TE WHARE WĀNANGA O
AWANUIĀRANGI

BRINGING OUR MOKOPUNA HOME: RECONNECTING TO WHAKAPAPA

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2024

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Emma Florence West

Signature: …………………………………………….

Date: 22 April 2024

Dedication

What will your time be like e moko?

How will you be in your time e moko?

How real will my time be like for you e moko?

What can and must I do for you in my time e moko?

(Pohatu, 2017, p. 35)

I dedicate this thesis to all the mokopuna who are known,

the mokopuna who are unknown and the mokopuna yet to be born.

Abstract

Knowing one's whakapapa and being connected to your whānau, marae, hapū and iwi is considered a norm for some Māori, but for other Māori, this is not a reality. The impacts of colonisation and other Eurocentric ideologies embedded in child welfare legislation has led to Māori who do not know their whakapapa whānau. This rangahau focuses on one subset of this cohort – the Māori adoptee. Under New Zealand's Adoption Act 1955, this group were given new names and identities and their birth identity concealed. A consequence of this secretive closed adoption practice is that reconnecting to whakapapa is challenging for Māori adoptees and their descendants. This study explores the emotional and spiritual experiences of Māori adoptees as they navigate their journey of whakapapa discovery. This rangahau also critically examines the Crown's historic and contemporary policies and practices that have harmed the whakapapa connections of Māori adoptees and tamariki Māori. An intended outcome is to provide practical suggestions to others seeking whakapapa insight, while highlighting the nuances of Māori identities.

Acknowledgement

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Kuputaka

The terms used in this kuputaka (glossary) appear frequently in this thesis. While some of these terms may have several meanings, the meaning used in this thesis is listed below. Refer also to the reference section for the list of dictionaries used and Appendix 1 for a full glossary list and translations.

Adoption Language:

Please note, amongst adoption circles there is debate about the correct language to use when referring to adoption and the use of positive adoption language (AdoptHelp, 2016; Perlman, 2019). The terms included in this thesis are found in adoption literature or were used by those who participated in this study.

Adoption Act 1955	The current New Zealand Adoption Act
adoptive parents	People who become the legal parents of a child once an adoption order is made.
Adult Adoption Information Act 1985	This Act is still current and means adult adoptees (those over 20) can access their original birth certificate, which lists birth parent/s.
Aotearoa	The Māori word for New Zealand.
birth father	A child's legal and biological father at birth (sometimes not identified on a child's birth certificate).
birth mother	A child's legal and biological mother at birth.
birth parent/s	A child's legal and biological parent/s at birth.
closed adoption	This adoption practice occurred between 1955-1985 under New Zealand's Adoption Act 1955. Children were often adopted by strangers with no social or familial ties and their original birth certificate sealed and a new adoptive birth certificate issued (Haenga-Collins, 2019). A closed stranger adoption is when

	non-kin adopt young children, usually born to single women (Else, 1992).
donor	A person from whose cells a donated embryo is formed or from whose body a donated cell is derived (Human Assisted Reproductive Technology Act, 2004)
donor offspring	A person formed from a donated embryo, or a donated cell (Human Assisted Reproductive Technology Act 2004).
Indigenous Peoples	In this thesis this a term used to describe the collective group consisting of: Inuit, First Nations, Métis, Aboriginal Peoples, Torres Strait Islanders and Māori. I have followed the styling convention of Néhiyaw (Cree) scholar Starblanket (2018) who also capitalises the word Indigenous Peoples, whose rationale for capitalising is that it indicates an identifiable group. It should be noted that Inuit, First Nations, Métis, Aboriginal Peoples, Torres Strait Islanders and Māori are distinctive groups with their own identities.
Māori adoptee	A person of Māori descent who was adopted during the closed adoption era (1955-1985).
original birth certificate	This birth certificate is the first certificate a baby receives when born and contains the name/s of birth or biological parent/s.
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent (Moorfield, 2023)
Pūkōrero	An orator (Ngata, 2023). In this thesis this term is used to describe the Māori adoptees who were involved in this study.
provider	A person who, in the course of a business (whether or not carried on with a view to making a profit), performs, or arranges the performance of, services in

	which donated embryos or donated cells are used; and includes a successor provider (Human Assisted Reproductive Technology Act, 2004).
rangahau	Rangahau is the word used instead of thesis. Refer to Chapter 2 for a fuller explanation of this concept.
takepū	Pohatu (2013) describes takepū as "preferred ways, fashioned by Māori thinking and rationale, of engaging with others and, consequently, provides a template of preferred ways for others to engage with Māori" (p. 13)[1].
"Tino rangatiratanga over kāinga"	The Waitangi Tribunal (2021) states this term means "nothing less than a guarantee of the right to continue to organise and live as Māori. Fundamental to that is the right to care for and raise the next generation" (p. 12). Rangatiratanga also features in Te Tiriti o Waitangi and refers to chieftainship.
Transcultural/transracial adoption	A transcultural (or transracial) adoption is when a child of one race or ethnic group is placed with adoptive parents of a different race or ethnic group (D. Smith, 1994).
tribe (hapū and iwi)	Although this term is often contested amongst some Indigenous Peoples (because it is a colonial construct), in Aotearoa the word tribe is still used frequently by Māori to describe a social grouping (iwi/hapū) of Māori.
tikanga Māori	"Tika" means to be just, fair, right, and correct. Tikanga Māori are ethical guiding Māori principles. For further information refer to Mead's (2003) book *Tikanga Māori – Living by Māori Values*.

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[1] These are similar to values. Refer to the section that talks about ngā tikanga o te rangahau.

whakapapa	Whakapapa literally translates as "lie flat...place in layers, lay one upon another" and means to "recite in proper order genealogies" (Williams, 1985) or cultural identity, genealogy or family tree (P. Ryan, 2012). Refer to Wāhanga 3 for further explanation.
whakapapa whānau	These are family members who share the same ancestry and blood lines (whakapapa).
whāngai	Whāngai translates as "feed", "nourish, bring up". Whāngai is a traditional concept that is still practised today, whereby tamariki are raised within their kinship circle (extended family) and they maintain their biological links. Refer to Wāhanga 5 for a further explanation of this concept.

Kupu Whakataki

Ko wai au?

I am a Māori adoptee raised from birth by two British parents in a small town of Aotearoa New Zealand. Recently, I was able to learn the name of my Māori birth father from my *Pākehā* birth mother. It has been a long wait to find out this information. At 50 years of age and now supplied with a name, I begin my journey of *whakapapa*[2] revelation. During this process I soon find out a work friend knew my father years ago and he reaches out to his contacts to help me on my journey. I also discover I share close ancestry DNA links with another friend, and she talks to me about her whakapapa. Whakapapa revelation is surprising. I find out the town I moved to recently was the possible hometown of a paternal great grandparent. I learn the town I grew up in was the hometown of my maternal grandparents. As these experiences occur more frequently, I no longer shrug them off as mere coincidences, but accept that it is whanaungatanga, wairuatanga and whakapapa working together in unison.

My story of whakapapa revelation may have been heard before and some of the *Pūkōrero* (orators) or Māori adoptees in this study share similar experiences. Some have found *whakapapa whānau* (relatives), and some are still seeking. Amongst the busyness of life, we navigate our whakapapa journey with trepidation, weariness and wondering. In my quest for whakapapa insight, I study the many Māori faces I meet, peer at the photos on wharenui walls and seek out the whispers of the whenua I tread. I sit quietly weaving as my raranga friends chitter chatter about their whakapapa connections. I try to learn te reo Māori, waiata, karakia but the names, places and connections elude me, and my brain becomes fog. In these

moments of wānanga I ask my tūpuna for guidance. They send me two dreams. In the first moemoeā I emerge from a buried concrete tunnel, the many mokopuna standing beside me follow me out into a beautiful field where people are waiting. I awake puzzled. Sensing the significance of this moemoeā I ask my tūpuna for further insight. In the second dream I hoover above a familiar awa. As I glide along this awa I see wāhine lying beneath the water's surface sleeping. These women are whāea waiting patiently, but for whom or what I ponder? I awake. The answer becomes clear – our mokopuna. Knowing what I must do, I type the first words of this *rangahau* (study)[3] - *Bringing our mokopuna home*.

The quest for whakapapa knowledge has been a prevalent theme that has been present throughout my life. In my master's thesis (completed in 2012) I explored the emotional, social, cultural, and spiritual ramifications of being a Māori adoptee – someone who identifies as Māori but was raised by non-kin and non-Māori. Under New Zealand's *Adoption Act 1955* my adoption was closed and access to my birth records was only available to me as an adult, and on these records only my Pākehā birth mother was named[4]. Despite not knowing my whakapapa, I have always felt Māori, I look Māori and I identify as Māori. I was fortunate that I was raised in a small North Island town, where I could mingle with people who looked like me. However, my only exposure to kaupapa Māori environments was through my school and university where I learned te reo Māori to a basic level. As a young person, I was diffident when mingling in environments that demanded an understanding of kaupapa Māori, fully aware of the many nuances that can only be

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[2] See Wāhanga 3 for a description of whakapapa.

[3] See Wāhanga 2 for explanation of the concept rangahau.

[4] I did receive some non-identifying information about my birth father from Adoption Services. This information indicated he was Māori, but his name or iwi affilations were not provided.

learned through lived experience. I was often mindful of making a mistake or offending someone. I was self-conscious when non-Māori friends turned to me for advice on te ao Māori despite them knowing my non-Māori upbringing. I was wary around those who I thought did not really understand my British upbringing and thought I was a *Plastic Māori*[5] - an inauthentic Māori. Instead of being judged I was quick to make a joke of my situation, but behind the smile was the pain. While this thinking was based on my own perception of others' perceptions (whether justified or not), it was an uncomfortable space to walk in. For some Māori adoptees (like me) the search for identity and belonging can be a common theme that infiltrates one's life.

It used to annoy me when people said whakapapa revelation occurs when the time is right. It was not right that whakapapa was hidden from me in the first place. However, what I have learned is that engaging in whakapapa is multidimensional and running towards instead of away from te ao Māori brings me closer to my whakapapa. As an adult I have been blessed to have hoa pūmau help me navigate the many ways to engage in my Māori whakapapa, which extends beyond knowing the names of my tūpuna. When I share my pepeha I now acknowledge my adoptee status, conscious that one day I may (or may not) be able to provide the names of my tūpuna. As I have gotten older and more comfortable moving in kaupapa Māori environments I have come to live with the reality of my situation. With the new people I meet, I refuse to be ashamed of my background as it is not my shame, but instead I acknowledge the slightly different path I have walked in life. I quietly and humbly educate those who wonder who I am and tell them about my colonised reality. However, I refuse to let what has been an assimilative practice define who I

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[5] This is a colloquial term to describe a Māori who is judged for not being authentically Māori e.g.

am. Instead, I reflect on Brazilian Educator Paulo Freire's warning that "during the initial stage of the struggle the oppressed instead of striving for liberation, tend themselves to become oppressors, or 'sub-oppressors'". For myself as a Māori adoptee, this oppression used to manifest itself through inner turmoil and painful shyness. Today I choose a different path and this thesis is an attempt to noisily expose the "culture of silence"[6] (Freire, 1996, p. 12) that dominates and oppresses the voice of the Māori adoptee.

Tūpuna or ancestors also means "the spring of water that is continuously being established" and *mokopuna* "the tattooing" or "the blueprint of the spring of water" (Pere, 1997, p. 10). Gaze into a pool of water and you will see your reflection, likewise your reflection is mirrored in the faces of your tamariki and mokopuna. As Māori we are all mokopuna and in the future there will be more mokopuna to come and eventually we will become tūpuna and then our moko will be tūpuna (Pohatu, 2017). Bringing our mokopuna home therefore is about seeking both personal and intergenerational change. Amongst Māori, *home* is a multifaceted notion with concepts such as *whanaunga*, *hapū*, *kainga waewae*, *marae tīpuna* and *tūrangawaewae* being used. For some Māori connecting to home is challenging due to dispossession from ancestral lands, urbanisation, migration, or lack of whakapapa knowledge. It is the latter reason, which is the focus of this thesis.

As someone who has yet to walk on my marae or visit my urupā at my tūrangawaewae I sometimes wonder if home can be more than just a physical space. When the tangible (whānau, hapū, kāinga waewae, marae tīpuna and

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unable to speak te reo Māori, know tikanga or recite their whakapapa (Taonui, 2017).

[6] Freire describes this notion where the dispossessed are victims due to economic, social, and political domination and they become 'submerged' in a situation and there is a lack of critical awareness and response (Freire, 1996, p. 12).

tūrangawaewae) are not yet reachable perhaps imagining home as an intangible notion is a coping strategy? Perhaps identifying to a place of significance is enough when I do not know where the kōiwi of my ancestors lie? Are my notions of home romanticised? Perhaps home is a place of peace one finds within oneself and with the whānau that one has created? Maybe my whakapapa starts with me, but I debate this notion as it feels like I am succumbing to an assimilated reality or ignoring the many tūpuna who have come before me. Instead, I see my path ahead as a journey where I am traversing a small channel, which is part of larger braided river. My task is to reconnect back to the main awa. The wairua within or spiritual waters are my guide. Increasing my whakapapa knowledge is a necessity not just for me, but for future generations. However, I am also pragmatic realising that *closed adoption* is an invention of the State. The State needs to be accountable for the predicament that other Māori adoptees and I find ourselves in. In this study a desire for social justice and curiosity drives me to investigate further the State's involvement in the lives of whānau Māori.

Although I have never given birth to a child, what is wonderful about kupu Māori is its inclusiveness. There is no hierarchy of who belongs to who because the diverse relationships between relatives are equally valued. My moko is my moko and the moko of many. At the beginning of my doctoral journey, I remember grinning at the cheeky smile of my mokopuna as he sat on an A3 mind map of this thesis. In that moment I knew I was ready to begin my doctoral walk and begin the voyage of whakapapa insight. He was my divine spark. Initially, I questioned my ability to complete my studies through a whare wānanga[7] which I knew would privilege te ao

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[7] Used in this context it is referring to a Māori tertiary organisation, but whare wānanga were originally houses where the lore of the tohunga was taught (Williams, 1985).

Māori. Perceptions of being an inadequate Māori or being rejected reared its ugly head. My fears were unfounded. I have been blessed with exceptional support from both the physical and spiritual worlds. Making this journey easier were supportive whānau, friends, supervisors, and a cohort of other doctoral students. My tūpuna have been with me during this endeavour and they were present at my first doctoral cohort gathering at Waikato-Tainui College for Research and Development.[8] As I looked out the College window at the rolling hills, I noticed a concrete structure. I asked the kaumatua next to me what they were, and he explained that they were disused army bunkers. It was then that I remembered my dream that had occurred months earlier where I was walking out of a concrete tunnel with many mokopuna beside me. The tears flowed down my cheeks. Throughout this thesis and along my whakapapa journey there have been many wairua moments. I hope the stories within these pages encourage others seeking whakapapa knowledge to be brave and know that whakapapa resides within you - always. *Bringing home our mokopuna*, is both my journey and the story of many Māori seeking whānau reconnections and whakapapa insight. Many Māori yearn to bring their moko home and many Māori are calling for their moko to come home.

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[8] Located in the North Island of Aotearoa.

Kupu Whakataki

The kupu whakataki (introduction) that began this thesis explained my own positionality and interest in this topic.

Wāhanga 1: Whakapapa - A precursor to hauora

Wāhanga 1 introduces the concepts of *whakapapa* and *whakapapa huna* and the relevance, aim, purpose and intended outcomes of this rangahau. I also reflect upon my positioning as a *Kairangahau* (a person undertaking rangahau).

Wāhanga 2: Tikanga - Methodology

Wāhanga 2 explains the methodology and methods used. Kaupapa Māori theory, rangahau, whakapapa, whakatauāki, whakataukī and pūrākau[9] are elucidated for their transformative potential and relevance. This wāhanga outlines how the Pūkōrero were selected and the focus of the literature review.

Wāhanga 3: Hina - Ko te whakapapa te mea nui - Whakapapa is everything

Wāhanga 3 begins with a modified version of the pūrākau of *Rona and the Moon.* Patricia Grace's (2019) *Moon Story* (which is a version of this pūrākau) inspired my adaption of this familar pūrākau. Rona is appreciative of her way of life and aware of her many whakapapa connections. This wāhanga explores the diverse ways whakapapa is understood, transmitted, and practised, which extends beyond human genealogy and cultural expression and is inclusive of cosmic and spiritual factors. Understanding this broader perspective of whakapapa highlights the multiple relationships Māori have with whakapapa.

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[9] Refer to Wāhanga 2 for further explanation of these concepts.

Wāhanga 4: Hinauri - E huna ana i raro i te paraikete - Hiding beneath the blanket

Rona curses the hidden moon for tripping over, but the cause of her fall was in fact a cloud obscuring the moonlight. The cloud is a metaphor for colonisation and its impacts are described as *blankets of oppression*. Wāhanga 4 examines the broad impacts of colonisation on whakapapa by focusing on two time periods: 1840-1950 and 1950 to 2022. This wāhanga provides contextual background to the assimilative and integrative ideologies that were to inform child welfare legislation (including adoption laws) in Aotearoa. Reference is made to similar assimilative practices that affected Indigenous Peoples in Australia and Canada. This wāhanga speaks to the question: *How has colonisation impacted whakapapa?*

Wāhanga 5: Whakapapa Huna - Adoption in Aotearoa

Under the cloud of colonisation Rona senses all is not right. She waits patiently and wonders what has happened to her family. Wāhanga 5 examines the history of New Zealand adoption legislation and its impacts on Māori and provides context to Wāhanga 6.

Wāhanga 6: Ka mau ki te rākau - Grasping tightly to identity

Rona grasps tightly to a ngaio tree. Like Rona, the Māori adoptee at times clutches firmly to their identity as they navigate their social environment. This wāhanga examines the impacts of living with a whakapapa huna from the lived experiences of the Pūkōrero (Māori adoptees). Explored within the Pūkōrero narratives is the influence of closed adoptions on identity, the quest for truth, the reunion experience, and the reasons for seeking whakapapa knowledge. This wāhanga speaks to the

question: *How do Māori adoptees living with a whakapapa huna navigate whakapapa?*

Wāhanga 7: Hinapōuri - Waihotia a tātou tamariki - Hands off our tamariki

Rona is in a state of pōuri as the reality dawns upon her that she is separated from her tamariki and whānau. This wāhanga further interrogates contemporary child welfare laws, policies and practices in Aotearoa and the ongoing influence of the colonial agenda. The purpose of this discussion is to highlight that Māori adoptees (and their whānau) are part of a broader cohort of Māori impacted by the Crown's poor treatment of whānau Māori. Contemporary child welfare legislation, policies and practices continues to disrupt connections to whakapapa (whānau, hapū and iwi). This wāhanga speaks to the question: *How is whakapapa still being impacted by the colonial agenda?*

Wāhanga 8: Hina - He karanga ki te mahi - A call to action

Wāhanga 8 begins with Rona reflecting on her reality - a task Māori adoptees are often required to do. This discussion analyses the ideas highlighted in the literature and the narratives of the Pūkōrero. Outlined are *karanga* or calls to action aimed at the government, iwi/hapū/whānau, and Māori adoptees. These karanga are not an exhaustive list but are aspirational and aimed at provoking future thinking. Like Rona, rising from adversity means challenging internal and external deficit factors that oppress, and choosing to reframe the narrative. This wāhanga also speaks to the question: *What needs to be done to restore, protect and maintain whakapapa knowledge?*

Wāhanga 9: Te whakakī ano i te hue – Refilling the hue

Wāhanga 9 speaks to all Māori thirsty for whakapapa insight (or keen to refill their hue or calabash). Māori adoptees are just a small cohort from within the larger Māori population whose whakapapa knowledge has been impacted. This wāhanga explores the diverse face-to-face and virtual methods Māori are employing to learn, maintain and transmit whakapapa. Included in this discussion are the perspectives of Kaitautoko - people who support Māori with learning more about their whakapapa.

The intention of this wāhanga is to provide practical ideas and strategies to Māori seeking whakapapa insight and addresses the question: *What strategies are effective at reconnecting Māori adoptees to whakapapa whānau?*

Wāhanga 10: Te kawe mai i a tātou mokopuna ki te kāinga - Bringing our mokopuna home

Wāhanga 10 identifies the areas for future investigation, provides a summary of how the key questions were addressed and overall conclusion of this rangahau. Informing this wāhanga is the overarching question of this rangahau: *How can we bring our mokopuna home to whakapapa whānau?*

WĀHANGA 1: WHAKAPAPA – A PRECURSOR TO HAUORA

Whakapapa translates as heredity, pedigree, family tree and genealogy (A. Ngata, 2023). The reciting of whakapapa is an important marker of Māori cultural identity that unifies whānau, hapū and iwi instilling a sense of pride and belonging (Barlow, 1991). Whakapapa is considered "one of the most prized forms of knowledge and great efforts are made to preserve it" (Barlow, 1991, p. 174). Mead (2003) emphasises the importance of whakapapa:

> Whakapapa is a fundamental attribute and gift of birth. It is the social component of the ira, the genes. A child is born into a kinship system which is already in place and has been for many generations…Whakapapa provides our identity within a tribal structure and later in life gives an individual the right to say, "I am Māori" (p. 42).

As a precursor to tribal membership, whakapapa places value on the order of your birth, legitimises your rights to engage in iwi/hapū affairs, succeed land interests, attend tribal events, access education grants or be buried in an urupā.

Whakapapa whānau is a term used to describe people who share Māori ancestry and a common line of descent (Cunningham et al., 2005). The often cited *Puao-te-ata-tu (day break)*[10] report emphasises the importance of whakapapa whānau stating: "The physical, social and spiritual wellbeing of a Māori child is inextricably related to the sense of belonging to a wider whānau group" (The Māori Perspective Advisory Committee, 1988, p. 30). Whakapapa whānau provide access to Māori cultural wellbeing factors such as wairuatanga, tikanga, te reo Māori and

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[10] This document was significant as it identified systemic discrimination against Māori within the Department of Social Welfare during the 1980s. (Note macrons have been omitted as per the original source) (see Appendix 3).

whanaungatanga (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). A raft of literature highlights the value of cultural connectedness for enhancing health, educational and social outcomes of Māori (Berryman & Ford, 2014; Bishop & Berryman, 2006; Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Durie, 1998; Houkamau & Sibley, 2010; Lawson Te-Aho, 1998; Mihaere, 2015; Ministry of Education, 2011, 2013).

Whakapapa and the Māori Adoptee

While whakapapa is a much broader concept than genealogy (see Wāhanga 3), what is clear is that whakapapa is a birthright useful for guiding Māori in their identity. Mead (2003) states "whakapapa is belonging. Without it an individual is outside looking in" (p. 43). Unfortunately, due to a variety of factors (for example closed adoptions) there are Māori who are outside looking in unsure of their whakapapa connections. For this group reciting the names of tūpuna or engaging in Māori cultural contexts can be difficult or painful, creating perceptions of inferiority. In recent years scholars have examined the emotional, social and cultural ramifications for Māori adoptees who lack access to whakapapa knowledge (Ahuriri-Driscoll, 2020; Haenga-Collins, 2017; Newman, 2011; West, 2012). An area discussed less (and a focus of this rangahau) is how Māori (e.g., Māori adoptees) with limited knowledge of their whakapapa whānau reconnect with whakapapa whānau. Another area requiring investigation is how to establish a secure Māori identity, while challenging the notions of being an "outsider" when whakapapa whānau connections remain unknown.

A *Māori adoptee* is a person who identifies as Māori and was adopted during the closed adoption era. Closed adoptions were a prevalent practice that occurred in Aotearoa between 1955-1985, where children were adopted into non-kin families. Original birth records were sealed, and secrecy was promoted which denied adoptees

access to information about their birth parents (Else, 1991; New Zealand Law Commission, 2000b). During the closed adoption era some Māori were also transracially adopted (or raised by non-Māori) with non-kin adoptive parents without access to their Māori whakapapa (Ahuriri-Driscoll, 2020; Haenga-Collins, 2019; West, 2012) (see Wāhanga 5).

Whakapapa Huna

> *He kākano ahau*
>
> *I ruia mai i Rangiātea*
>
> *E kore au e ngaro*
>
> *He kākano mai i Rangiātea*
>
> *Mai i ngā tīpuna, ngā rangatira*
>
> *He kākano ahau*
>
> I am a seed
>
> Scattered from Rangiātea
>
> And I can never be lost
>
> I am a seed, born of greatness
>
> Descended from a line of chiefs
>
> I am a seed
>
> (as cited in Mead & Grove, 2003, p. 30).

