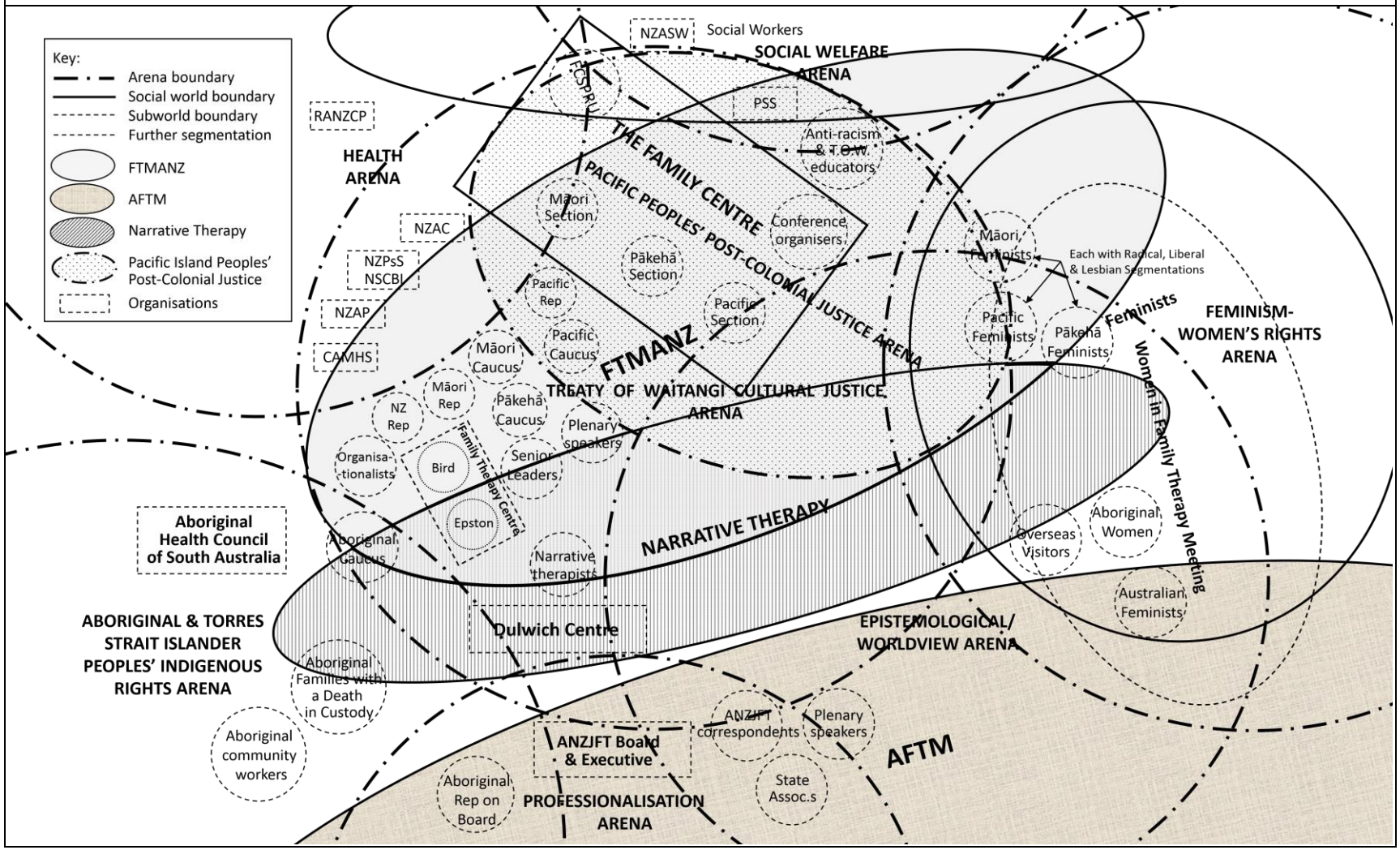
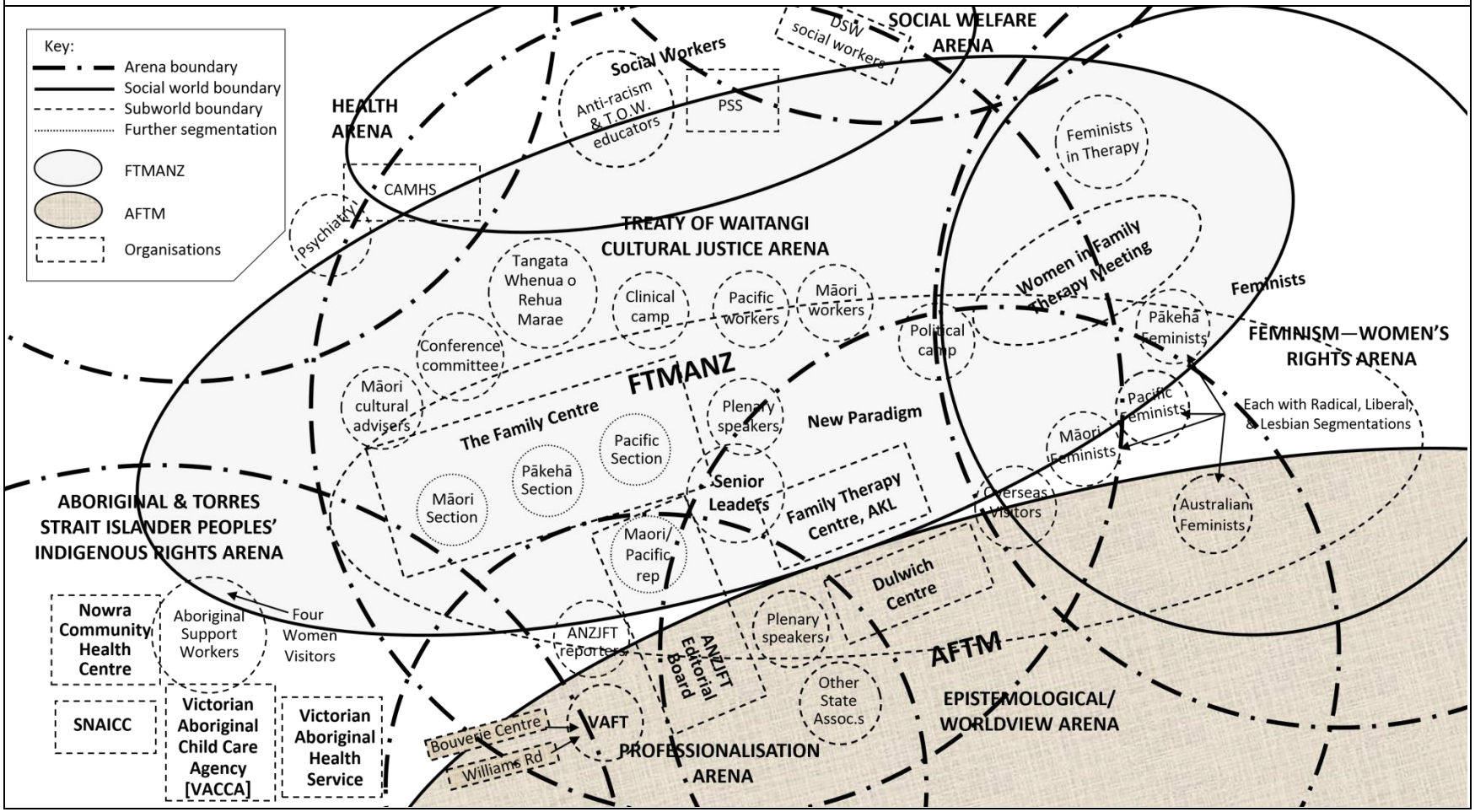


Figure 10-B: Copy of the "1989 conference social worlds/arenas map" [reproduction of Figure 7-A]



AFTM are now not as close as they were, Narrative Therapy is completely separate from the AFTM but is part of the 'FTMANZ, and The Family Centre still identifies with the 'FTMANZ' but also extends beyond it. Analysis of the situational factors influencing these cursory observations and other relational matters make up the remainder of this chapter.

The 1995 conference is also host to at least six Aboriginal people from across Australia, plus individuals from Papua New Guinea, Ireland, Scandinavia, and the USA, and several locals who are primarily drawn to one or more of the social justice arenas depicted in Figure 9-C in the previous chapter, rather than to family therapy per se. Interaction between and across these social worlds begins in the days prior to the conference during gender- and culture-specific 'caucusing' activities (Hansen, 1995; McDonell, 1998; Scott, 1995) as described below.

10.2 Pre-Conference Activities

The Australian-based initiative of the Women in Family Therapy Meeting [WIFTM] returns to Aotearoa New Zealand with another binational conference and is held from 26-28 August on the Kāpiti Coast, 50 kms north of Wellington. Eighty women gather to forge bonds through creative rituals, share professional presentations, walk, talk, eat, dance, sing, and celebrate being together across diverse cultures. Koori[1] women who are family counsellors or workers are offered funding assistance by non-Aboriginal Australian WIFTM members to attend the meeting (Women In Family Therapy, 1995), and while the land on which they meet is no longer 'owned' by Māori, WIFTM attendees choose to pay a land tax to the Māori women present, who pass it onto "their Aboriginal sisters to ensure their attendance at the next Australian Women's Meeting in Hobart" during 1996 (Scott, 1995, p. 224).

Back in Wellington the theme of cultural accountability continues through cultural caucusing, and although Māori, Pacific, Aboriginal, Pākehā, and or non-Aboriginal

NB: Footnote numbering in Microsoft Word automatically starts again from 1 after a change of page orientation from portrait to landscape or vice versa.

1. Koori is a demonym derived from the Awabakal Indigenous language for Aboriginal Peoples from the land areas now comprising much of New South Wales and Victoria.

Australian caucuses may have met, the only published report is from the Pākehā Caucus.[2] The author, Christine Herzog (1995a), is a leading anti-racism and Treaty educator-activist and an "interested bystander" (Herzog, 1999) recently attracted to the 'FTMANZ' by the nationally relevant cultural justice issues it is debating.[3] She minutes Pākehā Caucus discussions about their 1994 resolution that ensures Māori clients access to Māori workers (Pakeha et al., 1994), and the personal and agency strategies Caucus members utilise to implement it. Some members receive supervision from Māori to work with Māori or their agencies adopt an 'only Māori work with Māori' policy and confront issues of partnership, resourcing, and accountability. Other agencies let clients choose who they want to work with, and some of their workers are either still thinking about the issues or they lack enthusiasm to meet to discuss them (Herzog, 1995a).

Fittingly, given the prominence of cultural issues in pre-conference activities, the conference proper begins with a pōwhiri at Pipitea Marae with the inclusion of "Aboriginal ceremonial dance accompanied by the digeridoo[, … and] even 'Waltzing Matilda'[4] managed to find a place" (McDonell, 1995, p. 225). Nonetheless—as in 1989—at least one uninitiated Australian feels alienated by not being able to understand proceedings carried out largely in te reo Māori (Hansen, 1995), so with both the pre-conference meetings and conference opening now complete, perhaps the die is cast with respect to the cultural challenges that lie ahead over the next four days.

10.3 Narrative Therapy And The Australian Family Therapy Movement

A close alliance between The Family Centre and the Dulwich Centre[5] [Dulwich] is

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2. Early advertising of the conference makes no mention of pre-conference cultural caucusing (Conference Committee, 1995), however, McDonell (1995) reports of arriving in Wellington in time to register for the family therapy conference "having missed both the Women's Meeting and the Cultural Caucusing that led up to it" (p. 225). The Women's Meeting concludes on 28 August and the conference begins on 30 August, so perhaps cultural caucusing takes place on 29 August. McDonell goes on to mention Māori and Aboriginal caucuses in her post-conference report (p. 226), and when I interview research participants who were at the conference, several speak about ad hoc cultural caucusing occurring during the conference.

3. Herzog (1995a) is writing in the Family Therapy Centre's newsletter, "City Side News", and is so relatively unknown to the majority of 'FTMANZ' members that she resists putting her name to Pākehā Caucus proposals because "no one will recognise my name" (p. 2).

4. "Waltzing Matilda" is Australia's best-known bush ballad and has been described as the country's "unofficial national anthem" (O'Keeffe, 2012).

5. The roots of this alliance are seeded in 1983 when Waldegrave convenes the first NZ family therapy conference and invites White to be the keynote speaker.

apparent when Dulwich accept The Family Centre's invitation to participate in the 1995 binational conference being shared with the AFTM. Tensions in the Epistemological/ Worldview and Professionalisation Arenas between the AFTM and Michael White begin in the early 1980s as White's creative collaborations with Epston increasingly draw him away from the AFTM. Those AFTM protagonists with close collegial ties to White when he is editor of the ANZJFT from 1979 to 1984 and who introduce him to family therapy in the USA during 1981, feel aggrieved when White establishes Dulwich "and 'invents' narrative therapy, [as if] he knew nothing of his past, […] how helpful [we] had been to him" ⟨P34: Non-Aboriginal Australian, man, family therapist, ANZJFT Board⟩.

To Epston, such a response is "*incredibly* vindictive […] and to some extent it was prudent [for White and Epston] to surrender any connection with family therapy in Australia and just go it alone" [D. Epston, personal communication, 9 December 2014]. Since the 1989 conference, Dulwich—as the main "entrepreneur" (Becker, 1963) in the then nascent Narrative Therapy social world—stop taking part in AFTM activities [as depicted in Figure 10-A] in favour of developing their organisational identity in narrative therapy and community work.

The situation with Narrative Therapy in Aotearoa New Zealand is quite different, as "there weren't any rivalries […] or institutional or professional factions. Family therapy here [in NZ] was primarily a social work thing" ⟨P4: Pākehā, man, family therapist, senior leaders' group⟩, and with neoliberal economics the dominant political discourse of the day, social workers are under threat from "being degraded, deskilled and subject to a withering managerialism, especially in government departments" (Epston, 2003, p. 2; Boston, 1995; Kelsey, 1995).[6]

By 1995 the AFTM, as the dominant "universe of discourse" (Mead, 1934) and seat of institutional power, and Narrative Therapy, as a new-technology-inspired

6. In 1995 the majority of 'family therapy' practitioners in NZ are employed as social workers by the Government's Departments of Health and Social Welfare or by NGO social service providers. At this time the Government is enforcing 'free market' neoliberalism to 'manage' the country's health services on a profit-making basis (New Zealand Parliamentary Library, 2009), while also stripping the social welfare sector of cash so that "many voluntary agencies that DSW would rely on to implement plans that families would make [under the Child, Young Persons and their Families Act, 1989] simply went to the wall […] and the Act was strangled" ⟨P13: Pākehā, man, social welfare national manager⟩.

"bandwagon" (Fujimura, 1988) for paradigm change, are rival social worlds co-constructing a discourse of mutual grievance reflecting their heterogenous perspectives and interworld acrimonies. The 1995 conference, with its assortment of constituent social worlds, subworlds, and arenas of concern, is a significant site of "negotiations of various kinds—persuasion, coercion, bartering, education, […] repositioning, and so on—[that] are strategies to deal with such conflicts and are routinely engaged" (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 75; Strauss, 1978a).

10.3.1 Negotiations about difference

Two of many probable instances where Dulwich negotiate about difference with other social worlds at the 1995 conference stand out for their contrasting effects on Indigenous Peoples. The first is a cohesive group effort in the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples' Indigenous Rights Arena between Dulwich, the Aboriginal Health Council of South Australia, and Aboriginal participants of a 'group counselling' project for families with a member who died in Police custody (Aboriginal Health Council of South Australia & Dulwich Centre, 1995).[7] During their presentation, representatives of each contributing social world speak passionately about their experiences, with the seldom-heard voices of Aboriginal families prominent in expressing their pain and anger (McDonell, 1995).

The second is during White's plenary address to the conference following his six-year absence from AFTM events. While his reputation in the Epistemological/Worldview Arena dazzles internationally since his appearance at the 1989 AAMFT conference, where they 'designate' him a "master family therapist" (White, 1989a), like any prominent social world representative he also attracts criticism. Recently it is Luepnitz (1992) and Fish (1993) from the USA challenging his interpretations of Foucault, while Monk (1996)—who later co-authors a narrative practice textbook (Monk et al., 1997)—worries about New Zealanders' uncritical acceptance of Narrative Therapy and believes "White underplays […] his power and influence in directing the course of counselling

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7. Also see Appendix O for an edited transcript from my interview with P43 ⟨Aboriginal, man, Aboriginal Health Council member⟩ who brokered the joint venture with Dulwich. He describes first-hand this pioneering cross-cultural healing work undertaken in Australia between groups of First Nation's Peoples and non-Aboriginal Australians in 1994. The transcript is included in this thesis with the permission of P43 to ensure its availability to interested readers.

work" (p. 46). Expatriate non-Aboriginal Australian, Bruce Hart (1995), problematises White's underrating of "the commonalities that his work shares with other developments in the family therapy field" (p. 183), while White's friend and ardent supporter, Canadian, Karl Tomm (1993), "wonder[s] whether the receptiveness of other professionals could be enhanced if he [White] became more open and self-reflective in [relation …] to his own use of knowledge and power during his teaching[, …] workshop presentations and in his written work" (p. 64).

During his address, which for some AFTM and 'FTMANZ' members has "the air of a revivalist meeting" ⟨P10: Pākehā, woman, family therapist, senior leaders' group, ANZJFT Board; P34; P39: Non-Aboriginal Australian, woman, family therapist⟩, White purportedly—according to one AFTM member; there is no published record of White's presentation—"frames a person's story of suffering as a story of 'oppression by a colonising narrative' […] and the task of [narrative] therapy is to free you from oppression" ⟨P39⟩.

> There was a group of Māori and a few Pākehā who had a very visceral response to Michael and challenged him, and somehow that challenge escalated. There was a very tense moment in that particular presentation and afterwards all of the conference was abuzz with it. […] The flak was utterly incendiary. People walked away [from the presentation]. They were so angry they were shaking.
>
> ⟨P39: Non-Aboriginal Australian, woman, family therapist⟩

Taking this report at face value, it is easy to imagine that if the address is *received* as saying 'colonisation is a dominant narrative you can be freed from through therapy', it might incite Māori and other New Zealanders who have been battling for constitutional change in the Treaty of Waitangi Cultural Justice Arena since 1840—and that battle is a *huge* issue at recent New Zealand family therapy conferences! Perhaps this is an occasion when non-Aboriginal Australian, Pam Hansen (1995), feels that "some of the indigenous people [at the conference] were especially critical and accusatory in their assessment of us, the White[/non-Aboriginal] Australians" (p. 225). Putting aside uncertainties about exactly what is said by whom during the address, this report appears to corroborate Hart's (1995) description of negotiations about difference at the conference, where "there was

little or no dialogue between different perspectives in the plenaries and workshops [“… including those of White” (p. 186)]. Differences of view, in some cases, were dismissed and disparaged, rather than engaged with in a useful manner” (p. 186n181). This represents “a kind of narrowing [at the 1995 conference] of the way things need to be phrased. It was quite different to the Christchurch conference [in 1989], which was much more welcoming of multiple voices” ⟨P39⟩.

If the Narrative Therapy social world dominates the conference, as McDonell (1995) opines in her ANZJFT conference report, and if White’s address is characteristic of how negotiations about differences take place, then what happens to dissenting voices at the conference? “How do you create a permeable boundary, which means the insiders listen to the outsiders and bring them in or move out to embrace them, rather than creating more rigid walls?” ⟨P5: Pākehā, woman, family therapist, senior leaders’ group, ANZJFT Board⟩. Greater testing of these questions is yet to come.

10.3.2 ANZJFT Board

After tumultuous years for the Board, beginning at the 1989 conference where it opposes the cultural groups in the ‘FTMANZ’ who want to appoint rather than merely nominate their respective Māori, Sāmoan, and Pākehā representatives [see Sec. 7.5.1], leading to the existing representatives resigning en masse in 1991, and it takes two years before their replacements are in place, the Board’s President is now pleased to announce in his 1995 annual report that there are “harmonious relations throughout our networks” (Stagoll, 1995, p. iii). The Board’s decisions to bestow its prestigious “Award of Distinguished Service to Family Therapy in Australia and New Zealand” to The Family Centre, hailing them “an inspiration to all of us who struggle against the effects of racism, patriarchy and colonisation”, and to establish the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders [sic] Consultation Group, “coming directly from issues raised in Wellington” (p. iii)—presumably by the 1995 Aboriginal Caucus?—are infused with “a spirit of conciliation” ⟨P37: Non-Aboriginal Australian, man, family therapist⟩.

These advances into the trio of Māori, Pacific, and Aboriginal peoples cultural justice arenas are the outcome of conflictual negotiations between those on the Board who have

executive powers,[8] and those cultural representatives from the 'FTMANZ' who bring traditions of consensus decision making. Inevitably, the cultural justice issues that the cultural representatives hoist onto annual Board meetings create persistent trans-Tasman tensions between the tasks of journal production and the promotion of activism.

When non-Aboriginal Australian correspondents recently reflect on the possible amalgamation of state and territory associations into a single professional body (Snare et al., 1993)[9]—something that would displace the Board and Executive from their de facto national roles—at least two of them wonder that with a binational Board and a new 'tradition' of binational conferences, "will it be a national or a bi-national organisation"? (Drury, 1993, p. 30). Thoughts about organising themselves more effectively also occupy some 'FTMANZ' minds (Bird, 1995b; Epston, 1995).

10.4 Organisationalists

Since the first New Zealand conference in 1983 there is debate about formalising a New Zealand 'family therapy' organisation and in 1995 the voices of Organisationalists—my term—are again being heard in the Professionalisation Arena. Their medium is "City Side News", a newsletter produced by the Family Therapy Centre in Auckland, whose inaugural edition is released a month before the 1995 conference. In it "the informality and lack of structure" of the 'FTMANZ' is referred to as "a convenient explanation for the lack of commitment to the work of creating an equitable organisation that reflects and respects diversity" (Bird, 1995b, p. 2). This "lack of commitment"—or however other individuals and subgroups in the 'FTMANZ' might describe it—coincides with mounting pressures many 'FTMANZ' members face from discipling practices (Foucault, 1977, 1980) embedded in the neoliberal 'free market' policies of successive governments since 1984 (Boston, 1995; Evans, Grimes, Wilkinson, & Teece, 1996; Kelsey, 1995). Those

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8. With the Board only meeting annually at Australian conferences, there is "an essential and overdue" need to establish an executive group who can hold regular phone meetings to "enhance the weight, continuity, and transparency of decision making, [offer] invaluable support for the ANZJFT Editor, and accountability to the Board". A four-person ANZJFT Executive is formalised in 1993 and comprises the Board's president, secretary, treasurer, and editor [M. Cornwell, personal communication, 19 January 2021].

9. This doesn't happen until 2012 when the Australian Association of Family Therapy is incorporated [see https://www.aaft.asn.au/aaft/].

working in the state sector strive to produce requisite 'outputs' while implementing budgets constrained to discourage reliance on the state (Robinson, 1994), while others take up private practice where "it is man or woman alone, and what's 'family' got to do with it?" for both clients and practitioners alike ⟨P4: Pākehā, man, family therapist, senior leaders' group⟩.