> *He kura ka huna. He kura ka whākina.*
>
> Treasured knowledge is hidden. And then it reveals itself
>
> (W. Ngata, 2021, p. 316).

To ensure Māori adoptees are not pathologized, it is necessary to use language that is not deficit. A commonly espoused perception is that a Māori person

who does not know their whakapapa is lost, wounded or incomplete (Bidois, 2006). This study argues whakapapa cannot be taken from you as it is always part of you (and your DNA) (Bidois, 2006). To counteract the deficit narrative of being lost, this rangahau is using the term *whakapapa huna*. A whakapapa huna infers whakapapa is never missing, but rather hidden from sight. Although you may not know your tūpuna names, as a Māori you are a descendent of ngā atua – a seed from Rangiātea.[11] The treasure of this whakapapa resides within you. The two whakataukī at the start of this wāhanga – supports this idea. The impact of living with a whakapapa huna is discussed further in Wāhanga 6.

Rangahau Purpose

While this rangahau captures the voices of a select cohort (Māori adoptees), it is hoped that the ideas raised also resonate with other Māori seeking whakapapa insight, including Indigenous Peoples who have been impacted by colonial ideologies and practices that have disrupted kinship groupings. The key question driving this study is: *How can we bring our mokopuna home to whakapapa whānau?*

The inclusion of the word *mokopuna* is a wero to ensure present and future generations of Māori know their Māori whakapapa. The *we* indicates a collective responsibility (from Māori and the Crown) to support those seeking knowledge of their whakapapa whānau. *Home* may refer to a physical place (ancestral marae or ancestral whenua) or a spiritual space that resides within. *Whakapapa Whānau* are immediate family, extended family or ancestors connected through whakapapa. Within this overarching question are key areas of inquiry:

1. *How has colonisation impacted whakapapa?*

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[11] A place in Hawaiki - the ancient homeland of Māori (Moorfield, 2023).

2. *How is whakapapa still being impacted by the colonial agenda?*

3. *How do Māori adoptees living with a whakapapa huna navigate whakapapa?*

4. *What needs to be done to restore, protect and maintain whakapapa knowledge?*

5. *What strategies are effective at reconnecting Māori adoptees to whakapapa whānau?*

To understand what has caused a whakapapa huna requires investigating the root causes that have contributed to this phenomenon. The first two areas of inquiry examine the impacts of colonisation on whakapapa. The story of colonisation, which resulted in land, language and cultural loss, has occurred despite the formation of our founding document Te Tiriti o Waitangi, which was signed in 1840 as an agreement between the Crown and tangata whenua (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2017). The literature reviewed in this thesis provides examples of Te Tiriti breaches, while scrutinising the historic and contemporary legislation and practices (e.g. closed adoption, fostering, state care) that have undermined whakapapa relationships. Examined are the structural barriers perpetuated through policies and practices that have led to and continues to perpetuate a whakapapa huna.

Another area of inquiry important to this rangahau requires understanding how whakapapa is contested, formed, re-formed and internalised from the point of view of a Māori adoptee. The purpose of this inquiry is to understand how Māori adoptees overcome personal barriers, seek whakapapa knowledge, develop new whakapapa whānau relationships and navigate te ao Māori. The narratives of the Māori adoptees provide valuable insight into the challenges of living with a whakapapa huna.

The fourth area of inquiry is a call to action whereby structural, service-led and personal change is required to support those living with a whakapapa huna and

to protect whakapapa knowledge for future generations. A literature review and analysis of key reports highlights the structural inequities within child welfare legislation that exisit for whānau Māori.

The last purpose of this study is to identify pragmatic ways to support Māori seeking whakapapa whānau knowledge. Within this discussion, it is recognised that knowledge of whakapapa may remain elusive for some Māori.

The rangahau process of looking backwards to move forwards is likened to that of weaving a whāriki. When a mistake is made during the weaving process the kairaranga must follow their ara back to where the mistake was first made. The kairaranga must then either undo the work to where the mistake was made or modify their weaving going forward to take account of the error. This thesis argues that in Aotearoa assimilative child welfare legislation was not a mistake, but rather a deliberate Crown act intended to disrupt the connection Māori have with their whakapapa whānau. The literature reviewed in this thesis attests to these actions. Continuing to weave a whāriki is fruitless if the ara remains skewed. Likewise maintaining the status quo or the same child welfare practices is pointless if the same deficit results occur for tamariki Māori. To understand what needs to be done to protect and maintain whakapapa knowledge now and in the future requires challenging the status quo.

Kairangahau Reflection

Chilisa (2012) discussed how deficit driven research only chronicles the pain and hopelessness of the colonised, which "entrenches existing structures of domination" (p. 209). In contrast culturally responsive methodologies[12]

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[12] In this study this is called rangahau (see Wāhanga 2).

acknowledges local histories, traditions and indigenous knowledge systems and aims to understand people within their social contexts (cultural, political, historical) (Chilisa, 2012). The implications of Chilisa's perspective means that understanding the social context of Indigenous Peoples (e.g., Māori) requires validating multiple sites of knowledge, including cultural wisdoms (for example, whakatauāki, whakataukī). This was a lofty task, and I was uncertain of how to achieve this goal. Many Māori adoptees (including myself) have been raised outside of our culture and have not necessarily had easy access to the wisdoms, traditions, language, or histories of our tūpuna. Despite this quandary I had made a commitment to choose kaupapa Māori theory and a rangahau approach and I knew I must at least try. Running towards te ao Māori (as a new Kairangahau[13]) meant being brave, but also ensuring tikanga was my hoa pūmau (companion). After reading the work of other scholars much more versed on how to incorporate culturally responsive methodologies into scholarly pursuits, I have realised I am an apprentice – a Kairangahau at beginner level. Nevertheless, I am glad I began this journey as it is another step towards my own decolonisation. Like whakapapa, it also dawned upon me that perhaps the cultural wisdoms (found in pūrākau, whakatauāki, whakataukī and moemoeā) are present within me too, but just hidden from sight. Indeed, the cultural, historical, political, and social narratives of the Māori adoptee are a pūrākau that needs to be heard.

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[13] A person who undertakes rangahau.

WĀHANGA 2: TIKANGA - METHODOLOGY

Kaupapa Māori theories and qualitative methods informed the design, implementation and analysis of this rangahau. Kaupapa Māori theory aligns to Māori epistemologies and postcolonial Indigenous perspectives which are informed by "relational ontologies, relational epistemologies and relational accountability" (Chilisa, 2012, p. 23). This wāhanga examines the origins and advantages of Kaupapa Māori theory, which privileges the Māori voice while providing ethical guidelines for how to undertake rangahau. Included in this discussion is the notion of *rangahau* as an alternative to *research* and the implications of this concept. The section outlines the rangahau process and the criteria for selecting Pūkōrero. The concepts of whakapapa, whakataukī, whakatauākī and pūrākau are introduced for their methodological relevance to this rangahau. Relevant to this conversation are the reasons why these decisions were made and how they relate to the chosen kaupapa.

Pathologizing Research

Throughout history are examples of divisive rhetoric towards Māori. In 1881 Rev. Wohler (refer to Wāhanga 4) claimed Māori were dying out (Pool, 2013). In 2004 National Party leader Don Brash's Orewa Nationhood speech (Brash, 2004) caused alarm, as did Julian Batchelor's 2023 anti co-governance tour (Batchelor, n.d.). Threatened by Māori claims for *tino rangatiratanga* Brash and Batchelor caused public unrest with their assimilative views (Mikaere, 2004; Venuto, 2023). There are also examples of researchers oblivious to Māori worldviews. Early ethnographer Stephenson Percy Smith (1840-1922) made misguided assumptions about the origins of Māori (Walker, 2004). In the 1960s Jack Hunn believed Māori needed to be urbanised and assimilated to Pākehā ways (refer to Wāhanga 4).

Tertiary institutions are also guilty of ignoring alternative ways to gather, construct or disseminate knowledge that values Indigenous perspectives. As Pihama (2011a) argues some Western research can be reductionist, individualistic and discount the validity of collective relationships. Devaluing of Māori knowledges (mātauranga) also occurs. In 2021 a group of non-Māori University of Auckland professors published a letter to the New Zealand Listener opposing proposed changes to the secondary school curriculum, which would see parity for mātauranga Māori with other bodies of knowledge (such as Western science). In the letter titled: *In Defence of Science* the professors wrote "Indigenous knowledge is critical for the preservation and perpetuation of culture and local practices and plays key roles in management and policy. However, in the discovery of empirical, universal truths, it falls far short of what we can define as science itself" (Clements et al., 2021). The letter also dismissed the impact of science on colonisation and resulted in an outcry from others, stating the professors claims stirred up moral panic were fictitious, racist, condescending and misleading (Stewart, 2021; Waitoki, 2022).

Historically, for Indigenous Peoples, research has been a dangerous endeavour used to marginalise and reinforce dominant Western discourses. For Māori challenging the racism within the academy required placing a new stake in the ground and this came in the form of *Kaupapa Māori theory*.

Kaupapa Māori Theory

Kaupapa Māori theory emerged during the 1980s at a time when Māori were asserting their position through Treaty legislation, social, economic and education initiatives (e.g., Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori and Wānanga). The evolution of this proactive movement occurred as a reaction against colonisation and the quest of Māori for *tino rangatiratanga* and *mana motuhake* (Durie, 2017; Pihama, 2015; G.

Smith, 2003). The Māori text of article two of Te Tiriti o Waitangi describes tino rangatiratanga to mean "unqualified exercise of their chieftainship over their lands, villages, and all their property and treasures" (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2021a). Mana Motuhake translates as "separate identity, autonomy, self-government, self-determination, independence, sovereignty and authority" (Moorfield, 2023). The 1980s was a significant period for Māori as it provided a platform to resist dominant hegemonic practices and validate Māori worldviews and interests (Durie, 2017; G. Smith, 2017). Citing Antonio Gramsci, Graham Smith (2017) states "hegemony occurs when marginalised groups take on dominant ideas as common sense, even when those ideas may, in fact contribute to their own oppression and exploitation" (p. 81). For Māori challenging hegemony within the academy meant changing the mindset. As a counter-hegemonic movement Kaupapa Māori theory advocates for the "freeing up of the indigenous imagination stifled by colonisation" and "re-imagining" the future (p. 81). Kaupapa Māori theory proactively challenges the oppressive social order and provides an understanding of the social, political and historical contexts of Aotearoa from the perspective of Māori (Pihama, 2011b; Pohatu, 2003; L. Smith, 2017). As a result of this "consciousness raising" Māori are placed at the forefront for consideration, instead of the coloniser (G. Smith, 2017, p. 81).

Kaupapa Māori theory is participatory, action orientated and a means for Māori to communicate their own truths (Mahuika, 2015). Linda Tuhiwai Smith describes this theory as a "by Māori, with Māori, and for Māori" approach where Māori philosophies, principles, language, knowledges and culture are privileged and promoted as legitimate, authoritative, and valid (L. Smith, 2015, p. 53). Kaupapa

Māori theory symbolises the struggle against colonisation and imperialism by providing an alternative approach to Western research.

Providing a definitive explanation of Kaupapa Māori theory can create boundaries, homogenise Māori academics, and reduce Māori attitudes, understandings, and approaches to research to simple procedures (Mahuika, 2015). Therefore, as a framework Kaupapa Māori theory is not easily defined, but is fluid without one single definition or universal truth (Pihama, 2011a, Mahuika, 2015). Nevertheless, the key message that proponents of Kaupapa Māori theory agree on is that it must be transformative and make a difference for Māori (Pihama, 2015; Smith, 2011; Smith, 2015). Graham Smith (2015) elaborates, suggesting that Kaupapa Māori theory and praxis involves a process of "conscientization, resistance and transformative action" against cultural and structural impediments[14] (p. 19). Such an approach, says Smith (2015) requires a "dialectic relationship of 'theory and practice' which evolves through critical reflection and subsequent adjustment" (p. 19). The implication for Kaupapa Māori theorists therefore is that there must be tangible outcomes, which priorities Māori needs, aspirations, and preferences (G. Smith, 2017).

Application of Kaupapa Māori Theory

In this study input was sought from Pūkōrero (Māori adoptees and a descendant of an adoptee) and Kaitautoko (Māori who support other Māori with making whakapapa connections). To guide this process Māori values, perspectives and approaches were privileged through the lens of tikanga Māori. Driving this rangahau was a desire to challenge legislative injustices (e.g., closed adoption) that

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[14] For example, economy, ideology and power.

has disadvantaged tamariki Māori and their whānau. Māori adoptees are an important voice (albeit sometimes silent) that are part of the broader struggle for Māori self-determination and reclamation of identity. The heterogenous perspectives inherent in Kaupapa Māori theory aligned well with this project's qualitative approach and view that the Māori identities are fluid and diverse. Māori adoptees do not necessarily fit the traditional norms associated with Māori belonging, for example without whakapapa knowledge providing a pepeha or participating in hapū events can be challenging. Amongst Māori adoptees there are also diverse perspectives about what it means to be Māori (see Wāhanga 6). While this project challenges assumptions about genealogy, family social structures and Māori identity, ultimately the Pūkōrero determined what was shared.

The implication of Kaupapa Māori theory is that the rangahau process must allow for evolution and reflective practice and an awareness that transformation can occur at different junctures, times, and in different ways. Methodologies and methods that allowed for and captured this transformation and reflection influenced this project's design, such as the privileging of the narrative or the incorporation of whakatauāki, whakataukī, pūrākau and moemoeā.

In keeping with the principles of Kaupapa Māori theory a "by Māori, for Māori, with Māori" approach was further strengthened through my positionality as a Kairangahau, identifying as a Māori adoptee. My insider insight enhanced the exchanges and the validity of the rangahau (at least in the eyes of other Māori adoptees). This insider's insight helped guide engagement, ensuring contentious issues were approached with caution and that there was an accountability to those who participated in this study and to the wider Māori adoptee community. An ethical or tikanga Māori informed approach meant ensuring takepū guided all interactions.

Pohatu (2013) describes takepū as "preferred ways, fashioned by Māori thinking and rationale, of engaging with others and, consequently, provides a template of preferred ways for others to engage with Māori" (p. 13). The takepū used in this thesis are outlined in *ngā tikanga o rangahau* and methods sections.

In the analysis of this study a counter-hegemonic, holistic, strengths-based approach, which encompassed the diverse expressions of mātauranga was sought. Achieving this goal meant exploring the use of empowering language (e.g., whakapapa huna) and ensuring Māori pedagogies infused the rangahau process (tikanga Māori, whakataukī, whakatauākī, pūrākau and karakia). The social justice lens driving this project was a commitment to support Māori who may felt challenged by the question, "Ko wai au?" (Who am I?). Re-imagining a different future for Māori living with a whakapapa huna meant giving voice to Māori adoptees and identifying the challenges they face navigating their whakapapa. At a structural level, change is also needed. The biases in Aotearoa New Zealand's child welfare legislation continue to damage the relationship Māori have with their whakapapa. In the quest for social justice the task is to contest assumed norms, while examining the origins of inequities.

A Rangahau Approach

> *This is Rangahau, the questing breath of life,*
>
> *It is manawatina, the beating heart,*
>
> *It is manawatoka, the throbbing heart.*
>
> (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, 2019a, p. 9).

According to the pūrākau of the Tainui Whare Wānanga the above words were uttered when the heart called Rangahau (the questing breath of life) was

implanted into Tikiāhua (the first being)[15] and was purified by Io (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, 2019). The implication for mankind is that "it is the blood of Tikiāhua and the heart which inspires the soul of man and urges him on to aspire and acquire the knowledge of the gods" (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, 2019a, p. 9). Through whakapapa, Māori descend from ngā atua, therefore, the quest for insight in this rangahau is driven by a desire to maintain and restore whakapapa knowledge.

While some Kaupapa Māori theorists use the term "*research*" in tandem with the words "Kaupapa Māori" as a counter-hegemonic strategy (as cited in Pihama, 2011a), for the purpose of this study the terms "*rangahau*" and "*Kairangahau*" are used instead. The reason for this decision is that rangahau conceptually and philosophically differs from a Western view of research (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, 2019a). Te Wānanga o Aotearoa (2019) argues rangahau has a holistic deeper meaning than research stating:

> Rangahau is all around us and is in plain sight. Rangahau resonates through our culture. We breathe it, we eat it, we hear it, and we see it in our whānau, hapū and iwi, on our marae and across the length and breadth of Aotearoa on a regular basis. (p. 8)

Dr Hohepa Tamehana, Poururuku for postgraduate programmes at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa explains, "Rangahau involves investigating a field you already know and is a culturally driven investigation. Rangahau requires an exchange of knowledge, rather than a collection or gathering of knowledge" (H. Tamehana, personal communication, January 12, 2023).

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[15] Puna the female essence and Hani the male essence made Tikiāhua the first being (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, 2019).

A view relevant to the concept of rangahau is Edwards (2009) notion of *(k)new knowledge*, whereby it is not about discovering new knowledge, but rather noticing knowledge that has always been present, for example, ancestral wisdoms or pūrākau. A rangahau lens, therefore, recognises the diversity of knowledge itself. Diverse knowledges are evident in the story of Tāne who obtained three baskets of knowledge (kete aronui, kete tuauri, kete tuatea)[16] or the concepts of akoranga (learning), mōhiotanga (knowing), māramatanga (understanding) and pono/tika (your truth once it is experienced) (K.Rautangata, personal communication, March 10, 2023). These multiple sources of information are diverse in function and energy and evident when the word Rangahau is translated. "*Ranga* means to weave, bring together or join up and *Hau* means wind, breathe, energies left behind (an extension of Mauri)" (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, 2019a, p. 9).

It is important to note that substituting words is more than just a semantic exercise, by actively resisting the word "research" Te Wānanga o Aotearoa (2019a) believes this is an opportunity to do things differently, "Rangahau, 'our word, our way' is an expression of maintaining our rangatiratanga" (p. 9). Rangahau therefore is a concept that should be valued, rather than subsumed in a dialectical debate with Western notions of research. This focus moves the conversation beyond binary boundaries (Māori/non-Māori, pan-Māori/Iwi, coloniser/colonised) and privileges a Māori worldview. As Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) notes if research is "one of the dirtiest words in the Indigenous world's vocabulary" (p. 1), then my stance as a Kairangahau is to eliminate the word from this thesis, unless the discussion is specifically referring to Western notions of research or a direct quote is used. Te Wānanga o Aotearoa (2019a) supports this position, "Rangahau is Māori enquiry, not

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[16] Refer to glossary.

discovery. It's innovative, it validates Māori indigenousness, and it doesn't have to be validated externally" (p. 9).

A rangahau perspective also challenges Western ontological and epistemological assumptions and privileges Māori worldviews. For example, in te ao Māori it is recognised that through whakapapa multiple relationships coexist between the living/non-living or animate/inanimate (see Wāhanga 3). In this study to illustrate ideas and provide insight, whakatauāki, whakataukī, pūrākau, moemoeā and wairua experiences are used, which privileges indigenous ways of knowing and doing. The application of a rangahau approach also meant utilising a variety of diverse sources (journal articles, government reports, media reports, wānanga, informal conversations and social media discussions).

Mātauranga Continuum

Kaupapa Māori theory requires critically engaging in the different constructions of mātauranga Māori (L. Smith, 2017). Pihama (2011a) attests a methodology for expressing mātauranga Māori and understanding the world is whakapapa. As a rangahau framework, whakapapa exercises tikanga Māori to guide the process and acknowledges the links between the supernatural, land, and humanity (Graham, 2009). These relational whakapapa connections over time are part of the "mātauranga continuumn" whereby the collective wisdom of previous generations is built upon to meet the needs of the present generation (Mead, 2003, p. 320). Maintaining the mātauranga continuumn therefore becomes a matter of collective survival, rather than one of individualised existence (Mikaere, 2011a). For Māori raised outside of the collective (whakapapa whānau) accessing the mātauranga of tūpuna can be difficult and maintaining the mātauranga continuum in their lives challenging.

A key aim of this rangahau is to explore the agility, and the challenges Māori adoptees face when engaging in diverse social contexts. Restoring and protecting whakapapa knowledge for future generations also requires asking questions such as how do we ensure kaupapa Māori environments provide an inclusive space for all Māori to thrive? How can cultural practices (e.g., giving a pepeha) cater for those who have disruptions in their whakapapa knowledge? How can engagements with whānau and ancestral whenua strengthen whakapapa knowledge? How does wairuatanga guide people as they reunite with whānau? These broader conversations about whakapapa will be unpacked further in the body of the thesis.

Whakapapa recognises that mātauranga extends beyond time and the trajectory of a human lifespan and non-human entities and requires collective vision across generations (Pihama, 2011a). Examples of cultural practices that reinforce these collective perspectives and the transmission of whakapapa include pepeha, mōteatea, pūrākau, whakataukī, whakatauāki, ngā toi and whaikōrero. In the next section whakataukī, whakatauāki and pūrākau are explained for their relevance to this topic.

Whakataukī and Whakatauāki

Pihama et al., (2019) explains whakataukī and whakatauāki are sayings, aphorisms or utterances which impart meaningful knowledge succinctly. Whakataukī are often known by many, but the original author or source is unknown, whereas a whakatauākī is gifted by a known tūpuna. Whakataukī and whakatauāki are rich in meaning, "encrypted within mātauranga and te reo Māori" and act as a useful guide to navigate contemporary contexts and challenges (Pihama et al., 2019, p. iii). Pihama et al., (2019) adds whakataukī provide insight into how our tūpuna expressed emotions:

Te reo Māori is replete with emotional expression that is more than simply 'emotive' or "metaphorical" but rather there is a deep ontology of emotions within te reo Māori and mātauranga Māori that transforms how emotions are understood and expressed. Exploring Māori views of emotions affirms that there are unique ways of "feeling" within Indigenous worldviews that can serve to decolonise current understandings of emotional wellbeing to support wider Kaupapa Māori approaches to wellbeing. Wider Indigenous research highlights emotional wellbeing as essential to overall wellbeing and healthy relationships. (p. iii)

Chilisa (2012) explains proverbs are a useful way to impart a culture's values, codes of behaviour, and expectations. Proverbs may express a truth, a familiar experience, a sociocultural event, a tradition, a wisdom, a myth, a memory, or promulgate collective identity and dignity. When used in a rangahau context proverbs can provide a philosophical and theoretical framework to ground rangahau. They can be used to challenge deficit theorising by understanding a problem from the perspective of a culture's language and values system. Proverbs and metaphors can also indirectly communicate worldviews that might be too sensitive, offensive or taboo to discuss using explicit language.

Pūrākau

Pūrākau fundamental to identity and hauora

Pūrākau are ancient and historical stories of atua, heroes and heroines, well-known people, and places (Hutchings & Lee-Morgan, 2016). Lee (2009) argues pūrākau should not be seen as fictions of fables from the past, but as a "pedagogical-based anthology of literature" relevant today, and in need of protection (p. 1). Lee

(2009) explains, "pūrākau, a traditional form of Māori narrative, contains philosophical thought, epistemological constructs, cultural codes and worldviews that are fundamental to our identity as Māori" (p. 1). Lee (2009) explains how Māori modified pūrākau to suit specific audiences and contexts. For example, in the Native Land Courts, pūrākau were used (and adapted) to prove connections and alliances to whenua, whānau, hapū, or iwi (Lee, 2009). Contemporary Māori writers (Hone Tuwhare, Patricia Grace, Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, Linda Tuhiwai Smith) have also re-presented traditional pūrākau to explain contemporary Māori contexts and challenge dominant thinking (Lee, 2009). Iwi variations of pūrākau also exist. In this thesis, an adaption of *Rona and the Moon* is used to introduce some chapters and was inspired from Patricia Grace's (2019) *Moon Story*. Grace's version of the pūrākau of Rona is similar to a far north[17] interpretation where Rona is also a female, whereas a far south[18] version depicts Rona as a man who kills his wife's lover and ends up in the moon holding his hue (Reed, 1978).

Pūrākau are also useful for transmitting moral and historical messages, and values, useful for modern day challenges (Rameka, 2016). Māori psychologists are also now using pūrākau to help Māori connect to their taha wairua (spiritual side). Through pūrākau the characteristics of atua are explored, which provides a basis for transmitting values and verifying healing (McLachlan et al., 2017). The use of pūrākau as a therapeutic tool also has possible implications for Māori living with a whakapapa huna by providing an alternative way to reframe their experiences. Pūrākau as a method for imparting mātauranga also has a place in schools with Webber and O'Connor (2019) stating that "educating students about Māori

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[17] Located in the far north of Aotearoa.