While the 'FTMANZ' promotes intercultural dialogue through cultural caucusing at their 1994 and 1995 conferences—having had it thrust upon them at Rūātoki in 1993 [see Chapter 8]—and holds a generic 'business meeting' at the same events, there is no organisational structure—no committee, no administrator, no membership list, no published record of business meeting minutes—with which to systematically extend conversations about decolonisation or other matters. In 1995, invitations to rethink the status quo are offered by Organisationalists, some of whom are senior leaders in the 'FTMANZ' with intimate knowledge of the 'FTMANZ''s history of making resolutions at conferences that aren't followed through (Bird, 1995b; Epston, 1995).

> […] and that would have been a fascinating conversation to have together rather than in little groups [around the country. …] a really interesting challenge to see what we could create. […] But that conversation was disrupted by what happened at the 1995 conference.
>
> ⟨P5: Pākehā, woman, family therapist, senior leaders' group, ANZJFT Board⟩

10.5 Tender Controversies[10]

10.5.1 Pākehā working with Māori

As P10 ⟨Pākehā, woman, family therapist, senior leaders' group, ANZJFT Board⟩ steps up to the lectern early on the penultimate day of the conference to deliver her third plenary address in eight years,[11] she is intent on responding to what she perceives are unanswered challenges made by Māori to Pākehā at the 1993 and 1994 conferences, pressing Pākehā to disclose what they are doing to decolonise their professional practices and institutional structures to ensure that Māori work with Māori whānau. As a liberal

10. Title adopted from Cornwell (1995).

11. P10 previously addresses plenary sessions at the 1987 and 1994 family therapy conferences in NZ and Australia respectively.

feminist, she is used to taking personal experience into account when reflecting on social justice issues ⟨P7: Pākehā, women, social work educator⟩, and that is what she will do in this plenary—honestly and transparently talk about the pragmatics and the conflicting complexities of how and why she is currently working with Māori clients.

Since the mid-1980s, P10 identifies strongly with Māori culture, and through living with a Māori partner for several years she enters te ao Māori with his whānau and in the friendships, mentorships, and collegiality she fosters over the next decade. Prominent among the latter is The Family Centre, whose work with Māori resonates deeply with her and where she is like an 'adopted family member'. She also consults closely with Te Rūnanga ki Ōtautahi o Ngāi Tahu[12] on her local work with Māori whānau and prior to this conference seeks their guidance when finalising her address ⟨P10⟩.

The bulk of P10's address is a systematic exposition on applying the concept of 'both/and rather than either/or' to negotiations on cross-cultural 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand. This concept gains favour among New Paradigm proponents in the 'FTMANZ' during the mid- to late 1980s as they reject traditional-positivist Western Family Therapy for its tacit disregard of power relations with respect to culture/race and gender. Instead, they "eagerly (and blindly?) embrace constructivism in their theorising and practice" (Harré Hindmarsh, 1994a, p. 6, parentheses in original),[13] despite constructivism being "strongly critiqued by sociologists for decades for *its* inability to […] address the dimensions of power" (p. 7, emphasis added).[14]

From a constructivist perspective, negotiations among subworlds in the 'FTMANZ' about who should work with Māori clients are "conceptualised as a collection of alternative meanings and values"—discourses—with P10's task as plenary speaker being to facilitate "the clarification of meanings with the aim[s] of finding a consensus, to create

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12. The tribal authority for Christchurch-based members of the largest South Island Iwi, Ngāi Tahu. When spoken in their local dialect, the name is pronounced Te Rūnaka ki Ōtautahi o Kāi Tahu [see https://ngaitahu.iwi.nz/].

13. The arrival of this concept in family therapy circles is elusive. Suggestions by my colleagues pointing to de Shazer, Goolishian, Hoffman, Watts, von Foerster, Keeney, Maturana, Varela, Watzlawick, Weakland, or Fisch, all fail to identify a specific moment of entry into extant literature.

14. An example of 'both/and rather than either/or' discourse being used repressively occurs in 1987 when the Crown reframes the Treaty as a bicultural 'partnership' between *both* Māori *and* Pākehā [see Sec. 6.1.4] while also maintaining its colonial dominance by appointing itself the senior partner ⟨P30: Māori, man, activist⟩.

inter-subjectivity[, …] and thus to improve communication" (Harré Hindmarsh, 1994a, p. 13).

At this point, I recommend readers pause their reading of this chapter to access Appendix N of this thesis, which contains the full text of P10's (1995) address. By reading her text—especially pages originally numbered 8-16 & 19-20—readers may gain first-hand impressions of its likely impact in the prevailing climate portrayed both in Chapter 9 and in preceding sections of this chapter. My analyses of the address continue below.

10.5.2 A dissenting voice

In her address, P10 (1995) attempts to include the meanings and values of *both* Māori *and* Pākehā worlds. She positions herself and her Pākehā workplace as advocates for Article Two of the Treaty, guaranteeing tino rangatiratanga over all things Māori to Māori through their networking with and support for local kaupapa Māori provider groups and procuring of access to such groups for Māori clients who want it. *And* she upholds the ōritetanga/'equality' provisions in Article Three that give Māori the "same rights" as Pākehā and therefore the right to choose who they will work with, and P10 and her colleagues respect that choice (Kawharu, 2005, p. 392; P10, 1995, p. 11). P10 cites several reasons for why Māori may not want to work with Māori: Māori living a Pākehā lifestyle, past experiences of abuse perpetrated by Māori, inconsistent availability of Māori therapists due to competing demands [tangi or hui], issues of confidentiality in Māori communities, and respect for Pākehā work (P10, 1995, p. 14).[15]

P10 draws on kaupapa Māori discourse with its traditions of tino rangatiratanga, mana motuhake, whānau, and wairua when stating:

> I believe the insistence that Maori only work with Maori is vitally important for Maori people. I support fully their rights, skills, and knowledge to do this, and the importance of Maori and Pakeha working to change structures to allow this to happen […]
>
> (P10, 1995, p. 19)

15. This list is sourced from an unpublished questionnaire given to about twenty Māori clients of Presbyterian Support Services in Christchurch during the early 1990s ⟨P10⟩.

And on mainstream Pākehā discourse with its emphasis on European superiority, assimilative consciousness, and individualism:

> The insistence that only Maori work with Maori can be an ideology which shows a lack of respect [for individual choice] and denies many people services which are most appropriate to their life circumstances today.
>
> (P10, 1995, pp. 19-20)

The coupling of these seemingly contradictory statements presents a dissenting voice in contemporary 'FTMANZ' politics. The dominant discourse at the two previous marae-based conferences is kaupapa Māori and this is being extended during proceedings thus far at the 1995 conference where cultural justice concerns for Māori, Pacific, and Aboriginal peoples are much on display. Perhaps speaking at Victoria University, in Wellington, the seat of Pākehā government, empowers P10 to assert kaupapa Pākehā discourse while standing on Pākehā tūrangawaewae/'a place where one has the right to stand', reminiscent of Tūhoe enforcing Tūhoetanga on the 'FTMANZ' Pākehā Caucus at Rūātoki in 1993 [see Chapter 8].

P10 (1995) goes out on an audacious limb when making her thoughts about "how many pakeha […] are scared to be anything but politically correct [for] fear of being labelled racist", a turning point in her address (p. 8). As a Pākehā, middle-class, liberal feminist woman, senior member of the 'FTMANZ', and close friend of The Family Centre who are hosting the conference—where the local influence of their Just Therapy cultural justice discourse is reaching its zenith—her public declarations carry the weight of each of these social worlds ⟨P5: Pākehā, woman, senior leaders' group, ANZJFT Board; P22: Sāmoan, woman, social worker⟩. This includes those declarations that carry a distinctly Eurocentric bias with respect to the rights of the individual over the collective, which are an anathema to The Family Centre.

> As soon as she said it, I had my head in my hands. I thought, "Oh yeah, now we're in for something here", and we were.
>
> ⟨P5: Pākehā, woman, family therapist, senior leaders' group, ANZJFT Board⟩

10.5.3 All hell breaks loose

As P10 leaves the plenary theatre and heads for morning tea, a member of The Family Centre's Pākehā Section approaches her and says words to the effect of: "We have a problem on our hands with your paper. [A Pacific Section member …] is so distressed by what you've said, [they have] had to go home" ⟨P10⟩. At morning tea P10 senses that a cluster of Pacific people are expressing lo latou mumusu/their reluctance to acknowledge her, by facing away. She has no idea why. Soon after, a Māori woman comes near to empathise: "I completely understand what you said. I walk in those two worlds [of Māori and Pākehā]" ⟨P10⟩.

Meanwhile, the conference is abuzz with spontaneous conversation about P10's address, including among members of The Family Centre who are considering how to respond to the Pacific Section's concerns ⟨P26: Māori, man, family therapist, ANZJFT Board⟩. The start of the next plenary session is disrupted by angry protest against P10, and "all hell breaks loose, [P10] is devastated and says, 'I am sorry for the pain I have caused', but that doesn't seem to be enough" ⟨P34: Non-Aboriginal Australian, man, family therapist, ANZJFT Board⟩. Between belated scheduled sessions, the conference is a hive of negotiation, including separate Māori, Pacific, and Pākehā cultural caucuses. In a mind shift from enculturated individualism, those Pākehā familiar with collective accountability (Tamasese & Waldegrave, 1994) advocate shouldering responsibility for P10's address, and say to her: "What you have done, many of us have or could do. It isn't just about you. This is about us, and you are us" ⟨P5⟩.

Many attendees are bemused and or horrified by what is going on. There are about a hundred Australian onlookers and as the controversy rages, a senior AFTM member circulates among them messaging: "This is a local issue. Please don't take sides on this. We are guests and have got to be respectful." ⟨P34⟩. Even so, P10 has many Australian friends, as her independent position on the ANZJFT Board since 1989 and her invited plenary speaker role at the 1994 Australian conference both attest.

> [Some] Australians were saying, "For fuck's sake. Stop having these temper tantrums and grow up." […] They were disgusted. They had no frame to understand it. And for some of them there was a legacy of animosity: "You

> pricks come over here [to Australia] and tell us how to behave [in relation to First Nations Peoples] when you don't know how to run your own backyard."
>
> ⟨P28: Non-Aboriginal Australian/NZ-born/Ngāi Tahu, man, family therapist, ANZJFT Board⟩

Elsewhere, an Aboriginal man 'walks away' because "it wasn't my place to get involved in a local issue" ⟨P43: Aboriginal, man, Aboriginal Health Council member⟩, while a visitor from the USA is heard to say, "People come to conferences to learn stuff. Like there are actual clinical skills, right? But, when you get *so* consumed in politics…" ⟨P34, emphasis in original⟩.

To some Pākehā feminist women it is as if their voices are not allowed to be heard due to The Family Centre's dominance in the conference's Feminist Arena. In recent years the Pacific Section's research into pre-colonial gender arrangements in the Pacific locates examples of authentic structural balance between genders that exist before missionaries destroy them (Tamasese, 1993b; Tamasese & Laban, 1993), and to Pacific women the modern universalising of Pākehā feminists' patriarchal analyses is then another colonising discourse denying this interface between culture and gender (Tamasese & Laban, 1993). In this light, some Pākehā feminists see what is happening to P10 as "the trashing of a Pākehā woman in ways that would not happen to a Māori or Pacific woman" [S. Calvert, personal communication, 3 February 2021].[16]

At the annual business meeting there is a motion from the floor—from which social world I cannot verify—"condemning [P10] for not seeking appropriate bicultural consultation", or words to that effect ⟨P34⟩. A few Pākehā Caucus members, including at least one Narrative Therapy representative ⟨P4: Pākehā, man, family therapist⟩, accompany P10 onto the stage with their written apology, acknowledging both the unintended hurt and their solidarity ⟨P9: Pākeha/ Non-Indigenous North American-born, man, psychotherapist⟩. P10 is "angrily berated […] yet she stood up […] to defend the beliefs of those who criticised her" (McDonell, 1995, p. 226). She apologises again for causing pain, but does not negate her address because "what I said was a part of me and the work that I do" ⟨P10⟩. The chair of the meeting, who is a member of the Pākehā

16. Pākehā feminist woman attending the 1995 conference.

Section, notices that the Pacific Caucus happen to be out of the room when P10 gives her apology and so asks her to come up and do it again, which she does.

"No one should be humiliated, and that was pretty humiliating, wasn't it?" laments P4 afterwards. "A very, very humiliating experience", agrees P10, as tears silently roll down her face.

10.5.4 Decolonising the 'FTMANZ'

The controversy appears to be splitting the 'FTMANZ' down social world lines, with The Family Centre's Pacific and Pākehā Sections, their Māori Section less overtly, and close supporters in the 'FTMANZ', all on one side, and the remainder of the largely liberal Pākehā 'FTMANZ' on the other. Which side the various subworlds in Narrative Therapy lean towards is unclear.

> The issues of who should work with whom?, and what does it mean that Pākehā work with Māori?, have rippled through ['FTMANZ'] conferences for the last five years. The subtleties around this […] can't be addressed until the gross politics [of cultural justice] have been addressed.
>
> ⟨P5:Pākehā, woman, family therapist, senior leaders' group, ANZJFT Board⟩

The Family Centre's political analyses of Systemic Family Therapy as being blind to culture, class, poverty (Coventry et al., 1987; Waldegrave, 1985), and gender (Waldegrave, 1990a), and of Constructivist Family Therapy for its latent moral relativism,[17] reveal that both approaches "de-politicise the broader social context and inequities" inherent in Western societies (Waldegrave, 1990a, p. 31). The discursive frame that brings them to these realisations is "critical postmodernism", which privileges preferred meanings emerging from a particular worldview—in their case, preferred

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17. Moral relativism is the view that moral judgments are only true or false relative to some particular standpoint, for instance, that of a culture or a historical period, and that no standpoint is uniquely privileged over others. In a family, "the denial of objective reality […] can lead therapists to treat the attributions of meaning given by different family members as being of equal value. The stories of abused children and women, however, are more likely to reflect what really happens in a household, than the reduced story a person who abuses often gives. The moral relativism latent in the constructivist approach […] de-politicises the broader social context and inequities." (Waldegrave, 1990a, p. 31).

cultural values that centre on the concepts of belonging, sacredness, and liberation,[18] rather than on Western society's individualism and secularism. (Waldegrave, 1993, p. 3).

This frame informs the last acts of the conference, which are consecutive plenaries by distinguished Sāmoan writer, Albert Wendt, who is quoted by McDonell (1995) as "trying hard not to submit to and give into hatred" (p. 226), and the Pacific Section member who left the conference in apparent distress following P10's address. Both speakers advocate the decolonisation of the 'FTMANZ' in the Pacific Peoples' Post-Colonial Justice Arena, where Western Family Therapy approaches are used—often unwittingly—to enforce colonial values (Tamasese, 1993a; 1993b; Tamasese & Laban, 1993; Tamasese & Waldegrave, 1994; Tapping, 1993; Waldegrave, 1990a; Waldegrave & Tamasese, 1993). Both speakers' āiga have personal experience of the devastation of colonisation through the merciless persecution of their home country, Sāmoa, under New Zealand's administration from 1914 (Dally & Forster, 2019), culminating in a close relative being shot dead in 1929 when leading a non-violent protest (Field, 1984, 1991, 2006) [also see Sec. 9.2]. For decades now it is the imposition of education, religion, and disciplines like Western Family Therapy, rather than armies and guns, that tear Pacific Peoples away from the centre of their being—their culture—(Waldegrave & Tamasese, 1993), and perhaps this is what P10's (1995) address has the potential to support.

P10's (1995) 'both/and' imperative likely adds weight to institutional denial about the value of nondominant cultural knowledge and flies in the face of recent efforts to reach equity between cultures and practitioners. It also defies traditional expectations of an invited plenary speaker—P10 is invited by the Pacific Section member—not to speak *against* the values of the collective you are speaking on behalf of. And this is where things may get personal because P10 is very much part of The Family Centre's 'extended family', and personal betrayal may be at stake ⟨P4; P5; P9⟩.

The Pacific Section member gives her plenary address on Saturday, 3rd of September 1995, as employees of the French Government count down until Monday to explode the first of their 1995-1996 series of nuclear weapon 'tests' at Moruroa Atoll (Rauf, 1995),

18. Where "belonging refers to the essence of identity, sacredness to the depth of respect for the humanity of people's stories and liberation to the freedom and wholeness that people seek in therapy" (Waldegrave & Tamasese, 1993, p. 5).

some 4500 kms east of Aotearoa New Zealand [approximately the width of Australia]. This continues a thirty-year reality of blatant nuclear contamination of the Pacific (Cormick, 1990), adding to the growing threats of sea-level rising (Laban, 1992), sea water warming (Nunn, 1991), and northern hemisphere drift-net fisheries (Richards, 1994), each the result of colonial 'attitudes' towards environmentalism, consumerism, and exploitation. Set against this modern-day colonisation, the Pacific Section member's address could be seen as a protest on behalf of the many Pacific Peoples working to decolonise not only 'family therapy', but all of Aotearoa New Zealand and the whole of Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa/'the Pacific Ocean' and beyond.

On a local level there may also be shades of the 1993 conference at Rūātoki in the Pacific Section member's purpose—and delivery?—when Tūhoe host the 'FTMANZ' and 'turn the tables' of domination on them by unleashing their fury about Pākehā 'interfering with' Māori whānau [see Chapter 8].

Unlike for P10 (1995), there is no available transcript of the Pacific Section member's address.[19] P10 recalls the Pacific Section member writing "COLONISATION OF FAMILY THERAPY" on a whiteboard and saying that this is what P10's (1995) paper exemplifies, while non-Aboriginal Australian, McDonell (1995), vividly remembers the Pacific Section member saying three times that after listening to P10's address they went home and threw cold water on their face, but McDonell has no idea what this means. Others in the plenary audience describe the Pacific Section member speaking "with enormous personal hurt" ⟨P5⟩ that "went ballistic" ⟨P28⟩ and "attacked [P10] at a personal level" ⟨P7⟩, calling out to P10 at the end of the address, never to dip her pen in the blood of Indigenous Peoples again ⟨P10⟩ (Cornwell, 1996). Perhaps this is what Tamasese (1993b) refers to as "a scream, be it silent or loud, [that] is an act of refusal to collude with [the symbolic] house arrest" (p. 11) perpetuated against Pacific women,[20] who by

19. The only data I have about the Pacific Section's contributions to the 1995 conference is sourced from my interviews with twelve research participants who were at the conference and through reports by non-Aboriginal Australians, McDonell (1995) and Cornwell (1996).

20. In 1895, the American administration place Queen Kuhinanui Liliuokalani, the last sovereign monarch of Hawai'i, under house arrest during their bid to take over her country. Liliuokalani's house arrest symbolises a new positioning of Pacific women, which imposes physical, psychological, and spiritual limitations on them and is enforced politically, legally, clinically, and socially (Tamasese, 1993b).

seizing an opportunity at a given time to give action to their defiance, continue their "histories of resistance" (p. 11). Shades of Rūātoki again?

Immediate reactions to the Pacific Section member's address range from affirmation by the Pākehā Section's conference co-convenor, who then briefly wraps up the conference and declares it closed ⟨P10⟩, to the stunned-mullet looks of some conference attendees "still trying to come to terms with their mixture of feelings: anger, sadness, fear, intimidation, frustration, shame, guilt, relief, embarrassment, hope and anxiety" while padding out of the university theatre (McDonell, 1995, p. 226).

> People left saying, we are not going to go back to New Zealand. […] Why go to a conference where there are these bunfights over issues we don't understand? It wasn't hospitable. It was demoralising and, in the end, damaging.
>
> ⟨P34: Non-Aboriginal Australian, man, family therapist, ANZJFT Board⟩

> I went away from that conference saying, "I'm done. I don't want *any* part of this *at all*." I came home reeling in shock from watching the conference self-destruct like a snake devouring itself. [… feeling] very sorry for [P10]. The Family Centre were her colleagues and yet she was singled out and attacked with an intent to wound. […] Jesus, if that can happen to her, then it's not safe for *anybody* that's not one of [… P9 pauses …] well at that moment, I guess you've got to be *in* The Family Centre.
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> ⟨P9: Pākeha/Non-Indigenous North American-born, man, psychotherapist, emphasis by P9 ⟩

10.5.5 Negotiations within The Family Centre

In the early hours of the morning following the conference closing, P10 wakes up barely able to breathe, and upon calming herself, suddenly remembers what the Pacific Section member asks her to speak about when inviting her to give a plenary:

> I realised [the Pacific Section member] had asked me to give a light-hearted talk […] something to do with Pacific experiences—I'm not sure what—and somehow I had blocked that out. Now I understood why [they] feel totally relegated to nothingness by what I did, and I felt absolutely terrible about it. So, I sat in bed and I wrote huge pages explaining what had happened, apologising, and said, "I would never have done that intentionally."

⟨P10: Pākehā, women, family therapist, senior leaders' group, ANZJFT Board⟩

Later that morning members of The Family Centre's Māori Section spontaneously visit P10 to lend her their support. "We didn't have a problem with what she [P10] said [in her plenary] because we knew what side her bread is buttered on" ⟨P26⟩. They also appreciate that both their section and the Pacific Section *do* utilise Pākehā family therapists in their therapy teams on the understanding that knowledge from the client family's culture trumps Pākehā social science knowledge (Waldegrave, 1990a; Waldegrave & Tamasese, 1993). "If we wanted change through family therapy, we picked the right family therapists to join us" says P26. When explaining this deviation from the kaupapa of 'Māori for Māori' to kaumātua in his whānau, P26 subscribes to the view that: "We have come to a stage where our kids are getting into mixed cultures. The old world is there for the ones who want it, but we need to come into the new world too" ⟨P26⟩.[21] Even after Tūhoe pointedly *demand* in 1993 that Pākehā not work with Māori [see Chapter 8], the Pākehā Section publicly indicate that "anyone working with people from a culture, different from their own, requires at least a qualitative appreciation and informed knowledge of that culture […] at least being extremely familiar [with that culture] and under some supervision from someone of that culture" (Waldegrave, 1993, p. 4).[22] That would seem to describe P10.

The contestation provoked in the Pacific People's Post-Colonial Justice Arena by P10's plenary message—a message comparable to the Pākehā Section's above (see P10, 1995, pp. 15-16)—offers a view of the intraworld relations and "use of power in action" (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 73) within The Family Centre. The Māori Section have no problem with what P10 is saying, but to the Pacific Section—whose critical awareness of the harm done to their people by Pākehā individualism is currently at the forefront of The Family Centre's discourse—P10 is perpetuating colonisation in the 'FTMANZ' as *their* invited

21. Other Māori refute this 'both/and' solution. "When you say, 'Māori for Māori', I think it is wrong to assume that our people have not been colonised. Of course, some of our people want to work with Pākehā because that has been what we have been taught to do. […] What do we expect when our kids go to school, and they can't learn te reo Māori and they are not taught NZ history? That is not an argument for Pākehā to say, 'I know some Māori who want to work with Pākehā, therefore this Māori for Māori thing is bullshit.' Pākehā have no right to say that. Pākehā should ask, 'Why would some Māori say that?'" ⟨P30: Māori, man, activist⟩.