[18] Located in the far south of Aotearoa.

knowledge, whakapapa, and ways of knowing the world, can be considered a decolonizing project" (p. 2).

Pūrākau in academia

Pūrākau methodology has also provided inspiration for Indigenous academics, seeking alternative ways to undertake rangahau. For example, Jenny Lee-Morgan developed pūrākau methodology as part of her doctoral study and promoted it as a Māori pedagogical tool for teaching and learning (Hutchings & Lee-Morgan, 2016). Lee (2009) explains:

> Pūrākau provides a conceptual framework of representation that is relevant to research…to look beyond conventional research methods and academic styles of documentation and re-turn to our own narratives, to experiment with literary techniques to research and disseminate knowledge in ways that are culturally relevant and accessible. Pūrākau offers a kaupapa Māori approach to qualitative narrative inquiry: critical to this approach is the decolonizing process. (p. 5)

In academia Lee (2009) is a keen advocate for pūrākau methodology as a vehicle to counteract positivist approaches often found in western "scientific" research. Lee discusses how pūrākau methodology was influenced by narrative-based inquiry methods, but does not exclude other methods (e.g., autobiographical, testimonio, oral histories, case-studies). Lee writes that narrative inquiry is not easily measured, fixed, or defined, and amongst evidence-based researchers, it struggles to find acceptance. Despite this assertion, oral histories are gaining validation as a legitimate source in academic circles as more Indigenous scholars publish on this

topic (Chilisa, 2012; L. Smith, 2012). As a decolonising methodological approach[19] Lee (2009) advocates for the use of pūrākau as a means for Māori to reclaim their cultural narratives and strengthen their identity. McLachlan et al., (2017) agree stating "engagement in culturally bound values contributes to a strengthening of identity and continues the thread of whakapapa and transmission across time" (p. 49). Lee (2009) explains Māori narratives are a way Māori can legitimise and control their own ontological and epistemological constructs, a necessity for survival and self-determination. As a cultural imperative pūrākau facilitate the sharing of Māori stories in an engaging manner that "provoke a self-directed process of meaning making, raise questions and provide answers, or quench the thirst to learn more" (Hutchings & Lee-Morgan, 2016, p. 5).

The reclaiming of pūrākau as a therapeutic tool or a methodological approach in rangahau is an exciting development, but does requires caution. Mikaere (2011a) argues that the retelling of Māori cosmology through colonial, patriarchal, Pākehā males (e.g., Elsdon Best, Percy Smith, Bruce Biggs) has marginalised female figures by making them subservient to males and dismissing polytheistic versions as inferior. Taking into consideration this viewpoint means Kairangahau are obligated to consider which versions of pūrākau are used and how.

Collaborative Storying

Collaborative storying involves all those involved in the rangahau process jointly re-storying and theorising as mutual partners, while constructing a collaborative story guided by the cultural framework of the whānau of interest[20]

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[19] Refer to "*Decolonizing Methodologies*" (L. Smith, 2012).

[20] Note Bishop and Glynn use the term "whānau of interest" to describe participants. Whereas in this thesis the word Pūkōrero is used.

(Bishop & Glynn, 1999). The approach is non-hierarchical, requires openness, trust, reciprocity, and a personal commitment to long-lasting relationships with the whānau of interest (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). Bishop and Glynn (1999) attest collaborative storying corresponds to Indigenous Peoples' preference for the narrative and are a powerful way of representing truth. "Stories allow the diversities of truth to be heard rather than just one dominant version. Stories allow power and control to reside within the domain of the storyteller" (p. 177). Bishop (1999) adds storytelling can be a decolonising research tool that provides a space for a whānau of interest to assert their cultural contexts and identity. Collaborative storying is a method that differs from qualitative interviews, whereby the interviewer decides on the completed story. Collaborative storying is guided by principles such as whakawhanaungatanga and involves re-storying until an agreed collaborative story is decided (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). Through this process of spiral discourse, accountable relationships with a whānau of interest are maintained. Kairangahau need to be fully present and conscious of the physical, ethical, moral, and spiritual nuances demonstrated through language and metaphors. The goal of this method is to establish participant driven rangahau.

Whakawhitiwhiti Kōrero

A similar approach to collaborative storying is *whakawhitiwhiti kōrero*, whereby an exchange or informal discussion occurs between people (Moorfield, 2023).

Applying Kaupapa Māori Approaches

Indigenous scholars advocate that decolonising the academy requires critiquing and resisting hegemonic Euro-Western methodological imperialism

(Chilisa, 2012; L. Smith, 2012). To achieve this goal requires seeking new ways to collect data or literature (written and unwritten) which draws on Indigenous knowledges to inform new theoretical frameworks (Chilisa, 2012). In this thesis, the use of whakataukī, whakatauāki, and pūrākau aligns to a rangahau approach, by privileging te ao Māori, while providing a space to discuss challenging topics. Whakataukī, whakatauāki and pūrākau are also used to visually highlight pertinent themes, frame questions, and provide a structure to guide the reader. Whakawhitiwhiti kōrero/collaborative storying was also used as a method to engage in dialogue with Pūkōrero.

The Rangahau Process

The next section discusses how the rangahau process used in this study aligns to Kaupapa Māori and Indigenous epistemological and ontological perspectives. The selected qualitative methods are assessed for their ethical implications, political and transformative potential, and practical usefulness. This section outlines how this rangahau was conducted, who and what was included and excluded and why. Discussed are some limitations and challenges that arose during this rangahau process.

Literature Review

Selecting literature

There were several key purposes for conducting the literature review. The first intention was to understand how Māori who were raised outside of their kinship navigate their whakapapa. To provide a focus to this inquiry it was necessary to first understand "whakapapa" as a concept. The literature examined explores how whakapapa was understood and transmitted before and after the arrival of the European. The authored material was primarily chosen from Māori writers known

for their scholarly and philosophical articulation of whakapapa. Relevant to these discussions was how whakapapa and whānau Māori have been impacted by ideologies based on colonisation, urbanisation, assimilation, and integration.

A second aim of the literature review was to understand the impacts of contemporary child welfare legislation and policies (including adoption) on tamariki Māori and their whānau. Reports that proposed transformative solutions to address the current structural inequities within the contemporary child welfare system in Aotearoa informs this critique. Māori adoptees participated in this rangahau therefore there was also a need to see if this study correlated with findings from other studies, which examined the impacts of past New Zealand adoption legislation and policies on tamariki Māori. It was also important to identify how the ideologies informing laws in Aotearoa have been emulated amongst other Indigenous populations in British settler societies. A brief comparative analysis was conducted of literature that reviewed historic Indigenous child placement policies in Australia and Canada.

A third area of investigation was practical in intent and describes how Māori are currently reconnecting with whakapapa whānau. Insight into this question was gained through informal conversations and a review of theses, social media, websites, and media articles. Important to these conversations was the need to advocate for holistic, strengths-based solutions that encompass the diverse ways whakapapa is experienced and transmitted.

The literature used in this thesis included scholarly journal articles, books, government and NGO website pages, theses, conference proceedings, legislation, Waitangi Tribunal reports, and media articles that were published within the time-period 1955-2022. The starting date of 1955 was chosen as this was when the Adoption Act 1955 was enacted. A search for published papers was conducted of

abstracts using sites such as *Google Scholar* and *ProQuest One Academic* using search strings that aligned to terms and phrases relevant to this rangahau. From the scanning of abstracts relevant articles and quotes were then selected. The diverse literature on adoption included a scan of masters and doctoral theses, scholarly articles, reports, and books published before July 2023 on the topic of adoption laws and practices in Aotearoa, Māori adoptees and closed adoptions. A record was kept of search terms, the selected search engine, the number of records found, and the number of records used (see Appendix 2).

Adoption literature

For decades adoption laws and practices in Aotearoa have been a contentious and significant subject amongst politicians, academics, social workers, adoptees, lawyers, journalists, and Māori. In 1997 Aotearoa New Zealand hosted the *International Conference on Adoption and Healing* (Sprengers, 1997). In 1997 Keith Griffith (an adoptee) also published a 459-page document titled: *New Zealand Adoption: History and Practice, Social and Legal, 1840-1996* (Griffith, 1997) and an *Adopted Person Resource 2000: Life Long Consequences of Adoption* (Griffith, 2000). In 2000 the New Zealand Law Commission released their comprehensive report titled *Adoption and its Alternatives,* which advocated for adoption reform (New Zealand Law Commission, 2000a). In March 2016, adoption law reform lobby group *Adoption Action* successfully won a Human Rights Review Tribunal case[21] citing the Adoption Act 1955 as discriminatory against people based on marital status, sexual orientation, age, sex, and disability and the *Adult Adoption Information Act 1985* as discriminatory on grounds of age (L. Walters, 2016).

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[21] Under Part 1A of the Human Rights Act 1993.

Adoption books written by Aotearoa authors include; *Death By Adoption* (Shawyer, 1979); *A Question of Closed Stranger Adoption in New Zealand 1944-1974* (Else, 1991)*; The Right to Know who You are: Reform of Adoption Law with Honesty, Openness and Integrity* (Griffith, 1991)*; Adoption New Zealand: The Never-ending Story* (Gillard-Glass & England, 2002)*; Relative Strangers: A Mother's Adoption Memoir* (Murdoch, 2019)*; Tree of Strangers* (Sumner, 2020); *Adopted* (Willis & Baker, 2022)*; A Question of Adoption: Closed Stranger Adoption in New Zealand 1944–1974 and Adoption, State Care, Donor Conception and Surrogacy 1975–2022* (Else & Haenga-Collins, 2023) and *Korihi te manu - Stories of Whāngai and Adoption* (Te Wānanga o Raukawa, 2021).

Māori adoptee literature

The *Puao-te-ata-tu (Day Break)* report described New Zealand's adoption practice of separating children from their lineage as "a totally alien concept" to Māori (The Māori Perspective Advisory Committee, 1988, p. 75). A 1993 *Review of Adoption Law – Māori Adoption* stated adoption legislation needed to consider Māori cultural values (as cited in New Zealand Law Commission, 1999a) Macdonald and Story (2020) also described New Zealand's adoption legislation as a "statutory guillotine, depriving Māori tamariki of their whakapapa" (p. 195). There have also been Waitangi Tribunal reports that condemn the Crown for its breach of Te Tiriti o Waitangi obligations, in particular Article 2 which guarantees Māori "*tino rangatiratanga over their kāinga*" (Waitangi Tribunal, 2021, p. 12). The removal of tamariki Māori from their whakapapa whānau (and kāinga) is an example of this breach and is outlined further in Wāhanga 5.

In recent years the perspective of the Māori adoptee has also been visible in scholarly work. At the time and after completing my Master of Philosophy in 2012[22] on Māori adoptees, other Māori adoptees also published theses and journal articles about the impacts of closed adoptions on Māori. The 2017 doctoral work of Māori adoptee Maria Haenga-Collins triangulated the experiences of Māori adoptees, birth parents of a Māori child and social workers who worked in the field during the era of closed stranger adoptions (Haenga-Collins, 2017). She argued that closed adoptions in Aotearoa were a continuation of the assimilative policies and practices of colonisation. Haenga-Collins describes that these Acts of Parliament, which perpetuated the idea of racial equality were in fact Eurocentric and advantageous only to Pākehā. A consequence of this "sleight of hand" has been "the silencing of experiences and erasure of self" (Haenga-Collins, 2017, pp. 1–2).

Another Māori adoptee Annabel Ahuriri-Driscoll published her PhD in 2020 in which she explored the "experiences of being-adopted-and-Māori to see what of those experiences might be construed as, or contribute to, notions of 'identity'" (p.5). Rather than specifically focusing on cultural and ethnic identity Ahuriri-Driscoll concentrated on identity in general from the perspective of adoptees who were Māori. Her key question examined the lived experiences of "being-adopted-and-being-Māori" and how identity featured in Māori adoptees' understanding and interpretations of these experiences (p. 5). Ahuriri-Driscoll's thesis provided insight into how Māori adoptees navigate their biological and indigenous origins and adoptive socialisation. She proposed that colonisation and closed adoptions had excluded Māori adoptees from discourses of Māoriness. She argued that it is not acceptable for individuals to "carry the tensions of competing dominating

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[22] "Manu is my homegirl: Navigating the ethnic identity of the Māori adoptee" (West, 2012).

discourses" and proposed that to realise true transformation "the gaze must remain firmly on hegemonic institutions and practices, even as they reconfigure themselves in new guises" (Ahuriri-Driscoll, 2020, pp. 254–255).

Other scholars from Aotearoa who have discussed adoption include Erica Newman (a descendant of a Māori adoptee) whose Master of Arts (2012) examined the identity formation of Māori adoptees. Her PhD also investigated the colonial intervention of guardianship and adoption practices in Fiji from 1874-1970. Adoptee Denise Blake's PhD (2013) examined how adoptee's psychological experiences were affected by their legal positioning.[23] Blake discussed the complexity of the reunion experience and its impact on identity construction. Valerie Perkins' Master of Arts (2009) thesis analysed the perspective of Māori adoptive mothers in the closed stranger adoption system. Journalist Aaron Smale (who is also a Māori adoptee with a Māori birth father and Pākehā birth mother) has also written about the personal impacts of closed adoptions on his Māori identity (Smale, 2019). The increase of scholarly work and media articles on the topic of Māori and closed adoptions in recent years has helped raise the public profile of Māori adoptees. These writers have provided insight into the discriminatory and personal impacts of New Zealand's adoption legislation and practices on Māori.

Adding new knowledge

Despite the increased public awareness of the destructiveness of closed adoptions on whānau Māori the State's acknowledgement of past injustices has been non-existent. Successive governments in Aotearoa have not provided any redress or apology. Furthermore, despite years of lobbying, adoption law reform has been

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[23] The legal positioning Blake is referring to describes the closed-adoption practice, whereby an adopted child was positioned as if they 'born to' their legally married adoptive parents.

constantly delayed (see Wāhanga 5). [24] During the recent *Abuse in Care Royal Commission of Inquiry*[25] hearing for Māori survivors, Māori adoptees were also amongst those who shared their experiences of cultural loss and whakapapa whānau disconnection. This thesis therefore is timely and aims to contribute to the current debates by highlighting recent arguments. Like other previously published theses on Māori adoptees (Ahuriri-Driscoll, 2020; Haenga-Collins, 2017; West, 2012), this study also outlines the historical, political, and social landscape that has contributed to the shaping of current child welfare legislation in Aotearoa in particular the closed adoption of tamariki Māori. The closed adoption of Māori was just one strategy of many that privileged the colonial agenda to gain political, social, spiritual, and economic power over whānau Māori. Western schooling, religion, politics, the legal and welfare system were all used as vehicles to suppress Māori knowledges, spirituality, cultural practices, language and tikanga. The purpose of highlighting the impacts of the colonial agenda is to identify assimilative ideologies embedded in current child welfare laws, policies and practices that still contribute to a whakapapa huna.

Outlining a pathway forward requires proposing theoretical and practical ideas to strengthen whakapapa whānau connections. The "(k)new knowledge" (Edwards, 2009) presented includes hope and a roadmap forward that the colonising behaviours of the State can be interrupted. Māori have the answers within our whakapapa to create change, however for this to occur structural barriers (clouds of

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[24] See also: https://www.justice.govt.nz/justice-sector-policy/key-initiatives/adoption-law-reform/

[25] This Inquiry examined historic cases of abuse of children, young people and vulnerable adults in State and faith-based care in Aotearoa New Zealand between 1950-1999. The Inquiry will make its final recommendations to the Governor-General in 2024 (Abuse in Care - Royal Commission of Inquiry, 2023).

oppression) need to be lifted and Māori need to be given the agency to determine their own future for themselves and their tamariki.

Ngā Tikanga o te Rangahau

The key message that Māori and Indigenous scholars allude to, is that the 'how' of rangahau is equally as important as the kaupapa or what you (with your community) choose to study (L. Smith, 2012; Wilson, 2008). As a Kairangahau, the approach must be relational and this requires adhering to the tikanga of Kaupapa Māori theory; *whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, aroha, māhaki, mana, titiro/whakarongo/kōrero, kia tūpato, he kanohi kitea*[26] (L. Smith & Cram, 2001). Conducting rangahau through Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi also required adherence to tikanga. This rangahau received Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi Ethics Committee approval, which required the articulation of *manaakitanga, whanaungatanga, kaitiakitanga, pūmautanga* and *tumu whakaara*. These takepū are explained below and are also discussed for their relevance to this study in the methods section:

> **Manaakitanga** acknowledges our responsibility to behave with generosity and respect, and in a manner that is consistent with enhancing the wairua and mana of past, present, and future.

> **Whanaungatanga** empowers and connects people to each other and to the wider environment. It reminds us of our reciprocal responsibilities to each other.

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[26] For a description of these principles go to: https://whatworks.org.nz/kaupapa-maori/

Kaitiakitanga acknowledges in the first instance the unique obligations and responsibilities that Ngāti Awa have as kaitiaki of Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi. Students and staff accept responsibility to be accountable in the te ao Māori academic environment, and to our knowledge communities, marae, and external stakeholders.

Pūmautanga is to be steadfast and committed to doing the right thing, in the right way, in all that we do with and for Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi.

Tumu Whakaara acknowledges that all staff at Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi are leaders, decisionmakers and the navigators of our journey. In doing so, we will be accountable, honest, and ethical in all aspects of our academic, administrative, and general responsibilities and work.

(Extracted from *Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi Ethics Application*, 2022)

Recruitment and Selection

Whānau were selected through personal and community networks. Attached to the email invite was the purpose of the rangahau and criteria for selection (see Appendix 7). Further details of who was selected and their backgrounds are outlined at the beginning of Wāhanga 6. These groups are referred to as Pūkōrero (Māori adoptees and a descendent of an adoptee) and Kaitautoko (people who support Māori with whakapapa searches).

Pūkōrero

Whānau 1: Māori adoptees actively searching for whakapapa whānau

This group were Māori adoptees living with a whakapapa huna with no or limited knowledge of their Māori whakapapa whānau and their ancestral marae, hapū and iwi. This group provided insight into the emotional, social, spiritual, and cultural challenges and motivations involved in the whakapapa journey. This group consisted entirely of Māori adoptees or those who were legally adopted under the Adoption Act 1955 by non-kin (and in some cases non-Māori adoptive parents) prior to 1985.[27]

Whānau 2: Māori adoptees (or their descendants) who have found their whakapapa whānau

This group consisted of Māori adoptees (and one descendant of a Māori adoptee) who had found whakapapa whānau. Some of this group had also connected to their ancestral marae, hapū, and iwi. Their input was critical for providing insight into the reunion process and reconnection to marae, hapū and iwi and how this impacted their identity, cultural and psychological wellbeing. For some in this group, finding whakapapa whānau remains an ongoing process.

Kaitautoko

Whānau 3: Genealogy and whakapapa experts

These people were whakapapa or genealogy experts sourced from Māori organisations, iwi, hapū, community and personal networks. They helped provide insight into culturally appropriate, practical, and ethical strategies that support people searching for whakapapa whānau.

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[27] After 1985 birth records were made open to adult adoptees (Adult Adoption Information Act, 1985a).

Selection criteria

Māori adoptees are not necessarily an easily identifiable or connected group. While there are some informal social media groups for Māori adoptees there have been limited occasions (or resources) for face-to-face collective gatherings. Despite no formal network, it was relatively easy to find Māori adoptees willing to take part in this rangahau. As I have an insider's perspective of the Māori adoptee, I was mindful to include a range of voices, which meant allowing people to approach me in response to my pānui, but also selecting people based on recommendations from others. In the end the chosen whānau were a mix of people who had volunteered and those I had approached to participate.

Originally, this rangahau aimed to focus on Māori who had only been adopted by non-Māori, however there was a richness in also understanding the closed-stranger adoption experience of adoptees' who had one or more adoptive Māori parents.

As this rangahau was focused on the impacts of closed adoptions on Māori, people who were fostered, non-Māori adoptees, Māori adoptees adopted after 1985 and other Māori living with a whakapapa huna were excluded. Adoptive parents, birth parents[28] and extended whānau of Māori adoptees (except direct descendants such as children) were also excluded. Māori adoptees ambivalent to their cross-cultural adoptive experience (a hard-to-reach group) did not volunteer their time and were not approached.

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[28] Note: The terms 'adoptive parent/birth parent' are used to distinguish between the different parental relationships. These titles are however contentious and are not necessarily terms all adoptees agree upon.

There were some limitations identified prior to conducting this project. There was the danger of the scope being too narrow and ignoring the voices of the many Māori seeking whakapapa insight (for example, fostered Māori, Australia born Māori, non-Māori) however, there was a limited timeframe and resources, plus Māori adoptees and their tamariki is the group that personally interested me, due to my own lived experience.

The Methods

Zui (Zoom Hui)

Zui is a colloquial term to describe an online meeting (hui) conducted through the video conferencing tool *Zoom* (https://zoom.us/) (Dunedian, 2020). Zui was the main method for engaging with the Pūkōrero of this study however, one kaumatua was interviewed in person in their home. Another adoptee conducted their first hui via Zoom and their second hui was done in person at a mutual place. In this rangahau context zui relate to one-on-one unstructured and semi-structured conversations that were between one and two hours in length. Prior to conducting zui, signed permission was sought to digitally record feedback through zoom. These recordings were then transcribed through the voice recording app *Otter.ai* (https://otter.ai/)[29] and modified to accommodate kupu Māori. To ensure the principles of kaitiakitanga and tumu whakaara were practised, insights that Pūkōrero shared were cross-checked with Pūkōrero. Added questions were inserted into the emailed transcripts to clarify areas or to fill in any gaps. On some occasions follow-up zui were held to further check that the transcripts accurately reflected Pūkōrero thinking and experiences and to ask further questions. This cross-checking ensured the original intent was evident in the findings, and that direct quotes were accurate. The purpose of this project was

to give voice to the Pūkōrero; therefore, no attempt was made to correct or place judgement on what was shared.

Under the principle of pūmautanga I was conscious of my own non-verbal responses to what was shared. Due to the sensitive nature of the information provided, care was taken to maintain the anonymity of Pūkōrero and third parties. Identifying information (names of hometowns or workplaces) was retracted from transcripts and Pūkōrero were also given pseudonyms at their request. Information provided in this thesis was cross-checked by Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi supervisors to ensure no harm could occur to Pūkōrero or third parties. The idea of holding a group (wānanga) zui was discarded as it would have meant that the anonymity of Pūkōrero could have been compromised.

The advantage of zui is that people from across the country could be selected and there were no travel costs. Due to Covid-19 lockdowns[30] people were in self-isolation when I was conducting zui. Consequently, Pūkōrero had more time to participate and as a result engaging them in the rangahau was relatively quick and easy. To ensure manaakitanga occurred throughout the rangahau process, clear communication was necessary. In keeping with the whanaungatanga principle "he kanohi kitea" (being a familiar face) was practiced, through follow-up emails, phone, zui or in-person communication where practicable. Prior to conducting the zui, Pūkōrero were told of the intentions of the rangahau, the expectations and timeframes. Karakia opened and closed each session.

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[29] Otter does not translate kupu Māori well, so all transcripts needed revising and correcting.

[30] In New Zealand these self-isolation lockdowns occurred as part of the Covid-19 Alert system that occurred between March 2020 and December 2021 in response to the worldwide Covid19 pandemic (http://covid19.govt.nz).

A disadvantage of zui was those Pūkōrero unfamiliar with the technology needed support with the use of the technology. There was also an occasion where two digital recordings of zui were lost due to a computer malfunction and these sessions could not be retrieved. Another disadvantage of zui was that I had no prior relationship with some of the Pūkōrero and I was reliant on their goodwill and trust to participate. However, engaging in whanaungatanga and mihimihi before asking questions helped establish some rapport, trust, and respect with Pūkōrero. On one occasion a separate zui session was first arranged, so we could introduce ourselves and I could present my kaupapa, before the Pūkōrero committed to taking part. In situations where I was being introduced to someone, my contact acted as a conduit between myself and the potential Pūkōrero. Through the lens of māhaki, pūmautanga, and manaakitanga, I shared my whakapapa journey and reasons for conducting the rangahau with the intention of situating my own positionality and interest in the topic. During the zui, it was important to listen intently, exchange information, clarify questions (verbally and via email) and check in regularly on the welfare of Pūkōrero. Enacting manaakitanga and pūmautanga meant ensuring my actions were respectful and considerate of the mana (integrity) of those who participated. This required me to titiro (observe), whakarongo (listen) kōrero (speak) and proceed with care (kia tūpato) while demonstrating māhaki (humility) and aroha (love).