22. The Rūātoki conference takes place in May 1993, while the Pākehā Section Coordinator addresses the New Zealand Psychological Society conference in August of that year.

plenary speaker. Perhaps something of the Pacific Section's experience is captured in these words:

> I think of it.
> I think of you as you sit in your aiga in the presence of a family therapist,
> I think of your body language, your eyes turned down, your head lowered, showing your respect.
> I think of the therapist's meaning to this.
> I think of your mother torn away from the house of womanhood through colonialism, another ism and ism.
> I think of the loudness of her silence/musu – a state of temporary or permanent silence signalling "I need space to work this out.
> I am in too much pain."
>
> (Tamasese, 1992, reproduced in Waldegrave & Tamasese, 1993, p. 7)

At this moment The Family Centre is in the middle of hosting a prestigious binational conference on behalf of the 'FTMANZ' but under their own tikanga, so there is mana at stake. Their authority as national and international leaders on bi- and multi-culturalism (Epston, 2003) is built on an exceptional body of oral and written discourse over the past six years, mostly spoken and penned in the bicultural partnership between Tamasese and Waldegrave [see citations in previous subsection], the Pacific and Pākehā Section Coordinators respectively. The dominance of the alignment between these two cultural sections in The Family Centre's tripartite structure, predicted by P35 ⟨Māori, man, family therapist⟩ back in 1989 [see Sec. 7.2.2], and in contrast to the dominant Māori-Pākehā 'partnership' in national Treaty politics ⟨P9⟩, "is non-negotiable. They are totally with each other." ⟨P21: Sāmoan, woman, family therapist⟩. The Pākehā Section is absolutely committed to supporting the Pacific Section's culturally mediated interpretations of P10's (1995) address, so that through this conference crisis, the power base of The Family Centre's now dominant discourse is revealed.

What of the Māori Section? They know both calm and rough seas with the other cultural sections over the years. "While the calm is there, you start negotiating. Don't wait until it ruffles because there is no one listening" ⟨P26⟩. Soon after the conference, The Family Centre staff go on retreat. "We know how to solve it. You talk and you pull

it apart. […] You can be supportive, or if you don't like it, open up, tell the truth, and work together" ⟨P26⟩. In the Māori Section's experience, being willing to put their partialities on the table, rather than hiding them under it, means negotiations with the other cultural sections can yield "engagements and even commitments […] *without* domination […] and *without* phony consensus" (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 73, emphasis in original; Strauss, 1993).

"Out of these conflicts, the staff learned a lot, and I take my hat off to [the Pacific and Pākehā Cultural Section Coordinators] and the teams. It has not been easy. We have been well before our time, haven't we?" ⟨P22: Sāmoan, woman, social worker⟩.

10.6 Conditions Of Possibility At The Conclusion Of The 1995 Conference

Through SA, the conditions of possibility that exist for the 'FTMANZ' at the end of the 1995 conference are problematised as not necessarily unfolding in some "historical constant" (Foucault, 1981, p. 6) from those that exist at the end of the 1989 conference [see Sec. 7.7]. Over those six years, as for any historical period, innumerous contingencies are required where "each and all had to be in place" (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 316) to produce the historical moment that is the present. At the end of the 1995 conference that present is a highly contested situation involving New Zealanders and Australians, The Family Centre and their invited plenary speaker, Narrative Therapy and its detractors, feminists and dominant men, constructivists and critical postmodernists, dominators and dissenters, consensus and executive decision makers, Organisationalists and nonconformists, Dulwich and the AFTM, Māori and non-Aboriginal Australians, Pacific and Pākehā women, and others who choose to engage in arenas with any of these allies or opponents. At the same time, there is strong unity among women through the WIFTM, constructive dialogue in the Pākehā Caucus in response to their Māori counterpart, Aboriginal and Pacific Peoples' voices are heard in plenary sessions, and The Family Centre's cultural sections retain their autonomies *and* their consensus while negotiating a conference crisis together. These multiple processes—and others not known to me—constitute the 1995 conference as an event with multiple possible histories and associated conditions of possibility. In this section my readings of those possibilities for the 'FTMANZ' do not

seek "to resolve multiplicity into singularity" (p. 320) but to reflect its complex causalities.

10.6.1 Extending decolonisation to Pacific Peoples

The Family Centre's goal to decolonise the 'FTMANZ' in both the Treaty of Waitangi Cultural Justice *and* the Pacific Post-Colonial Justice Arenas dominates the 1995 conference and differs from dominant discourse on colonisation in other disciplines,[23] such as psychology, counselling, psychotherapy, and psychiatry [see last para. of Sec. 9.1], that largely miss out reference to Pacific peoples and their positioning in Aotearoa New Zealand (Tamasese, 2014). In 1989, The Family Centre's Pacific Section raise this "loss of memory around New Zealand's historical colonisation of the Pacific" (p. 3) in the 'FTMANZ', but with limited effect. In 1995 the Pākehā Caucus take serious steps towards Treaty accountability in relation to the 1994 Māori Caucus, however, there is no mention in their Caucus minutes of the concerns and tangible requests raised with them by the 1994 Pacific Caucus (Pakeha et al., 1994). With their voices effectively silenced by the Pākehā Caucus's central focus on the Treaty, no wonder the Pacific Section seize the opportunity in 1995 to protest so strongly about P10's (1995) address.

With strong Pacific voices in their midst, what future role might the 'FTMANZ' play in promoting a *multi*cultural post-colonial conscientisation (Freire, 1970) among New Zealanders? And with The Family Centre bent on decolonising disciplines around the world, what future support and example might the 'FTMANZ' be seen to be providing them?

10.6.2 Accounting for dominance

When the 1995 conference is largely 'taken over' by the public rebuking of a popular 'FTMANZ' insider who, when wearing one or other of her subworld hats, represents a majority of conference attendees, "It is easy to pinpoint a person and say that [it] is their fault, but ultimately it is about collective power" ⟨P29: Māori, woman, activist⟩. This can

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23. In the NZASW, "discussion about Pacific peoples and social work had been around in the 1980s and 1990s. These were invariably about Pacific positioning in the Aotearoa NZ landscape and were strongly connected with social justice and social change. There was recognition of the need to acknowledge the relationship that Aotearoa NZ had with the Pacific [Peoples] and the negative impacts of that relationship" [Y. Crichton-Hill, personal communication, 23 March 2021]. Also see: Pacific Island Community and Social Workers Auckland (1986) and Tiumalu-Faleseuga (1986).

be said of P10, who symbolises the institutional power of the dominant culture in Aotearoa New Zealand, *and* of the Pacific Section member, who embodies the power of The Family Centre's "undoubted influence [...] on the politics and very practices of ['FTMANZ'] conferences" (Epston, 2003, p. 2), already obvious back in 1989 [see Sec. 7.1] and now complete in 1995 when, as conference organisers, their dominant discourse constrains the emergence of alternative discourses (Towns, 1994) from a panopticon-like conference stage (Foucault, 1973, 1977, 1980).

The fear of being heard as a dissenting voice is palpable among conference attendees—

> I think at the 95 conference […] The Family Centre is a *very strong*, 'we-are-the-right-way' dominant voice, and other voices get marginalised and silenced. I was just one of them, and I silenced myself because it wasn't safe to speak.
>
> ⟨P9: Pākeha/Non-Indigenous North American-born, man, psychotherapist⟩

—and no individual or group effectively challenges The Family Centre-led processes. Instead, some attendees simply resolve not to return to the 'FTMANZ', while others are unquestionably immersed in its social justice agendas, yet between these poles are "an array of possible trajectories" for future change (Strauss, cited in Clarke et al., 2018, p. 84). Three of these appear in my data as an assemblage (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) of seemingly unrelated historical practices. The first relates to the different political loyalties among Sāmoan āiga and that while the Pacific Section's story is well known, "other stories of courage [in the face of colonisation] have not had the privilege of being heard" ⟨P21: Sāmoan, woman, family therapist⟩. The second is that to a younger generation of Pacific people in the 'FTMANZ', the Pacific Section is "building an empire by living in the past, fighting the injustices of the dead" ⟨P24: Sāmoan, woman, family therapist⟩, but respect for their elders keeps these thoughts quiet. Thirdly, in 1995 the only Pacific mental health specialist in Auckland, home of the largest population of Pacific Peoples in the world, has never heard of The Family Centre despite actively seeking culturally appropriate approaches for working with Pacific families ⟨P32: Cook Islands, man, medical specialist⟩. It may be possible for such fragments of contingency—or many others unknown to me—to stimulate wider dialogue in the 'FTMANZ' that seeks to

account for dominance, as when P21 asks: "Who is to say that their [The Family Centre's] cultural view is *the* cultural view for doing things?" ⟨P21⟩.

On another trajectory, The Family Centre might move completely away from the 'FTMANZ' to develop a new social movement, much as their close associates in Australia, the Dulwich Centre, have done through Narrative Therapy. The Family Centre already has an international network of supporters since first going to Europe and North America in 1991, and have been researching and publishing on poverty in Aotearoa New Zealand since 1987 (Coventry et al., 1987; Waldegrave & Coventry, 1987) and more intensively since 1991 (Stephens et al., 1995; Waldegrave, 1991a, 1991b; Waldegrave & Frater, 1991), leading them to establish the Family Centre Social Policy Research Unit [FCSPRU].

> I told [The Family Centre] if anybody wanted to challenge the way economic and social policy is heading in New Zealand, you are going to have to come up with numbers and analysis because you have got to give evidence. […] and the next thing I know, we are working on The Poverty Line[24] with some of the information gathered in their family therapy work. […] I don't think anyone could rely on The Poverty Line to the extent that we do without that in-depth understanding of the pressures it [poverty] brings to bear on the family and the children.
>
> ⟨P54: Pākehā, man, economist⟩

In 1995 the left-leaning FCSPRU is gaining political credibility (Stephens et al., 1995; Waldegrave, 1991a, 1991b, 1992; Stephens et al., 1987; Waldegrave & Frater, 1991) and with the centre-left Labour-Party Opposition preparing to contest a general election in thirteen-months' time, The Family Centre's influence on national social policy may soon be felt.

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24. Unlike many Western countries, NZ does not have an official Poverty Line, which is a formal agreement about how to measure poverty. Sometime soon after analysing the National Government's 1991 budget (Waldegrave & Frater, 1991), Robert Stephens of Victoria University, Charles Waldegrave of The Family Centre, and Paul Frater of the private business and economic research consultancy, BERL, form the New Zealand Poverty Measurement Project [NZPMP], which is subsequently funded by the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology [FRST] for its first fifteen years [Source: Unpublished correspondence from Waldegrave to Frater on 6 November 2019].

10.6.3 New impetus for organisational development

Opportunities to formally discuss the future development of the 'FTMANZ' appear lost to controversy at the 1995 conference, and with key AFTM members sick of the New Zealanders' "self-righteous aggression" ⟨P28: Non-Aboriginal Australian/NZ-born/Ngāi Tahu, man, family therapist, ANZJFT Board⟩ and indicating their withdrawal from "the New Zealand project" ⟨P34: Non-Aboriginal Australian, man, family therapist, ANZJFT⟩, the future of binational aspirations [see Sec. 9.3.3 & 9.3.4] looks bleak. But as one door closes, another is opening to organisations in the fields of Treaty and antiracism education, who offer guidance to the Pākehā Caucuses of the 'FTMANZ' at both the 1994 and 1995 conferences [see Sec. 9.2.1]. One of their senior representatives describes the commitment they are making:

> I feel somewhat responsible for what happened at the [1995] family therapy conference in Wellington in that I thought [what P10 ...] was going to do would lead to trouble, but I only warned her, a warning she choose to ignore. Because […] each action leads to consequences, which we all have to live with, I am trying harder to encourage [others] to consider the possible repercussions [of their actions].
>
> (Known but unnamed author, 1999)[25]

As a result, the 1995 Pākehā Caucus engage in proactive discussions on what its members are doing about cultural justice in their workplaces, rather than waiting for further prompting by Māori or Pacific Peoples, and only three or four weeks after the conference a subgroup of twenty-five Pākehā Caucus members meet as the Auckland Pakeha Family Therapists' Group to plan projects under the theme, "Finding Ways Forward: Cultural Justice" (Herzog, 1995a).[26] In these ways, some Pākehā family therapists are taking collective action in response to cultural justice issues at a time when

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25. Private correspondence between the unnamed author and P45 ⟨Pākehā, woman, counsellor⟩, undated but deduced as being either late 1998 or early 1999.

26. The Auckland group's proposals include a one-day workshop on "Working Towards Cultural Justice" in December 1995, a national survey of family therapists working with clients whose ethnicity is different from their own, a 100-hour bi-cultural "Working With Families" course at the Manukau Institute of Technology, and "The Next Step Gathering" at Mangatangi Marae in 1996 (Auckland Cultural Justice Group, 1999; Herzog, 1995a; Pakeha Family Therapists' Group, 1995).

Pākehā groups in other social service organisations are doing similarly [again, see last para. of Sec 9.1].

Despite these positive signs, and remembering Waldegrave's (1985) prediction a decade ago that family therapy may never reach pubescence [see Sec. 2.4.1], perhaps in 1995 the 'FTMANZ' is "living through its teenage years, norming and storming, and something will emerge out of it when it reaches middle age and wants to get back together" ⟨P7: Pākehā, woman, social work educator⟩. In the meantime, when the implications of cross-cultural work come to a head after P10's plenary address, "the maturity of the 'FTMANZ' is too fragile to cope with the articulation of the grief and trauma of colonisation" ⟨P33: Tongan, man, mental health specialist⟩. Time will tell whether the 'FTMANZ' will grow and mature from an informal social movement to an equitable professionalised organisation capable of representing the diversity of 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand. Perhaps the rite of passage from teenager to adult will include steps to repair the damage done to interworld relations between many of its members, The Family Centre, and the Australians in 1995.

10.6.4 Forgiveness

In 1994 The Family Centre publish an article on "the issues of cultural and gender accountability within therapeutic organisations" (Tamasese & Waldegrave, 1994, p. 29), which contains seemingly prophetic words:

> In our experience, therapists who are usually very concerned to facilitate resolution in the conflicts of others, tend to be very slow to address these issues among themselves. Instead, people on both sides of the conflict retire hurt, and are left to carry a mixture of feelings of fear, outrage and distrust. This does not inspire in the organisation an atmosphere of cooperation and respect. These are two of the values that are necessary for both a just institution and a just therapy.
>
> (Tamasese & Waldegrave, 1994, p. 31)

What they propose are robust protocols developed in their agency to allow "an individual or group [to] articulate concerns about gender or cultural bias within an organisation […] where the best judges of injustice are the groups that have been unjustly

treated" (Tamasese & Waldegrave, 1994, p. 31). This would seem to fit the concerns raised by the Pacific Section member and their colleagues about the promulgation of a dominant culture bias that favours individualism in P10's (1995) plenary address to the 'FTMANZ'.

The article also states that "[it] is not written to address situations where outright hostility or total rejection of such claims occur" (Tamasese & Waldegrave, 1994, p. 31) and perhaps this is the reason why The Family Centre appear not to follow its own protocols when responding to P10's address during the conference[27]—not that P10 is rejecting them. Eye witness accounts by McDonell (1995) and P4, P5, P7, P9, P10, P28, P34, & P39 indicate that P10 "supported the beliefs of those who criticised her" (McDonell, 1995, p. 226) and is contrite, whereas during the final plenary of the conference it is the Pacific Section member who expresses 'outright hostility' and 'total rejection' of P10 in personal terms, missing the opportunity to recognise the collective responsibility that the Pākehā Caucus of the 'FTMANZ' is taking for P10's actions.

The pain of the Pacific Section member is immense and articulates a long history of colonial domination, and by directing that pain personally against P10, The Family Centre may be inadvertently enacting a "role reversal" with the potential to "block the way to creative change" and confirm "a common unspoken question [among dominant cultures, which] is: Will they who have been unjustly treated [in this case, the Pacific Section] exercise the same control and domination over us as we have over them?" (Tamasese & Waldegrave, 1994, p. 41).

> Why would you present your unfinished ends, your growing edges, you know, the thoughts that you are still working on and developing, if your colleagues can't listen to you and can't respond without annihilating you?
>
> ⟨P39: Non-Aboriginal Australian, woman, family therapist⟩

Consequently, the conference ends with hurt feelings and unresolved conflict, and besides the acts of P10's letter of apology to the Pacific Section member and the Māori

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27. In short, the protocols involve creating institutional space for the collective groups who have been dominated to speak as one voice, to seek a convergence of meanings between collective groups, to encourage each collective group to take responsibility for their own members, and to inspire trust between those groups. See Tamasese and Waldegrave (1994) for details.

Section's succoring of P10 [see Sec. 10.5.5], another post-conference response between the principal parties occurs when The Family Centre appoint a Post-Conference Social Justice Committee, drawn from its conference organising committee, who invite P10—again, singling her out—to travel to Wellington[28] to discuss her role in the conference. P10 is willing to attend with her Ngāi Tahu mentor but only if the Pacific Section member is also present, and with this not being agreed to by the Committee, the meeting is dropped ⟨P10: Pākehā, women, family therapist, senior leaders' group, ANZJFT Board⟩.

With this 'institutional' strategy failing to fly, where else can things go from here? The Auckland subgroup of the Pākehā Caucus take responsibility for their own education and the promotion of cultural justice in their region through a series of community events [see Sec. 10.6.3]. This fits with the non-Aboriginal Australian attendee who foresees a need for the 'FTMANZ' to build more bridges of understanding rather than blanket exclusions about who can work with who ⟨P37: Non-Aboriginal Australian, man, family therapist⟩—perhaps reflective of how few Aboriginal family workers exist in Australia and how some non-Aboriginal Australians are invited to assist Aboriginal groups, such as when the Aboriginal Health Council of South Australia approach the Dulwich Centre [see Sec. 10.3.1].

"I think what we need is somebody to set a theme of forgiveness", offers P9, who imagines a process where each conflicting subworld acknowledges the grain of truth in the others' concerns about them, *and* also what they are projecting onto others that is inside of themselves. This way, awareness of the role of unconscious processes about past hurts, current dangers, internalised privilege, and personal prejudice—to name a few—may increase, and some of the therapeutic skills used with client families might be used to improve relations in the 'family of family therapy'⟨P7⟩.

Feelings run deep about the need to learn from past mistakes:

> I feel sorry for our-selves in these relationships. But these are the points of learning, so I am disappointed if it breaks family therapists up. Here is your point of strength, […] this is your point of growth instead of a point of departure, which tells me that [the 'FTMANZ'] have got a bloody lot to learn. If that conflict

28. A journey of approximately 400 km, similar to travelling from Hobart to Melbourne.

> breaks family therapists then they need to be broken up because they are bloody useless.
>
> ⟨P22: Sāmoan, woman, social worker⟩

There is also sadness about the rupturing of longstanding relationships and the probable discontinuance of annual conferencing. In the days after the 1995 conference, P10 is full of premonition that the 'FTMANZ' will not survive the conflict. "It was really the impossibility of [… P10 pauses]. Well, it shouldn't be impossible. That's the thing that gets me. It should be possible to talk across cultures. But, it is very difficult. Yeah. [P10 exhales deeply]" ⟨P10⟩.

Tailpiece

Only a few years ago, I attend a professional development event where the 'Pacific Section member', referred to as such in this chapter, is a guest presenter, and this is the only time I have met them in person. During their presentation they briefly describe the thirty-year journey to decolonise counselling and psychotherapy practice in Aotearoa New Zealand of its dominant culture certainties and norms. Those were exciting times as old worlds fall apart, but at great personal and financial cost to those Māori and Pacific Peoples in the frontline working for change. Sometimes there is no language to explain their pain.

The Pacific Section member looks around their audience and adds humbly, "Be kind to the voice of uncertainty filled with rage who are Māori and Pacific Peoples".[29]

∞

29. This phrase is recorded in notes I take during the event.

PART FOUR

PATHWAYS

11

‘FAMILY THERAPY’ IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND SINCE 1995 AND ITS POSSIBLE FUTURES

A good interpretive analysis of a situation of inquiry [...] is explicitly located, situated, and historicalised. It should also be useful in the world in some ways, capable of demonstrating its pragmatist roots with theoretical incisiveness.

Adele Clarke, Carrie Friese, and Rachel Washburn, 2018[1]

IN THE YEARS AFTER THE 1995 CONFERENCE THE NATIONAL ‘Family Therapy Movement in Aotearoa New Zealand’ [‘FTMANZ’] falls away, with only a few ‘family therapy’[2] initiatives continuing here or there in the regions. In this chapter, I firstly familiarise the reader with those initiatives known to me since 1995, and secondly, clarify the situation of ‘family therapy’ in Aotearoa New Zealand today. My focus then shifts to the conditions of possibility (Foucault, 1970, 1973) that exist in 2021 for the future of ‘family therapy’ in Aotearoa New Zealand, and this segues to the final

1. Clarke et al. (2018, p. 350)

2 As a reminder of definitions provided in the introduction to this thesis, ‘family therapy’ in scare quotes refers to the NZ situation where a broad perspective of family therapy developed during the 1980s and 1990s sees tikanga Western Family Therapy as only one of many ‘family therapy’ traditions, and family therapy written without scare quotes refers to family therapy as it is may be known generically around the world.

chapter of the thesis—"Future Pathways"—where I acknowledge the rights of Māori, Pacific, and other Indigenous Peoples to tino rangatiratanga/'self-determination', and therefore refrain from having 'good ideas' about their futures, before I do offer a list of possible pathways for my cultural subgroup, the Pākehā family therapists.

11.1 'Family Therapy' In Aotearoa New Zealand Since 1995

11.1.1 New influences in the late 1990s

After the 1995 conference there is a flurry of consciousness-raising activity by Auckland members of the 'FTMANZ' Pākehā Caucus (Herzog, 1995a) in recognition of the need for Pākehā to act collectively rather than individually—as P10 had—when responding to Māori and Pacific Peoples' cross-cultural concerns (Auckland Cultural Justice Group, 1999). Over the next two to three years, other Pākehā without backgrounds in 'family therapy' join them in support of their cultural justice initiatives and together they evolve into the Auckland Cultural Justice Group. In 1999, with support from The Family Centre, the Wellington Family Therapy Interest Group, and Māori colleagues in Auckland, they plan and host a three-day "family therapy conference/gathering" (Auckland Cultural Justice Group, 1999, n.p.) in Ōtara, Auckland;[3] the first national conference since 1995.

> The [April 1999] conference was called to repair what had happened in Wellington [in 1995 …] and we did a great job of repairing, I think. We caucused and we came back and had some very painful speaking, and what came from that conference was [an agreement] to create an incorporated society to give us some structure. […] A group [from the conference] looking at incorporation was going to meet with Māori representatives in Auckland[4] but the meetings never happened. We were operating without institutional support and the Pakeha Caucus hadn't anticipated how this would impact on people's capacity to travel and meet outside working hours. We had also anticipated meeting in

3. The "Celebrating Family Therapy as Sites of Resistance" gathering/conference is held from 23-25 April 1999 at Ngā Kete Wānanga Marae, Manukau Institute of Technology, Ōtara (ANZJFT, 1999; Auckland Cultural Justice Group, 1999).