Although this rangahau privileges a kaupapa Māori worldview, it was recognised that for some Māori adoptees, engaging in kaupapa Māori environments could create anxiety. For example, giving a pepeha (as part of the mihimihi) could cause stress, so in keeping with the principle of kia tūpato, this was acknowledged by sharing my own challenge of giving a pepeha. Enacting the principle of pūmautanga

meant giving Pūkōrero a choice of how much of their pepeha they wanted to share. To demonstrate understanding and empathy, I also shared my own challenges with navigating kaupapa Māori environments when one's whakapapa is unknown.

Further discussions are required to better utilise zui as a means of conducting rangahau from a tikanga Māori and Kaupapa Māori lens. For example, how might zui incorporate mixed media (videos/audio/images) or use breakout rooms to wānanga? Zoom fatigue can also occur, so checking in at certain junctures to ensure the wellbeing of all was important. In the future I would recommend a wellbeing package be sent to Pūkōrero prior to a zui and scheduled breaks included, which would demonstrate manaakitanga. The embracing of online video conferencing technology has increased dramatically since the pandemic, which has provided space for such discussions.

Collaborative storying via Zui

In this rangahau the principles of collaborative storying were incorporated into the design of the zui, through a conversational (whakawhitiwhiti kōrero) approach. The intention of using this approach was to give agency to the Pūkōrero by allowing them to guide the conversation, establish the agenda, and identify the key issues to discuss. However, a challenge with a spiral-discourse approach in an online environment is the limited time and lack of established relationships. Face-to-face interactions provide for a more sensory experience, allowing for the reading of body language and subtle cues. To avoid Zoom fatigue, it was also necessary to sometimes interject with open-ended questions to elicit responses at certain junctures. In some situations, Pūkōrero specifically asked for questions prior to the zui session. In such cases, I provided them with the type of areas I was interested in, but also explained

that it was important that they share what they saw as important. I also reiterated the type of person who might read or benefit from this rangahau.

Whakawhitiwhiti kōrero and kapū ti time

One of the Kaitautoko in this study is a kaumatua with 50 years plus experience helping Māori learn more about their whakapapa whānau. Conducting a zui with her was not a viable option, therefore I arranged to visit her at her home. I was conscious that an informal, unstructured conversation was required to ensure she felt relaxed and would be willing to share what she thought was important. I have known this kaumatua for many years, therefore some rapport already existed, however showing respect and care was still a necessity. I provided the kaumatua with a verbal summary about what my rangahau was about, who might read it, and why I was interested in her experiences. Over the course of two hours, she shared her experiences, while I jotted down notes. As a demonstration of manaakitanga I also brought kai to the hui, and we engaged in whakawhitiwhiti kōrero on other topics unrelated to my rangahau. At the end of the hui, I summarised and shared back, some of the key ideas raised. This process for gathering voice has been described by others as a kapu tī method, a metaphor for slowing down, listening and reflecting (Van Schravendijk-Goodman, 2017). The kapu tī method has similarities to the spiral discourse approach of collaborative storying. Reflecting on this approach to rangahau, I realised I struggled at times to unlearn the interview techniques entrenched in me as a journalist and academic, where interjecting or direct questioning is favoured. Instead, it was important to be present in the moment, put aside any expectations and just listen. The richness in this conversational approach (if done well), is that pre-conceived notions are cast aside ultimately resulting in a more natural, empowering and fluid approach.

Thematic Analysis

A Kaupapa Māori theoretical approach informed how the Pūkōrero narratives were understood and articulated. This objective required asking questions about social justice:

- Is this information transformative for others seeking whakapapa whānau?
- How do the findings inform the key areas of inquiry?
- How do kaupapa Māori environments support Māori adoptees?
- What rangahau pertaining to this kaupapa warrants future investigation?

Following the principles of Kaupapa Māori meant privileging the voice of Māori adoptees and incorporating tikanga Māori. This goal was achieved by asking questions such as:

- Have I been pono (truthful) to what the Pūkōrero shared?
- Does the analysis pathologize or empower the Māori adoptee?
- Does the analysis privilege and respect the narrative?

A rangahau approach also privileges a Māori worldview. As part of the analysis, consideration was given to the diverse ways mātauranga is expressed, which meant noticing how Pūkōrero used whakatauāki, whakataukī, moemoeā, pūrākau or wove in themes of wairua, whenua, whakapapa, whānau in their narratives.

As this is a small study the thematic analysis was done manually, using an excel sheet to determine the frequency of key terms, while acknowledging the presence of multiple narratives. When selecting themes to present, thought was given to privileging Māori epistemologies and Māori worldviews. Transcripts were re-read several times, to ensure ideas were captured. These themes were also linked to

previously published literature about Māori adoptees and notions of whakapapa. Wāhanga 6 outlines the key themes that emerged from the Pūkōrero narratives.

Obligations

Being accountable to those who contribute to a study is an important obligation of a Kairangahau. At the conclusion of this thesis, findings were shared with Pūkōrero and a koha for participation provided. This completed thesis is also a koha to the academic community and Māori adoptees seeking whakapapa insight. Establishing a stronger network of active Māori adoptees is a key outcome I hope to see from this project.

Kairangahau Reflection

The principle of tumu whakaara requires the Kairangahau to be accountable, honest, and ethical. In this rangahau I navigated the insider/outsider role simultaneously, therefore I needed to be both ethical and accountable, but also agile and flexible in my thinking. My ultimate commitment is to the long-term aspirations of my community. Although possible methods and questions were identified prior to meeting with Pūkōrero I realised rangahau is an emerging process, where the end goal can shift. As Wilson (2008) notes I needed to listen to the perspectives of others and allow others to be empowered throughout the process. This required respect, reciprocity, responsibility and "listening to the voice from our ancestors that tell us when it is right and when it is not" (Wilson, 2008, p. 61). Such an approach required following Linda Tuhiwai Smith's advice to "leave yourself open to the unexpected as well as the expected...some things are unexplainable, but that is where you get your insights" (L.Smith, personal communication, May 7, 2020).

Viewing rangahau beyond human relations gave me licence as a Kairangahau to be in-tune to esoteric messages, such as how tūpuna call Māori home or how connection to whenua motivated returning Māori. These questions were challenging, as I lacked the in-depth lived experiences of Māori pedagogies (e.g., wānanga) or insight into esoteric knowledge through te reo Māori fluency. This observation meant that I had to be both ethical in my approach with others, while aware not to commodify or misinterpret Māori methodologies. Ensuring I had a cultural advisor throughout this process was necessary. I was also conscious that throughout this rangahau process my own journey of whakapapa discovery was simultaneously occurring.

While a thematic analysis is a common way to collate data, this method was also seen as potentially problematic when working with such a diverse group. For example, a Māori adoptee raised with an adoptive Māori parent may differ in their experience from a Māori adoptee solely raised by non-Māori. I was mindful of not homogenizing the selected whānau. It was also important to ensure that there was an equity of voice within what was gathered, analysed, and shared, hence the need to feedback to Pūkōrero. Originally, I wanted to use wānanga as a method to help with the analysis. Unfortunately, at the time I wanted to hold wānanga, the country was facing a pandemic, which saw people self-isolating, which curtailed any access to face-to-face engagements. Furthermore, practically holding multiple wānanga was not possible due to the geographical spread of those who participated. Initially I had considered recruiting for this rangahau only in the region near me, but a range of people responded to my pānui from across Aotearoa.

Summary

This wāhanga has outlined how the cohorts featured in this study were selected and voices included and interpreted. The qualitative approaches used incorporates Kaupapa Māori principles and worldviews. A rationale was provided to explain why certain decisions were eventually made and what literature informed this thesis. The limitations of the selected approaches were also outlined. I raised the issue that authentically engaging in Kaupapa Māori methods and methodology as a Kairangahau was a challenge when raised outside of one's culture. Despite a concerted effort to incorporate a rangahau perspective into this study, this was difficult within the confines of zui, using the coloniser's language (i.e., English) and the parameters of completing a doctorate (a Western concept) within a Whare Wānanga (Māori tertiary institution) accountable to the tribes of the Mātaatua region[31]. Despite my reo Māori limitations and lack of tūpuna knowledge the privileging of a rangahau approach is my attempt to contribute to the decolonising process within academic study.

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[31] In the Bay of Plenty, East Coast of Aotearoa.

WĀHANGA 3: HINA - KO TE WHAKAPAPA TE MEA NUI - WHAKAPAPA IS EVERYTHING

As Rona made her way to the water by the dappled moonlight to refill her hue, she pondered on her life. Her whānau co-existed in tune with the heartbeat of Papatūānuku, the fires of Te Rā and the moon cycles of Hina. Rona was proud of her whānau and how through the generations their way of living had been guided by whakapapa. These whakapapa relationships were inclusive of everything – people, animals, the environment, the cosmos, their narratives, and ancestral wisdoms. Rona was aware of her kaitiakitanga responsibilities to these whakapapa relationships. Kawa established the protocols required and tikanga guided their actions. Rona understood her tamariki and mokopuna would be the future holders of this unlimited mātauranga. (West, 2023)

As discussed in the previous wāhanga a rangahau approach requires drawing upon the wisdoms of our tūpuna and applying these concepts to contemporary contexts. The key aim of this rangahau is to understand how Māori with a whakapapa huna navigates whakapapa. As whakapapa is an integral theme of this study it is necessary to explore this concept in more depth. In this wāhanga the cosmology, epistemology, purpose, characteristics, sociology and terminology of whakapapa are discussed. There is also an examination of how whakapapa is understood, transmitted and retained. To better understand how colonial ideologies pertaining to child-welfare impacted Māori (see Wāhanga 5 and 6), it is neccessary to focus on how tamariki were viewed prior to European arrival. Relevant to this conversation is how a broader understanding of whakapapa and tamariki might inform current thinking.

Whakapapa: A Framework

Whakapapa means to "lie flat...place in layers, lay one upon another, recite in proper order genealogies and genealogical table..." (Williams, 1985). Whakapapa is also much broader than simply "genealogy" everything (words, thoughts, objects, minerals, places and people) has whakapapa (Roberts, 2015). Whakapapa is a framework to understand the world and the mysteries of life (Mikaere, 2011c). Whakapapa provided tūpuna with access to an "unlimited accumulation of knowledge" through conceptualising "one set of phenomena, namely, the environment" and applying "their minds to other domains including the world at large in all of its dimensions from creation to extinction" (Winiata, 2005, as cited in Mikaere, 2011c, p. 286).

As a values-based paradigm whakapapa guides actions and relationships (C. Royal, 2009). Whakapapa explains the connections between the physical, material, supernatural, spiritual and social worlds. There are lessons to be learned, places, people and events to be remembered, knowledge to be retained, narratives to educate and empower, and relationships to be nurtured. Mikaere (2011c) clarifies:

> ...whakapapa embodies a comprehensive conceptual framework that enables us to make sense of our world. It allows us to explain where we have come from and to envisage where we are going. It provides guidance on how we should behave towards one another and it helps us to understand how we fit into the world around us. It shapes the way we think about ourselves and about the issues that confront us from one day to the next. (p. 285-286)

For our tūpuna interacting with whakapapa gave meaning to life and "transformed darkness into light, 'nothingness' into a dazzling reality, and a void into a life-filled experience" (Jackson, 2003, as cited in Mikaere, 2011c, p. 287). The

importance of whakapapa to Māori is undeniable and preservation essential (Barlow, 1991). As Penetito (2011) notes, "The whakapapa view of being Māori is our legacy, it is our inheritance, it is our taonga tuku iho [prized treasure] …I do not speak *about* my maunga (mountain), I speak to it. I don't speak about my *awa* (river), I speak to it. That is what makes me Māori" (p. 41).

Whakapapa – Māori Cosmology: A Layered Universe

The genealogy of Māori encompasses cosmic genealogies (the creation of the universe), genealogy of the gods (ngā atua), genealogy of mortal man (ngā tangata) and the genealogy of the canoes (ngā waka) (Barlow, 1991). The Māori worldview disputes the universe as a closed or static system, but instead it is in a dynamic state of continuous creation or "a stream of processes and events" (Marsden, 2003, p. 178). The three orders of reality, the physical or natural, the psychic and the spiritual are interconnected, which means the natural realm can be changed by the application of the higher laws of the psychic and the spiritual (Marsden, 2003).

The layered universe and cosmic view of whakapapa is aptly demonstrated in the Māori creation stories of Ranginui and Papatūānuku.[32] In these whakapapa stories the origins of the universe, the elements, human life and nature is explained and named, and the natural and supernatural are one (Keane, 2011). In the beginning Ranginui and Papatūānuku were locked in unison and birthed ngā atua, including Tāne-mahuta, who in his quest for space separated his parents (sky and earth) to bring light and life into the world (te ao mārama) (Keane, 2011). The atua are creators and protectors of all things and include; "Tāwhirimātea, the god of the

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[32] Note there are iwi variations to the creation stories of Ranginui (Sky Father) and Papatūānuku (Earth mother).

winds, Tāne, god of the forests, Tangaroa, god of the sea, Rongomatāne, god of the

kūmara and cultivated crops, Haumia, god of the fernroot, wild herbs and berries,

Tūmatauenga, god of war and precursor of man, and Rūaumoko, god of earthquakes

and volcanoes" (Barlow, 1991, p. 174). Within the environment are supernatural

beings (tipua) who act as guardians. For example, tipua may include taniwha, certain

trees (rākau tipua) and rocks (kōhatu tipua) (Keane, 2011).

For Māori whakapapa explanations of life emerged from practical

observations of their environment and experiences. For example, Mikaere (2011c)

observes that the explanation for the creation of cosmos (as explained in the

Ranginui and Papatūānuku story) is likened to that of the birthing process. In the

beginning the universe was a void (Te Kore)[33] brimming with potential, just like a

womb before conception. Next emerged a series of gestational phases (Te Pō)[34]

where conception happened and life grew. In the next stage birth occurred and "life

burst forth in the the world of light, Te Ao Marama" (Mikaere, 2011c, p. 287). The

birth process is reversed in death and there is a return from Te Ao Marama to Te

Po.[35] Mikaere (2011c) adds that:

> coiled neatly within the birthing symbolism is the concept of whakapapa, the
>
> laying of each successive generation upon the one before it. Te Pō is born out
>
> of Te Kore, Ranginui and Papatūānuku are born within the many phases of
>
> Te Pō and their children are born out of Te Pō into Te Ao Mārama. One after

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[33] Buck (1970) describes Te Kore or Te Korekore as a 'void', Barlow (1991) as the 'source of all things' and Marsden, (2003) as the 'realm of potential being'.

[34] Te Pō translates as 'the night'. There are iwi variations when describing these sequences and its varying levels of darkness (Keane, 2011; Te Rire, 2012). Taonui (2011) notes Pākehā writers changed the order, which was originally Te Pō, Te Ao and Te Kore. Mikaere (2011c) discusses this misappropriation of Māori cosmology narratives.

[35] Mikaere (2011c) explains this process is told through the story of demigod Māui-pōtiki who brought death to mankind through entering Hine-nui-te-pō (the goddess of death).

the other, the generations emerge, creating a magnificent web of life, of

which we form but one thread. (p. 288)

For Māori (such as Māori adoptees) who may not know the names of their

tūpuna, (iwi, hapū or waka) a cosmic view of whakapapa may act as a salient

reminder of their original conception from Ranginui and Papatūānuku. Furthermore,

if reality exists beyond the natural (physical) world to include the psychic and

spiritual, then accessing whakapapa through these realities is also possible. These

perceptions are unpacked further in the narratives of the Pūkōrero who share how

they articulate whakapapa when tūpuna names are unknown and how moemoeā and

wairua guide them in their whakapapa journey (see Wāhanga 6).

The Purpose of Whakapapa

For Māori their positioning and connectedness (cosmic, physical, psychic,

spiritual, personal, collective, social, political) to their environment is intrinsic to

belonging and the Māori worldview. In essence, whakapapa transcends time and "is

the genealogical descent of all living things from the gods to the present time"[36]

inclusive of the "...birds, fish, animals, trees, and every other living thing; soil, rocks

and mountains" (Barlow, 1991, p. 173). Mikaere (2011c) adds "whakapapa is

central to Māori philosophy, establishing the interconnection of everything in the

natural world and thereby prioritizing the acknowledgement of interdependence and

the maintenance of balance through the nurturing of relationships" (p. 34).

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[36] Ngata (1972) asks readers to "visualize the foundation ancestors as the first generation, the next and succeeding ancestors are placed on them in ordered layers" (as cited in Te Rito, 2007, p. 6).

An Expression of Mātauranga Māori

Whakapapa functions as an "epistemological template" that provides a way of thinking, learning, storing and debating knowledge (Smith, 2000, as cited in Webber & O'Connor, 2019, p. 17). The guiding messages embedded in the whakapapa narratives of whānau, hapū, iwi, tūpuna, ngā atua, taiao are intertwined (Te Rito, 2007). The personification of phenomenon such as the creation of the universe (as told through the story of Ranginui and Papatūānuku) remind Māori of their interdependent connections. The special connections with the living and non-living (human and non-human, natural and supernatural), analysed through whakapapa is viewed as an expression of mātauranga Māori (Pihama, 2011a). Evidence of the perspective that inanimate objects have whakapapa is found in Māori cultural practices. For example, the reverence given to pounamu acknowledges the mauri within and humans' whakapapa and spiritual connection to that taonga (Keane, 2006). Another example is the term "tangata whenua" or "people of the land" (Mead, 2003, p. 367) which aptly describes the importance of place to Māori. Through the recital of whakapapa orators demonstrate their human connections (iwi, hapū, whānau, tūpuna) and their relationships to whenua, awa and maunga. These connection to whenua are further enhanced through cultural practices such as the burying of a newborn's placenta (whenua) into the ground (Mead, 2003).

Whakapapa, kaitiakitanga and mauri

> *"E rere kau mai te Awa nui, mai i te Kāhui Maunga ki Tangaroa. Ko au te Awa, ko te Awa ko au"*
>
> "The great river flows from the mountains to the sea. I am the river, the river is me" (Ngā Tangata Tiaki o Whanganui, 2023).

The intimate human connection to nature is found in the above whakataukī from the Whanganui iwi. The personification of an entity such as an awa functions as a reminder to humans of their emotional and spiritual connection and relational responsibility. From a Māori worldview the awa serves as a source of sustenance, but also possesses life essence (mauri) therefore protection (kaitiakitanga) is required, otherwise "its capacity to support life will decline" (Reid et al., 2013, p. 4). A contemporary example of kaitiakitanga is *Ruruku Whakatupua Te Mana o Te Iwi o Whanganui* (Whanganui River Deed of Settlement) and *Ruruku Whakatupua – Te Mana o Te Awa Tupua* (a legal framework for the Whanganui River), which legally classifies Whanganui river as a person[37] (New Zealand Government, 2020b). This legislation recognises Indigenous rights, granting Whanganui River with the legal entity to sue those who harm it (Esterling & Collins, 2019). Another contemporary example of kaitiakitanga is when whakapapa connection to tipua is used to advocate for the protection of places of significance. For example in 2002 work was halted on a Waikato expressway, because it was located near a river bend and the lair of a taniwha (NZPA, 2002).

The Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993 recognises Māori land as a "taonga tuku iho" that is precious that should be retained and maintained (Mead, 2003, p. 267). Within tikanga Māori positive relationships with others and the land safeguards well-being (Mark et al., 2022). Tikanga practices govern the proper use of resources, are sustainable in intent, and demonstrate respect to ancestors (Mark et al., 2022). Mark et al. (2022) observes that for Māori "the relationship with the land shapes the ways in which the cultural, spiritual, emotional, physical and social wellbeing of people and communities is expressed" (p. 2). Through connections to land, Māori can

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[37] Te Urewera (the whenua of Tūhoe) was also granted a legal entity in 2014 (Te Urewera Act, 2014).

practice rongoā Māori, utilise mātauranga Māori and practice te reo Māori (Mark et al., 2022).

Current New Zealand environmental legislation also recognises the tangata whenua relationship to the ecological environment, utilising the concept of kaitiakitanga as a means of guardianship and stewardship of natural and physical resources in accordance with tikanga Māori (Resource Management Act, 1991 s1). This act of caring for the land is part of Māori culture and identity and kaitiakitanga serves as both a knowledge base and set of practices (Mark et al., 2022). Through kaitiakitanga, Māori maintain their relationship to the whenua while retaining their knowledge of past events and relationships that have occurred in that area (Mark et al., 2022). "The notion of kaitiakitanga involves more than simply interactions between people and the land to also embrace the concept of whakapapa (genealogy) and the application of whakapapa within the protection and management of ancestral lands" (Mark et al., 2022, p. 3). Displacement from (or destruction of) ancestral whenua upsets this reciprocal relationship and consequently the hauora and mauri of the whenua and deposed people.

Whakapapa kōrero

Takirirangi Smith (2000) explains "whakapapa kōrero are discourses held by tangata whenua as being important narratives which define their identity" (p. 53). Smith (2000) writes that these narratives are found in places such as meeting houses but can also be knowledges and philosophical narratives relayed by individuals to elevate the identity and mana of the group. Smith (2000) argues whakapapa kōrero does not mean genealogy, myth, or history, but instead "…is tangata whenua discourse which rationalises existence through interconnectedness and the identification of relationships of those things which are identified as existing" (p.

54). Today whakapapa kōrero can provide Māori with a tool to challenge deficit thinking that has stereotyped, categorised, universalised, homogenised, and discredited Māori identity. For example, Webber and O'Connor (2019) recognises whakapapa as a decolonising tool useful in education, "Whakapapa narratives are inherently stories of survivance; they are about regaining ways of being that allow Māori students to be culturally proud and secure in their knowledge that their whakapapa (genealogy, history, and connectedness to all things in the universe) comprises narratives filled with persistence, aspiration, and accomplishment" (p. 2).

Throughout this study by utilising whakapapa kōrero (through whakataukī, whakatauāki and pūrākau), the intention is to privilege Indigenous knowledges while empowering Māori adoptees to reframe how they see themselves and how others see them. Instead, of being a victim of state policies and disconnected from whakapapa, the intention is to provide the Māori adoptee with agency to reframe their identity through whakapapa kōrero. Specifically, the Pūkōrero share their whakapapa journey and the reclamation of cultural identity for themselves and their tamariki.

Whakapapa and ahi kā

Ahi kā (or burning fires) means to occupy land over a long period of time based on ancestral (whakapapa) links to the land. *Ahi tere* (unstable fire) is a term used when whānau have not returned to their tribal lands for three or four generations and the fires are almost distinguished. *Ahi mātaotao* (cooling fires) is when tribal land has been lost due to lack of occupation over two to three generations (Moorfield, 2023). The concept of *ahikāroa* or a "title to land by occupation" (Williams, 1985) was elevated in the Native Land Courts to verify the right to land ownship. Claimants seeking ownership had to prove their ahikāroa connection by providing for example evidence of garden cultivation, establishment of kāinga, waka

building, agriculture or tending to livestock (Mead, 2003). Ahi-kā is important to discuss as it is difficult to maintain whakapapa (to people and place) if a person is unable to keep the home fires burning or be a seen face (Mead, 2003). Maintaining whakapapa links is a sentiment Te Rito (2007) shares:

> Whakapapa provides links not only to other Māori but beyond, dating back hundreds of years to other parts of Polynesia. For Māori, Aotearoa (New Zealand) is central to existence, which is why Māori need to be proactive in maintaining their whakapapa connections as modern life takes people away from their papa kāinga. (p. 4)

In this study, some Māori adoptees have the added challenge of not just be an unseen face, but also an unknown face. For this cohort, their fires have grown cold (ahi mātaotao). Fulfilling one's ahi kā obligations is particularly challenging when raised outside of ones kinship and a stranger to whakapapa whānau. This rangahau also explores how some Māori are reconnecting with whakapapa whānau and maintaining their ahi kā obligations[38] (see Wāhanga 6 and 9).

Whakapapa Characteristics

Whakapapa transcends time

> *Kia whakatōmuri te haere whakamua.*
> *I walk backwards into the future with my eyes fixed on my past*
> (as cited in Rameka, 2016, p. 387)

From a mātauranga Māori perspective, whakapapa is not fixed or defined by a human life-span, but rather shared through people's memories and experiences

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[38] See Wāhanga 10 for the Waikato-Tainui use of ahi as a reconnection framework.

over generations (Royal, 2009). In a layered perspective of the universe whakapapa time and space swirls in unison. Customary practices remind Māori of their relationship to their tūpuna. For example, in recent years the resurgence of moko kauae (chin tattoo), mataora (full face tattoo) and ta moko (traditional tattooing) amongst Māori highlight the reclamation of these whakapapa connections (Quince, 2021). Viewing time as culturally conditioned, fluid and recursive instead fixed and absolute (Lo & Houkamau, 2012) has implications for a rangahau project committed to honouring whakapapa principles. A study of this nature must demonstrate the sociocentric[39] elements of whakapapa, where interdependence and ancestral connection is validated. This perspective also requires understanding Māori cultural notions of time and space which are not separated or measured by chronological events (Smith, 2000). This circular view of time provides possible considerations for whakapapa whereby the threats to whakapapa (due to past events such as the closed adoptions of Māori) has shaped the present and unless reinterpreted will continue to impact wellbeing. As Smith (2000) argues this approach requires reshaping a "space where the discourse of colonialism" can be "appropriated or incorporated by tangata whenua on their/our own terms" (p. 54). This perpective does not dismiss the effects of colonisation (or assmiliative legislation), but rather provides a contextual space for Māori to validate their whakapapa kōrero and relational connections. As Rameka (2016) observes strength can be gained when the past is carried into the future, as it means tūpuna are always present exisiting both spiritually and physically (with the living). Some of the Māori adoptees in this study (see Wāhanga 6) also share this te ao Māori perspective of time and this is reflected in their kōrero which they describe as ancestral (tūpuna) guidance. The challenge for some in this group is that their past

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[39] Sociocentricity refers to "a cultural tendency to give primacy to group interests over individual

or the names of their tūpuna (and whakapapa whānau) are not necessarily known, therefore moving backward into the future with their eyes fixed on the past can create uncertainty as to their positionality in the world.

Whakapapa whānau (pre-European contact)

Although it is acknowledged whakapapa is broader than human connection, this next discussion focuses specifically on the sociological aspects of whakapapa. Examined are traditional methods used for the transmission and retention of whakapapa. Māori is the name given to the Indigenous People of Aotearoa (Barlow, 1991). Barlow (1991) proposes that prior to European arrival Māori referred to themselves as Māori and the word describes anything in its natural (or temporal and physical) state. An example is wai māori which describes fresh water from springs, lakes and rivers (Barlow, 1991). Today and in the past Māori identify themselves by their waka, iwi, hapū and whānau allegiances. Iwi (the largest political unit) comprise of many hapū and within hapū whānau groups exist (Mead, 2003). Marrying into or a long association with a hapū or iwi is not a guarantee of membership, instead whakapapa obtained through birthright determines belonging to this social system (Mead, 2003).

Whānau translates as "be born" "offspring, family group"or "family" (Williams, 1985). Traditionally due to their close relationships whānau were cohesive, self-sufficient units responsible for their own social and economic affairs. Whānau could consist of several nuclear families or large extended families, sharing dwellings within a village. If whānau groups increased in size new hapū were formed (Mead, 2003).

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interests and is generally associated with collectivist cultures" (Lo & Houkamau, 2012, p.11).

Hapū translates as "pregnant", "conceived in the womb", "section of a large tribe, clan, secondary tribe" (Williams, 1985) and is a metaphor that describes pregnancy and growth, implying that within hapū many whānau exist (Mead, 2003). Vital to the hapū identity is the marae and whare tūpuna a central meeting place for whānau. Traditionally hapū maintained and protected their natural and cultural resources (gardens, fishing grounds, carved pātaka etc...). The hapū chief was responsible for the group's survival and took advice from other whānau. Hapū did not act independently, but were dependent on alliances with other hapū within their iwi. Badly behaved hapū could be banished (Mead, 2003). Hapū networks were subject to change as "different chiefs and their authorities waxed and waned over time...and some hapū would fade away and others would come into ascendancy" (Te Rito, 2007, p. 3). Mead (2003) notes when Europeans began mapping and listing iwi and hapū territories this became the definitive and the fluidity of hapū and iwi alliances ceased and became frozen.

Iwi translates as "bone"[40] (Williams, 1985) and is a useful metaphor illustrating the strength of whanaungatanga amongst iwi members and their intergenerational connections. For example, Māori often refer to their tūpuna as "their bones" (Mead, 2003). Iwi are organised by territorial boundaries with some iwi descending from an ariki who commanded the first waka that arrived to Aotearoa from Hawaiki (Barlow, 1991). Traditionally iwi acted like an independent nation, however in times of battle iwi sometimes formed alliances with other iwi (Mead, 2003). Ngata (1940, as cited in Mead, 2003) proposed that in 1840 when Te Tiriti o Waitangi was signed there were approximately 43 Iwi in existence.

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[40] Iwi also means stone, strength, nation, people (Williams, 1985). See also Mead's (2003) fuller explanation in *Tikanga Māori* (pp. 219-230).

Whakapapa and Tamariki

Tū mai e moko. Te whakaata o ō mātua. Te moko o ō tīpuna – Stand strong, O moko.
The reflection of your parents. The blueprint of your ancestors.
 (as cited in Ministry of Education, 2017)

Tamariki are an integral part of whakapapa born with ira from their parents, tūpuna and atua (Rameka, 2015). Although "tamariki" is the Māori term for children, when the word is separated by syllables deeper meanings emerge. "Tama derives from Tama-te-ra the central sun, the divine spark; ariki refers to senior most status and on its own can mean smaller version" (Pere, 1997, p. 4). While in the womb a tamaiti (child) is "imbued with power from the gods in the form of mauri" which determines their unique characteristics (Barlow, 1991, p. 147). Barlow (1991) explains that when the birth journey begins the tamaiti is in a state of wheiao (a transitional or liminal state).

Tamariki are taonga, who do not just belong to their birth parents, but are part of a wider kin network (whānau, hapū, iwi). Through these kinship ties (whanaunga) tamaiti can access whakapapa and mātauranga, understand their obligations to their community and gain a sense of belonging. As Pere (1997) explains "whanaungatanga is based on ancestral, historical, traditional, and spiritual ties…that influences the way one lives and reacts to his/her kinship groups, people generally, the world, the universe" (p. 26). Knowing these whakapapa ties and one's inter-relatedness to the universe is integral to being Māori. Other whānau terms (such as tūpuna or mokopuna) also explain the value of whanaungatanga (see earlier discussion).

In pre-European times, tamariki were born and raised according to tikanga Māori (Mead, 2003). For wāhine rangatira (noble women) whakawhānau (childbirth)

occurred in a whare kōhanga (house of childbirth) under the protection of the atua –

Hina-te-iwaiwa and Hine-Kōrako who personified the moon (Papakura, 1991). After

the pito (umbilical cord) of the pēpi (baby) was removed ceremonies began. The

tua/tohi[41] ritual involved holding the pēpi over a flowing stream, facing the rising

sun, as the names of atua were invoked. If the pēpi sneezed, coughed, or yawned,

then the pēpi was dedicated to that atua. The tamaiti could then call upon this atua in

times of crisis. During this ceremony karakia pure were performed to remove the

tapu (Marsden, 2003; Papakura, 1991). The burial of a newborn's whenua (placenta)

and pito on ancestral land, or in a tree hollow or cliff face crevasse were other

customary practices (Mead, 2003). It was important to hide the pito, lest an enemy

find it and place a mākutu (curse) (Papakura, 1991). Rituals such these cemented a

person's ongoing tangata whenua rights to their tūpuna and place (Royal, 2007).

Today some Māori still undertake the practice of burying a newborn's whenua and

pito.

Tikanga Māori ensured gender roles for raising tamariki were balanced

(Mikaere, 2011c). For example, it was not uncommon for males to deliver babies,

and raising tamariki was the domain of the whole whānau (Jenkins & Harte, 2011;

Pere, 1997). Infants were breast fed until at least two years old and were carried on

the backs of whānau as they undertook their work. Tamariki wore few clothes,

except a maro and before the age of nine enjoyed freedom as they learned about their

connections to nature and whānau through observation, experiences and narratives

(Anderson et al., 2014; Papakura, 1991). Early European settlers also noted that

tamariki Māori were indulged and violence towards children was uncommon

(Anderson et al., 2014; Papakura, 1991). This supports the view that tamariki were

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41 Marsden (2003) notes other terms for this type of ceremony includes rūmaki or uhi.

tapu and required whānau protection (Jenkins & Harte, 2011). Tamaiti were watched to determine their strengths and could be selected to learn the lores of ancient Whare Wānanga, which involved memorising sacred knowledge through observation and rituals (Papakura, 1991).

Customary childrearing practices such as *whāngai*[42] (also called atawhai or tamaiti whāngai) also prevailed, where other relatives instead of a birth parent raised a tamaiti. Whāngai was a special status, temporary and open and was used to strengthen whānau relationships or support childless whānau[43] (McRae & Nikora, 2006). Simmonds (2014) notes patriarchal ideologies marginalise women who do not bear children, but in Indigenous cultures these women had vital mothering roles within the whānau. According to Papakura (1991) mortality rates in pre-European times were not high amongst Māori infants, but if a mother had lost several babies, then her next live born child could be taken by other whānau to raise. Illness and miscarriages were sometimes seen as a breach of tapu. Kaumātua also raised whāngai tamariki to pass on knowledge and traditions, strengthen whānau, hapū or iwi ties, or to ensure whāngai could inherit land (McRae & Nikora, 2006). Whāngai is a concept present in Māori cosmology and narratives. For example, Papatūānuku (Earth Mother) raised her mokopuna. Another example is Maui (who went on to do great deeds[44]), who after his premature birth was placed on a portion of his mother's hair and floated on the ocean as a dedication to the atua, who subsequently raised him. Maui sought his parents out later in life and became treasured (Keane, 2017).

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42 Note this practice still occurs today. See Chapter 5 Whāngai and Legislation section.

43 Referred to as a "whare ngaro" or lost house, which could end a whakapapa line.

44 For example, fishing up Aotearoa and slowing the sun.

As part of a child's birth right or kaihauwaiū[45] tamaiti would be gifted with natural attributes (pūmanawa, āhua) and it was the responsibility of whānau to nurture, protect and maintain these qualities. These birth right attributes could be inherited through a chiefly line, primogeniture, tuakana status, utu-ea, toa, whakatika, ahi kā and spiritual nurturing. Attributes of identity include ira tangata which is both biological and spiritual in quality; whakapapa, which requires adhering to the ahi-kā principle[46]; tūrangawaewae; pūmanawa, which are inherited through tūpuna; spiritual attributes; personal tapu which if a person's well-being is balanced rises as mana grows. Mana is a social quality dependent on the status of one's parents and one's own achievements. All children were said to possess mana and parents could be punished for neglecting the mana of a child (Mead, 2003). Waiata Oriori were sung to reinforce the mana of the pēpi, whakawhanaungatanga and wairua connections (Pere, 1997). These ceremonies and practices bound tamaiti to whānau and whānau to tamaiti (Jenkins & Harte, 2011; Papakura, 1991).

Mauri is an active principle essential to a person and tihei mauri ora (the sneeze of life) signals a child's independence from the womb. Mauri also requires protecting from external factors and can be unbalanced. Mauri leaves a person upon their death. All tamariki are born with wairua coming into existence when the embryo gains eyes. Wairua can be subject to attack, warn of danger and exists in the mountains and forests. Upon death, ceremonies are conducted to release good wairua to its final resting place – Hawaiki. The hauora is also important to birth right and may include the āhua of a person. Whakapapa is a key to many doors and the gift of kaihauwaiū provides connections to tūpuna and cultural heritage (Mead, 2003).

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[45] Mead (2003) coined this term to describe the attributes gained through mother's milk, that is through birth (p. 40).

Whakapapa Transmission

Prior to European contact whakapapa was a lived experience and seen as tapu in need of protection (Te Rito, 2007). Whare Wānanga provided sacred spaces for selected chiefly individuals to learn whakapapa in preparation for their leadership role as a tohunga (Calman, 2012b). Traditionally genealogies were learned in metric patterns, with pitch changes for each generation, in formalised patterns to aid the memory and at a speed and tone to protect the tapu knowledge and tohunga status (Te Rito, 2007). A rākau whakapapa (Fig 1 see right) was also used to aid an orator in the recall of whakapapa.
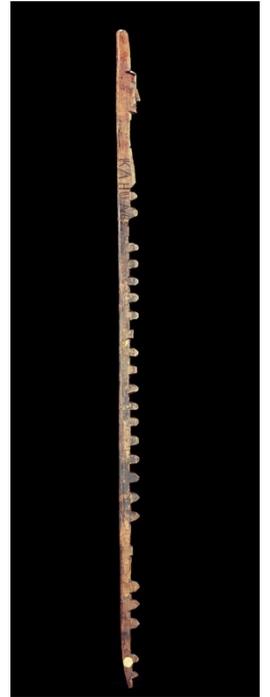
Fig. 1

Rākau Whakapapa (mnemonic genealogical staff), Hawke's Bay, maker unknown. Augustus Hamilton Collection. Purchased 1914. Te Papa (ME000491).

Ngā toi also provided a visual and auditory reminder of whakapapa links. The rich relationship to atua, people (the living and the deceased) and place was emphasised through pepeha, whaikōrero, karakia, purākau, oriori, waiata and whakataukī. These modes of communication would relay ancient history, wars, birth, deaths, love affairs, alliances and events. For example, oriori were sung to unborn tamaiti and to welcome newborns. These oriori were relayed to connect tamariki to whakapapa, teach the deeds and fates of tūpuna, to instruct or to direct tamariki on their pathway ahead. Different iwi had their own oriori for different purposes. For example, the East Coast oriori *Po Po* is the lament of a mother whose breastmilk has dried up and is calling to the whales to come ashore to provide milk to feed her baby

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[46] And gives the individual the right to say 'I am Māori' (Mead, 2003, p. 42).

(Morgan, 2011). Oriori would also be gifted to iwi from visiting iwi as a reminder of their visit (Morgan, 2011). The recital of whakapapa through these diverse means were (and still are) a reminder to Māori of their origins and multiple connections. As Mahuika (2019) observes whakapapa explains the world, serving as a framework to hang all concepts and narratives, pivotal to Māori identity, culture, politics, language and religion.

Whakapapa terminology and recitation methods

Māori scholar Apirana Turupa Ngata[47] provides valuable insight into whakapapa recitation methods and terminology (for genealogy, generation, groups of descendants, relatives, lineal and collateral descent). To inform his work Ngata consulted Tairāwhiti tōhunga Te Kooro Kiriahuru, a noted whakapapa expert of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (W. Ngata, 2021). Apirana Ngata (2021) explains the recitation of whānau relationships utilised concepts commonly found in meeting houses, weaving, twining, and fishing techniques. For example, *aho tāhuhu* is the first weft in the weaving of a garment, *Tāhuhu* is a ridgepole in a meeting house. *Aho, kaha* is a line, string or cord and *kauwhata* means to display on a frame tied bundles of fish or food. An example of such terms used to describe whānau relationships is *tāhuhu haere* which is a recitation method that focuses on the eldest son of the eldest branch of the family.

Ngata (2021) explains *tātai* means to arrange or set in order and *kauwhau, kauhau* or *kauhou* "recite, proclaim, or declare aloud legends, genealogies, or traditions" (pp. 318-321). He adds the concept of *whakapaparanga* is a "layer or

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[47] Ngata was a mid-20th century Māori leader. A reprint of his work (which this study references) is found in Ngata et al., (2021) *Hei taonga mā ngā uri whakatipu—Treasures for the rising generation: The Dominion Museum Ethnological Expeditions 1919-1923.*

series of layers, and thus a generation or generations.[48] Whakapapa is the act of reciting in proper order these layers or generations..." (p. 321). Ngata (2021) explains *whakapapa* and the more formal (but less used) word *kauhau* allowed for the most extensive relationships to be recited. He adds similar expressions that refer to layering include *whakatakoto tūpuna*[49] (to recite genealogies) (p. 321).

Ngata (2021) states that orators recitation methods varied dependent on the type of relationship being promoted and their audience. For example:

- Taotahi or Tararere:[50] Traces a single line of descent.

- Whakamoe: Traces intermarriages - assigning wives to males or husbands to females.

- Whakapiri:[51] Traces parallel lines from a common ancestor in the taotahi style for each line so as to compare their length.

- Tāhuhu: The act of arranging the main ancestors (connected with a common ancestor).

- Hikohiko:[52] Names are deliberately skipped on the vertical line down and sometimes interpolates names on the horizontal plane to indicate the relationship of a descendent.

- Ure tane (or ure tarewa) and whakaparu wahine: Tracing through male or female lines.

    (A. Ngata, 2021, pp. 320–324)

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[48] Ngata (2021) refers to other terms for generation such as ahunga (foster, fashion), reanga (spring up, grow or multiply), whakatipuranga or whakatupuranga (to cause to grow).

[49] Whakatakoto (lay down), whakatakoto tūpuna (recite genealogies) (Williams, 1985).

[50] A Ngāti Pourou term.

[51] If you are on the same plane, it determines whether you are a tuakana (senior on descent line) or taina (junior on descent line).

The terminology that Ngata provides is a useful discussion starter when exploring how contemporary Māori acknowledge their diverse kinship relationships (e.g. multiple marriages or partners) when reciting whakapapa. Te Rito (2007) suggests choosing one method (such as tāhuhu – a direct line of ancestry) may be useful for the presentation of whakapapa, which can be cumbersome to manage when trying to represent a large whānau with diverse relationships. Mikaere (2010) states that whakapapa is non-hierarchical in structure and purpose, yet often when written down (from top to bottom – a Western practice) suggests hierarchy. Mikaere (2010) argues that whakapapa should be written upwards and outwards. This is to represent the notion of building layer upon layer or the concept that we stand on the shoulders of our tīpuna, rather than the other way around.

Genealogy conventions and written whakapapa

During the nineteenth century, as more Māori embraced literacy, written songs and manuscript books recorded whakapapa as a means of supporting tribal orators and to aid in whakapapa learning (Mahuika, 2019). These whakapapa books, however were still regarded as tapu and as a result some were destroyed, lost, hidden or buried with deceased relatives (Mahuika, 2019). Early Pākehā[53] also began collecting and writing down whakapapa, which lead to misinterpretations and the use of conventions to gauge Māori history and migration dates against Western notions of time (Mahuika, 2019). Mahuika (2019) notes the popular, but problematic genealogical method, which was a system of counting and dating generations that the Journal of Polynesian Society popularised. The method was used to verify the

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[52] The *tātai hikohiko* pattern is an abbreviated whakapapa that excludes whole generations, but acknowledges the most important tūpuna (Royal, 2007).

[53] John White, Edward Shortland, Richard Taylor, Sir George Grey, Elsdon Best, Edward Treager and Stephenson Percy Smith consulted Māori experts, others such as Walter Edward Gudgeon used Māori Land Court Records (Mahuika, 2019).

controversial Stephenson Percy Smith's 'Great Fleet' theory,[54] which calculated the arrival of Māori to Aotearoa New Zealand as 1350 A.D. (Mahuika, 2019). Māori scholars such as Apirana Ngata was an advocate of the genealogical method agreeing that the length of a generation be counted as 25 years (Mahuika, 2019; Te Rito, 2007). However, Ngata was also conscious of the deeper nuances of whakapapa, how it was being transmitted, and the tikanga required (Mahuika, 2019). In the second half of the twentieth century Pākehā researchers such as D.R. Simmonds challenged Percy Smith's genealogical method, stating different tribal generational data did not align with Smith's migration date and that Smith had manipulated evidence (Mahuika, 2019). In recent years other Māori scholars such as Apirana Mahuika[55] (a student of Ngata) and others since have advocated that iwi should remain in control of how whakapapa is used, articulated, understood and transmitted (Mahuika, 2019).

Summary

This wāhanga provided a broad overview of how whakapapa is understood, transmitted and articulated from a Māori worldview. Whakapapa is a framework, which explains the origins of the universe and the purpose of life. Whakapapa is an epistemological template - an expression of matauranga Māori. Whakapapa transcends time connecting people across generations, to events, stories and whenua. Whakapapa is integral to our values and identity (iwi, hapū, whānau). Whakapapa reminds us of our ancestral and spiritual ties visible in our tamariki and mokopuna – our divine sparks. Whakapapa also reminds us of the cleverness of our tūpuna who

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[54] When early New Zealand ethnographers such as Percy Smith began publishing whakapapa narratives (with their own biases inserted) universal truths about Māori emerged. One truth that has since been discredited is the 'Great Fleet' theory that proposes Māori arrived to Aotearoa New Zealand in a fleet of canoes around the same time in the fourteenth century (Taonui, 2021; Walker, 2004).

[55] For example, Mahuika (2019) has challenged the idea that male leadership was primarily determined through the male line.

devised a myraid of ways, methods and words so that we will remember those before us and those who come after us.

The literature reviewed touched on the many aspects of whakapapa and also highlighted some areas of future study, such as understanding whakapapa terminology or the need to develop whakapapa resources and courses. Wāhanga 8 further expands on some of these ideas. Debate amongst Māori is also needed to raise awareness of how whakapapa is transmitted today and tikanga implications (see Wāhanga 9 and 10).

At the beginning of this wāhanga the question was posed - how can a broader understanding of whakapapa and tamariki inform current thinking? The answer is there is no need to reinvent the wheel, as the answer can be found by looking backwards into the past to move forwards (a rangahau approach). Our tūpuna have left clues in our kupu, in ngā toi, in our pūrākau, in our ceremonies and in our whakapapa. It is the obligation of the current generation to re-look, re-remember and re-vitalise. For a person living with a whakapapa huna a fresh look at how whakapapa is being perceived provides a possible pathway forward.

It should be noted that comprehending the full depth and breadth of whakapapa cannot be fully understood through relying on the explanation provided. Whakapapa is experiential – embodied in customary practices and tikanga. Unfortunately, a threat to the Māori way of life was to compromise the expression and transmission of whakapapa. The next wāhanga describes this curse.

WĀHANGA 4: HINAURI - E HUNA ANA I RARO I TE PARAIKETE - HIDING BENEATH THE BLANKET

E kore a Whare e taputapu, he ua haere mai roto i Keteriki.

Whare will not chant an incantation to stop the rain for it comes from the direction of Keteriki.

This whakataukī generally means that before suggesting a solution, one needs to consider the agencies that caused the problem (Shortland, 1980, as cited in Mead & Grove, 2003, p. 31).

Rona was hurrying, her whānau were arriving home and she needed to fill her hue. It was a still summer night, except for the chirping of kihikihi (cicadas) reminding her of her task. A pale Hina observing from her lunar home shone her light, gently guiding Rona as she leapt over twisting kareao and the protruding feet of kauri and totara. Rona knew she should have collected her water during the daylight, when her path was more visible, but time had run away from her. She was angry that her husband had not volunteered to fetch the water. Rona also knew that patupaiarehe might be lurking in the shadows – waiting – ready to cause mischief. As her heart beat faster she picked up her pace. The shrill cry of a manu startled Rona, averting her gaze from her feet to the shadows of the dense forest. At that moment an ominous cloud also blotted the moonlight hiding the tamariki of Tane Mahuta from Rona's sight. With her path obscured, Rona's foot collided with a kōhatu. She stumbled – falling hard to the forest floor – her hue tumbling from her arms. As Hina reappeared, Rona swore at her, even

though it was Cloud's fault that moon had been hidden. Angered a dark Hina

prepared to retaliate. (West, 2023)[56]

In the pūrākau the consequence of Rona's curse was she was removed from her earthly whānau to live with Hina. Like Rona, sometimes we direct our blame in the wrong direction, rather than looking at the root cause. This literature review adheres to the qualities inherent in whakapapa methodology, whereby instead of looking at a phenomenon in isolation, the subject matter will be considered as part of a broader context. As Royal (1998) observes whakapapa can be used as an analytical tool to understand "the nature of phenomena, the origin of phenomena, the connections and relationships to other phenomena, describing trends in phenomena, locating phenomena, and extrapolating and predicting future phenomena" (p. 4). The phenomenon explored in this thesis is a whakapapa huna. To understand the origins of a whakapapa huna requires examining the impacts of colonisation - the dark cloud that hovers over whānau Māori.