4. The Māori representatives are presumably part of or linked to the aforementioned Māori colleagues of the Auckland Cultural Justice Group, and may not necessarily have a strong association with the 'FTMANZ' or its history.

> Wellington for the next conference [a year later] to solidify our relationships and discuss difficulties, but that [conference] didn't happen either.
>
> ⟨P5: Pākehā, woman, family therapist⟩

A lack of knowledge about the history of the 'FTMANZ' shows up with the arrival of several overseas trained family therapists during the 1990s. For example, when internationalist family therapist, Florence Kaslow, visits Auckland in February 1999[5] she is principally hosted by expatriate Western Family Therapists from the USA and Europe who postdate the 'FTMANZ' and from whom she learns:

> […] that the ideological splits between factions of different theoretical persuasions in the New Zealand family therapy community run very deep. Basically, therapists can be categorized in three groups: 1) psychodynamic, object relations, and family of origin approaches; 2) behavioural, structural, strategic, systemic models; and 3) narrative approaches. The antagonisms are so strong that we were told several times it has been impossible for them to put together a national conference for three years, as the leaders of the various schools cannot be in the same room together.
>
> (Kaslow, 1999a, p. 23)

No mention of the politics of cultural justice, even as the elusive national conference is being organised for that purpose. "Sometimes when new people don't know the history of a site of dialogue and they find themselves on the outside, then they generate narratives to suit their preoccupations and ambitions", muses P5, who meets university-trained family therapists from the UK who act as if they are *the* legitimately trained family therapists in an 'untrained' ahistorical New Zealand, while some from the USA "bring a culture of marketing and selling themselves to climb the 'pyramid [of success]', when prior to their arrival family therapy [in Aotearoa New Zealand] has a very flat hierarchy" ⟨P5⟩.

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5. Kaslow is leading a "People to People Mission", the professional exchange wing of Citizen Ambassador Programs in the USA. Her delegation comprises psychologists, social workers, family therapists, and others, and they visit family therapy-related centres in both Australia (Kaslow, 1999b) and NZ (Kaslow, 1999a).

11.1.2 The 'common sense' of neoliberal discourse in the 2000s

In the 2000s, 'family therapy', like other social service endeavours adapting to an entrenched 'market-driven' Aotearoa New Zealand (Hackell, 2013; Larner, 2000; Levine, 2009; Roper, 2011), "is entwined and necessarily engages with key principles of neoliberal discourse" (Yeoman, 2012, p. 94). The medicalisation and scientisation of the mental health sector legitimises psychiatric diagnoses as the means of identifying bona-fide recipients of Evidence-Based Practices [EBPs] (Carr, 2009; Trinder & Reynolds, 2000), 'proven' by positivist science to offer marketplace efficacy and effectiveness (Yeoman, 2012). "So, while most mainstream mental health services [in Aotearoa New Zealand] may claim to provide family therapy to their clients […] family therapy is only delivered to a selected sub-set of service users […] amenable to a [EBP] family therapy intervention" (Fitzgerald & Galyer, 2007, p. 26).

The prominent North American EBPs utilised by franchisee agencies in Aotearoa New Zealand since 2001 and 2009 respectively are Multi-Systemic Therapy [MST] (Advisory Group on Conduct Problems, 2009; Bruce & Douglas, 2014*; Curtis, 2004*; Curtis, Ronan, Heiblum, & Crellin, 2009*; Henggeler et al., 1998) and Functional Family Therapy [FFT] (Alexander & Sexton, 2002; Family Centre Social Policy Research Unit, 2020*; Heywood & Fergusson, 2016*), with citations marked * reporting New Zealand-based evaluative research. In 2010, the Ministry of Health roll out national training of the Maudsley model, an imported family-based treatment for anorexia nervosa (Lock & Le Grange, 2013; Mysliwiec & Rimmer, 2014), and ten years later the implications for service delivery to Māori are explored (Lacey et al., 2020).

The search for 'effectiveness' by The Werry Centre (2009)—named after family therapy's detractor, John Werry (1989)—provides an unexpected boost in some quarters of local 'family therapy'. Their largely Western Family Therapy-oriented report on effectiveness research and practice perspectives relating to family therapy in New Zealand child and adolescent mental health,[6] paints a grim picture of:

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6. The Werry Centre for Child and Adolescent Mental Health and Workforce Development (2009) report comprises a literature review yielding over 120 references of which four (Durie, 2005; Schaefer, 2008; Waldegrave, 2005; Waldegrave & Tamasese, 1993) describe family therapy practice in NZ—The Family Centre's "Just Therapy" gets a superficial mention and Epston's narrative therapy

> […] the fragility of the place of family therapy in the public health sector [… and] the 'underground' and covert experience of family therapists working in New Zealand. In addition, high attrition, safety concerns, limited career pathways in public health services, lack of access to quality training and supervision, professional isolation, a perceived lack of respect from other mental health professionals, and the lack of a National Association [… contribute to] the 'invisibility of practice' and 'culture of fear' that infiltrated family therapy practice sometime in the last decade.
>
> (The Werry Centre, 2009, pp. 39-40, 43).

The Werry Centre (2009) go on to recommend "that family therapy, and family therapists, […] 'become more visible'" through opportunities, such as a symposium for key stakeholders, dedicated career pathways, specialist tertiary education, a national Association, and research into appropriate models for Aotearoa New Zealand (pp. 44-45). The coordination of these 'opportunities' rests with an informal, independent, and wholly Pākehā reference group [the Reference Group] comprising between ten and fifteen current or former New Zealand and expatriate family therapists.[7] During 2011 the Group makes plans to host the first national family therapy conference in Aotearoa New Zealand since 1999 where it intends to propose a national association; however, differences of opinion among some members sees one of the expatriate members resign and within two days launch the New Zealand Aotearoa Family Therapy network that holds a national conference in Auckland during March 2012, where it is decides to incorporate the New Zealand Association of Family Therapy[8] (NZAFT, 2012; Whisker, 2012, see Appendix G).

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is absent, as neither approach meets EBP criteria—and interviews with nine "key informant/ stakeholder family therapists practicing in New Zealand" (The Werry Centre, 2009, p. 2), only three of whom are members of the 'FTMANZ' throughout the 1989 to 1995 period.

7. I join the Reference Group in December 2010 and resign in July 2012, and to the best of my knowledge, no Māori or Pacific peoples attend the Group's meetings during that period. There are at least four expatriate members and four women among the Reference Group for most of that period.

8. The NZAFT create professional categories of 'Clinical Practitioner', 'Approved Supervisor', and 'Approved Trainer'. Clinical Practitioner status can be sought after thirty hours of family-therapy specific training, plus 20 hours training in other family therapy systems and techniques, and six months practice [with no minimum number of practice hours or supervision requirements stipulated] (New Zealand Association of Family Therapy, 2012). In contrast, a clinical member of the AAFT must have 250 hours training with at least 175 of these in a 2-year training programme, plus 500 post-training supervised practice hours as a primary therapist. In the USA, AAMFT clinical

> In my view [there was] a real competitive desire to be first. To be forefront, you might say. And I think that drive to present either your particular therapy or yourself as 'the forefront' is an incredibly destructive process. It's the opposite to what happened at the 1995 conference where the Pākehā Caucus take responsibility for one person—"This is us. You are us", sort of thing—to the present day [in 2012] where it's sort of like, "Actually, you are not me and I will do my own thing and I will *legitimise myself* and I will *trick people* into seeing me as a legitimate collective", which is basically what happened, in my view.
>
> ⟨P5: Pākehā, woman, family therapist, emphasis by P5⟩

Meanwhile, when not responding to fallacious complaints made to their employers or professional associations by the NZAFT or attending to the NZAFT's application to the District Court for the Reference Group's funds,[9] Reference Group members finalise plans for their own conference, which they hold in Wellington during September 2012, where they agree to incorporate another national association; the Family and Systemic Therapy Association of Aotearoa New Zealand (FSTAANZ, 2013; Whisker, 2012, see Appendix G).

With unamicable relations between the two Associations, many people with interest in 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand are confused about what is going on. Dudson (2013) wonders whether differences between the Associations mirror the tense, sometimes acrimonious, modernist-postmodernist split she experiences in her workplace, and she challenges family therapists "to enter into a transparent discussion with respect to difference, from a position of good intent" (p. 245), whereas McNatty—another expatriate Reference Group member—salutes family therapy for "once again [… being] on the map […] resulting in a re-focusing on family therapy from one end of New Zealand to the other" (p. 256). But for how long?

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members must have a qualifying Master's degree, 3000 supervised practice hours, and pass additional licensure examinations.

9. The Reference Group inherit significant surplus funds from the 1995 conference held in trust by The Family Centre. The NZAFT claim that as the 'legitimate' national association of family therapy in NZ, those funds should pass to them. After submissions from both parties, the Court decides the matter is outside its jurisdiction.

11.1.3 Whānau ora

In the late 1980s, P16 ⟨Māori, woman, whānau-hapū-iwi development educator⟩ "literally threw it [Western Family Therapy] out of my mind to look at Māori ways of seeing the world as the basis for Maori Family Therapy" ⟨P16⟩. Her early intuition that whānau-hapū-iwi development based in te ao Māori is the key to whānau ora/'healthy families', is predictive of the 2010 'Whanau Ora' initiative (Durie, Cooper, Grennell, Snively, & Tuaine, 2010), which is an independently Māori-led, Government-funded, collaborative approach to health and social service provision between funders, providers, practitioners, and whānau. Whānau Ora practitioners, or 'navigators' as they are known, come from a variety of work backgrounds—reminiscent of The Family Centre's Just Therapy workers—and are trained in whānau-centred interventions (Kara et al., 2011) to reach the goals of whānau self-management, healthy lifestyles, full participation in society, confidence in te ao Maori, economic security, and resilience (Durie et al., 2010). A separate venture to support Pasifika families in Aotearoa New Zealand also exists (Pasifika Futures Ltd, 2015).

The aforementioned events since 1995, namely the 'healing of family therapy' conference in 1999 and the failure to implement its decision to formalise a 'family therapy' organisation, the influence of expatriate family therapists who lack knowledge of the history of the 'FTMANZ', the importation of 'legitimised' EBP models at the behest of monied service funders, the Werry Centre's interest in promoting family therapy and the resultant incorporation of *two* rival family therapy Associations, and the success of whanau-centred social services designed and provided for Māori and Pacific Peoples by Māori and Pacific Peoples respectively, all have significant influence on 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand. In the following section, I bring the reader up to date with the situation of 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand today, before turning towards the future to round out this study.

11.2 'Family Therapy' In Aotearoa New Zealand Today

Early in this study I visit a renowned North American family therapy centre and ask its director for his impressions of family therapy in New Zealand today.

> I would say that family therapy is alive and well in New Zealand from what I can pick up [from North America]. My sense is that they're right in there, pushing the frontiers, […] probably one of the more generative places in the world these days.
>
> ⟨P6: Non-Indigenous North American, man, family therapist⟩

These sentiments are based primarily on P6's awareness of the international profiles of both The Family Centre and David Epston, yet The Family Centre's "Just Therapy" is virtually unknown in Aotearoa New Zealand since the 1990s—

> […] although I don't think family therapy is broken in The Family Centre. […] The community work they did after the 2009 tsunami in Samoa [and the 2010-2011 earthquakes in Christchurch][10] shows how their involvement has taken a much wider pathway.
>
> ⟨P22: Sāmoan, woman, social worker⟩

—and Epston has almost no contact with 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand since 2000 [D. Epston, personal communication, 29 September 2014].

In actuality, the state of 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand today compares poorly with other Western societies. There are no tertiary qualifications in family therapy—neither Western nor Indigenous conceptualisations—available in Aotearoa New Zealand,[11] and no functioning organisational association of family therapists since the NZAFT enters "a state of suspended animation a couple of years ago" [H. Clarkson, personal communication, 23 February 2021] and the FSTAANZ officially dissolves in 2021 (NZ Companies Office, 2021). Few opportunities exist to be employed as a family therapist. For example, among twenty District Health Boards [DHBs] and numerous NGOs who make up the total infant, child and adolescent mental health, and alcohol and

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10. For details of The Family Centre's work in post-tsunami Sāmoa, see Tamasese, Bush, Parsons, Sawrey and Waldegrave (2020) and Taimalieutu Kiwi Tamasese, Parsons, Waldegrave, and Thompson (2014), and in post-earthquake Christchurch, see Sawrey, Waldegrave, Tamasese, and Bush (2011).

11. In January 2021 The Department of Psychological Medicine, University of Otago, Wellington, withdraws their two-paper Postgraduate Certificate in Family and Systems Therapies, until then "the only tertiary level general family therapy training in Aotearoa", offered annually since 2007 and no longer financially viable due to low patronage over several years (Burgess-Manning & Every-Palmer, 2021). The other family therapy-related course available in NZ is the Master of Counselling degree at Waikato University, which is entirely in narrative therapy [see https://www.waikato.ac.nz/study/qualifications/master-of-counselling]. Other NZ universities offer a single paper in family therapy, family counselling, or child and family therapy as part of postgraduate programmes in counselling, social work, or education.

other drug [ICAMH/AOD] workforce of 1,228.13 FTE [full-time equivalent] funded positions, there are 13.5 FTE [1.1%] for family therapy and 7.5 FTE [0.6%] for whanau ora, compared to social work [20%], psychology [15%], and child and adolescent psychiatry [6%] (Werry Workforce Whāraurau, 2019, Table 3, p. 27).[12] In an extensive stocktake of occupational data (see pp. 265-281) only one of eighteen occupational summaries provides a category for "family therapist", with three Māori clinicians identifying so (Table 13, p. 276) who represent 1.5% of a total workforce of 2,089 people (Table 18, p. 281).[13]

"There's never been a professional identity as a family therapist in New Zealand because people have always done family therapy out of some other discipline, like social work, psychology or community work", surmises P7 ⟨Pākehā, woman, social work educator⟩, and this tradition looks set to continue according to the Director of Mental Health and the Group Manager of Health Workforce New Zealand (Crawshaw et al., 2017), who consider family therapy skills to be "a component of the clinical education and training for the mental health and addiction workforce *across disciplines* and [we do] not support the development of family therapy as a separate discipline" [emphasis added, see original in Appendix H of this thesis]. For clinicians of any persuasion who want to practice 'family therapy', their employers' national and or organisational management systems make that difficult:

> The Ministry [of Health] say we've got to have 16 client contacts a week, but a client contact is only when the child [registered patient] is present, so if we're working with teachers, parents, or caregivers, none of that counts according to JADE [the electronic patient management system].
>
> ⟨P2: Pākehā, woman, clinical psychologist, ICAMHS⟩

> And if we [P1 and P2] work together with a family then in our stats we get credited for half the session each. That affects us meeting the KPIs [key

12. I have either reproduced or deduced these figures from the 2018 national stocktake of DHB and non-DHB ICAMH/AOD services (Werry Workforce Whāraurau, 2019). The next stocktake is scheduled in 2021.

13. For example, the Counties Manukau DHB's Taunaki and Te Puāwaitanga Child, Family and Youth Mental Health Services [formerly known as Whirinaki] in South Auckland—a community with large populations of Māori and Pacific peoples—"employs 124 staff that include one family therapist and perhaps two or three staff are doing family therapy" ⟨P33: Tongan, man, mental health specialist⟩.

> performance indicators] that are driven by the DHB, so when we are audited, it's like, "Well, you need to work harder because you're not doing enough."
>
> ⟨P1: Pākehā, man, mental health clinician, ICAMHS⟩

Asked why they think 'family therapy' is undervalued in their workplace, P1 and P2 independently agree that families are not valued in Aotearoa New Zealand, while individuals are. Perhaps this is borne out by the 2018 disestablishment of the Families Commission who function to advocate for families;[14] the withdrawal of free relationship counselling through the Family Court (Atkin, 2015) and consequent closure of Relationships Aotearoa [formerly the National Marriage Guidance Council], New Zealand's largest family counselling provider (New Zealand Family Violence Clearing House, 2015); and the not-so-subtle shift in orientation of statutory social welfare from advancing "the wellbeing of families and the wellbeing of children and young persons as members of families, whanau, hapu, iwi, and family groups" in the "Children, Young Persons, and Their Families Act" (1989, p. 448), to the child-risk-averse proviso that "the well-being and best interests of the child or young person are the first and paramount consideration" in the "Oranga Tamariki Act/Children's and Young People's Well-being Act" (1989/2017, p. 42).

Meanwhile, at a grassroots level:

> [Māori] have never forgotten the 'Māori working with Māori' idea. […] These days we use words like "lifting the aspirations of our people", which is really a codeword for "by Māori for Māori" but using language to appease the '90% of New Zealanders'[15] who have the power and control.
>
> ⟨P47: Māori, woman, counsellor⟩

The kaupapa of Whānau Ora "continues to be the closest the Crown has ever got to a holistic Māori approach" ⟨P30: Māori, man, activist⟩ and with increasing demand for

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14. The Families Commission is established in 2003 with advocacy and research functions, and when it prioritises advocacy over research (NZPA, 2009) it is criticised for having an ideological blockage to the benefits of marriage, for supporting anti-smacking legislation, and for undertaking "low-value" qualitative research (Family First Lobby, 2009). In 2012 the Government initially 'refocus' the Commission away from advocacy towards "monitoring, evaluation and research to measure the effectiveness of initiatives for families and society" (Bennett, 2012), before disestablishing it in 2018.

15. The '90% of New Zealanders' is P47's way of referring to the dominant majority of New Zealanders who are suspicious of or oppose Māori self-determination.

services and the endorsement of an Independent Whānau Ora Review Panel (2018), the Ardern Government significantly increases its funding in 2020 (Henare, 2020); while The Family Centre resume their innovating in cross-cultural 'family therapy' by piloting Pae Whakatupuranga, an adaption of Functional Family Therapy for Māori and Pacific families/whānau/āiga (Family Centre Social Policy Research Unit, 2020).[16]

With no local qualifications, no organisational association, and no officially endorsed professional identity, most practitioners identifying as family therapists in Aotearoa New Zealand—with the exception of those employed as Whanau Ora navigators or by the franchisees of overseas-based EBPs[17]—appear to be experiencing bleak times, "and instead of going, 'OK, what can we learn from the past so we don't do this [repeat mistakes or miss opportunities] again?', I don't think that's a current conversation" ⟨P5: Pākehā, woman, family therapist⟩. That is where this study may be useful, as SA seeks "to generate some new ideas or some new ways of potentially conversing about family therapy in New Zealand" [T. Strong, personal communication, 24 August 2015].[18] Such ideas and conversations are the subject of the next section.

11.3 Conditions Of Possibility For The Future Of 'Family Therapy' In Aotearoa New Zealand

Research Question 3 asks in expanded form: How might the historical reflections stimulated by the situational analyses in Chapters 6 to 10 of this thesis contribute to the diversity of thought about the future of 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand today? The first type of reflexive contribution[19] produced by this study is that generated by interviewees and consultants themselves *if* the conversations we share happen to evoke and elicit from them something more than is already in their thinking. This may encourage

16. This work is undertaken in collaboration with Oranga Tamariki, the New Zealand Police, and the Department of Corrections, with implementation by Youth Horizons, an NGO and FFT franchisee.

17. None of the participants interviewed for this research are Whānau Ora navigators or practitioners employed by franchisees of overseas EBPs because neither practice exists in the period 1989 to 1995.

18. Strong is one of eight members of the 'Calgary SA Group' who participate in a group consultation on my 'budding' study when I visit Calgary University, Alberta, in August 2015.

19. This discussion about the types of reflexive contribution being raised by Research Question 3 is based on email communications with Strong on 24 April 2018 [also see footnote above].

new dialogues that they share with others, resulting in new actions being planned or taken well before I write this chapter.

The second type of reflexive contribution comes from the situational analyses because SA is a tool that promotes conceptual distance[20] to enable new forms of thinking and dialogue. This new thinking on my part—not necessarily new to other people who have also thought deeply about 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand—is triggered by the identification of three analytic categories relating to the period 1989 to 1995, namely key interactions 'too hot to handle' that might now be negotiable, existing opportunities not taken earlier that may still be available, and voices kept silent or silenced that can now be heard. Reflections from each category contribute to the conditions of possibility for 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand described in the remaining sections of this chapter.

11.3.1 Tino rangatiratanga/'Self-determination'

In the near future the New Zealand Government will decide what to do about Oranga Tamariki [OT][21]—the Ministry for Children—since its chief executive's pre-resignation announcement that: "There is structural racism in the agency's systems which have led to poor outcomes for Māori tamariki taken from their whānau"[22] (Cheng, 2020), just as the Māori-led Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Maori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare (1986) did in its 'too hot to handle' Pūao-te-Ata-tū report, thirty-five years ago. After at least six formal inquiries[23] since 2019 and an urgent Waitangi Tribunal hearing currently in session—all concerning OT's removing of Māori pēpi/'babies' from Māori whānau—the Government has appointed an all-Māori Ministerial Advisory Board (Davis, 2021) to provide independent advice and assurance to the Minister for Children

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20. 'Conceptual distance' in the sense that some sources of inspiration are conceptionally 'near' sources and some are conceptually 'far', and SA mapping analytics promote the latter by moving frequently across micro, meso, and macro conceptual levels, blurring their distinctions, and bringing unlike things together (Clarke et al., 2018, pp. 122-123).

21. In 2017, a new Ministry for Children, Oranga Tamariki, replaces the Department of Child, Youth and Family as the Government's agency responsible for the care and protection of children and youth.

22. In 2019, Māori children are six times more likely to be removed from their whānau by OT than non-Māori children (Raukawa-Tait, as cited in Neilson, 2019a).

23. Office of the Children's Commissioner (2020a, 2020b); Office of the Ombudsman (2020); Oranga Tamariki (2020); Oranga Tamariki Review Oversight Group (2019); and Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency (2020).

who, when pressured to let Maori "determine what [is] best for their own tamariki" (Moxon, cited in Radio New Zealand, 2021), publicly proclaims the Crown's position: "I'm not into separatism. The Crown can't absolve itself of its responsibility to make sure children grow up in safe and loving families" (Davis, cited in Radio New Zealand, 2021). In other words, the Crown still thinks it can do a superior job of making sure Māori children grow up in safe and loving families than Māori can (Television New Zealand, 2019).

What does this have to do with the future of 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand? As the whakataukī guiding this study tells us: "We walk backwards into the future with our eyes fixed on the past" (Rameka, 2016). 'Family therapy' practise, like the current practises of OT social workers, is a reflection of Aotearoa New Zealand society, and as Waldegrave first alerts us—also thirty-five years ago:

> If [… a family's] problems are treated without reference to the broader social, political and economic systems that have caused them[, such as colonisation] then the therapist has colluded with those structures in society that oppress and deprive that family[…] whether or not it [the collusion] is intentional.
>
> (Waldegrave, 1985, p. 198)

Since sometime around 1986/1987 when members of the Family Therapy Interest Group network turn away from the hegemony of Western Family Therapy and commit themselves to social justice action at their annual conferences, firstly, in the Treaty of Waitangi Cultural Justice Arena, and by the early to mid-1990s in the Pacific Peoples' Post-Colonial Justice Arena, this unnamed but discernible 'Family Therapy Movement in Aotearoa New Zealand' encompasses several tikanga/'theories and practices' that involve care for and development of families, extended families, communities, or other groupings of people and spiritual beings, where tikanga Western Family Therapy is only one. This broad conceptualisation of 'family therapy' is an inheritance from those times and from that 'Movement'. One that carries mana/'power and status' as a small but significant site of local cultural justice negotiations in Aotearoa New Zealand society. That mana still exists today in the whakapapa/'genealogy' of 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand, despite tino rangatiratanga being 'too hot to handle' at the 1995 conference, and the lack

of knowledge—the silencing—of that whakapapa among the expatriates and other relative newcomers whose professionalising initiatives fail after 2012 (Family and Systemic Therapy Association of Aotearoa New Zealand, 2013; New Zealand Association of Family Therapy, 2012) [see Figure 11-A below for a timeline of cultural justice discourse in and around 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand, with content drawn from throughout this thesis].

Figure 11-A: Timeline of cultural justice discourse in the social worlds of 'family therapy', '90% of New Zealanders', Māori, and Pacific Peoples in Aotearoa New Zealand

Period	'family therapy'	'90% of NZers'	Māori	Pacific Peoples
Prior to 1986/1987	"Mastery of Western FT" - applicable to all families/cultures	"We are one people" - Pākehā assimilative consciousness	"Honour the Treaty" - path to Tino Rangatiratanga	NZ's 'lost memory' of Pacific colonisation
1986/1987 to 1995	FT *is* political - needs to be decolonised	"Bicultural partnership" - Crown dominant partner	"Bicultural partnership" - path to Tino Rangatiratanga	Recapturing history of Pacific colonisation
1995 to late 2000s	"Cultural debate not safe" - cultural justice advocacy 'outsourced'	"Closing the gap between Māori & non-Māori" - Crown in control	"Māori aspirations" - path to Tino Rangatiratanga	"Partnerships of accountability" - path to post-colonial justice
Late 2000s to 2021	"Marketplace legitimacy" - commodification of 'acultural' FT	"Government has responsibility to govern" - fear of separatism	"Get out of the way" - path to Tino Rangatiratanga	Pacific knowledge not reflected in operation of Government
Beyond 2021	?	?	?	?

Perhaps the lesson from these histories is that the decolonisation of the future practice of 'family therapy', such as who will provide services for whom and what will qualify them to do so, cannot be addressed until the gross politics of cultural justice are addressed ⟨P5: Pākehā, woman, family therapist⟩. In other words, "you get the discourse first and

then you get the practise. And the discourse derives from the right, and the practise is then the exercise of that right" ⟨P30: Māori, man, activist⟩.

If in the future 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand is "to follow those impulses to justice and to remember[… what]therapy is when at its best" (Stagoll, 1996, p. 6), it may do well to remember how easily those with power become unaware of their privilege, and the pervasiveness of the coloniser's protectionist and assimilative consciousness, as espoused by the Minister of Children [see two pages back] when, by casting aspersions on "separatism", he denies Māori their fundamental right of self-determination (UN General Assembly, 2007). Currently, the Ardern Government is injecting new life into the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples[24] by aiming to be the first country in the world with an action plan for its implementation in relation to Māori (Neilson, 2019b). Will future family therapists in Aotearoa New Zealand, who are the inheritors of the taonga tuku iho/'heritage' of the 'FTMANZ', aspire for anything less than self-determination for every family they work with?, or put another way, will they be part of a constitutional problem or its solution?

11.3.2 Pacific Peoples' voices

Pacific Peoples' voices are among the less heard in Aotearoa New Zealand and currently there is a sense among some that:

> […] the knowledge gathered about Pacific theories and practices in the 1980s and 1990s has not resulted in any respectable or noted position within the machinery of government, where having Pacific people without training in their own theories is not enough.
>
> ⟨P22: Sāmoan, woman, social worker⟩

In the history of the 'FTMANZ', emerging dialogue between Pākehā and Pacific Peoples (Pakeha et al., 1994) is constrained by a primary focus on Pākehā-Māori relations. Local resistance by the Pacific Section of The Family Centre largely represents one Sāmoan subgroup, while other Pacific groups are mostly silent. Among the latter,

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24. When the United Nation's Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples is agreed to by 155 member states in 2007, only NZ, Australia, Canada, & the USA withhold their support. Three years later, after further intense lobbying by Māori, the NZ Government formally supports the Declaration (Sharples, 2018).

there is support for aspects of Western Family Therapy being an appropriate supplement to Pacific cultural practices ⟨P21: Sāmoan, woman, family therapist⟩:

> The loss of [Western] family therapy knowledge and skill [in NZ] is a *massive* problem. As a community, we need that skillset […] and you know where we have transferred that now? Our church ministry does 'family therapy'. It is just the intuitive ability of a minister to go into a family and do something therapeutic using a Christian ethos and a faith in God. […] The ultimate for us would be to teach all the ministers family therapy to incorporate those skills with the divine, because we can't resist it.
>
> ⟨P33: Tongan, man, mental health consultant, emphasis by P33⟩

> A family therapy approach is important because there is so much stigma about mental health, and the burden of care resides in our Pacific communities. […] We need a level of training to be able to facilitate a family meeting and understand the dynamics of what may be happening in the room. Pacific families are very hierarchical and if you don't understand who is making the decisions, it is hard to move beyond that.
>
> ⟨P32: Cook Islands, man, mental health consultant⟩

None of these endorsements raise concerns about the colonisation of 'family therapy' so keenly felt in the Pacific Section 25 years ago:

> Colonisation, I don't use that word, ever. I think the more we use the word, the more we feel trapped in the past and not able to move forward. […] Sāmoans have a very different relationship with their former colonisers than Māori. We have sorted out our issues with New Zealand. Our partnership is equal.
>
> ⟨P24: Sāmoan, woman, family therapist⟩

> With our lack of an experience of colonisation, I don't see somebody [a non-Tongan] working with a Tongan family as presenting a threat to that family, because European society doesn't create its institutions [like family therapy] with a view that they are going to be harmful to you. […] Sophisticated [Western] family therapy would be the ideal approach and it wouldn't be that different to a Tongan approach.
>
> ⟨P33: Tongan, man, mental health consultant⟩

These Pacific sentiments are not drawn from published research or found in mainstream discourse but are revealed through this research enquiry. The Pacific people quoted above, like others, know their communities' traditions and needs for 'family therapy', and may or may not invite some level of outside participation to enhance them in the future.

11.3.3 Researching silences

Client families are generally "implicated actors" (Clarke & Montini, 1993, p. 65) in the conferences analysed in this study. They are rarely physically present at conferences and are mostly "discursively constructed" by those who are, such as 'family therapy' practitioners, allied professionals, and social activists, who may conceive, represent, and target them in their work (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 76). When they are there with strength in numbers, as the local community is at Rūātoki in 1993 [see Chapter 8 of this thesis], the realities they present shock and overwhelm the uninitiated 'FTMANZ' members.

It is a significant finding that client families are generally not directly accounted for in these situations, which are the annual events where members of the 'FTMANZ'—and their predecessors, and sporadically, their successors—gather to work collectively in various arenas that may also concern client families. This silence may reflect the absence of a formal research tradition (McDonald, 2008; Seymour & Towns, 1990; Towns & Seymour, 1990)[25] that might otherwise inspire the provision of a platform from which client families could express their *own* needs, experiences, and evaluations of 'family therapy', as Aboriginal family members do—sometimes angrily (McDonell, 1995)—when co-presenting with the Dulwich Centre at the 1995 conference [see Sec. 10.3.1] (Aboriginal Health Council of South Australia & Dulwich Centre, 1995). Apart from a handful of academic theses[26] and evaluations of local adaptations to franchised EBPs from

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25. White cites Tomm when contending that "those people who are practising therapy, along with the persons who seek therapy, are the primary or basic researchers, and those people who collect data in a more formal way are the secondary or supportive researchers" (White & Wood, 1995, p. 78). Primary research is exemplified in the 'FTMANZ' by both Epston (Epston & White, 1990; Epston et al., 1996; Epston et al., 1992; Madigan & Epston, 1995; White & Epston,1986) and The Family Centre (Coventry et al., 1987; Tapping, 1993; Waldegrave, 1990a), whose therapeutic work positions clients as 'expert consultants' of their own circumstances and stories, and where a therapy session might be similar to a research interview.

26. See: Curtis (2004); Hunt (2014); Hunter (1992); Mealla Arauz (2002); Phillips (1996); Robinson (1994); Russell (2008); Towns (1993); Yeoman (2012).

the USA [previously discussed in Sec. 11.1.2], local authors largely cite overseas research when theorising about their self-reported work because there is virtually no substantial local inquiry.[27] As these circumstances prevail over the last 40-years, the status of 'family therapy' predictably suffers in the eyes of the government, social service organisations, communities, and potential client families in Aotearoa New Zealand society, more so when the evidence base for individualised cognitive-behavioural (Dobson & Dobson, 2017) or pharmacological (Stein, Lerer, & Stahl, 2012) treatment is prominent.

Researching client families is one future pathway to demonstrating the relevance and credibility of 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand, as the recent Whānau Ora evaluation ably demonstrates to its government funders (Henare, 2020; Independent Whānau Ora Review Panel, 2018). If the 'family therapy' that has lost ground locally over time—mostly mainstream Western approaches—is to be re-enlivened in the current evidence-based climate, a new tradition of research needs to 'hoist its flags' for all to see.

Many 'family therapy' practitioners are also unheard. When P10 is silenced in 1995 it is career ending, and she is likely not alone in being lost to 'family therapy'. Who are the 'family therapists' in Aotearoa New Zealand? What do they do? Where do they do it? Who with? Why?[28] "Many therapists trained in [Western] family therapy are now at retirement age" (New Zealand Association of Psychotherapists, 2019) and where is the next generation to pass the reins to? Perhaps another pathway forward involves some kind of 'stocktake' of 'family therapy' practitioners in Aotearoa New Zealand—as the Pākehā Caucus did after the 1995 conference when surveying its members about their work with clients whose ethnicity is different from the therapist's (Garland & Stott, 1995). What are the needs of 'family therapy' practitioners? What are their dreams? How do they remember where they have come from? How might they re-vision where they may go? In their current fragmented state, a 'stocktake' of 'family therapy' practitioners could be a pragmatic first step towards developing a viable future workforce.

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27. Exceptions include: Independent Whānau Ora Review Panel (2018); Ingamells and Epston (2012); NiaNia et al. (2017); Schaefer (2008); Seymour and Epston (1989); Snowdon and Kotze (2012); Thabrew et al. (2018); Waldegrave et al. (1981).

28. The Werry Centre's (2009) qualitative interviews with nine "experts in the family therapy field" (p. 37) are subsequently 'analysed' for key issues or themes and produce a cursory 3-page write up of practice perspectives at the time.

11.3.4 New beginnings

When families engage in 'family therapy', new beginnings are often part of what heals old wounds. The wound to heal among 'family therapy' practitioners in Aotearoa New Zealand is "a huge attachment wound that has made family therapists an insecurely attached group since [the conference in] 1995" ⟨P9: Pākehā/Non-Indigenous North American-born, man, psychotherapist⟩ and time may not be enough to do the healing, if the subsequent animosities that lead to the creation of two rival incorporated societies for family therapists in 2012 is any evidence:

> We could have a workshop [for practitioners] on, what do we want family therapy in New Zealand to look like twenty years into the future?, and what would our relationships be producing if we respected our colleagues the same way we respect our clients? […] I have a firm belief that if you ask the right questions, people can transcend what is keeping them stuck and come up with thoughts they've not entertained before.
>
> ⟨P8: Pākehā, man, family therapist ⟩

The history of the 'FTMANZ' tells us that issues to do with power, privilege, and legitimisation may be evoked. Taimalieutu Tamasese recalls that in the 1980s and 1990s "we had no vocabulary to use to speak about power differentials […] and their effects on our work and our relationships […whereas] it's now possible to speak with each other across differences in much kinder ways" (Tamasese & C. White, 2007, p. 106). The main criteria is the building of strong partnerships "in which the perspectives and knowledge of all involved are respected and honoured" (p. 106).

Having held off attempts to professionalise 'family therapy' as far back as 1983 when Michael White cautions New Zealand not to follow Australia's example [see Sec. 2.3.1], any new consideration of legitimisation in the neoliberal professionalisation arena of Aotearoa New Zealand would face a similar message:

> I think that the darkest example [today] is the US, though I see it happening in different countries in Europe as well, where people trying to legitimise family therapy get into political struggles and then they have to set up more defined criteria for legitimacy, and it has an orientation towards control and regulation that diminishes creativity and generativity.

⟨P6: Non-Indigenous North American, man, family therapist⟩

If there is an urge to seek professional legitimacy for the practice of Western Family Therapy in Aotearoa New Zealand, perhaps an existing local organisation will give a distinct divisional 'home' to that practice, say, as part of the NZAC, NZAP, or ANZASW. Alternatively, an alliance with the Western-centric AAFT might be possible—another external territory?—given the heritage the two countries' family therapy movements share.[29] Now that there are no domestic qualifications in Western Family Therapy available in Aotearoa New Zealand, perhaps the best chance a local citizen has to gain professional training is through the Bouverie Centre's Master of Clinical Family Therapy, which can be started online from outside of Australia in 2021.[30]

If instead, 'family therapy' practitioners in Aotearoa New Zealand attempt to pick up where the 'FTMANZ' and the 1999 conference participants left off, by aspiring to "create an equitable organisation that reflects and respects diversity" (Bird, 1995b, p. 2), then they need to be aware of where Māori and other Indigenous peoples stand today:

> We [Māori] had to get strong in ourselves first. We had to find ourselves and find our own strengths and roots and have a vision of where *we* wanted to go before we could move into successful biculturalism.
>
> ⟨P16: Māori, woman, whānau-hapū-iwi development educator, emphasis by P16⟩

> And we had people like Tāmati Kruger and Mason Durie who gave us the vision of, "This is what we are aiming for. We want to become independent. We want to become a unit of our own rather than being under someone else."
>
> ⟨P17: Māori, man, whānau-hapū-iwi development social worker⟩

29. In 2021 there are six NZ-based members in the AAFT, of which three are clinical members, two are professional members, and one is a general member [see https://www.aaft.asn.au/membership/ for definitions of membership categories]. In 2020 and 2019 there were seven and nine NZ-based members respectively [AAFT Admin, personal communication, 9 March 2021].

30. New Zealanders are considered to be 'domestic' students who can commence their MCFT degree online while Covid-19 restrictions are in place, and later continue on campus when face-to-face teaching resumes. Commencement is available every six weeks from early January 2021 [for details, see https://www.latrobe.edu.au/courses/master-of-clinical-family-therapy].

This message is reinforced during an NZAC hui I attend in 2015,[31] where a discussion panel of invited Māori and Pākehā presenters foresee organisations and professional associations needing to start the whole process of negotiation with Māori again, by discussing how a new organisational purpose and structure will share power equitably in an authentically bicultural partnership (Bowden & unamed others, 2015).[32] The question that rises up in me is: What partnership, if any, might Māori practitioners of 'family therapy' want to invite Pākehā practitioners into?, and the answer is a matter of tino rangatiratanga/'self-determination' for Māori.

With or without a formal partnership or other differentiation between the traditions of Western and Indigenous 'family therapy' that exist or are developing in Aotearoa New Zealand, perhaps the most important legacy is that which everyone working therapeutically with families will leave for the generations to come. Will that be a continuation of the assimilative consciousness or the silencing conflict that has blighted the 'family' of 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand for decades? Or will it be a legacy of hope generated through working equitably together to share knowledge and skills across cultures, gender, and class?

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31. "Partnership and Privilege"; a NZAC Wellington/Wairarapa Branch event held at Horouta ki Poneke Marae, Papakowhai, Porirua, on 6 & 7 March 2015.

32. Bowden is named with his permission; however, I am unable to contact the other two panel members to seek their permissions and so have left them unnamed.

12

FUTURE PATHWAYS

Kia hora te marino, kia whakapapa pounamu te moana,
kia tere te kārohirohi i mua i tō huarahi.
May peace be widespread, may the sea glisten like greenstone, and may the shimmer of light guide your way.

Rangawhenua, 1800s[1]

Tēnā koutou,

To Māori, Pacific, Aboriginal, and Other Indigenous Peoples

This study owes much to the participation of Māori, Pacific, and Aboriginal Peoples, and may contain knowledge of assistance to you on your future pathways. I respect your tino rangatiratanga/'self-determination' and other intrinsic rights recognised by such documents as "Te Tiriti o Waitangi/The Treaty of Waitangi" (1840), the Treaty of Friendship (Government of New Zealand & Government of Western Samoa, 1962), the United Nations Declaration of Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UN General Assembly, 2007), and the "Advancing the Treaty Process with Aboriginal Victorians Act" (2018) legislation. There is nothing I can tell you about your cultures, your futures, your wellbeing. You are welcome to make whatever use of this study you may want to.

May your communities, in their future journeys, know the peace and guiding light spoken of in the whakataukī above. Tihei mauri ora!

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1. Rangawhenua [Ngāti Pāhere, Ngāti Manaiapoto].

To Pākehā Working Therapeutically With Families in Aotearoa New Zealand

There is an array of possible future pathways for Pākehā interested in the practice of 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand, some of which are informed by knowledge of the past, such as that in this study. Here are a few future pathways that I can see:

1. Tino rangatiratanga/'self-determination' as fundamental to the rights of Indigenous Peoples, their communities, and families, and therefore, to 'family therapy' theory and practice.
2. Remembrance of the social and cultural justice legacies of the 'Family Therapy Movement in Aotearoa New Zealand'.
3. Māori, Pacific, and other Indigenous Peoples are kaitiaki/'guardians' of their own traditions of 'family therapy' and may or may not invite some level of outside participation that suits them.
4. The relevance and credibility of 'family therapy' in Aotearoa New Zealand needs to be demonstrated through evaluative research that amplifies the voices of client families and of others connected with those families.
5. An in-depth 'stocktake' of 'family therapy' practitioners in Aotearoa New Zealand as a pragmatic step towards developing a viable future workforce.
6. Courageous conversations between 'family therapy' practitioners in Aotearoa New Zealand, with particular focus on healing divisions and embracing diversity.

Ngā mihi nui,

Nō reira, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā tātou katoa.

∞

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Te Tiriti o Waitangi/'The Treaty of Waitangi'

Te Reo Māori Version[1]

Ko Wikitoria, te Kuini o Ingarani, i tana mahara atawai ki nga Rangatira me nga Hapu o Nu Tirani i tana hiahia hoki kia tohungia ki a ratou o ratou rangatiratanga, me to ratou wenua, a kia mau tonu hoki te Rongo ki a ratou me te Atanoho hoki kua wakaaro ia he mea tika kia tukua mai tetahi Rangatira hei kai wakarite ki nga Tangata maori o Nu Tirani-kia wakaaetia e nga Rangatira maori te Kawanatanga o te Kuini ki nga wahikatoa o te Wenua nei me nga Motu-na te mea hoki he tokomaha ke nga tangata o tona Iwi Kua noho ki tenei wenua, a e haere mai nei.

Na ko te Kuini e hiahia ana kia wakaritea te Kawanatanga kia kaua ai nga kino e puta mai ki te tangata Maori ki te Pakeha e noho ture kore ana.

Na, kua pai te Kuini kia tukua a hau a Wiremu Hopihona he Kapitana i te Roiara Nawi hei Kawana mo nga wahi katoa o Nu Tirani e tukua aianei, amua atu ki te Kuini e mea atu ana ia ki nga Rangatira o te wakaminenga o nga hapu o Nu Tirani me era Rangatira atu enei ture ka korerotia nei.

Ko te Tuatahi

Ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga me nga Rangatira katoa hoki ki hai i uru ki taua wakaminenga ka tuku rawa atu ki te Kuini o Ingarani ake tonu atu-te Kawanatanga katoa o o ratou wenua.

Ko te Tuarua

Ko te Kuini o Ingarani ka wakarite ka wakaae ki nga Rangatira ki nga hapu-ki nga tangata katoa o Nu Tirani te tino rangatiratanga o o ratou wenua o ratou kainga me o ratou taonga katoa. Otiia ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga me nga Rangatira katoa atu ka tuku ki te Kuini te hokonga o era wahi wenua e pai ai te tangata nona te Wenua-ki te ritenga o te utu e wakaritea ai e ratou ko te kai hoko e meatia nei e te Kuini hei kai hoko mona.

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1. This version of the Te Reo Māori text of te Tiriti o Waitangi is taken from the first schedule to the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, as reproduced by Waitangi Tribunal (2016b).

Ko te Tuatoru

Hei wakaritenga mai hoki tenei mo te wakaaetanga ki te Kawanatanga o te Kuini-Ka tiakina e te Kuini o Ingarani nga tangata maori katoa o Nu Tirani ka tukua ki a ratou nga tikanga katoa rite tahi ki ana mea ki nga tangata o Ingarani.

[signed] William Hobson, Consul and Lieutenant-Governor.

Na ko matou ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga o nga hapu o Nu Tirani ka huihui nei ki Waitangi ko matou hoki ko nga Rangatira o Nu Tirani ka kite nei i te ritenga o enei kupu, ka tangohia ka wakaaetia katoatia e matou, koia ka tohungia ai o matou ingoa o matou tohu.

Ka meatia tenei ki Waitangi i te ono o nga ra o Pepueri i te tau kotahi mano, e waru rau e wa te kau o to tatou Ariki.

Ko nga Rangatira o te wakaminenga.

APPENDIX B

Te Tiriti o Waitangi/'The Treaty of Waitangi'

Translation of the Māori Text[2]

"Victoria, the Queen of England, in her concern to protect the chiefs and the sub-tribes of New Zealand and in her desire to preserve their chieftainship and their lands to them and to maintain peace and good order considers it just to appoint an administrator, one who will negotiate with the people of New Zealand to the end that their chiefs will agree to the Queen's Government being established over all parts of this land and (adjoining) islands and also because there are many of her subjects already living on this land and others yet to come.

So the Queen desires to establish a government so that no evil will come to Māori and European living in a state of lawlessness.

So the Queen has appointed 'me, William Hobson a Captain' in the Royal Navy to be Governor for all parts of New Zealand (both those) shortly to be received by the Queen and (those) to be received hereafter and presents to the chiefs of the Confederation chiefs of the sub-tribes of New Zealand and other chiefs these laws set out here.

The first

The Chiefs of the Confederation and all the Chiefs who have not joined that Confederation give absolutely to the Queen of England for ever the complete government[3] over their land.

The second

The Queen of England agrees to protect the chiefs, the sub-tribes and all the people of New Zealand in the unqualified exercise[4] of their chieftainship over their lands, villages

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2. See Kawharu (2005): "The following is an attempt at a reconstruction of the literal translation [of the Māori text. …] to my knowledge there is only one Māori version (allowing for the odd spelling mistake) and this is the one signed by all but a small minority [of signatories]. Discussion in English (as well as in Māori) of the meaning of the Treaty should therefore focus on the Māori version and on it literal translation" (p. 391).