For more than two centuries racist and assimilative colonial ideologies have permeated education, religion, and child welfare legislation, threatening mātauranga, wairuatanga, whānau and whakapapa. The intention of this wāhanga is to provide contextual background that has resulted in the contemporary problem of tamariki Māori being raised outside of their whakapapa whānau in closed adoptions (see Wāhanga 5 and Wāhanga 6) and state care (see Wāhanga 7). As this thesis focuses on the colonising role of the State two time periods are selected. Part 1: 1840-1950 investigates the century between the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (1840) up to 1950. Part 2: 1950-2022 scrutinises the time-period at the time of the introduction of

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[56] In Grace's (2019) version of *Rona and the Moon*, the cloud is seen as the cause that resulted in Rona falling over.

the Adoption Act 1955 through to the present day. The removal of tamariki from their kinship groups also adversely affected Indigenous Peoples in countries such as Australia and Canada[57] therefore these contexts will also be discussed.

Part 1: Colonial Impacts on Whakapapa (1840-1950)

Blanket of Oppression

Blackness - invasive

Breathing - laboured

Voice – muffled

Movement – hindered

A hole – hope

(West, 2023)

Like other Indigenous Peoples Māori traded goods in exchange for blankets with colonial settlers (Anderson et al., 2014). While blankets can provide warmth and in many Indigenous cultures hold cultural significance, they are also symbolic of colonial oppression. One historic example of tyranny is the genocidal act of the United States who distributed small pox-laden blankets amongst Native Americans (Walters & Simoni, 2002). In this wāhanga blankets also metaphorically represent an oppressive ideology layered over whakapapa, resulting in a whakapapa huna. This idea aligns to the perspective of other Māori (Moyle, 2018 as cited in Husband, 2018; Smith, 2015) who refer to intergenerational or *whakapapa trauma* which occurs when the layering of negative post-colonial experiences impact traditional

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[57] Colonisation of Indigenous Peoples also happened elsewhere, but in this thesis these two contexts are explored as they were also British settler colonies like Aotearoa.

Māori kin structures (Kaiwai et al., 2020). Citing closed adoption as an example Smith (2015) states:

> Trauma deriving from disconnection of whakapapa knowledge destroys genealogical connectedness…Where knowledge has been withheld or not passed on, it can leave an individual in limbo, not quite knowing if or how they belong. They may be able to surmise a connection but have no evidence to support it…In a world where genealogical connectedness is the foundation of relatedness and belonging to the collective, to lands, waters and mountains, an inability to substantiate, and have a membership right recognised results in significant dislocation if not exclusion.
>
> (p. 100)

Other similar ideas to whakapapa trauma include the notion of *soul wounding*, which refers to the *historical trauma*[58] or oppression that has afflicted Indigenous Peoples because of colonisation . Duran et al., (2008) explains, "if the historical soul wounding is not effectively dealt with, each person, as well as her or his descendants, is doomed to experience and perpetuate various forms of psychic and spiritual suffering in the future" (p. 288). Duran et al., (2008) states for soul healing to occur balance needs to be restored by understanding how historical trauma has impacted on present well-being. To understand the whakapapa trauma existing today requires examining the impact of influential colonial ideologies (blankets of oppression) on whakapapa. Western perspectives infiltrated religion, schooling, social, economic, welfare and justice policies and practices contributing to the shaping of this nation and a whakapapa huna for some Māori.

Blanket 1: Whenua as a Commodity and Impact on Whakapapa Identity

Whalers, sealers, labourers, goldminers, flax and merchant traders, and missionaries were amongst the early European settlers to Aotearoa. In regions where interactions between Māori and the new settlers were more frequent, whānau Māori life changed as they were exposed to new technologies, knowledges, language, cultural and spiritual practices (King, 1996; Papakura, 1991; Walker, 2004). The dramatic increase of colonial settlers after the mid-eighteenth century significantly impacted Māori who became outnumbered. The new settlers demand for fertile land led to Māori ancestral land being sold or seized and Māori economic, cultural and material resources depleted. The Crown also made 'blanket purchases' of significant blocks of Māori land at cheap prices through unscrupulous policies or means (Anderson et al., 2014).

Te Tiriti/Treaty of Waitangi

Lawlessness from some settlers and the threat of the French annexing New Zealand motivated the British Government to seek sovereignty over Aotearoa. Te Tiriti was created as a principle-based agreement between the British Crown and tangata whenua (Māori). The document consists of three articles and has an English and a Māori version (Te Tiriti), whose different interpretations has resulted in debate[59] (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2017). Although some iwi abstained

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[58] Historical trauma is a term that was coined to analyse and understand the trauma of holocaust survivors and the impact on subsequent generations (Pihama et al., 2014).

[59] There are significant differences between the two versions, which resulted in different understandings between the Crown and Māori. For example in the Māori version the word 'sovereignty' was translated as 'kawanatanga' (governance), which implies Māori still retained the right to manage their own affairs. In this version Māori were also guaranteed 'tino rangatiratanga (full authority) over 'taonga' (treasures, which may be intangible). In the English version Māori are guaranteed 'undisturbed possession' of all their 'properties', but they must cede sovereignty of New Zealand to Britain and Māori give the Crown exclusive rights to buy land they wish to sell and Māori are 'guaranteed full rights of ownership of their lands, forests, fisheries and other possessions; and Māori are given the rights and privileges of British subjects' (Ministry of Culture and Heritage, 2017).

from signing (and others did not get a chance), the Colonial Office in England declared sovereignty[60] over all tribes in Aotearoa. For Māori, while the purpose of signing Te Tiriti was to ensure their self-governance of lands, villages, treasures (taonga) and culture were protected, since its signing in 1840 there have been multiple Crown breaches (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2017).

The role of traditional tikanga practices within Māori society was to develop a relationship with whenua. Whenua was not a material asset that could be owned or traded, "one belonged to a family, that belonged to a hapū, that belonged to a tribe. One did not own land. One belonged to the land" (Durie, 1987, as cited in Mead, 2003, p. 273). However, despite Te Tiriti being in place the Crown introduced legislation that threatened the relationship Māori had with their whenua. The Native Land Act of 1862 and 1865[61] led to the establishment of the Native Land Court[62] which allowed for individualised titles being issued to communally held Māori land (Anderson et al., 2014). Government policies also encouraged individuals to sell lands "unfettered by the authority of chiefs or obligation to their hapū" (Anderson et al., 2014, p. 253). Under the Māori Land Settlement Act 1905 the Crown could also acquire land if owners were behind in arrears or their land was considered "surplus" (Whaanga, 2012). The Native Lands Act accelerated individual Pākehā purchase of Māori land (Whaanga & Wehi, 2017).

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[60] The Wai 1040 reports agrees with Ngāpuhi leaders that under He Whakaputanga (Declaration of Independence of the United Tribes of New Zealand) Māori never ceeded sovereignity (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014).

[61] This replaced the Native Lands Act 1862 (Boast, 2015)

[62] Also introduced in 1865. In 1947 it became the Māori Land Court (Boast, 2015)

Land alienation[63] as a consequence of colonisation disrupted whakapapa relationships to whenua. After the enactment of Māori Land Court legislation the perception of whenua shifted to one of individual ownership and economic commodity (Mead, 2003). The fluidity and flexibility of hapū social structures also shifted and became more fixed as contention over land ownership between the settlers and Māori heightened. As Ballara (1991) notes whakapapa effectively became frozen and hapū that were in existence at the time of the Native Land Court and Te Tiriti o Waitangi signing became the permanent hapū thereforth (Te Rito, 2007). Interestingly, another function of the Native Land Court was jurisdiction over the adoption of tamariki Māori, which meant that instead of Māori determining succession rights it became the domain of the Courts, which impacted the rights of whangai (see Wāhanga 5).

Blanket 2: Introduced Illnesses and Impact on Whakapapa Whānau

The gold rush of the early 1860s and an assisted immigration scheme of the 1870s saw the Pākehā population explode ten-fold and the Māori population decrease (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2023). The musket wars and introduced diseases such as influenza, measles, whooping cough, dysentery and tuberculosis contributed to the high mortality rates amongst Māori (King, 1996; Pool, 2013; Walker, 2004). Pool (2013) surmises the forced internal migration of Māori due to land invasions[64] would have interrupted agriculture practices and food production and consequently impacted Māori wellbeing. After colonial contact infant mortality amongst Māori was also problematic. For example Pool & Du Plessis (2017) state that in 1886 while

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[63] Land alienation occurred through govenment policy, selling and confiscation. Some rangatira (chiefs) also gifted land to Pākehā who had married Māori women (Boast, 2015b).

[64] In 1860 Māori owned 50% of land, but by 1891 it was 10% (King, 1996, p.78).

14% of non-Māori children died before their 15th birthday, the comparable figure for tamariki Māori was 51%. Poor living conditions attributed to intergenerational and communal living were blamed, instead of the impacts of colonisation (Kaiwai et al., 2020). Pool (2013) states "political, social, and demographic factors thus interacted in such a way that the Māori almost failed to survive this half century; whatever may be taken as a reasonable population figure for 1840, by 1891 only 40-50 per cent of that total remained" (p. 59). Social Darwinism ideology at the time perceived the demise of the Māori population as a natural occurrence with the Rev. Wohler's exclaiming in 1881 that "I can positively say that the coming of the Europeans has nothing to do with the dying out of the Maoris…As a race they had outlived their time"[65] (as cited in Pool, 2013, p. 59). Walker (2004) asserts Māori became a "powerless minority as a consequence of the colonial experience" (p. 172).

Blanket 3: Patriarchy and Christianity's Impact on Tikanga Māori and Wāhine

Once the early missionaries gained economic independence in their new surroundings, their zeal to assimilate Christian Māori into a European way of life increased and the Government's official policy moved from one of civilisation to Christianization (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2016). Initially, Māori were ambivalent towards Christianity. However, missionaries established mission stations, formed alliances with rangatira, while preaching of peace and the material advantages that the new God bestowed on believers. In the 1830s missionaries were the first to bring the written word to Māori through biblical texts printed in te reo Māori. As a result the Māori appetite for reading and writing and its usefulness as a commodity increased. Māori who had acquired literacy skills, became the new

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[65] Similar views were espoused about Indigenous Peoples in Australia and Canada (see later discussion).

preachers in their communities. Māori also adapted Christianity to suit their own needs, while maintaining their own cultural practices. These factors, along with relateable biblical metaphors and narratives helped increase Christianity's popularity (A. Anderson et al., 2014).

Tikanga Māori rituals for tamariki Māori and whānau social structures shifted as some Māori adopted the practices and beliefs of Christianity.[66] Māori spirituality was further underminned with the passing of the Tohunga Supression Act 1907, which was introduced so Māori would forefiet their traditional healing practices for Western approaches (Walker, 2004). Christian prayer (or inoi) replaced traditional karakia and acknowledging the spirits of trees, rocks, animals was seen as heathen (Te Rire, 2012). Consequently, the interdependent relationships Māori had between their natural environment, ngā atua and people (practiced through wairuatanga practices) was threatened.

Christian understandings of gender also contrasted with Māori perspectives. Mikaere (2011a) notes that colonisation threatened gender balance, which was underpinned by tikanga Māori. For example, Pākehā ethnographers (Elson Best, Percy Smith) recast female figures such as Papatūānuku and Hineahuone into passive roles, while inflating the importance of male characters and male-centred versions of Māori cosmogony (Te Kore, Te Pō and Te Ao Mārama) (Mikaere, 2011a). The traditional role and leadership status of Māori women and collective whānau parenting practices was also undermined, as Christianity focused on the virtues of the nuclear family and patriarchial structures (Mikaere, 2011a). These Eurocentric,

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[66] Anderson et al., (2014) cites Binney (1969) who notes that initially Māori showed indifference towards Christianity, but by the 1830s where interactions between Māori and Pākehā were more prevalent (Bay of Islands) it grew in popularity.

individualistic, patriarchial values were to influence the future policies and practices of Aotearoa.

Blanket 4: Cultural Invasion and Assimilation through Education

Schools also promoted Christian values and privileged Western epistemologies and pedagogies, ignoring Māori perspectives of whakapapa. In the early part of the 19th Century, mission schools were the first type of school opened[67] teaching reading and writing through the Māori language through biblical scriptures. Initially English was not taught in these schools as missionaries did not want Māori contaminated by non-Christian influences (Walker, 2016).

After Governor George Grey's election in 1845[68] the policy for Māori education switched its focus to turning Māori into "brown Britons" (Calman, 2012a). Grey's *1847 Education Ordinance* promoted religious instructions, industrial training, instruction in the English language and government inspection (Calman, 2012a). The introduction of the Native Schools Act 1858 advanced the assimilative agenda by insisting Māori board at the government-supported Native Schools away from their kāinga (Calman, 2012a). The rationale for these boarding schools was to remove Māori from the "demoralising influences of their villages" thereby "speedily assimilating Māori to the habits and usages of the European" (Walker, 2004, p. 146). The aim was to civilise and pacify the "natives" and develop ideas of individual

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[67] The first mission school was established by missionary Thomas Kendall at Rangihoua, in the Bay of Islands in 1816 (Calman, 2012a). By the 1860s due to limited funds and the wars, most of the mission schools had closed (Calman, 2012a).

[68] Grey was Governor of New Zealand from 1845-1853 and again from 1861-1868 (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2021b).

property ownership while preparing Māori as the future labouring underclass[69] (Walker, 2016).

The Native Schools Act of 1867 led to the establishment of a State-led national primary school system, which promoted a curriculum with no regard for Māori knowledge (Walker, 2016). Māori were required to donate land for the building of these Native schools and up to 1871 support building costs and teachers' salaries (Calman, 2012a). Primary schooling became compulsory in 1877[70] and compulsory for Māori in 1894 (Calman, 2012a; Pollock, 2018). In 1905 the Inspector of Native Schools instructed teachers to encourage their Māori students to only speak English in the playground. This was intepreted as prohibition of speaking Māori in schools and in some instances resulted in corporal punishment for students who did (Walker, 2004).

By the 1930s free state-led education expanded to include secondary and technical high schools in urban centres, but as Māori were predominantly rural-based most who attended these secondary schools boarded. At these schools (in addition to numeracy and literacy), males learned manual skills and females learned domestic skills (Calman, 2012a; Swarbick, 2012). This curriculum focus was designed to prepare students for a future capitalist society centred on the nuclear family (Augustyn, 2022).

Walker (2004) describes schooling as an "arena of cultural conflict" for Māori based on colonial assumptions of "cultural superiority" (p. 147). Walker (2004) states "schooling demanded cultural surrender, or at the very least suppression of one's language and identity" (p. 147). For tamariki Māori, cultural

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[69] These ideas were also promoted in Australia and Canada see Part 3 of this chapter.

invasion through schooling continued well into the 21st century and has been discussed frequently amongst educationalists (Berryman et al., 2017; Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Hutchings & Lee-Morgan, 2016; Macfarlane et al., 2007; Webber & O'Connor, 2019). The State's power to shape society is evident in the schooling system, which has demoralised Māori students by prioritising Western pedagogies, knowledge and curriculum and dismissing whakapapa as Māori knowledge (Webber & O'Connor, 2019).

Blanket 5: Misappropriation of Whakapapa through the Written Word

While the Māori Land Court's controversial practices has been widely criticised[71] for its destruction of tribal land tenure, Te Tiriti breaches and lack of judicial independence, another consequence of the Māori Land Court was the recording of whakapapa in court documents (Boast, 2015a). The writing down of whakapapa by non-Māori unfamilar with te reo Māori or whakapapa dynamics led to inaccurate, incorrect or contestable information (Community Law, 2022).

Pākehā researchers, missionaries, ethnographers, historians and government agencies also began writing down Māori whakapapa, which resulted in Pākehā scrutiny, bias, unreliable information and exploitation (Mahuika, 2019). For example, Governor Grey's adviser and tohunga Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikāheke of Ngāti Rangiwewehi was exploited when Grey used his manuscripts to plagiarize and publish his own literature (Walker, 2016).

Without agency over how whakapapa was transmitted and expressed, the Māori worldview was subsequently colonised, challenged, dismissed, or discredited.

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[70] See Education Act 1877.

For example, whakapapa narratives about eponymous ancestors (such as Māui-pōtiki[72]) were also relegated to the status of mythical folk hero (Mahuika, 2019). Diverse iwi histories and genealogies were simplified into singular narratives, thus ignoring tribal variations and commodifying mātauranga (Anderson et al., 2014; Lee, 2009; Mahuika, 2019; Walker, 2016). Schools also blindly promoted Pākehā versions of Māori myths, ignoring iwi variations or elevating only male protaganists (Mikaere, 2011a). As Walker (2004) notes the expropriation of knowledge from the spoken to the written word is "just one of the many facets of colonisation" and as a consequence "generations of school children, both Māori and Pākehā have been reared on a diet of misinformation"(p. 36).

Summary

For Māori the oppressive blankets of colonisation resulted in loss of whenua, whakapapa and whānau causing economic, social, physical and spiritual harm. Death from warfare and illnesses interupted whakapapa lines. Rhetoric, promoted through Pākehā education deemed Māori collectivism as "beastly communism" (Mikaere, 2011a). Te reo Māori and oratory was seen as inferior to English and the written word. Whakapapa kōrero were relegated to mere myths and legends. Māori spiritual practices were considered heathen. Tikanga Māori that celebrated balanced gender roles was challenged by notions of patriarchy (Mikaere, 2011a). The transmission of whakapapa through the written word and legislation meant only one perspective was privileged and the fluidity of whakapapa became fixed.

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[71] Boast24-04-2024 8:24:00 PM (2015a) cites Kawharu (1977) author of *Māori Land Tenure*, Orange's (1987) *The Treaty of Waitangi*, Williams (1999) book *Te Kooti: Tango Whenua: The Native Land Court 1864-1909* and Ward's (1995) book *A Show of Justice*.

[72] A well-known Polynesian character and also known as Māui-tikitiki-o-Taranga (Moorfield, 2023).

Walker (2016) states for Māori the colonial encounter resulted in "population decline, domination of chiefly mana by a foreign power, political marginalisation, improverishments, and the erosion of language, culture and self-respect" (p. 20). Walker (2016) explains that since 1840 the structural relationship has been one of "Pākehā domination and Māori subordination" and "subsequent institutional arrangements including Parliament and the apparatus of the state, functioned to maintain that structural relationship" (p. 20). Like an ominous cloud the next section explains how the State's oppressive structural relationship continued into the next century.

Part 2: Contemporary Impacts on Whakapapa (1950-2022)

The First World War (1914-1918) and the Second World War (1939-1945) caused great loss to families in Aotearoa, whereby young men spurred on by adventure and patriotism sacrificed their lives. While some Māori leaders (such as Te Puea Herangi[73]) opposed conscription (due to the State's involvement in Māori land alienation), other Māori leaders encouraged war involvement foreseeing it as a way for Māori to gain equal footing with Pākehā. For example, during World War Two Apirana Ngata and Ratana Members of Parliament lobbied for a specific Māori contingent, which is now known as the iconic 28th Māori Battalion (Anderson et al., 2014). Although there are many stories of bravery, the wars interrupted whakapapa lines for both Māori and non-Māori whānau, which was devastating for a small nation. Despite the Māori war effort and hope for equity the returning Māori serviceman found a country post-war still plagued by racist and discriminatory policies and practices.

This next section highlights the assimilative ideology influencing the Crown's post Second World War Māori migration policies. Assisted human reproduction and surrogacy legislation, the justice system and the migration of Māori to Australia are also mentioned for their adverse impacts on marae, whānau, hapū and iwi. The purpose of this section is to acknowledge that while a whakapapa huna exists amongst Māori adoptees, the broader Māori population has also been affected.

Blanket 6: Urbanisation and Assimilation

In the decade prior to World War Two, 90 percent of Māori were rural, by 1951 19 percent of Māori were urban, which increased to 24 percent at the next census. After the 1960s a raft of State changes occurred aimed at integrating Māori into Pākehā society. The dominant ideology driving these changes was motivated by societal attitudes and the impactful 1961 *Hunn Report*, which highlighted Māori deficits in health, higher education and unemployment (Walker, 2004). The report's author Jack Kent Hunn (who was Acting-Secretary to the Department of Māori Affairs) decided "evolution" required integrating Māori and Pākehā" or moving Māori from their rural ancestral papa kāinga to urban centres (Williams, 2019). Scant regard was given to cultural preservation instead the belief was that it was up to individual Māori, not the state to ensure the "fittest elements" of Māori culture survived. If these elements (e.g. language) did not survive, then they were not worthy of preservation (Williams, 2019, p. 38).

Hunn and his supporters ignored the importance of hapū and marae to Māori (Hill, 2009). In 1962 the Māori Welfare Act was introduced and a Māori Council created as a way for the government to deal with Māori as a collective instead of

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[73] Te Puea was a Waikato leader who resisted her people's involvement in World War 1 (Anderson et al., 2014).

individual tribes (Anderson et al., 2014). However, the approach further diminished the voice of hapū and whānau. Hill (2009) explains that the "Anglocentric discourse" behind this thinking was that socio-economic progress lay in the "loosening of tribal identities" instead of Crown recognition of rangatiratanga (pp. 89-93). Hill (2009) observes that despite its obvious assimilative perspective, the Hunn report at the time was heralded as being a "blueprint for Indigenous policy in New Zealand, important for race-relations and the wellbeing of Māori and all New Zealanders" (p. 93). The strategies adopted into policy in the years following the Hunn Report's release included an urban relocation programme, aimed at integrating Māori into Pākehā society (Walker, 2004). Māori were forced to sell their rural lands, and move to urban state houses to be "pepperpotted" amongst their new Pākehā neighbours (Walker, 2004). This strategy was aimed at breaking down the communal lifestyle and collective strength of whānau and hapū (Hill, 2009).

While Māori urban migration policy threatened whakapapa connections to ancestral whenua[74] another anomaly was the undermining of whāngai practices. To qualify for State-funded housing, children who were whāngai within the whānau had to be adopted under adoption laws (Gagné, 2013). Policies such as these failed to recognise whānau Māori social structures instead viewing the nuclear family and the whānau as the same kind of unit (Gagne, 2013; The Māori Perspective Advisory Committee, 1988). Legislation that promoted equality (in Pākehā terms) over equity, also became the focus (Williams, 2019). The ideology of "one people" emerged, which "functioned to hide the relationship of Pākehā dominance and Māori subjection" (Walker, 2004, p. 186). It was also during this era of assimilation (1960-

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[74] Despite the intention of the State to assimilate Māori, some urban Māori did seek ways to maintain whānau connections, through the establishment of urban marae, community, sporting and social clubs and organisations such as the Māori Women's Welfare League.

1970s) that the closed adoption of Māori into non-Māori non-kin families was prevalent (Haenga-Collins, 2017; West, 2012).

Māori respond to Te Tiriti breaches

One of the impacts of Māori urbanisation was an increase in racism towards Māori, racial stereotyping and disregard for Māori aspirations. Prior to the release of the Hunn Report the Department of Māori Affairs had worked within tribal structures to support Māori needs, but Hunn's integration policies diminished the agency's role and the functions of Māori affairs were mainstreamed. The prominence of Te Tiriti was brought to public attention in the 1970s as Māori protested that Te Tiriti be honoured. In 1975 the Waitangi Act was passed and the Waitangi Tribunal was formed to investigate Crown breaches of legislation. Since its inception the Tribunal has heard thousands of claims, including the claim that the Crown breached the right of tribes to exercise jurisdiction for Māori children and families requiring care and protection. There have been several major settlements (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2017) but the claim for tribal jurisdiction of Māori children and families was not one of those.

Contemporary impact on ancestral marae and hapū

Despite attempts to maintain cultural continuity in urban settings, the lasting impacts of enculturation of Māori appears in today's statistics. In the 2018 *Te Kupenga Survey of Māori Wellbeing* 86 percent of Māori adults knew their iwi, 55 percent knew their hapū and 55 percent knew their tīpuna (Statistics New Zealand, 2020). As hapū are integral to the sustainability of marae tīpuna (ancestral marae) and whakapapa these statistics are concerning and highlight that it is not only Māori adoptees who may be living with a whakapapa huna. Although there are studies that herald the importance of whakapapa knowledge to wellbeing (Durie, 2006;

Houkamau & Sibley, 2015), beyond the statistics Te Kupenga provides there is limited understanding of the diverse Māori cohorts unfamiliar with their iwi, hapū or tūpuna.

Marae tīpuna[75] represent tūrangawaewae and are central for maintaining whakapapa. Mead (2003) states tūrangawaewae are a place of belonging where an individual can say, "I can stand here without challenge. My ancestors stood here before me. My children will stand here" (p. 43). The marae consists of a whare tīpuna[76] (ancestral house), "imbued with the mana of those gone by, and it is tapu, highly respected, and symbolic of the group and all that it stands for"(Mead, 2003, p. 216). The whare tīpuna is where those who have passed on are remembered in the photographs that adorn the walls. Early 20th century Māori leader Sir Apirana Ngata promoted the development of modern marae as a means of revitalising Māori culture (Dickson, 2011). Walker (2004) discusses how marae were the last bastion where Māori could provide stability and cultural continuity against Pākehā dominance and assimilationist pressures. For "landless Māori, the marae was their remaining tūrangawaewae, on which to hang their identity" (p. 187).

The ongoing impact of urbanisation (and migration) has meant marae tīpuna (particularly those located rurally) have suffered with declining whānau numbers (Tapsell, 2014). Today there are second and third generation of urban Māori living away from their ancestral whenua. Keeping the home fires (ahi kā) burning is proving a challenge for some marae tīpuna, particularly those located remotely. In the 2018 Te Kupenga Survey, while 97 percent of Māori adults had been to a marae at some stage in their lives, only 66 percent knew their marae tīpuna with just 44

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[75] Marae consists of land, buildings, and facilities and a whare tipuna (ancestral house).

[76] Usually named after an ancestor or significant event (Mead, 2003).

percent of these adults saying they had visited their marae tīpuna in the previous 12 months (Statistics New Zealand, 2020). In this rangahau Māori adoptees also share their challenges with reconnecting to marae tīpuna and the personal and practical barriers they overcame (see Wāhanga 6).

Blanket 7: Migration of Māori to Australia

Currently one in six Māori live away from their tūrangawaewae in Australia (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2018). In 2015 changes to Australian's laws saw immigrants with criminal convictions (sentences longer than 12 months or convicted sex offenders) and those based on character grounds (mainly gang affiliations), being deported back to their country of birth. Between January 1, 2015 and February 28, 2022 it is estimated that 2572 of these "501[77]" deportees returned to New Zealand (Trevett & Pearse, 2022). This controversial policy resulted in Māori, who have lived most of their life in Australia (and with whānau there), being deported home. News reports cited police concerns that the system used to reintegrate these deportees was not robust with 49% of deportees reoffending since 2015 (Trevett & Pearse, 2022).

A variety of studies have examined the Australian Māori diaspora (Bedford et al., 2004; Haami, 2018; Hamer, 2008; Kukutai & Pawar, 2013). Hamer (2008) observers that Māori migration is often a result of social or economic pressures in Aotearoa. Reasons cited for migration include; a search for an improved lifestyle, to be near family and to escape racism in Aotearoa (Foxcroft, 2018; Hamer, 2008). A decade ago Kukutai & Pawar (2013) explained we can no longer afford to ignore the implications of a growing global Māori diaspora:

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[77] Named after Australia's deportation policy.

…questions about identity retention and socio-economic position are

important. Trans-Tasman migration not only has implications for Māori

migrants and their descendants but also has broader relevance for Māori self-

determining aspirations in New Zealand…Findings ways to maintain

connections, leverage networks and knowledge and foster an ongoing sense

of collective identity will be issues for future consideration. (pp. 72-73)

In 2023 the exodus of New Zealanders to Australia continues with recent Australian

Bureau statistics[78] noting 38,439 New Zealanders arrived in Australia with the

intention of staying (Cann, 2023). The literature is limited on how to support Māori

with reconnecting to whakapapa whānau and marae tipuna after long periods of

absence. Although the Australian Māori diaspora is outside the scope of this thesis it

is worth noting that more understanding of this cohort is needed.

Blanket 8: Assisted Human Reproduction and Surrogacy

Kāhore he uri, he tangi - Without descendants, there are lamentations

(Treager, 1888, as cited in Mead & Grove, 2003, p. 155).

Surrogacy occurs at fertility clinics via the in-vitro fertilisation (IVF) of

donor eggs or sperm into a womb or through private arrangements where natural

methods are used. Currently in Aotearoa if a child is born to a surrogate mother (via

natural means) then that mother and her partner become the parents. Intending

parents need to apply for an adoption order under the Adoption Act 1955 if they want

a legal relationship with their child born via surrogacy. Surrogacies that occur

through IVF using a fertility clinic require approval from the Ethics Committee on

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[78] This is quarterly data in the year to the end of March 2023.

Assisted Reproductive Technology (ECART). ECART decides on the suitability of adoptive parents and whether the surrogacy arrangement is in the best interests of the child (Oranga Tamariki - Ministry for Children, 2017a). Regulations for assisted reproduction are outlined in the Human Assisted Reproductive Technology Act 2004 (HART Act), the HART Order,[79] the Code of Health and Disability Services Consumers' Rights, guidelines issued by ACART[80] to ECART and the Fertility Services Standard (Advisory Committee on Assisted Reproductive Technology, 2021).

The first study of Māori attitudes towards Assisted Human Reproductive (AHR) use was conducted between 2005-2006 as a response to the lack of Māori voice and involvement in AHR legislative decisions (Glover & Rousseau, 2007). The findings from this study showed participants saw whakapapa as an essential human and cultural resource essential to informing the appropriate use of AHR. Discussed in this study were the anxieties of infertile Māori and takatāpui Māori (intimate friends of the same gender) wanting to continue their whakapapa lineage. Participants were also concerned for the uncertainty around the tapu, mana, mauri, wairua and hau of the child when an unknown donor parent existed. The biggest concern amongst participants was the protection of whakapapa, which was integral in decision-making pertaining to the selection of sperm donors or birth mothers. Some participants saw the need to develop tikanga pertaining to AHR, while others believed it similar to whāngai (in terms of relinquishing a child) and that tikanga could apply (Glover & Rousseau, 2007).

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[79] These are established procedures required of clinics (without ECART approval) and exceptions to those procedures that require ECART approval (Advisory Committee on Assisted Reproductive Technology, 2021).

[80] The Advisory Committee for Assisted Reproductive Technology.

Two decades ago prominent New Zealand adoption reform advocate Keith
Griffith warned that children born through AHR risked the same identity issues as
children of closed adoptions, particularly when donors were unknown (Griffith,
2000). The HART Act emphasises the importance of sharing knowledge of genetic
origins. The Act's principles stipulate that "the needs, values, and beliefs of Māori
should be considered and treated with respect" (Human Assisted Reproductive
Technology Act, 2004, s. 4f). In the case of Māori donors who have donated an
embryo or donated cell through a provider[81] the provider must obtain information
pertaining to that donor's whānau, hapū and iwi (to the extent the donor is aware of
their affiliations[82]) (Human Assisted Reproductive Technology Act, 2004, s. 47h).

Although few Māori participate in surrogacy arrangements there are issues in
the current legislation that require further discussion amongst Māori (Te Aka Matua
o te Ture - Law Commission, 2022). In its 27 May 2022 final report *Te Kōpū
Whāngai: He Arotake - Review of Surrogacy*, Te Aka Matua o te Ture - The Law
Commission[83] advocated for law reform[84] to determine a new framework for legal
parenthood in surrogacy arrangements,[85] including amendments to the HART Act
2004. Other key recommendations included; "establishing a national surrogacy birth
register to preserve access to information by surrogate-born people about their
genetic and gestational origins and whakapapa" and "commissioning Māori-led
research to provide a better understanding of tikanga Māori and surrogacy and Māori

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[81] Defined as: (a) means a person who, in the course of a business (whether or not carried on with a
view to making a profit), performs, or arranges the performance of, services in which donated
embryos or donated cells are used; and (b) includes a successor provider. For example a fertility clinic
(Human Assisted Reproductive Technology Act, 2004).

[82] Amongst other identifying information.

[83] An Independent Crown Entity.

[84] Note the Law Commission attempted to reform surrogacy laws in 2005 but this was shelved
(Clement, 2022).

perspectives on surrogacy". Separating out surrogacy parental laws from adoption

laws was proposed which would discontinue the need to register surrogate births

under the Adoption Act 1955.[86] Another recommendation was a long-form birth

certificate for donor offspring,[87] which would include the child's whakapapa plus a

surrogate's details (Te Aka Matua o te Ture - Law Commission, 2022).

Under the current HART Act 2004 a donor can ask a provider if a donor

offspring has asked for information about the donor and the provider must oblige. If

there is no endangerment to any person a provider may also reveal information to a

donor about a donor offspring, but only with a donor offspring's consent (Human

Assisted Reproductive Technology Act 2004, s.49). Under the current law the onus

of maintaining the whakapapa of a tamaiti Māori is reliant on the legal (i.e. adoptive)

parents of that child.

In 2019 an Advisory Committee on Assisted Reproductive Technology

(ACART) provided guidelines to Cabinet regarding the use of sperm, eggs and

embryos in surrogacy arrangements. Amongst the recommended changes was the

removal of the mandatory biological link (change one), between at least one

intending parent and any offspring, which was seen as restrictive and unjustifiably

discriminatory (Advisory Committee on Assisted Reproductive Technology, 2021).

ACART's suggestion while aiming to be inclusive towards prospective parents,

poses questions about maintaining whakapapa links. In its recent decision it appears

ACART has favoured the right to be a parent as opposed to the right of a child to

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[85] Currently intended parents must use the Adoption Act 1955 (New Zealand Law Commission, 2022).

[86] Instead approval would be through ECART and applying for legal parenthood would be through a separate Family Court pathway (Clement, 2022).

[87] This is the term that the HART legislation uses.

their identity.[88] For the child born via surrogacy, if there is no biological parent involved in the surrogacy arrangement, how does the law protect the child's whakapapa connections to their biological family?

In September 2021 Member of Parliament Tāmati Coffey (who is also a parent of a child conceived by surrogacy) proposed amending surrogacy laws with the Improving Arrangements for Surrogacy Bill.[89] This bill proposed that intending parents should forgo the adoption process and gain "automatic legal status at the point that custody of the child is transferred". Amongst other suggestions the bill also acknowledged a child's right to know their genetic origins[90] under the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCROC)[91] and required the Registrar to "register information about the identity of the surrogate and any person who donated an embryo or cells for the pregnancy".

From a Māori worldview, surrogacy and IVF poses some whakapapa dilemmas. Mead (2003) provides some insight into a tikanga Māori stating – "surrogacy aims at creating a new mauri in a way that does not follow the accepted norm" (p. 341). However, Mead believes surrogacy is a moral and social issue rather than a risk to mauri. Mead provides an example of a sister being a surrogate for her

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[88] ACART realised some donor offspring do not know how to access their genetic heritage. ACART recommended government departments (Department of Internal Affairs and Births, Deaths and Marriages) educate people that access to genetic heritage for donor offspring is available through the HART register (Advisory Committee on Assisted Reproductive Technology, 2021).

[89] This private member's bill aims to improve and streamline surrogacy arrangements, by amending five Acts and two sets of regulations: Human Assisted Reproductive Technology Act 2004; Care of Children Act 2004; Status of Children Act 1969; Child Support Act 1991; Births, Deaths, Marriages, and Relationships Registration Act 1995; Births, Deaths, Marriages, and Relationships Registration (Prescribed Information) Regulations 1995 and the Social Security (Exemptions under Section 105) Regulations 1998. It had its first reading before the House on 18 May 2022 (New Zealand Parliament, 2022).

[90] …and to be cared for by them (Article 7.1) and the right to seek and receive information of all kinds (Article 13(1)) (UNCROC).

[91] Ratified by New Zealand in 1993.

brother and his wife. In this case the whare whakaira tangata (place where pregnancy occurs) of his sister is tapu for the brother and breach of this would create utu or social stigma.[92] To deal with contentious issues such as surrogacy, Mead offers tikanga Māori frameworks to guide decision-making. This framework includes "the tapu test, the mauri test, the take-utu-ea test, the precedent test and finally the principles test"[93] (Mead, 2003, p. 349).

The identity challenges that closed adoptions created for Māori should be a warning that we do not want to repeat past mistakes through these new ways to make a family. Questions raised include; how do donor's (and their whānau) and donor offspring maintain their whakapapa connections? How does a donor offspring who is Māori connect to their whakapapa through a lived experience, when the parents that raise them are not related through whakapapa[94]? How are the surrogacy laws defining parent or family?[95] Although surrocacy and AHR are topics outside the scope of this rangahau, establishing laws underpinned by tikanga which protects whakapapa of all tamariki Māori (irrespective of how they are conceived) is necessary and requires future discussion amongst Māori.

Blanket 9: The Incarcerated

Unfortunately, like our state care system, prisons are dominated by a high Māori population. As of 2022 the proportion of Māori inmates compared to non-Māori was 53 percent and the number of Māori on remand was 59 percent. The

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[92] Current ECART legislation forbids gametes donated from some close family relatives (Advisory Committee on Assisted Reproductive Technology, 2021).

[93] Mead's frameworks may provide policymakers and Māori with guidance when making decisions.

[94] In 2023 the NZ Herald reported on a judge who gave guardianship rights to a Māori sperm donor. The birth mother was Pākehā, but contested the donor father's involvement (Griffiths, 2023).

[95] As of June 2023 a decision regarding surrogacy law reform was yet to be finalised.

disproportionate growth[96] of incarcerated Māori has been attributed to colonisation, urbanisation, and a discriminatory justice system, which has impacted the individual's mana and tapu and their whānau, resulting in long-lasting intergenerational effects (Ināia Tonu Nei, 2022).

In April 2019 over 200 Māori with criminal justice experience met to discuss ways to decolonise the justice system[97]. *Ināia Tonu Nei* was born from these conversations to provide a Māori voice to justice system reform and hold the Crown accountable to their Te Tiriti o Waitangi obligations. High on the agenda was a need to address institutional racism within the justice system, implement decarceration and excarceration strategies, empower whānau and communities, and design a system focused on habilitation, rehabilitation, healing, and restoration (Ināia Tonu Nei, 2022).

Although some prisons have tikanga and kaupapa Māori services and support,[98] imprisoned Māori are denied the benefits of a lived engagement with whakapapa (e.g., participating in marae, hapū, iwi events). Some Māori inmates have spent a lifetime being denied access to their whakapapa (and a whānau environment) due to long-term residence in state institutions. For example, findings from the *Abuse in Care - Royal Commission of Inquiry* found one in three children/young people who had been in state residential care between 1950-1999 also served a criminal custodial sentence later in life (as cited in Ināia Tonu Nei, 2022). Authentically restoring, protecting, and maintaining the whakapapa of Māori inmates is difficult

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[96] These numbers grew between 1960-1980 (Ināia Tonu Nei, 2022).

[97] This event occurred in response to the Crown's Criminal Justice Summit in August 2018.

[98] For example, the Specialist Māori Cultural Assessment, Māori Service Teams, Tikanga Māori programmes, Te Ara Māori units, whānau liaison officers, Mauri Tu Pae, and Te Tirohanga (tikanga-based services formerly known as Māori focus units). See also: https://artsaccess.org.nz/connecting-prisoners-to-their-whakapapa.

when the environment is an antithesis to tikanga Māori. Despite the many recommendations for justice sector reform to better cater for Māori the Crown has been criticised for its inaction. The vision of Ināia Tonu Nei is "to build an Aotearoa where all whānau, tamariki and mokopuna are thriving, connected and are able to exercise tino rangatiratanga over their lives without prisons" (Ināia Tonu Nei, 2022, p. 16).

Summary

As this section has outlined Māori adoptees are just one of several groups who would benefit from strategies to restore, maintain, and protect whakapapa. There are also Māori who have been incarcerated, displaced from their ancestral lands, or living far away in urban cities in Aotearoa or abroad. Surrogacy and AHR also has the potential to create a future cohort of people without a lived experience of whakapapa.

In the last two centuries Māori have lost their land and had their whānau social structures upturned. Colonisation is a common story that other Indigenous Peoples share. The next section discusses how discriminatory child welfare legislation impacted Indigenous Peoples in other British settler colonies. The two contexts discussed are Australia and Canada.

Part 3: An International Context

Blanket 10: Assimilation of Indigenous Peoples

In the *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide* (Genocide Convention) Article 2 (e) prohibits "Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group". Various scholars and survivors have cited that what occurred in residential schools in Australia and Canada should be officially

recognised as an act of genocide[99] (Australian Human Rights Commission, 1997; MacDonald, 2019; McKegney, 2007; Starblanket, 2018).

Like Māori, colonisation has also impacted other Indigenous Peoples who share similar stories of cultural, spiritual and social invasion. Residential boarding schools, adoption and fostering outside of kinship groups have all been used as tactics to assimilate and subordinate Indigenous Peoples resulting in whakapapa trauma (soul-wounding). The next section highlights the State's intervention into the lives of Indigenous children in Australia and Canada. Discussed are the challenges Indigenous Peoples have faced, and the changes required to redress past wrongs. Like Aotearoa, Australia and Canada legislation was founded upon British Law (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2023). Understanding these international contexts may help inform the way forward for Māori seeking reparation for past injustices.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island Peoples

The Stolen Generations (1910-1970)

In Australia mid 19th century state laws and policies were created to remove Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children who were "full bloods"[100] from their communities for their "protection" and sent to reformatory/industrial schools or dormitories. Some of these laws included; the 1869 Aborigines Protection Act (Vic) and the 1897 Aboriginal Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act (Qld). The 1905 Aborigines Act (WA), further diminished Aboriginal Peoples' parental rights, giving legal guardian status of all "aboriginal" children and "half-caste"[101]

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[99] Canada's TRC use the term cultural genocide, which under international law means there is no criminal culpability (MacDonald, 2019; Starblanket, 2018).

[100] A race-based, assimilative and offensive term referring to Indigenous people of 'unmixed' Indigenous ancestry (Australian Human Rights Commission, n.d.).

[101] A race-based, assimilative and offensive term that classified Indigenous people of mixed Indigenous and European descent (Australian Human Rights Commission, n.d.).

children (under 16 years) to the Director of Native Welfare. It did not matter if the child had living parents (other states/territories enacted similar laws). Court proof of neglect was also not needed when the 1915 Aborigines Protection Amending Act (NSW) was introduced, which gave power to the Aboriginal Protection Board to remove Aboriginal children uncontested (Bringing Them Home, n.d.).

By the 1940s most States had adopted an assimilation policy[102] to remove Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children (of mainly mixed ancestry) from their families and place them in residential schools, white adoptive/foster families or work placements as unpaid nannies, domestic servants or farm labourers (Australian Human Rights Commission, 1997). By the 1950s assimilation was affirmed as the aim of "native welfare" measures, impacting all Aboriginal Peoples, including those of mixed-ancestry. Aboriginal Peoples did not get to have their say in these early laws, only receiving the right to vote in a federal election in 1962 (Australian Law Reform Commission, 2010). MacDonald (2019) argues "…transfer was not focused on assimilation and merging of Indigenous People's into a homogenous group, but was intended to bring them to serve the "already-established dominant group" (p. 66). Cassidy (2006) cites another reason was to break the Aboriginal child's traditional connection to their land. A contemporary consequence of this Act is that people of the Stolen Generation era are prevented from making land rights claims. Aboriginal Peoples land was also possessed through legislation that categorised Aboriginal Peoples based on racist blood quantum categories, whereby "half-castes", "quadroons" or "octoroons" were prohibited from residing on Aboriginal reserves (Cassidy, 2006).

During the era of the Stolen Generations (1910-1970s) it is estimated as many as one in three (20,000-25,000)[103] Aboriginal children were separated from their families and communities, an action sanctioned and executed by various governments, churches and welfare bodies (Australians Together, 2022; MacDonald, 2019; University of South Australia, 2021). In 1969 legislation to remove Aboriginal children under the policy of "protection" was repealed by all states. Aboriginal and Islander Child Care Agencies (AICCAs) were also established who advocated for the placement of Indigenous children with Indigenous adoptive and foster families[104] (Bringing Them Home, n.d.). However, despite these initiatives the preference in the 1970s and 1980s of placing Indigenous children in non-Indigenous foster and adoptive families continued and has since been heavily criticised for creating another stolen generation (Bringing Them Home, 2023). To mitigate this issue the *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Child Placement Principle* (ATSICPP)[105] was enacted into the Northern Territory in 1983, however Western Australia was slow to respond not recognising the principle until 2006 (Bringing Them Home, n.d.).

Bringing Them Home Report

The 1994 *Going Home Conference* in Darwin (which attracted 600 Aboriginal people stolen from their families) was pivotal in provoking the Federal Government to undertake a *National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from their Families*. The Inquiry heard from 1000

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[102] Assimilative ideology assumes Indigenous Peoples will fit in, instead of being culturally distinct thus creating a nationalistic fiction and an 'imagined community' of shared commonalities (AustLII, 2023).

[103] Note estimates vary. The *Bringing Them Home* report estimated a minimum of one in 10. The Healing Foundation estimates the minimum to be 15,000 (P. Anderson & Tilton, 2017).

[104] Placement of Indigenous children still occurred outside of kinship (Bringing Them Home, n.d.).

[105] The ATSICPP centres on five elements: prevention, partnership, placement and connection (SNAICC, 2018).

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, which resulted in heightened public awareness of the stolen generation (Healing Foundation, 2017). From the inquiry emerged the 1997 *Bringing Them Home Report* (Northern Territory Stolen Generations Aboriginal Corporation, 2022). This report examined the impacts of past laws, policies, practices pertaining to forcible removal,[106] highlighting the abuse (physical, emotional, sexual and mental) that occurred. There were testimonials that stated children were starved, flogged, had their heads shaved, their aboriginal identity stripped and their contact with their families severed. Children adopted or fostered out into white families or sent to work placements suffered abuse, received little education, were told they were white or received meagre or no wages. Intergenerational forced removals were further perpetuated when females became mothers, due to the sexual abuse that had occurred within these institutions and family placements (Australian Human Rights Commission, 1997).

The *Bringing Them Home* report described the removal of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families and communities as a "genocidal act" (Australian Human Rights Commission, 1997, p. 190). The report identified what changes were needed to current laws, practices and policies to support those affected by forcible removal. The key principles proposed to guide the government response were self-determination; non-discrimination; cultural renewal; a coherent policy base and adequate resources (Anderson & Tilton, 2017; Australian Human Rights Commission, 1997). Amongst the 54 recommendations were reparation, rehabilitation for those impacted, a need for improved public awareness, apologies (from education, church, police and all parliaments), guarantees against repetition

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[106] Defined as by compulsion, under duress or undue influence (Australian Human Rights Commission, 1997).

and addressing contemporary separation. Recommendation 52: Standard 7 viewed the adoption of an Indigenous child outside of the family as a last resort and that it must be open. Some of the support mooted for the stolen generation included opportunities to record testimonies, compensation, assistance to return to county,[107] indigenous identification support, right to access personal information to establish identity of family members and better access to family information, tracing and reunion services (Australian Human Rights Commission, 1997).

The release of the *Bringing Them Home* report in 1997 saw increased public support for the Stolen Generations plight through a grassroots Sorry Book campaign, a National Sorry Day, a memorial and state and territory parliamentary apologies. However, the report's principles and recommendations were rejected by the Government of the day (Anderson & Tilton, 2017). In 1999 the Australian Federal Government under John Howard passed a *Motion of Reconciliation* (Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, 2022). However, the motion failed to address compensation for the Stolen Generations and did not say sorry[108] instead using the word "regret" with Howard believing a national apology would place inter-generational guilt on current generations of Australians for past wrongs done by earlier generations (Grace, 2001; Parliament of Australia, 1999). In 2000 the Bridge Walk for Reconciliation saw more than 250,00 people march across Sydney Harbour Bridge to support an apology and walks occurred in other Australian states (National Museum of Australia, 2022).

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[107] Between 1980 to 2001 Link-Up services were established in some states to provide family tracing and reunion support for forcibly removed children and their families (Bringing Them Home, n.d.).

[108] Critics have mooted that the lack of an apology is a failure of recognition and respect (D. Grace, 2001).

Reconciliation Australia

Although reticent about an apology the government did commit $63 million (over four years and then allocated permanent funding in 2001-2002) for a variety of social, cultural and educational services (Anderson & Tilton, 2017). In 2000 the *Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation* presented a roadmap for reconciliation to the Government (Reconciliation SA, 2021). In 2001 the organisation *Reconciliation Australia* was established, whose current work is to enact the *Australian Reconciliation Barometer*,[109] which is a biennial, national research study that measures attitudes towards reconciliation – "race relations; equality and equity; unity; institutional integrity and historical acceptance" (Reconciliation Australia, 2022).