3. 'Government' as a translation of 'kawanatanga': "There could be no possibility of the Māori signatories having any understanding of government in the sense of 'sovereignty', i.e., any understanding on the basis of experience or cultural precedent" (Belgrave, Kawharu, & Williams, 2005, p. 393n7)

4. "'Unqualified exercise' […] would emphasise to a chief the Queen's intention to give them complete control according to *their* customs" (Belgrave et al., 2005, p. 393n9: emphasis in original).

and all their treasures.[5] But on the other hand the Chiefs of the Confederation and all the Chiefs will sell land to the Queen at a price agreed to by the person owning it and by the person buying it (the latter being) appointed by the Queen as her purchase agent.

The third

For this agreed arrangement therefore concerning the Government of the Queen, the Queen of England will protect all the ordinary people of New Zealand and will give them the same rights and duties of citizenship as the people of England.

[signed] W. Hobson Consul and Lieutenant-Governor

So we, the Chiefs of the Confederation of the sub-tribes of New Zealand meeting here at Waitangi having seen the shape of these words which we accept and agree to record our names and our marks thus.

Was done at Waitangi on the sixth of February in the year of our Lord 1840."

5. 'Treasures' as a translation of 'taonga': "As submissions to the Waitangi Tribunal concerning the Māori language have made clear, 'taonga' refers to all dimensions of a tribal group's estate, material and non-material — heirlooms and wāhi tapu [sacred places], ancestral lore, and whakapapa (genealogies), etc" (Belgrave et al., 2005, p. 393n10).

APPENDIX C

Te Tiriti o Waitangi/'The Treaty of Waitangi'

English Version[6]

Preamble

HER MAJESTY VICTORIA Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland regarding with Her Royal Favour the Native Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and anxious to protect their just Rights and Property and to secure to them the enjoyment of Peace and Good Order has deemed it necessary in consequence of the great number of Her Majesty's Subjects who have already settled in New Zealand and the rapid extension of Emigration both from Europe and Australia which is still in progress to constitute and appoint a functionary properly authorized to treat with the Aborigines of New Zealand for the recognition of Her Majesty's Sovereign authority over the whole or any part of those islands – Her Majesty therefore being desirous to establish a settled form of Civil Government with a view to avert the evil consequences which must result from the absence of the necessary Laws and Institutions alike to the native population and to Her subjects has been graciously pleased to empower and to authorize me William Hobson a Captain in Her Majesty's Royal Navy Consul and Lieutenant Governor of such parts of New Zealand as may be or hereafter shall be ceded to her Majesty to invite the confederated and independent Chiefs of New Zealand to concur in the following Articles and Conditions.

Article the First

The Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand and the separate and independent Chiefs who have not become members of the Confederation cede to Her Majesty the Queen of England absolutely and without reservation all the rights and powers of Sovereignty which the said Confederation or Individual Chiefs respectively exercise or possess, or may be supposed to exercise or to possess over their respective Territories as the sole Sovereigns thereof.

6. This English version of the Treaty of Waitangi is taken from the first schedule to the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, as reproduced by (Waitangi Tribunal, 2016a).

Article the Second

Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and to the respective families and individuals thereof the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates Forests Fisheries and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession; but the Chiefs of the United Tribes and the individual Chiefs yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of Preemption over such lands as the proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective Proprietors and persons appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them in that behalf.

Article the Third

In consideration thereof Her Majesty the Queen of England extends to the Natives of New Zealand Her royal protection and imparts to them all the Rights and Privileges of British Subjects.

[signed] W. Hobson Consul and Lieutenant-Governor

Now therefore We the Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand being assembled in Congress at Victoria in Waitangi and We the Separate and Independent Chiefs of New Zealand claiming authority over the Tribes and Territories which are specified after our respective names, having been made fully to understand the Provisions of the foregoing Treaty, accept and enter into the same in the full spirit and meaning thereof: in witness of which we have attached our signatures or marks at the places and the dates respectively specified.

Done at Waitangi this Sixth day of February in the year of Our Lord One thousand eight hundred and forty.

[Here follow signatures, dates, etc.]

APPENDIX D

Items Subject to Copyright Included in this Thesis with Permission

The items listed below are each subject to copyright and the following permissions were obtained for their inclusion in this thesis:

Item	**Figure**	**Page**	**Source**	**Copyright Permission**	**Date Received**
Still frame: Tāme Iti [Ngāi Tūhoe] protesting during national Waitangi Day commemorations, Waitangi, 1995	9-B	183	"The Radicals" film (Maxwell, 1997)	Ray Waru [Producer]	27.02.19
Photograph: Rūātoki Protest, 1987	8-B	159	Unidentified	Whakatāne Museum & Resource Centre	24.06.19 [ref: D511-01]
Photograph: Rewa Rewa Marae, Rūātoki	8-E	173	Rosemary Smart	Rosemary Smart	26.08.20

APPENDIX E

Correspondence with Editors of the New Zealand Journal of Counselling Regarding Inclusion of a Published Paper in this Thesis

From: Craig Whisker
Sent: Monday, June 8, 2020
To: Margaret Agee
Subject: Journal final; Whisker;

Dear Margaret,

I am in the writing-up stage of my PhD on the history of the family therapy movement in NZ and would like to include my paper published in the NZJC [Vol. 37(1)] as a preliminary literature review chapter.

That paper has the title "An account of family therapy in Aotearoa New Zealand from the 1960s to 1995 interpreted from the literature" and in its final section I lay out a proposal for in-depth study of the period 1990-1995. In the end, my study has focused on 1989-1995, with three findings chapters on the 1989, 1993 and 1995 family therapy conferences respectively.

What I have in mind is to adapt the published paper in the following ways:

1) Change the title to: "An account of the family therapy movement in Aotearoa/New Zealand up to the late 1980s interpreted from the literature".
2) Stop the main text at events in 1988, rather than 1989, and then make an argument for in-depth study from 1989-1995.
3) Start the text at "The Early Years" section, thereby removing the oral introduction and personal reflections. In the chapter introduction I will refer to the text having been the subject of oral presentations prior to publication.
4) Add additional notes about the formation of a social movement by the mid-1980s, and refer to that during the remainder of the text.
5) Add additional notes about the role of social work in the 1970s based on feedback I received on the published article, and acknowledge that feedback and any additional text in a footnote.
6) General editing of the text to suit its positioning in my PhD thesis. In this respect, my choice to write the published paper in the historical present is also being used in the thesis, so that won't need to change.
7) Clear acknowledgement of the 2017 NZJC publication, the changes that have been made to that text, and of the - hopefully - support received from the NZJC to utilise the text.

I have a Word doc copy of the paper at its final submission stage and a published PDF. I will use the Word doc when pasting it into my PhD thesis and check it against the PDF to pick up any amendments that were made to the Word doc prior to publishing.

Margaret, could you please confirm whether what I am proposing is OK with the NZJC? Your comments on any of the matters I have raised, or on others I have not thought of, would be appreciated.

Kind regards,

Craig Whisker

From: Margaret Agee
Sent: Monday, 8 June 2020
To: Craig Whisker
Cc: Peter Bray
Subject: Journal final; Whisker;

Dear Craig,

As long as you indicate that this preliminary literature review is based on an amended version of your published article, and with the changes noted, I can't see a problem with this. The important elements are acknowledgment of your published article as the basis of the chapter, and provision of the publication details.

However I'm copying my reply to Peter Bray who leads the current editorial team and he can provide his view as well.

All the best with this. It's great to hear that your doctoral work is at this stage.

Kind regards,

Margaret

From: Peter Bray
Sent: Thursday, 11 June 2020
To: Craig Whisker
Cc: Margaret Agee
Subject: Journal final; Whisker;

Kia ora Craig,

Margaret has passed on your query and, like her, I don’t see any difficulty with what you propose.

It sounds like you are in the crucial stages of a really valuable and engaging project.

I do really wish you the best with your work at this point, and look forward to seeing what you publish from your completed thesis.

Warm regards,

Peter

APPENDIX F

New Zealand Family Therapy Conferences from 1983 to 1999[1]

[cont'd on next page]

No.	Year	Name	Venue	Location	Dates	Number	Women Mtg	Men Mtg	Caucusing
1st	1983	Forging the links: Inaugural NZ family therapy conference	Clinical School of Medicine	Wellington	25/03-27/03	?	No	No	No
2nd	1984	Rattling the chains; Too much too soon, too little too late	AKL Technical Institute	North Shore	05/05-07/05	225	No	No	No
3rd	1985	Third NZ family therapy conference	Canterbury University	Christchurch	10/05-12/05	200+	No	No	No
4th	1986	Family therapy New Zealand style: A broader horizon	Massey University	Palmerston North	22/05-25/05	200+	No	No	No
5th	1987	Family therapy and social justice	Waikato University	Hamilton	14/05-17/05	?	No	No	No
6th	1988	The use and abuse of power in family therapy	Wainui-o-mata Marae	Wainuiomata	30/06-03/07	?	No	No	No
7th	1989	Patterns of experience: 1st combined AU-NZ conference	Rehua Marae & Canterbury University	Christchurch	30/08-02/09	400	27/8-29/8[2]	?	No

1. Details drawn from conference advertisements, programmes, proceedings, reports, & direct enquiry with organisers & participants.
2. This is the seventh Women in Family Therapy Meeting, following six annual meetings at Australian family therapy conferences since 1983 (Chamberlain, 1992).

New Zealand Family Therapy Conferences from 1983 to 1999

[cont'd from the previous page]

No.	Year	Name	Venue	Location	Dates	Number	Women Mtg	Men Mtg	Caucusing
8th	1990	New Zealand family therapy conference	AKL Technical Institute	North Shore	27/08-30/08	?	26/8	26/8	No
9th	1991	Fresh experiences in learning	Nelson College for Girls	Nelson	02/09-05/09	?	31/8-01/9	31/8-01/9	No
10th	1992	Family therapy – what's in a name? 2nd combined AU-NZ conference	Melbourne University	Melbourne, AU	14/07-18/07	500[3]	12/7-14/7	?	No
11th	1993	"Kia Whaka Tāne Aue Ahau"	Te Rewa Rewa Marae	Rūātoki	13/05-16/05	-100	No	No	Yes
12th	1994	Waiho i te toipoto, kaua i te toiroa; Let us keep close together, not wide apart	Hoani Waititi Marae	West Auckland	04/09-07/09	?	?	?	Yes
13th	1995	Out from down under: 3rd combined AU-NZ conference	Victoria University	Wellington	30/08–02/09	300	26/8–28/8	?	Yes
14th	1999	Celebrating family therapy as sites of resistance	Ngā Kete Wānanga Marae, MIT	South Auckland	23/04-25/04	?	No	No	Yes

3. From Sarah Jones (1992). Later, Crago and Crago (1999) "guesstimate" there might have been 650 attendees.

APPENDIX G

Whisker, C. (2012). Personal Reflections on Respect of Difference Between Family Therapists in New Zealand and Possible Socio-Political Influences in 1995 and 2012, *AAFT News, 34*(4), 3-4.[1]

[see following two pages]

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1. Reproduced in this study with the permission of the AAFT News Editor.

CRAIG WHISKER

Personal Reflections on Respect of Difference between Family Therapists in New Zealand and Possible Socio-Political Influences in 1995 and 2012

The formation of both the New Zealand Association of Family Therapy (NZAFT) and the Family Therapy Association of Aotearoa New Zealand (FTAANZ) at their respective national conferences in March and September 2012 concludes a long wait for a national family therapy entity in NZ.

The ten[1] or so national family therapy conferences held in NZ between 1983 and 1995 (the last was the 3rd joint Australian and New Zealand Family Therapy Conference in Wellington) confirmed the existence of a population passionately identifying with family therapy who might shortly have been expected to formalise their professional association. Instead, something occurred in 1995 that halted further development of family therapy as a profession in NZ, so much so, that there has not been another national conference since. Until 2012, when there were two!

What happened in 1995 to end the run of NZ conferences so abruptly? What was going on in the NZ domestic scene that year that might have influenced events at the 1995 conference and afterwards? Are these influences still exerting themselves on relations between family therapists in NZ today as expressed in the dynamics that led to the formation of two, rather than one, professional body in 2012? The remainder of this paper contains my personal reflections on these wonderings as someone who did not attend the 1995 conference, but who is still affected by its legacy today.

Birth Notice

Family therapists in Aotearoa New Zealand are pleased to announce the surprise arrival of twins, NZAFT and FTAANZ. Due to curious gestation process births took place 6 months apart. Newborns yet to meet due to post-conception breakdown of birth parents' relationship. Respective weight gains unknown.

1995 Conference and Wider Socio-Political Influences in NZ

One post-conference report describes attendees at the conclusion of the 1995 closing ceremony looking like 'stunned mullet ... trying to come to terms with their mixture of feelings: anger, sadness, fear, intimidation, frustration, shame, guilt, embarrassment, hope and anxiety.' (Scott, Hansen & McDonnell 1995). The conference surprised another reviewer as to 'the extent to which one was forced to look at one's own values, ideas, beliefs and attitudes many times as presenters challenged [dominant] views on culture, child-rearing, indigenous peoples and their relationship to the dominant culture, death and dying, grieving, history and gender.' (ibid 1995). From my reading of the reviews and through discussion with only a small number of the many attendees, the conference appears to have been a group process comprising of many individual and collective expressions over several days, where deep distress was experienced by some who were presenting, by some who were responding, and by some who were witnessing the intensity of interplay between conflict and difference.

Contextually, the distress occurring at the 1995 conference took place against a backdrop of socio-political conflict that deeply divided the country. At that time bi-cultural relations were strained by the Government's proposed 'fiscal envelope' capping settlements for Treaty of Waitangi claims before they had been heard (Office of Treaty Settlements, 1995). Though later abandoned due to widespread protest, it sparked the reinvigoration of activism in the mid-1990s and emboldened lengthy land occupations at Moutoa Gardens in Whanganui, at Takahue in the Far North, and in Huntly, amongst other actions.

Bi-cultural tensions have continued nationally with successive governments contributing the Foreshore and Seabed Act 2004, the infamous anti-terrorism raids of 2007, and lately, rejection of water rights in relation to the partial sale of State assets in 2012. Elsewhere, aspirations have been partially fulfilled in the form of successful Treaty settlements and power sharing in Government.

Maori weren't the only aggrieved minority culture in the mid-1990s. Pasifika peoples, with the dawn raid deportation sirens of the mid 1970-80s still ringing in their ears, were by then the 'entrenched underclass' of NZ society (Krishnan 1994). Negative outcomes in health, employment, education and housing were evidence of race-based discrimination, a reality many still face today (Henare 2011).

In 1991, Minister of Finance, 'Ruthanasia' Richardson's 'mother of all budgets' slashed access to unemployment, sickness and welfare benefits, while the Employment Contracts Act replaced collective bargaining and compulsory union membership with individual employment contracts, dramatically reducing the power of blue collar workers.

The 1993-1997 health sector reforms saw the Government of the day convert the entire health sector into a number of business enterprises charged with returning a profit to the public purse. Under a business ethos family therapy was found wanting. It involved multiple clinicians working with various configurations of family members for an indeterminate length of time, using methods that did not lend themselves to manualisation and produced results uneasily quantified. Compare this to the output of CBT or psychopharmacology where $X will treat Y patients with diagnosis M and Z patients with diagnosis N, all in a relatively predictable timeframe, and the bean-counters were convinced. Family therapy was perceived as just one modality among many and clearly out of date in a New Fiscal World. (cont'd on p.4)

(cont'd from p.3)

Unfortunately, the end of the Crown Health Enterprise experiment in 1997 didn't halt the demise of family therapy in the health sector. Systemic family therapists, once prominent in child and adolescent mental health services throughout NZ during the 1980s and early 1990s, have continued to give way to an influx of psychologically trained clinicians treating individuals with or without family involvement.

Each socio-political injustice, whether cultural or economic, sent shockwaves through NZ society. For many, the denial of access to housing, employment, health services, and the non-recognition of cultural values, to name a few, has created a state of ongoing post-traumatic distress in this country. If so, are family therapists and their professional relationships with one another immune from the disconnection trauma can induce? In my experience, there are signs that indicate they may not.

Initiatives to Promote Family Therapy in NZ

The Werry Centre, NZ's national centre for child and adolescent mental health, published a report in 2009 entitled 'Family Therapy in Child and Adolescent Mental Health: A Descriptive Summary of the Effectiveness Research and Practice Perspectives to Inform Training and Workforce Development Planning in New Zealand' (Werry Centre, 2009).

Key recommendations included a symposium for stakeholders to promote collaboration, development of a national family therapy association and national training programmes, and research into both appropriate indigenous models and the applicability of 'introduced' models to the NZ context.

During 2010 a Reference Group of key family therapists met regularly to advance these aims and by the end of that year, following personnel changes and a new intake (including myself), their number settled at about 15 individuals representing Government, universities, District Health Boards, and private practice. Two early decisions supported by the Reference Group were to keep NZ in the ANZJFT and to form a uniquely NZ family therapy association, rather than seeking a joint venture with Australia.

At this point I am reminded of an interview with Salvador Minuchin at the inaugural Pan Pacific Family Therapy Congress in Melbourne in September 2001. Minuchin was in attendance via satellite and immediately eschewed the first question put to him by the interviewer to tell his audience that being unfamiliar with *"the way you people think"* he had read a recent copy of the ANZJFT and *"was concerned about the fact that I detect some elements of competition among family therapists today that does not allow dialogues"*. He contrasted this to how the culture of family therapy was built in the 1950-60s where *"there were a number of people who thought in different ways, but we were all friends. We were competitive but we listened to each other."* (Stagoll 2002).

Minuchin's keen observation was predictive of the Reference Group's trajectory and, if the Reference Group is broadly representative of NZ family therapists, may apply to the national scene as a whole. By May 2011 the Reference Group began to polarise over proposals for a national conference scheduled for 2012. By August a key member resigned and with his business partner began a national network for family therapists and others who work with families. In March 2012 that network held a national conference in Auckland and the New Zealand Association of Family Therapy (NZAFT) was born.

In the meantime, the Reference Group kept planning a national conference of their own, in between responding to formal complaints made by the founders of the rival network to several of their members' employers or professional association, plus an application to the District Court's Disputes Tribunal seeking the Reference Group's funds. I resigned from the Reference Group in June 2012 and their national conference was held in Wellington during September, where the formation of a second national association was confirmed. The Family Therapy Association of Aotearoa New Zealand (FTAANZ) took its place in the family tree.

Respect of Difference

As far as I am aware, up until June 2012 and since, there has been little reflective dialogue between the two family therapy groups. Is this simply the phenomenon of one's occupation being one's *occupation*, like the builder's incomplete renovations at home or the doctor's dangerously high blood pressure? I remember the family therapy team I was part of during 1992-93 and the weekly therapy sessions we had to sort out the 'mad uncle' and rein in the 'unboundaried adolescents' amongst us. The poor systemic therapist who took on this contract had her work cut out!

The ethics of relationship 'require us to risk ourselves precisely at moments of unknowingness, when what forms us diverges from what lies before us, when our willingness to become undone in relation to others constitutes our chance of becoming human'. (Butler quoted in Shaw 2011).

The lack of respect for difference apparent in sectors of NZ society during 1995 has been perpetuated in particular social and economic policies over the intervening years and appears to be mirrored in the NZAFT / FTAANZ split. This leaves the vast majority of NZers who are interested in family therapy and other approaches to working with families unaware of the merits of each group. Merits, which through person to person dialogue, might otherwise enrich and unite them in higher relationship.

If family therapy in NZ is a waka[2] travelling on the vast southern oceans, it is the crew working together that will ensure the success of their journey.

Ki nga whakaeke haumi

Join with those who can join together the sections of a canoe

Craig Whisker[3]

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1. Previous NZ national family therapy conferences known to the author are: Wellington (1983); Auckland (1984); Christchurch (1985); Palmerston North (1986); Hamilton (1987); Christchurch (1st ANZ joint conference – 1989); Nelson (1991); Melbourne (2nd ANZ joint conference – 1992); Ruatoki (1993); Wellington (3rd ANZ joint conference – 1995). Please make corrections and additions known to the author for later publication as a complete list. The availability of conference addresses, papers and post-conference reports are also sought. The only set found by the author is for the Hamilton conference which is available in leading library collections throughout NZ.

2. waka: Maori canoe

3. Address for correspondence is craigwhisker@clear.net.nz

APPENDIX H

Crawshaw, J., Austin, C., & Ministry of Health, (2017): Letter from the Office of the Director of Mental Health and Addiction Services, Ministry of Health, NZ [unpublished]

Office of the Director of Mental Health and Addiction Service
133 Molesworth Stre
PO Box 501
Wellington 614
New Zealan
Phone (04) 496 221
Fax (04) 496 255
www.health.govt.r

24 October 2017

Craig Whisker
NZ Family Therapy Specialists
PO Box 19
KIHIKIHI 3841

Dear Craig

Thank you for your enquiry regarding family therapy in New Zealand.

The Ministry of Health regards the practice of family therapy as an important element in the range of interventions offered by mental health, addiction and behaviour services in the health and other sectors, including but not limited to infant, child and adolescent mental health services. Family therapy is also relevant to practice in primary care, disability services, care of older people and in child protection and youth justice contexts.

Recognising that the practice of family therapy encompasses a wide theoretical framework it is incumbent on services, clinicians and researchers to build on the evidence base for practice in New Zealand as resources permit. It is also important to promote practice in the family therapy models with an existing evidence base such as Maudsley Family Based Therapy as the first line treatment for eating disorders in children and adolescents or Functional Family Therapy for young people with conduct problems including those involved with the youth justice system.

To develop the practice of family therapy in New Zealand requires a fit for purpose workforce. There is a small existing workforce with family therapy skills that is either overseas trained or that has been developed through participation in short courses and supervised practice in response to clinical interest. The Ministry of Health considers the development of family therapy skills and competence to be a component of the clinical education and training for the mental health and addiction workforce across disciplines and does not support the development of family therapy as a separate discipline with its own formal administrative structures and registration processes. There is no current or planned provision in legislation for the latter.

Yours sincerely

Dr John Crawshaw
Director of Mental Health
Director of Addiction Services

Claire Austin
Group Manager
Health Workforce New Zealand

APPENDIX I

Correspondence with Adele E. Clarke, PhD, Originator of Situational Analysis

[reproduced with permission]

EMAIL # 1

From: Adele Clarke

To: Craig Whisker, et al.

Date: 4 November 2016

Subject: SA - discussion thread on the place of CGT coding in SA

Hi All (and my co-authors Carrie Friese & Rachel Washburn are cc'd here so they too can join here as feasible),

Oh dear oh dear oh dear.

This is something we have worried about a lot. There has been a misunderstanding among some users of SA (especially we know in Sweden but elsewhere too) that I meant for mapping to be done WITH OR INCLUDING GT CODES. This was NEVER my intention.

It has likely happened to all of us that something we never conceived of is how someone else interprets something we said or wrote. This, sadly, is my "exemplar" event!

By saying that SA can be "complimentary" or "supplementary" to GT, I did NOT mean overlapping.

GT and SA are two distinctive ways of approaching qualitative inquiry which SHARE many of the same epistemological assumptions and ontological roots.

BUT GT is centered first and foremost on analyzing action, and in contrast, the core unit of analysis in SA is the situation.

They use different modes of analysis (coding and mapping) of the same kinds of data (though SA urges inclusion of extant discourse data too (narrative, visual & historical).

BOTH approaches can be used in the same project (which we would imagine as a larger rather than a smaller project), but BOTH CAN BE USED FULLY INDEPENDENTLY.

SA does not rely on GT nor vice versa.

We discuss this in the 2nd edition... This point will need to be made multiple times.

PLEASE let me know if this helps clear things up.

All best wishes to everyone.

Adele

Adele E. Clarke, Ph.D.

Professor Emerita of Sociology & History of Health Sciences, UC San Francisco

EMAIL # 2

From: Adele Clarke [in CAPS below]

To: Craig Whisker [in italics below]

Date: 22 February 2020

Subject: Social worlds, Arenas and Social Movements

[NB: Adele Clarke in CAPS; Craig Whisker in *italics*]

HI CRAIG,

CONGRATS ON YOUR CLEAR THINKING ABOUT ALL THIS. YOU WILL SEE THAT YOU "GOT" IT. SEE MY RESPONSES IN ALL CAPS.

1) Could the NZ FT Movement be both a social world and an arena?
WHICH IT IS, IS UP TO YOU THE ANALYST. THAT IS, YOU CAN ANALYZE THE NZ FT MOVEMENT AS A SOCIAL WORLD AMONG OTHERS IN AN ARENA AND WRITE A MEMO ABOUT THOSE RELATIONS. THEN YOU CAN CONSIDER IT AS AN ARENA UNTO ITSELF AND ANALYZE THE SOCIAL WORLDS AND SEGMENTS IN IT. AND MEMO SEPARATELY. BOTH ANALYSES WILL YIELD PRODUCTIVE INSIGHTS.

2) What is the difference between a social world and a social movement, and when does the movement with its competing entities become an arena?
A SOCIAL MOVEMENT CAN BE ANALYZED AS A SOCIAL WORLD OR AN ARENA AS NOTED ABOVE. BUT IF YOU ARE ASKING IF SOMETHING IS INHERENTLY X, I AS A CONSTRUCTIVIST, WOULD RESPOND NOPE, IT'S UP TO YOU HOW YOU WANT TO CONSTRUCT IT.

3) It strikes me that because social worlds are in constant flux with continuous negotiations between their constituent subworlds (putting negotiations with other social worlds aside for a moment), ***if you zoom in on a social world, it looks like an arena****. The same patterns of competing discourses, alliances, central and fringe players, etc.* YES YES YES

4) With the NZ FT Movement, I am leaning towards the movement being a social world that is engaged in a variety of arenas. THIS DOES SEEM LIKE A STRONG ANALYSIS TO GO WITH IN THE DISSERTATION. BE SURE TO ANALYZE (HOWEVER CURSORILY) THE OTHER WORLDS WITH IT IN EACH ARENA.

THIS ELASTIC CAPACITY OF SOCIAL WORLDS AND ARENAS ANALYSIS IS SOMETHING WE WROTE ABOUT IN SA2E AND I HAVE TAKEN IT UP AGAIN RECENTLY. ANYWAY, YOU ARE SOPHISTICATED ENOUGH ABOUT THE METHOD TO GET THIS AND NOT BE DAUNTED OR LOST DUE TO THE ELASTICITY, BUT SEE IT'S ANALYTIC USEFULNESS. HOWEVER, NEWCOMERS TO THE METHOD OR PEOPLE WHO HAVE TROUBLE WITH "GRAY AREAS" IN LIFE WOULD NOT LIKE THIS FACILITY AT ALL. THEY TEND TO WANT SOMETHING TO BE X OR Y AND STAY THAT WAY...

WARM REGARDS,

ADELE

Adele E. Clarke, Ph.D.

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APPENDIX J

1989 Situational Analysis - List of Textual Data

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APPENDIX K

1995 Situational Analysis - List of Textual Data

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APPENDIX L

Participant Information Statement and Informed Consent Forms #2

La Trobe University Human Ethics Committee - Ref: HEC18480
[updated approval received on 2 September 2019]

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION STATEMENT

A SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS OF THE 'FAMILY THERAPY MOVEMENT IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND' BETWEEN 1989 AND 1995

This research is being carried out in total fulfilment of a PhD under the supervision of Dr Peter McKenzie of the Bouverie Centre, La Trobe University, Melbourne, by Craig Whisker, an external doctoral candidate based in New Zealand

Role	Name	Organisation
Primary Supervisor	Dr Peter McKenzie	Bouverie Centre, La Trobe University
PhD Candidate	Craig Whisker	Bouverie Centre, La Trobe University
Research funder	The research is supported by an Australian Commonwealth Government Research Training Programme (RTP) Fees-Offset Scholarship, with PhD Candidate Scholarship support provided by La Trobe University	

1. What is the study about?

The study is about the situation of the 'Family Therapy Movement in Aotearoa New Zealand' between 1989 and 1995. It is also intended to fulfil the requirements for a doctoral degree by research.

2. Do I have to participate?

No, you do not have to participate. Being part of this study is voluntary. If you want to be part of the study, we ask that you carefully read the information below and ask us any questions, and then decide whether you want to participate. If you decide not to participate, this won't affect your relationship with La Trobe University or any other listed organisation.

3. Who is being asked to participate?

You have been asked to participate because you come under one of two selection criteria, either (A) you have knowledge of the 'Family Therapy Movement in Aotearoa New Zealand' between 1989 and 1995, or (B) you are actively involved in developing family therapy in NZ today.

4. What will I be asked to do?

You are invited to participate in an in-depth interview with the researcher that is likely to involve somewhere between 60-90 minutes of your time.

5. How will the research be inclusive of non-dominant culture participants?

The situation of the 'Family Therapy Movement in Aotearoa New Zealand' between 1989 and 1995 includes people from non-dominant cultures, such as, Māori, visiting and resident Pacific Peoples, and visiting First Nations Aboriginal Peoples of Australia. The researcher intends to include each broad cultural group in the research by inviting specific

individuals or representatives of organisations who have had some involvement with the 'Family Therapy Movement in Aotearoa New Zealand' between 1989 and 1995. These people or organisations will be identified from the literature or via 'snowball' sampling through the researcher's enquiries.

6. How does the researcher propose to address the issue of cultural sensitivity and or safety for non-dominant culture participants?

The researcher will:

a) Engage with non-dominant cultural consultants to seek their overall guidance before approaching members of the consultant's culture. This includes guidance on who to approach, how to approach them, protocols around meetings and conversations, spirituality, acknowledgement of ancestors and others who have passed on, reimbursement of out-of-pocket expenses, hosting and provision of food during research interview meetings, and other matters that the consultant may draw to the researcher's attention.

b) Transcripts of research interviews will be provided to research participants for their verification of the contents prior to data analysis. Participants can withdraw, amend, or approve, their transcripts. Participants are free to consult with others about their transcript. It is theirs to do with as they wish.

c) Drafts of thesis chapters that contain quotations or are substantially influenced by research participants' information, will be supplied to the respective participants for verification prior to being finalised. These participant feedback processes seek to ensure that participants' information has been correctly interpreted, including in terms of its cultural significance.

d) The doctoral thesis produced by the researcher will include fore-pages acknowledging the non-dominant cultures who are contributing to the research and will provide glossaries of cultural terms and translations of non-dominant language used in the thesis.

7. What are the benefits from taking part in the study?

One of the objectives of the research is to "turn up the volume" on silent or silenced voices within the situation of the Family Therapy Movement in Aotearoa New Zealand' between 1989 and 1995. In the case of non-dominant cultures, a benefit of the study is the opportunity for non-dominant participants to share their knowledge of events or debates within the situation so that their knowledge can be represented in their own voices. It is hoped that this will add balance to that which has existed as knowledge among dominant cultures to date.

Other benefits to participants may include gaining satisfaction from imparting your knowledge about family therapy and/or cultural justice issues in Aotearoa New Zealand from 1989-1995 in the context of a stimulating in-depth conversation; and you may benefit from discussing your shared professional interests about the development of family therapy in Aotearoa New Zealand today.

The expected benefits to society in general are that the research may stimulate conversations in Aotearoa New Zealand that contribute to the diversity of thought about family therapy today, and these may in turn contribute to the future development of family therapy in Aotearoa New Zealand society.

8. What are the risks?

With any study you may have an adverse unexpected reaction or considered response to the research interview process either before, during, or after the interview. If you feel so

affected by any aspect of the research process, please let us know and we will discuss options for what to do about effects or concerns.

Name	Position	Telephone	Email
Craig Whisker	PhD Candidate		c.whisker@latrobe.edu.au

9. What will happen to information about me?

We will collect and store information about you in ways that will not reveal who you are. This means that you will not able to be identified in any publication arising from this study. At any time, you may request a copy of the personal data we have collected from you during the research.

We will collect, store and destroy your data in accordance with La Trobe Universities Research Data Management Policy which can be viewed online using the following link: https://policies.latrobe.edu.au/document/view.php?id=106/.

We will keep your information for 15 years after the project is completed. After this time, we will destroy all your data. The information you provide is personal information for the purposes of the Privacy and Date Protection Act 2014 (Vic). You have the right to access personal information held about you by the University, the right to request correction and amendment of it, and the right to make a complaint about a breach of the Information Protection Principles as contained in the Information Privacy Act.

10. Will I hear about the results of the study, and how will the results be published?

We will let you know about the results of the study by sending you a copy of the completed doctoral thesis. Following the completion of the thesis, results may also be published or republished in journal articles, books, or professional conference/workshop presentations.

11. What if I change my mind?

At any time, you can choose to no longer be part of the study. You can let us know by:

1) Completing the 'Withdrawal of Consent Form' (provided with this document)
2) Calling us
3) Emailing us

Your decision to withdraw at any point will **not** affect your relationship with La Trobe University or any other organisation listed. When you withdraw, we will stop asking you for information, however, once your data has been analysed it will continue to be used in the study, but we will withdraw your personal information, such as your name and contact details. If your data hasn't been analysed, you can choose if we use it or not.

12. Who can I contact for questions or want more information?

If you would like to speak to us, please use the contact details below:

Name	Position	Telephone	Email
Craig Whisker	PhD Candidate		c.whisker@latrobe.edu.au
Dr Peter McKenzie	Principal Supervisor		p.mckenzie@latrobe.edu.au

13. What if I have a complaint?

If you have a complaint about any part of this study, please contact:

Ethics Reference	Position	Telephone	Email
HEC18480	Senior Research	+61 39479 1443	humanethics@latrobe.edu.au

FORMED CONSENT FORM

I (the participant) have read (or where requested, have had read to me) and understand the participant information statement, and any questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in the study, and I know that I can withdraw my participation at any time. I agree information provided by me or with my permission during the project may be included in a thesis, presentations, and published in journals or books, on the condition that I cannot be identified.

I would like my information collected for this research study to be:

Standard Consent: ☐ Used for this specific study only.

Extended Consent: ☐ Used for future related studies conducted by the researcher only. These will be post-doctorate studies extending aspects of the researcher's doctoral research that did not fit within the scope of his doctoral thesis.

☐ I agree to have my interview audio recorded

☐ I would like to receive a copy of the results via email or post. I have provided my details below and ask that they only be used for this purpose and not stored with my information or for future contact.

Email (optional)	Postal address (optional)

☐ I would like to receive a signed copy of this Participant Information Statement and Consent Form to keep

Declaration by Participant

Participant's name	
Participant's signature	
Date	

Declaration by Researcher

✓ I have given a verbal explanation of the study, what it involves, and the risks and I believe the participant has understood

✓ I am a person qualified to explain the study, the risks and answer questions

✓ I am receiving professional supervision for this research project, including meeting with appropriate cultural consultants with respect to participants who are from non-dominant cultures.

Researcher's name	Craig Whisker
Researcher's signature	
Date	

WITHDRAWAL OF CONSENT FORM

I wish to withdraw my consent to participate in this study. I understand withdrawal will not affect my relationship with La Trobe University or any other organisation or professionals listed in the Participant Information Statement. I understand the researchers cannot withdraw my information once it has been analysed as research data, and therefore, I must notify the researchers of my withdrawal within 4 weeks of my participation in this research project.

I understand my information will be withdrawn as outlined below:

- ✓ Any identifiable information about me will be withdrawn from the study
- ✓ The researchers will withdraw my contact details so that I cannot be contacted by them in the future
- ✓ My information will only be withdrawn if I have advised the researcher within 4 weeks of my participation in this research project

I would like my already collected and unanalysed data to be:

- ☐ Destroyed and not used for any analysis
- ☐ Used for analysis

Participant Signature

Participant's name	
Participant's signature	
Date	

Please forward this form to:

Chief Investigator's	Dr Peter McKenzie
Email	p.mckenzie@latrobe.edu.au
Phone	
Postal Address	c/o: The Bouverie Centre, 8 Gardiner St, Brunswick VIC 3056, Australia

APPENDIX M

Pre- and Post-Interview Comments Sheet and Data Analysis Sheet

COMMENTS SHEET FOR INTERVIEW # __ WITH P__

Interviewer:		Interview #:	
Interviewee:		Date:	
Gender:		Time of Day:	
Age:		Duration:	
Ethnicity:		Location	

Comments	**Situational Elements**
Interviewer's reflections on pre-interview thoughts, feelings or actions:	
Description of Location & Setting:	
Apparent impact of above on Interviewer, Interviewee &/or their relationship:	
Interviewer's first impressions upon meeting Interviewee:	
Interviewer's experiences of relationship with Interviewee during interview:	
Relationship & process at end of interview:	
Non-verbal language & other sensory observations made by the Interviewer:	
Critical, surprising or exciting moments in the interview:	
Interviewer's reflections soon after the interview:	
Interviewer's additional reflections a week or so later:	
Follow up tasks:	

DATA ANALYSIS SHEET FOR INTERVIEW # __ WITH P__

[including supplementary data where applicable]

BEFORE 1989

Situational Elements (<1989):

Social Worlds (<1989):

Discourses (<1989):

Contestation (<1989):

1989 – 1995 INCLUSIVE

Situational Elements (1989-1995):

Social Worlds (1989-1995):

Discourses (1989-1995):

Contestation (1989-1995):

AFTER 1995

Discourses (1995<):

Text	**Situational Elements**

APPENDIX N

"Family Therapy — Up From Down Under? Challenges For the 1990s"

Unpublished plenary address given by P10 to the third Australian and New Zealand Family Therapy Conference on 1st September 1995 at Victoria University of Wellington.[2]

FAMILY THERAPY — UP FROM DOWN UNDER?

CHALLENGES FOR THE 1990s

A PLENARY ADDRESS TO

THE THIRD AUSTRALIAN AND NEW ZEALAND FAMILY

THERAPY CONFERENCE

UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA, WELLINGTON

1ST SEPTEMBER, 1995

[Name and contact details given in original]

2. Reproduced here from a textual copy of the address in its original formatting provided by P10.

FAMILY THERAPY - UP FROM DOWN UNDER?

E te iwi. Rau rangatira ma. E koro ma e kui ma	To the People. To many chiefs assembled here
Koutou katoa	To my superiors, to everybody
Tenei te mihi, tenei te mihi, karanga mai karanga mai!	I greet you warmly as you have greeted us
He honore tenei ka tu ake ahau kei te taha o te marae to Herenga Waka	I feel privileged to stand at the side of this marae Te Herenga Waka
Ki te tangata whenua o te motu, nga tauiwi hoki, ki te Tangata Pasifika - arohanui ki a koutou	To you the hosts of the land - to the Pakeha people and to the Pacific Islanders I give you all loving greetings
Ki nga tini manuhiri kua tae mai, ki tuai te moana nui a Kiwa	To the many visitors from across the great ocean of Kiwa
no Ahitereiria me nga wahi katoa	from Australia and other places
Tena koutou, tena koutou, nau mai, nau mai, haere mai!	Greetings, Greetings and thrice welcome
Ki a koe Te Warahi	To you Wally
Nga mihi nui ki a koe e mahi ana kaha ki te waka o te iwi	Many greetings to you working diligently on the cane of the people
ko koe te hoa aroha ki ahau, No reira tena ra koe	You have always been a dear friend to me. Respectful greetings to you
Ki te whare mahana Pipitea	To the warm house Pipitea
Ki Papatuanuku	To the mother earth I greet you both
Tena Korua, tena Korua	
Ahakoa toko iti te kupu kanui te mihi ki a	Although this part of my presentation may seem short
koutou	My greetings to you all are many
tena koutou, tena koutou, tena koutou katoa!	Tena koutou tena koutou tena koutou katoa

[page 2 of 21 in original]

Warmest greetings to you all. To all of you who are many miles from home and particularly to the first nation people of Australia. To all my dear friends, greetings.

It is an honour to speak to you at this the third combined Conference of family therapists from both Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand. Having been very involved with the first combined Trans Tasman conference, I feel as if I was part of organising an arranged marriage and I am now watching the participants beginning to fall in love with each other. I hope that we can continue to share our struggles and our strengths and that our relationship will be long and enriching.

INTRODUCTION

Lord Lytton once said "When you talk to the half wise, twaddle; when you talk to the ignorant, brag; when you talk to the sagacious, look very humble and ask their opinion."

I look forward to hearing your opinion on what I am about to say as the Conference progresses!

* * * *

New Zealand and Australia are two countries which have been described as 'down under'. Particularly New Zealand which is comparatively small, has a tiny population for its land mass and is perceived as being at the bottom of the world.

Like many minorities we are invisible to the dominant culture. When New Zealand resoundingly wrested the America's Cup away from Denis Connor the majority of the

[page 3 of 21 in original]

population in the United States did not know where we were located or even that we existed.

When the story of being 'down under' is deconstructed, however, a wonderful thing happens.

[INSERT SLIDE 1 (OF MAP) HERE]

Here is New Zealand at the top of the World, completely 'out from down under'. Although I am still standing on the same place I have a different sense of power viewing the World from this perspective.

Much the same thing happens when we work with clients. Together we invert their world and they come out from 'down under'.

I intended originally to attempt to give an erudite presentation on developments in family therapy in both our countries and discuss such matters as marginalisation, national training programmes, a NZ family therapy association, accreditation and other important and pertinent matters

This was not to be, however, as when I set out to write this address much to my surprise two themes began to insert themselves into my mind with an insistence I could not ignore. Firstly, I kept hearing the voice and seeing the face of Nancy Peryman and secondly I experienced being in the whare-nui (meeting house) at Hoani Waititi Marae at last year's New Zealand family therapy conference. I could not rid myself of these images.

What did this mean? I was not quite sure, but I have a profound sense of the pattern that connects and I allowed myself to follow my thinking.

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According to Isiah Berlin (Mendel, 1964, Brunner, 1983), there are two types of thinkers, foxes who know many things and hedgehogs who know one big thing. I am definitely a fox in my thinking and struggle to bring together the many disparate things which I intuit. Out of the struggle to produce this address, two themes emerged and linked the disparate images of Nancy, and my experience at the marae. These were: *wairua* (spirituality) both in the life of the therapist and in the practice of family therapy and the importance of *integrity* or *congruency* between the words expressed by therapists and their actions.

My school motto was 'Beati mundo corde - Blessed are the pure in heart'. Consequently I was not very old when I began to feel like a spiritual failure! So this insistence of the spiritual to be storied is a rather scary challenge and particularly to do so in such a forum, and as Yvonne Hunter of Melbourne describes it:
"To speak from the soul is to allude to the intangible, the intuited, the space between, the unknowable that gives meaning to the observable and the knowable. To talk about this in the arena of family therapy seems almost incongruous when our early pioneers worked so hard to move away from inner, unseeable and immeasurable dynamics" (Hunter, 1995, p. 86).

NANCY

Nancy who would not let me rest when I started to write this paper was a friend and colleague of mine who died unexpectedly and tragically last year. We had planned to present a workshop together at this Conference. It could not occur in the form we had imagined but it seems appropriate that we share this plenary session today. So I wish to dedicate this address to Nancy and what she meant in the lives of so many people - her family, her friends, and her clients.

[INSERT SLIDE 2 (OF NANCY) HERE]

[page 5 of 21 in original]

Nancy was a family therapist and a clinical psychologist. Together with three other friends and colleagues we established the Victoria Therapy Centre in Christchurch last year. Nine months later without any warning or explanation at the age of thirty-six Nancy dropped dead in the middle of a game of tennis.

At her funeral I said farewell to Nancy surrounded by my colleagues:
"When we opened our Centre it was the beginning of the realisation of a shared dream:

- *A dream of a fully professional centre*
- *Where we worked as a team*
- *A centre that would be a place of te rangi marie (peace)*
- *A centre based on aroha (love)*
- *A centre based on respect of difference*

Is was wonderful to share with you the dream becoming reality:

- *Your pride in being the youngest member of the team*
- *Your sense of self reflected in your beautiful therapy room*
- *Your increasing connection with your inner strength and your professional competency*
- *And your excitement for the future*

As a team we shared the same values and beliefs but as individuals we are all very different. You Nancy were like a multi-faceted prism, a crystal with many sides which reflected life with clarity and purity:

- *You were a crystal which sparkled*
- *You had a strong inner core of courage, honesty, integrity and caring*

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- *You reflected your deep love for your family, for Paul, Edward, Bailey and Oliver*
- *You were yielding yet not afraid to tackle life full on*
- *You were courageous yet sometimes scared of what you might find*
- *You were warm and deeply caring yet sometimes reserved and remote and people were a little scared of you*
- *You were practical yet whimsical*
- *Childlike yet mature beyond your age*
- *Naive yet sophisticated*
- *Loving and infuriating*
- *Innocent yet outrageously vulgar*
- *Earthy yet spiritual*

Nancy we loved you, respected you and trusted you. You were quite unique and truly unforgettable. We will never realise our dream together. It will never be the same without you but your legacy will go on with us into the future and continue to be reflected in the work we do.

Haere atu ra

Haere atu ra"

* * * *

A few days before Nancy died, her colleagues shared a dinner with her and her husband Paul at my home. It was one of the most hilarious times we had ever spent together (and we had spent a few). Nancy sparkled particularly brilliantly and was totally outrageous. We laughed till we cried and held our ribs to ease the pain.

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Nancy was widely famed for her famous Australian duck story. Her wide-eyed innocence and pouty demurity were incongruously juxtaposed with the vulgarity of the gestures which accompanied the storyline. Such a combination had wonderful shock value and we would usually get her to tell the story after one glass of bubbly. On this particular evening we all began to elaborate and expand on the Australian duck joke and the jokes got wilder and wilder. Nancy's animated facility with words triggered much hilarity. It was a wonderful evening which we all treasure.

When I wrote Nancy's eulogy in the following week I had a strong desire to introduce some reference to her duck joke, but I restrained myself. The Minister who conducted the funeral service, however, told a special story for all the little children who were there. One of the central characters in the story was Daffy duck. I smiled quietly to myself when I heard it thinking of synchronicity and how Nancy would have appreciated the irony of it all.

The small stone church in the seaside suburb was packed with people for the funeral. They overflowed down the steps and stood outside the church on a cold grey miserable day. As we followed the casket out of the church a large crowd of people gathered around the hearse which seemed to stand there for an interminable time. We were cold, grey, drained and tearful. In the distance a rhythmical sound became discernible. As it came closer we could see the beating arch of a duck's wings, its feathers nearly brushed our faces and swept small wafts of air across us as it flew into the middle of the assembled group and straight toward the back of the hearse which stood open. It appeared to be trying to get inside. It finally settled on the roof of the hearse right over the casket where Nancy lay.

There was a moment's hush then an outbreak of quiet hilarity which grew in volume. For some people it must have been bewildering to see so many mourners doubled over in fits of laughter.

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I cannot tell you how special that moment was. It gave all of us who loved her a sense of hope, of joy and a deep awe at the mystery of the patterns which connect. It helped to heal our souls. It was a story that I told eventually to all of Nancy's clients with whom I worked and we laughed and wept with it together. It was a source of strength and gave us faith in the power of the possible.

In some ways such a moment was not surprising as it fitted with Nancy's strong sense of spirituality.

As a therapist (to paraphrase Clive Duffy) (Crago 1995) Nancy used her energy to match the values in her heart.

She did not duck for cover when it came to facing difficult issues and would fly in the face of political correctness if it did not fit with her reality.

POLITICAL CORRECTNESS

When it comes to race and culture I wonder how many pakeha say things they don't mean, or mean things they don't say because they are scared to be anything but politically correct. Fear of being labelled racist cuts off a lot of dialogue.

Martin Luther King (1986) in "Strength to Love" said: "Many people fear nothing more terribly than to take a position which stands out sharply and clearly from the prevailing opinion. The tendency of most is to adopt a view that is so ambiguous that it will include everything and so popular it will include everybody …

How <u>few</u> people have the audacity to express publicly their convictions and how <u>many</u> have allowed themselves to be astronomically intimidated." (pp 19, 20) … "Anyone

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who blindly accepts the opinions of the majority and in fear and timidity follows a path of expediency and social approval is a mental and spiritual slave." (p 22). I believe many people have jumped on the bandwagon of political correctness for fear of the majority and for financial reasons, and their words are not reflected by their actions. This often starts at the top in agencies and institutions and works its way down making honest communication impossible.

Hammerschlag (1992) says "It doesn't matter how you say it - the words on your lips must reflect the truth of your heart. Otherwise your life's breath is muted" (p. 73) and so I would add, is your capacity to work with integrity as a therapist.

As therapists I wonder how the words that come out of your mouths about the indigenous people of your land match the feelings in your heart and the way you act in your own life?

Many of you attended the powhiri for this conference at Pipitea Marae. It was at Pipitea I attended my first tangi (Maori funeral) and I was accepted with aroha as one of the grieving family. Being there again aroused many feelings for me - of the loses in my own life, of the loss experienced by the family, and the loses of Maori people in our society. I also felt a strong sense of joy and gratitude for the richness of the culture which I experienced there, particularly the sense of wairua (spirituality) which has profoundly influenced and sustained my life. It was the beginning of a major journey for me.

WORKING TOGETHER

Before the tangi I understood the similarities between Maori and Pakeha culture. Over the days that ensued and the tangi progressed to another marae, I began to appreciate

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increasingly the differences which exist between Maori and Pakeha cultures. Over the years I have struggled to formulate what this means for me in the work that I do as a therapist in Aotearoa. There are no simple answers.

In the 1991 New Zealand Census 15.1% of the population claimed Maori ancestry and 12.9% of the population claimed Maori ethnicity (that is they opted to identify as Maori).

People, particularly radical Maori and politically correct Pakeha, talk about working (or mainly not working) with Maori as if this was a simple concept. It is not.

I have been very influenced by and have an enormous respect for the work of the Lower Hutt Family Centre. Their sensitive, respectful and sacred approach to family therapy and social advocacy for Maori and Pacific Island people has been inspirational for us in New Zealand and for indigenous people around the world. I agree with them that a therapist <u>can</u> do incalculable damage if they are from a dominant culture and their client is from a minority culture (Markowitz, 1994). Nevertheless I believe there are many exceptions to this rule.

So far most discussion and writing on the appropriateness of family therapy or counselling with Maori is based on a monolithic perspective of what it is to be Maori.

This stereotypical and sometimes somewhat romanticised view assumes that all Maori have virtually indistinguishable attitudes, behaviours and values. Or if they don't share these, they should acquire them. There is a danger from this perspective that clients will not be approached as unique human beings but rather as cultural stereotypes and that there may be unrealistic expectations of Maori workers.

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There is not one all encompassing reality for Maori. Not all Maori act, feel and think in the same way. There are tribal differences, traditional and non-traditional differences, rural and urban differences and intergenerational differences, and many other differences I suspect of which I am totally unaware.

Mason Durie (1994) of Ngati Raukawa and Rangitane tribes, psychiatrist and Head of the Department of Maori Studies at Massey University, states "There is no single Maori identity, the Maori population is as diverse as any other." (p 168)

Following the urbanisation which occurred after the second world war many Maori had been cut off from their tribal links for three of four generations. "Some had become well integrated into their new environments and were able to participate comfortably in mainstream New Zealand, but many others had become alienated both from their tribe and society generally. Some, though it is not known how many, remain or have become well integrated into mainstream Maori society and are able to access Maori institutions - the marae, Kohanga Reo, runanga and tribal trust boards." (Durie, 1994, p 167) But many haven't. Contemporary Maori live in several realities, often in the lower SES,[1] culturally impoverished, unable to speak Maori or participate confidently in conservative Maori situations. (Durie, 1994, p 167) "For many Maori cultural identity is a sophistication, it is more than enough to simply get through each day" (p 214).

"While tribal organisation has flourished since 1984, and a range of cultural activities have emerged to enhance Maori identity, not all Maori have shared in those developments and assumptions cannot be made about Maori aspirations or preferences." (Durie, 1994, p 167, 168)

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Some Maori identity completely as Maori and have little or no identification with the dominant culture, others identity with the pakeha world and have little or no identification with their Maori origins, and many others place themselves in between the two realities.

1. Socioeconomic status.

Traditional Maori are likely to deal with whatever problems they encounter by using their own cultural solutions.

Maori who identify with the Pakeha world are likely to go to a Pakeha therapist.

Tuki Nepe (1992) makes the point that Maori who accept the values of the dominant Pakeha society may experience a sense of alienation from both worlds. By being labelled Maori in the Pakeha world Maori experience the effects of racial discrimination and also lose contact with their source of identity through lack of involvement with the Maori world. She states that giving away one's culture does not obliterate it. Both realities continue to exist.

Those who identify with both worlds may turn either to Maori or Pakeha solutions or utilise a combination of both and there are many families where one partner is Maori and the other Pakeha.

In 1993 at the New Zealand Family Therapy Conference at Ruatoki a challenge was issued to Pakeha therapists by the Maori caucus - that from that day on they would never work with Maori clients again. This challenge resonated at the 1994 Family Therapy Conference at the Hoani Waititi Marae and after prolonged discussion the Pakeha caucus stated it would on a personal and institutional level act to ensure that Maori clients have access to Maori workers. This resolution was received with respect

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by the Maori caucus. How this is to be achieved has begun to be addressed at this conference.

The challenge has been extraordinarily valuable and has made us all examine our beliefs and practices. I want to respond to it here.

The Victoria Therapy Centre where I work is a private pakeha Centre. It was blessed and given Maori name when it was opened. We see clients from a wide range of socio-economic backgrounds and differing life circumstances. Compared to other institutions in Christchurch we have a high proportion of Maori clients and we are committed to providing the very best service for them.

Any of our eight therapists work with Maori clients if they request to see us, and many of the recommendations to our Centre come from Maori agencies.

We believe in the sacredness of the Treaty of Waitangi which was negotiated in 1840 between the British Crown and over 500 Maori chiefs, and see it as the founding document for New Zealand.

We support tino rangatiratanga or the control and leadership of all things Maori by Maori (Article Two of the Treaty) and we work to provide access and procure support for Maori to work with Maori. We have the support of Te Runaka ki Otautahi o Kai Tahu and we consult with them on all aspects of our work with Maori. We also network with local Maori groups involved in providing counselling and social services in Christchurch.

When requested we supervise, train or consult with Maori where they perceive pakeha skills may facilitate their work or accountability.

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RESPECT FOR CHOICE

We believe strongly that Maori have the right to choose whether they go to a Pakeha or a Maori therapist. Article There of the Treaty refers to oritetanga or the equal rights and privileges of both races. In our Centre clients are given the choice between seeing a male or a female therapist and we respect their right to choose. If someone Maori wishes to work with us we respect their choice.

We have had some traditional Maori clients but because we are a Pakeha agency we are more likely to see Maori clients who are most at home in the Pakeha environment. We always talk with clients at the first sessions about the possibility of seeing a Maori counsellor and the options that are available in the community. If they still choose to see us we seed the idea that at some time in the future this may be an important aspect of their healing.

Many of the Maori clients we see at our Centre struggle with their sense of identity. We believe that ideally for healing to occur the strengths of both cultures need to be acknowledged.

Maori clients come to our Centre for several reasons:

1. The live a pakeha lifestyle and have no knowledge of, or deny their Maori heritage.
2. Because of strong anger at and distrust of Maori because of incidents of traumatic violence or abuse by Maori in the past.
3. Because they see Pakeha therapists being there when needed. Whereas Maori workers have a lot of competing demands such as tangi (funerals) or hui (meetings) which means that they are not always consistently available.
4. Because they feel confidentiality is higher.
5. Because they respect our work.

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The argument is sometimes made that Maori clients prefer to work with Pakeha because they believe they can con them and this would not happen with a traditional Maori counsellor. This may be the case for statutory agencies which are perceived by some to be tools of oppression and social control but it has not been part of my experience with the clients I work with privately who choose to see me on a voluntary basis.

The argument is also made that because Maori have been colonised by Pakeha they minimise the strengths of Maori to respond to their needs. At times this may be the case. Nevertheless people must have freedom, which is the right to deliberate, decide and respond according to their felt needs. If seeing a Pakeha counsellor is what they want that is where we start.

PAKEHA RESPONSIBILITY

If Pakeha work with Maori clients who request to see them Pakeha need:

* Knowledge and understanding of the Treaty of Waitangi and tino rangatiratanga
* An understanding of the affects of colonisation on Maori
* An understanding of issues of power in our society
* An awareness of and comfort with their own culture
* An awareness of and respect for the holistic nature of Maori counselling
* A commitment to continue to develop knowledge of Maori tikanga (culture) and reo (language), whilst always acknowledging the limits of their understanding
* To establish links with the Maori people of their region and local Maori agencies and refer appropriately
* To receive cultural monitoring from, and have accountability to Maori

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* To support Maori and act politically to change social structures and economic conditions
* To utilise any skills they possess to provide access to and resources for Maori workers
* To take into account spiritual values described by Mason Durie as not necessarily unique to Maori but more readily acknowledged by Maori as an essential part of human experience. (Durie, 1994 p 2)
* To be aware of that special moment in therapy when a client who has denied their Maoriness becomes ready to reclaim their identity and their heritage, and to link them with appropriate Maori to further this exploration

JOANNE

Joanne is a 25 year old Maori woman from a North Island iwi (tribe) who was referred to me by a Maori agency in the south island. They provided her with excellent ongoing support and advocacy, and her daughter Mere (2) attended their kohanga reo (Maori preschool language nest).

A worker from the agency came to the first session to support Joanne who was initially very tense and wary. Joanne was referred to me because workers at the agency did not feel competent to deal with some of the issues she had hinted at.

As sessions progressed she slowly revealed that her stepfather had had sexual intercourse with her from the age of 5 until she as 11 years old. He also violently physically abused her on a daily basis, and she missed a lot of school because she stayed away to hide her bruises. When she was a child she tried to tell her mother about her sexual abuse but it was not responded to and had never been spoken about it again.

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Joanne ran away from home at 11 years and refused to return. She was made a ward of the state and lived in numerous foster homes.

From the age of 5 she had severe epileptic seizures and was on medication. Just before seeing me she was hospitalised for three days after a bad seizure.

She made frequent suicide attempts as an adolescent and as she grew older, lived in a series of violent relationships, bounced cheques, shoplifted, beat people up and was in and out of jail. She drank vast quantities of alcohol to drown her pain and described herself as ‘walking paralytic most of the time’.

She currently lives in a boarding house with several other Maori tenants whom she sees as her only whanau (family). Her mother and stepfather died in an accident and she is dislocated from her family in the North Island and does not want to contact them. The only ones she knows are on drugs and live a transient lifestyle. She is very scared of getting close to anyone.

When I was asked to see Joanne I was reluctant. I felt totally inadequate, inappropriate, white and middle class, and I suggested alternative Maori options. These, however, were all rejected and eventually I gave in and saw her.

As Joanne shared her life with me I felt extraordinarily humble in the face of her strength and courage. She was a very amazing and resourceful woman who had made huge changes in her life before I met her: She had managed on her own to give up drinking when her child was one

as she realised the affect it was having on her mothering. She had given up stealing and overt acts of aggression.

I have seen Joanne eight times and will continue to do so.

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In the sixth session I suggested she might like to do a drawing. After a great deal of deliberation she said "I'm going to draw myself when I first came to see you, and how I am now" and slowly with a great deal of thought she drew two pictures:

[INSERT SLIDE 1 (JOANNE) HERE]

Joanne described the first drawing:

1. Caption "What are you staring at" showed her keeping people at a distance and isolating herself.
2. Black clothing
3. Eyes red with anger - tears of sadness
4. No smile. Lots of aggro.
5. Hair over eyes - closed
6. Rigid posture
7. Beer can in her hand and possibly at her feet

[INSERT SLIDE 2 (JOANNE) HERE]

1. Caption "How's your day?" showed her moving toward becoming more sociable, relating better to people
2. Coloured clothing
3. Smile 'real'
4. Hair off face - more open
5. Freer movement
6. Bone craving - more acceptance of Maori identity

When Joanne described her drawings there was a tremendous sense of joy and pride in her recognition of the gains she had made. Her aggro had decreased. She said people were 'freaking out' at the changes she had made, and saw her as much softer. Her

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epileptic seizures had decreased dramatically. She told me she was speaking out more and using long words like accomplishment.

For the first time Joanne had space for her story. I think it was Thomas Moore who said: "The inner space of a story is its soul, in which we discover our own depths." Joanne has begun to discover her soul.

I kept in contact with the Maori agency who referred Joanne. I am convinced the Maori/Pakeha partnership enabled her to begin to make significant changes in her life, in a way that would not have occurred if we hadn't worked together. Joanne sees the combination as a very positive force.

TO CONCLUDE

I want to opt for both[2]/and, not either/or thinking when we look at therapy or counselling for Maori.

I believe the insistence that Maori only work with Maori is vitally important for Maori people. I support fully their rights, skills, and knowledge to do this, and the importance of Maori and Pakeha working to change structures to allow this to happen.

Nevertheless if only Maori can work with Maori is a blanket statement, I believe, it is a new form of puritanism that denies the rights of the diverse group of people who are <u>not</u> easily defined by the word Maori.

The insistence that only Maori work with Maori can be an ideology which shows a lack of respect and denies many people services which are most appropriate to their

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life circumstances today. We have to be careful as family therapists not to impose a new form of fundamentalism on the people with whom we work.

If Maori request Pakeha therapists I believe they have the right to receive these services, but for Pakeha therapists the responsibility is huge.

* * * *

After Nancy died I found a poem amongst her notes. I do not know its source[3] but these were her last words.

"I believe that imagination is stronger than knowledge

---

2. In the copy of this text supplied to me by P10, the term 'both/and' is written 'but/and'. I have amended that typographical error in this reproduction.

3. Robert Fulghum (1986). *All I really need to know I learned in kindergarten,* New York, NY: Ballantine.

That myth is more potent than history

I believe that dreams are more powerful than facts

That hope always triumphs over experience

That laughter is the only cure for grief

And I believe that love is stronger than death."

No reira

Kia ora tatou katoa

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4. Correct spelling is Nepe.

APPENDIX O

Edited Interview Transcript with P43, Aboriginal Man from the Kaurna and Narrungga Nations, on 23 May 2019

Discussing the Aboriginal "Deaths in Custody Healing Project" between the Aboriginal Health Council of South Australia and the Dulwich Centre

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"In the 1990s in South Australia we had an organisation that was set up by the Liberal Party of South Australia, interestingly enough, called the Aboriginal Health Council of South Australia. That was set up about 1991 or perhaps earlier and I was one of its first board members and was later appointed the chairperson. It was after the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (1991) and as a result of Recommendation 5 [which stated: 'That governments, recognising the trauma and pain suffered by relatives, kin and friends of those who died in custody, give sympathetic support to requests to provide funds or services to enable counselling to be offered to these people'] that the Commonwealth asked if we could spend $250,000 to support the family members of those who had been lost in custody. That was a lot of money at that time, so I thought, yes, we can use this, but I needed to come up with a way to engage with the family members.

What I remembered was living on the mish [mission][1] under the control of an overseer or superintendent or whatever they were called in different places in those times, and the way our people dealt with the grief of life. When the family members living on the mish coped a hard time and wanted to get away, we went to various campsites on the mish. Fortunately, we were right on the coast, so there were caves and many sites where our people could go camping, where they had camped for many years prior to that. I recall memories of when I was very young, us sitting in our family group around a campfire at night listening to our old people talk about life on the mish. They would talk, we would listen, we would learn, they would talk, and this went on for many nights. It seemed like forever, but after we had done that and processed it all by talking to one another and sharing experiences of what happened on the mish—off-loaded it—we were then able to go back

1. "Aboriginal missions, reserves, and stations were areas of land where many thousands of Aboriginal people were forced to live due to government laws and policies between the 1820s and the 1960s. The missions were established and controlled by churches and missionaries with limited government involvement. Relocation to missions denied Aboriginal people access to their traditional lands, hunting grounds, and sacred sites, and disrupted kinship systems" (Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, 2020).

to the mish and start it all over again. And then some months later we would go down again and do the same thing, and so it happened on many occasions.

After some discussion with my management team, one of the team members suggested that they could introduce me to this person known as Michael White. I had no idea who Michael was. I think this is late 1992 and I had to get rid of the money within a 6-month period. So, I met with Michael and Cheryl White, and told them about the family meetings on the mish, and Michael was a bit taken back at the time because I said to him, “I have learned all about your [narrative] approach and I think that together we can actually do something for the family members of those who have been lost in custody.” Later, after the whole thing, we became very close and we would laugh about it, and Michael said to me, “I was concerned when we first talked about this, but I just had to trust you and allow you to guide me through this process that your people had been using for years.” Michael’s initial concerns were that they haven’t done this sort of approach before and he wasn’t sure if they could do it. I said to Michael at that first meeting, “Look, our people have been doing this for a very long time and what we need to do is work with our people to help them talk about their experiences and their grief and their anxiety and their stress, and structure it in a way that enables them to move on with life.” I described it in a way that enabled him to understand it from a cultural perspective.

Michael came back after two or three meetings and said, “Yep, I understand what you are saying. Let’s give it a go.” I said to him, “Michael, please trust me. If I think at any point in this whole process that this is not going to work, I will say to you, 'we stop here and now’, because I cannot afford to cause any further damage to these people.” The people we would be working with came from different backgrounds, different areas, traditional and non-traditional, rural and urban, so it was either going to work or it wasn’t going to work. The key factor with all of them is they had lost someone in custody and that is what brought them together.

[*The first family forum camp is held at Camp Coorong in South Australia over five consecutive days in 1994 with twenty-six adults—some with their children and grandchildren—all of whom have experienced the loss of a family member in custody, and a team of counsellors from the Dulwich Centre trained in narrative therapy*][2]

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2. See “Reclaiming our stories, reclaiming our lives” (Aboriginal Health Council of South Australia & Dulwich Centre, 1995) for a full report of the entire counselling project, including pre-camp preliminary consultations, themes and structures of the camp, post-camp follow-up consultations, and description of the needs and recommendations identified by the Aboriginal people who attended the camp. The report also includes a description and outcomes of a separate research

The camp started on the Monday. I opened the gathering. The process involved engaging with the Aboriginal people to determine the meeting place, because you had people coming from different countries and they had to be welcomed onto this group's country, this nation. There were people who struggled with English not being their first language and we had to make sure they understood what was going on. After engaging with them to determine where we would meet, what were the discussion points, what were the themes, the group sort of sat in a circle where they wanted to, where they felt comfortable, and the [Dulwich] support team sat amongst them and listened. After a session, the support team then went into the middle and then reflected what they had heard. And that was probably the first time in an Aboriginal community, in an Aboriginal setting, that they [the Aboriginal participants] had heard their words, what they had said about how this tragedy had affected them, reflected back to them.

That happened on the first day and I still recall some of the stories that people shared, because brothers blamed brothers, mothers blamed sons, sons blamed mothers, and everyone blamed one another for not being there at a time when their family member had lost their life in custody. They heard for the first time what they felt about, "well you should have…", "I thought you were…", and "why didn't you…", and so. That conversation changed when the support team reflected those comments back and then they [the Aboriginal participants] would say in the next session, "but that was not what I meant", and so they slowly came around to forgiving one another for blaming one another for what had happened. I was just watching everyone to make sure everyone was OK. I did contribute to both processes just to help clarify issues for the support team and for family members. Michael was responsible for his team. The group itself was responsible for themselves. I just had to be the person in between to make sure there was no misunderstanding or misinterpretation or so on. In the end the most important thing for me was that you would have the mother and son on the Tuesday have breakfast in the morning together. They hadn't spoken for seven years. It was absolutely amazing and overwhelming.

Now on the Tuesday, at the end of the day, Michael came to me and said his team wanted to have a discussion with me, and they said to me, "We feel that because we are part of a society that have perpetrated these injustices against your people, that we are not qualified to be here and to be part of supporting your people through their process", and they were crying by this time and feeling guilty. Some of them had never engaged with First Nations'

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project on the provision of culturally appropriate social and mental health services for the Aboriginal peoples of South Australia.

people and heard their stories, which is what traumatised them even more. I thought, what can I say or do that would help these non-Aboriginal people through their grief when working with people who have had all these injustices perpetrated against them. I think I said words to the effect of, “That is amazing, but you know what, we are not blaming you for those injustices. We welcome you to this place, this gathering, this circle of people who need to do this, and they have taken you all into their circle and families and have trusted you to talk to you about their injustices. They are welcoming you with open arms to be part of their journey. You are here to help us, and while you are here, we will teach you about what we have been subjected to.” I said, “If you decide to go, please don’t feel like you are going with ill-feeling from us. We understand how you would feel about what you have heard, but it is important for you to know that you are welcome here in this place.” Anyway, they all decided to unpack their cars, think about it overnight, and leave in the morning if they still wanted to. After that, they all came around the campfire, brought out the guitars, singing songs, talking, engaging, and they all stayed on the Wednesday.”

We proceeded with that for the week and not one person left until the Friday. Needless to say by the Friday everyone became one big family. That was the beginning of a story telling Aboriginal culturally based therapy in South Australia, if not the country, and that is how it all came about. It was connecting with culture, connecting with our elders, connecting with our ancestors. When you sit around the campfire it is like you are sitting with all those ancestors who have gone before us, sitting around the fire with us while we are talking.”

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