In the decade following the release of the *Bringing Them Home* report, several inquiries vilified the government response as being poorly documented and coordinated and for insufficiently prioritising the needs of first-generation Stolen Generation members. Many of the report's recommendations had not been implemented (Anderson & Tilton, 2017). In 2008 Prime Minister Kevin Rudd finally gave a national apology to the Stolen Generations (National Museum Australia, 2022).

In 2009 the *Healing Foundation* – a national organisation was established to partner with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples to address the healing needs of Stolen Generations (Healing Foundation, 2023). In 2017 the Healing Foundation released an action plan for healing with three key actions; a comprehensive response for Stolen Generations; healing intergenerational trauma and creating an environment for change (Anderson & Tilton, 2017). In 2019 the

National Indigenous Australians Agency (NIAA) was established to oversee the implementation of Government's policies and programmes for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples (Australian Government National Indigenous Australians Agency, 2016). In 2021 and 2022 Territory and National redress schemes and Stolen Generation Reparation Packages were launched (First Peoples - State Relations, 2022; Healing Foundation, 2023).

Out-of-home-care and Australian children

Australia has a long history of placing children in institutions and out-of-home care. In 2009 a National Apology was also given to the Forgotten Australians[110] (estimated to be 500, 000) and Former Child Migrants[111] (estimated to be 7,000) who were placed in institutional or other out-of-home care[112] (Australian Government Department of Social Services, 2018). Today there are still a significant number of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children being raised outside of their kinship and communities. For example as of 30 June 2021 there were 58 per one thousand Indigenous children (or 19,500) in out-of-home care. Although ATSICPP (now adopted by all jurisdictions) has increased placements within Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander families, this does not always occur. Statistics from between 2020–21 show "63% of Indigenous children were placed with Indigenous or non-Indigenous relatives/kin or other Indigenous caregivers, with some variation across states and territories" (Australian Government Australian Institute of Health and

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[109] The barometer was launched in 2008 (Reconciliation Australia, 2022).

[110] "Refers to people who spent time as children in institutions, orphanages and other forms of out-of-home 'care', prior to 1990… also known as Care Leavers or Pre-1990 Care Leavers" (Open Place, 2022).

[111] These child migration schemes occurred until 1970 (Australian Government Department of Social Services, 2018).

Welfare, 2022) with the remainder of Indigenous children still being placed outside of their kinship or ethnic group.

Canadian Inuit, Métis, First Nations

Indian Residential Schools (1900s-1990s)

Like Australia, Canada also has a shameful history of mistreatment of its Indigenous Peoples through the forced removal of their children from their families. Underpinning these practices in Canada were laws such as The Indian Act, which was first introduced in 1876 to assimilate its Indigenous Peoples into a non-Indigenous society. In 1920 Duncan Campbell Scott, Superintendent Department of Indian Affairs (1913-1932), while discussing amendments to the Indian Act, famously quoted "I want to get rid of the Indian problem...Our object is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic and there is no Indian question" (as cited in Starblanket, 2018, p. 21). The Indian Act restricted cultural, political, and religious expression, replacing traditional governance structures and suppressing identity. For example, if an Indian woman married a non-Indian, she (and her children) would forfeit their Indian status (The Canadian Encyclopedia, 2002). Another insidious outcome of the Indian Act was the formation of the Indian Residential School System (IRS) (Starblanket, 2018).

The IRS system was designed and implemented by the Canadian state and church from 1883-1996 (Starblanket, 2018). Indigenous children were physically isolated from their communities and were prevented from speaking their language, practicing their spirituality or customs or accessing their oral histories. In these schools Indigenous children had their names anglicized (often replaced with

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[112] The Australian Government also allocated funding ($26.5 million) to this group over four years to *Find and Connect* services which was extended from 2022 to 2026 (Australian Government

numbers), their traditional clothing confiscated and were indoctrinated to adopt Western culture and values of individualism (MacDonald, 2019; Starblanket, 2018). First Nations scholar Tamara Starblanket (2018) states the IRS system was a "destructive and vicious legal framework" invoking "doctrines of racial superiority" and was a "civilising project" that forcibly removed Indigenous Peoples' children from their Nations, lands and territories (p. 89).

During its century-long existence it is estimated that 150,000 children attended Canada's residential schools (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015b). In the 1930-1940s the schools were particularly grim with poor heating, inadequate food, harsh discipline, overcrowding and poor sanitation (MacDonald, 2019; Starblanket, 2018). The recent discovery of 1300 unmarked graves[113] on four former residential school sites in Western Canada indicates the extent of the horror that occurred within these institutions (Mosby & Million, 2021). Out of the reported deaths (mainly pre-1940) tuberculosis was a common cause, however there were also deaths by drowning, school fires, exposure and accidents. Indigenous children who died were denied a traditional burial and often parents were not told of their deaths or the cause (MacDonald, 2019). Amongst IRS survivors still living there has been lasting psychological trauma. Unable to navigate the racism of white settler society, there is also an internalised shame amongst some IRS survivors towards their ethnic identity[114] (MacDonald, 2019).

Department of Social Services, 2021).

[113] One of the TRC's call to action was to find out how many children died in schools and why they died (MacDonald, 2019).

[114] These finding are similar to the perceptions some Māori adoptees have about their Māori identity (West, 2012).

Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples

In 1996 the *Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP)* final report was published - a 4000 page five-volume document. The report writers consulted with over 2,000 people and made 440 recommendations and the report garnered significant public attention, highlighting the abuse that had occurred in the IRS system (Hurley & Wherrett, 1999). Starblanket, (2018) states the RACAP report concluded that Canada's assimilative policies and laws were "designed to move communities, and eventually all [Indian] People's, from their helpless 'savage' state to one of self-reliant 'civilisation' and thus to make in Canada but one community – a non-[Indian], Christian one" (p. 90). Amongst the RCAP Report's suggestions (and relevant to this thesis) was the recommendation that there should be a recognition of Aboriginal[115] nations authority over child welfare.

The Government's belated 1998 response to the RCAP Report included the *Gathering Strength: Canada's Aboriginal Action Plan*, which emphasised non-constitutional changes. The plan's four key objectives included; renewing the partnership; strengthening Aboriginal governance; a new fiscal relationship and supporting strong communities, people and economics (Hurley & Wherrett, 1999). A key recommendation of the RCAP Report was a restructuring of the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples in Canada, and a call to establish an Indigenous parliament. The majority of the RCAP Report's recommendations were not fully implemented as it would have required constitutional change (Doerr, 2021). However, the federal government (as part of its action plan), did provide a *Statement of Reconciliation* and committed $350 million towards community-based healing to

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[115] This was the term used at the time to describe Canada's Indigenous Peoples.

those impacted by the IRS system. Canada's official apology for the IRS system occurred in 2008 (Doerr, 2021).

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada

Findings from *The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC)* highlights the direct and indirect impacts of the IRS system on Canada's Indigenous Peoples. The TRC was established in 2007 in response to the *Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement*, the largest class action settlement in Canadian history. With a 72 million fiscal purse, the Commission spent six years (between 2007-2015) collating the narratives of 6,500 IRS witnesses (survivors, former teachers/adminstrative staff). A comprehensive report was published in 2015 with 94 calls to action, which included redressing the legacy of residential schools and advancing the process of Canadian reconciliation (Government of Canada, 2015; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a). Despite TRC's establishment, because it was not an official commission of inquiry, it lacked the judicial power to offically state the Canadian government had committed acts of genocide or crimes against humanity, (although this is inferred in the evidence). Although TRC collected 5 million records it was hampered in its efforts by federal government and church representatives who withheld or destroyed relevant information.[116] While the TRC gave voice to those impacted by the IRS system it also did not have the mandate to compel perpetrators to open their residential school files or to talk (MacDonald, 2019).

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[116] In 2017 the Supreme Court voted to allow for destruction of Common Experience Payments (CEP) and Independent Assessment Process (IAP) records of deceased or non-contactable survivors as a period of 15 years had lapsed. However, living and contactable survivors could have their records archived (MacDonald, 2019).

A variety of government, university, media initiatives and other organisations have continued the work of the TRC, including the University of British Columbia's Indian Residential School History and Dialogue Centre (IRSHDC)[117] (MacDonald, 2019). Amongst its activities IRSHDC supports IRS survivors through the collection of oral histories, curation of IRS records and information, creation of educational resources and faciliating critical dialogue (The University of British Columbia, 2023). The Indian Residential School Survivors Society (IRSSS), also supports IRS survivors through research, education, awareness, partnerships, and advocating for justice and healing (Indian Residential School Survivors Society, 2023).

The Sixties Scoop and Millennium Scoop (1960s–present)

As the IRS system was phased out in the 1950s and child welfare responsibility shifted from federal to provincial control another destructive regime emerged (Sinclair, 2016). Coined the "Sixties Scoop"[118] this adoption and fostering practice was prevalent between the 1960s to the mid-1980s which resulted in disproportionate numbers of Indigenous children (and babies) being uplifted (with little warning or consent) from their families and being fostered or adopted into non-Indigenous families (Sinclair, 2007). (Sinclair, 2016). Métis adoptee and scholar Allyson Stevenson (2021) argues the Sixties Scoop was another "government-orchestrated policy of Indigenous elimination" (p. vii). Fournier & Crey (1997) state that by the 1970s "one in three First Nations children was separated from their families by adoption or fostering" (as cited in Sinclair, 2016). Indigenous children

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[117] https://irshdc.ubc.ca/

[118] Coined by Patrick Johnston in 1983 who wrote the report *Aboriginal Children and the Child Welfare System* by the federal department of Social Policy Development (Sinclair, 2007). Sinclair (2007) states this was not a specific child welfare programme or policy, but a descriptor applied to the Aboriginal child welfare era.

were also placed into non-Indigenous families and birth records sealed. In the interests of making these children more 'adoptable' to prospective adoptive parents, the ethnicity of Indigenous adoptees was withheld and adoptees were told they were of French or Italian descent. The child's ethnic group and band were also not necessarily recorded on birth records[119] (Lyons, 2000). While some of the Sixties Scoop[120] children ended up in Canadian homes, others were marketed[121] and sold to American or overseas adoption agencies to be transracially adopted. Up until 1982, there were no laws to stop Indigenous adoptees from being removed from Canada (MacDonald, 2019). The Sixties Scoop has been attributed to the practices of overzealous, ethnocentric social workers who believed they were rescuing Indigenous children from the poverty of the Indian reserves or poor parenting and providing children with loving and secure homes (Sinclair, 2007; Stevenson, 2021). Stevenson (2021) states "benevolent justifications to enact cultural genocide of Indigenous peoples through removing children is the bleeding heart of settler colonialism" (p. 5).

Indigenous Peoples spoke out against Canada's assimilative child welfare system lobbying for an end to transracial adoption and fostering of Indigenous children and proposing Indigenous solutions for Indigenous families[122] (Stevenson, 2021). In British Columbia in 1981 Shuswap[123] Band leader, Wayne Christian initiated a movement against assimilative child welfare approaches that assumed Indigenous Peoples were culturally inferior and unable to care for the needs of their

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[119] This also occurred in Aotearoa see Chapter 6.

[120] Also called the Stolen Generation or Forgotten Generation (MacDonald, 2019).

[121] For example, the *Adopt Indian and Métis Project* in Saskatchewan (Stevenson, 2021).

[122] For example, First Nations and Métis peoples who spoke out include the Saskatchewan Native Women's Movement (SNWM) and the Federation of Saskatchewa Indian Nations (FSIN) (Stevenson, 2021).

children (Sinclair, 2007). In Manitoba during the 1980s Justice Edwin Kimmelman

led a judicial inquiry into Indian and Métis Adoption Placements (Sinclair, 2016).

Kimmelman's final report called *No Quiet Place* was released in 1985 with

recommendations for reforming a Child Welfare system that had caused "cultural

genocide" (Kimelman, 1985).[124] The Inquiry led to an immediate moratorium on

Indigenous adoption in Manitoba (Sinclair, 2016). Indigenous leaders also demanded

"full control and recognition of their rights to determine the futures of their children"

(Stevenson, 2021, p. 11). Ending transracial adoption of Indigenous children

"symbolized ending the unequal and unilateral policies of integration after the

Second World War" (Stevenson, 2021, p. 224). It is not yet known the exact number

of Indigenous children impacted by the Sixties Scoop, however 1996 Indian Affairs

statistics indicates there were 11,123 First Nation children placed into non-

Indigenous homes in Canada and overseas during this era. This statistic excludes

Indigenous children who were not Status Indians under the Indian Act or whose

ethnicity and band was not recorded on files (Sinclair, 2016).

Despite the harm that Indigenous children of the Sixties Scoop era suffered,

(and years of lobbying for change) disproportionate numbers of Indigenous children

are still being placed into long-term foster homes or institutional care (Sinclair,

2007). Citing the 2016 census, MacDonald (2019) states, "Indigenous children under

four represent only 8 percent of the total number of children in Canada, but in 2016,

represented 51.2 percent of children in foster care, up from 49.1 percent in 2011" (p.

97). Coined the "Millennium Scoop" and a "humanitarian crisis" the ideology

underpinning Canada's child welfare practice is still rooted in destructive colonial

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[123] Secwépemc is the term that First Nations Peoples use.

[124] Canadian transracial adoption practices during this era mirrors what also occurred in Aotearoa.

ideology and discrimination (Stevenson, 2021). The scooping up of Indigenous

children continues rather than addressing causational factors such as poverty, poor

housing, domestic violence, substance abuse and decades of federal government

under-funding for on-reserve child and family service agencies[125] (Stevenson, 2021).

Summary

The themes discussed in this wāhanga are rooted in assimilative laws,

paternalistic and benevolent practices, which resulted in thousands of Indigenous

children (across generations) being removed from their families and cultural roots.

Harmful residential schools, state institutions, transracial adoptions and fostering

placements have all contributed to a whakapapa huna. The agenda of the dominant

class in British settler societies (e.g., Australia, Canada, Aotearoa) sought to destroy

Indigenous Peoples relationships with their whakapapa, whānau and whenua.

Highlighted in this discussion is the dodging of successive governments to take full

and authentic responsibility for the atrocities that occurred or address the

contemporary determinants that continue to lead to whānau fragility. Furthermore,

when recommendations for improving current systems are made (e.g., *Bringing

Them Home or the RCAP*), they are ignored or poorly implemented. While much

redress work is required in countries such as Australia and Canada, there are

learnings applicable to the Aotearoa context as similar assimilative policies (e.g.

closed transracial adoptions) also impacted Māori. While the contexts may differ the

outcomes have been similar, leading to Indigenous Peoples living with a whakapapa

huna. Halting deficit outcomes for these groups and their descendants requires

acknowledging what occurred, what redress is required and what solutions for

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[125] In 2016 the Canadian government was found in breach of the Canadian Human Rights Act for their failure to provide the same rate of funding for on-reserve as off-reserve child family services

healing and self-determination are needed. In the Aotearoa context understanding what laws, policies, procedures, resources and services are needed to effectively support Māori with reconnecting with their families and communities is one of the goals of this rangahau (see Wāhanga 8).

Ideology is defined as "a set of ideas that an economic or political system is based on" (Oxford University Press, 2023). The ideology that has shaped British Commonwealth countries (Aotearoa, Australia and Canada) has negatively impacted Indigenous Peoples' "tino rangatiratanga over their kāinga" and their greatest taonga - tamariki. In this wāhanga these factors have been described as blankets of oppression. The next wāhanga explores in more depth a "blanket of oppression" that has been particularly destructive to Māori in Aotearoa – the closed adoption of tamariki Māori.

(Stevenson, 2021).

WĀHANGA 5: WHAKAPAPA HUNA - ADOPTION IN AOTEAROA

Rona sat hugging her knees tightly and nursing her sore foot as Cloud wrapped his blanket around her, pretending to offer comfort. The kihikihi were silent and the patupaiarehe had dispersed scuttling away to cause mischief elsewhere. Rona knew she had angered the atua and that there was going to be a consequence. She waited patiently for Hina to reappear. The silent darkness muffled the cries of her whānau calling her name (West, 2023).

Blanket 11: Adoption and Tamariki Māori (1950s-1970s)

The past, present and future are intertwined. The history of child welfare legislation in Aotearoa has been influenced by colonial ideologies cemented in State legislation and policies. Green (2018) identifies how these ideologies can be chronologised under five broad policy periods: "Early contact and dispossession (pre-1860s); paternalism and protection (1860s to 1920s); paternalism and assimilation (1920s to 1960s); integration (1960s to 1970s); and self-management and commodification (1975 to 2016)" (p. 123).[126] To understand the context that formed the child welfare laws in Aotearoa it is worth examining political decisions that contributed to Māori marginalisation and a whakapapa huna. While the previous wāhanga provided a broad overview of the impact of British colonisation, this wāhanga narrows in scope to focus on one area – the adoption of tamariki Māori in Aotearoa. Māori adoptees and their whānau are part of a broader cohort of Māori impacted by the State's legislative decision-making. This wāhanga aims to demonstrate how the ideologies of assimilation and integration embedded in

adoption legislation, policies and practices was an antithesis to Māori perspectives of childrearing (whāngai).

Whāngai and Legislation

Before discussing adoption, it is important to explain whāngai – a Māori worldview of childrearing. Whāngai means "feed" "nourish" or "bring up"[127] (Williams, 1985) and as a customary childrearing practice differs from Western understandings of adoption. Whāngai arrangements are not necessarily permanent or formal and its principles include "openness; placement within the family; whakapapa and whanaungatanga" (Law Commission, 2000, p. 75). In describing the diverse reasons for whāngai placements Mead (1997) uses the terms: "He whare ngaro (lost house); He whakamahana i ngā here whanaungatanga (warming the kinship links); He wahine pukupā (barren women) and He waka pākaru (broken canoe)" (pp. 206-207). Mead (1997) states traditionally the whāngai system was used to help tamariki survive, strengthen whānau links, support childless couples, or provide tamariki with whānau when a parent or parents had died. Despite the philosophical differences between whāngai and adoption, they are terms that historically lawmakers have used incorrectly and interchangeably, with whāngai being described in law as "customary adoption" (New Zealand Law Commission, 1999b) or "a person adopted in accordance with tikanga Māori" (Te Ture Whenua Māori Act: Māori Land Act, 1993 s4).

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[126] Green (2018) provides a timeline that maps state policy, legislation and events to these ideologies.
[127] Refer to Williams (1985) for other meanings.

At various points in history whāngai has and has not received legal recognition[128] (New Zealand Law Commission, 1999b). After the introduction of the 1901 Native Land Claims and Adjustment and Laws Amendment Act whāngai people were prevented from claiming the estates of their whāngai parents (dying "Natives"[129]) unless they were registered in the Native Land Court and their details published publicly in the New Zealand Gazette (McRae & Nikora, 2006; Native Land Claims Adjustment and Laws Amendment Act, 1901). The Native Land Act 1909[130] further revoked whāngai as a legally recognised customary practice forcing Māori to legally adopt their whāngai tamariki through the Native Land Court and the adoptions registered and recorded in the New Zealand Gazette (McRae & Nikora, 2006; New Zealand Law Commission, 1999b).

Today whāngai, while not recognised under adoption legislation is acknowledged by Te Ture Whenua Māori (Succession, Dispute Resolution, and Related Matters) Amendment Act 2020, when determining Māori land succession. Under this Act the "tikanga of the relevant iwi or hapū" determines if a relationship of descent exists between a whāngai child and their birth parents[131] or the child's new parents after they became a whāngai (s 114A). Currently some iwi accept whāngai as beneficiaries of the iwi, while other iwi do not (Jenkins, 2021).

During the 2021-2022 adoption reform consultations the question was raised about legally recognising whāngai under adoption legislation. It is not the first time that this question has been asked. In the 1980s, Puao-te-ata-tu advocated for Māori

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[128] The dates when whāngai was recognised in law include between 1899-1902 and between 1927-1930 (equated whāngai to adoption). From 1930 onwards a whāngai child was no longer treated as an adopted child (New Zealand Law Commission, 1999b).

[129] Native was a term that was used instead of Māori in early New Zealand legislation.

[130] Refer to Part IX section 161.

adoption models to be legally recognised and whānau to be heard, when court

decisions were being made about adopting out tamariki (The Māori Perspective

Advisory Committee, 1988). Feedback from the recent adoption reforms stated lack

of recognition of whāngai in law meant whāngai parents faced practical barriers such

as accessing government assistance, enrolling a child in a school or accessing

medical treatment. There was a call to repeal clause 19 of the Adoption Act[132] as

currently it meant "no Māori person is capable of practicing their own tikanga with

regard to whāngai and that this is a breach of Article Two of te Tiriti" (Ministry of

Justice, 2021). Current arguments against legalising whāngai is that Māori need to

determine whāngai practices themselves instead of the Crown (Ministry of Justice,

2021). It was argued that including whāngai under the Adoption Act would

undermine tikanga Māori as conceptually and in practice whāngai and adoption are

fundamentally different. Lack of trust in the State also meant there was uncertainty

as to whether the government would protect the rights of whāngai if it was regulated

(Jenkins, 2021). Others argued other legislation (e.g. such as guardianship laws)

needed amending to allow for whāngai to flourish (Pou Tikanga: National Iwi Chairs

Forum, 2022). The Ministry of Justice decided that there was insufficient evidence to

inform a decision about giving legal recognition to whāngai. It was decided further

work and wānanga on whāngai was required and this work should be Māori-led and

separate from current adoption reforms (Ministry of Justice, 2023a).

History of Adoption in Aotearoa

In Aotearoa there is the Adoption Act 1955; the Adult Adoption Information

Act 1985 and the Adoption (Intercountry) Act 1997. During the era of closed

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[131] i.e. biological mother/father as defined by the Adult Adoption Information Act 1985 (s2).

[132] This states Māori customary adoptions/whāngai do not have legal effect.

adoptions (1955-1985) domestic adoptions in Aotearoa was high. The New Zealand

Official Yearbooks from 1957-1988 states there were over 81,911 adoptions in

total[133] between the years 1955-1985, with numbers peaking in the 1960s and 1970s

(New Zealand Government, 2021b) (see Appendix 11). While the impacts of the

closed adoption era on Māori is of interest to this rangahau, before beginning this

discussion a brief history of adoption in Aotearoa is required.

Early adoption legislation (19th-20th century)

Aotearoa was the first Commonwealth country to enact adoption legislation

with the Adoption of Children Act 1881[134] (and later the Adoption of Children Act

1895). At the time although informal adoption contracts were occurring they were

not recognised by common law. Adoption legislation provided greater security for

adoptive parents and for children deprived of natural parents (Law Commission,

2000). The advantage of adoption was to "confer full parent-child status at a time

when illegitimate children were *filius nullius* the child of no-one" (Griffith, 2000, p.

3). Under this early adoption legislation an adoptee retained their birth surname,

which was hyphenated to their adoptive surname (Griffith, 2000). Benevolent

organisations and institutions could also adopt children, but the adoptee would retain

his or her birthname (The Adoption of Children Act 1881; Adoption of Children Act

1895). Adoptions were in open court, birth parents could withdraw consent at any

time prior to the adoption order and all parties could have access to each other's

identity (Griffith, 2000). At this time it was more common for young children than

babies to be adopted as they were seen as "more useful" and babies were

"uneconomic" (Tennant,1985, as cited in Law Commission, 2000). The Infants Act

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[133] Māori and non-Māori. See Appendix 11.

[134] A Private Member's Bill (Griffith, 2000).

1908 consolidated several statutes pertaining to infants, including adoption under one law (Infants Act 1908).

Despite adoption legislation being in place, adoptions were not common in Aotearoa before the 1940s. Unmarried pregnant women married to avoid the stigma of having an illegitimate child, whereas matrons in 'Homes for Fallen Women' persuaded unmarried mothers to keep their illegitimate children as a form of punishment for their sin. Illegitimate children were also placed into industrial schools and institutions such as church-run orphanages (Else, 2019; Griffith, 2000). Adoption was usually reserved for situations such as when a married woman had an extramarital child (Else, 1991; New Zealand Law Commission, 2000a).

The Adoption Act 1955 and the 'clean break' theory

After the Second World War attitudes towards adoption changed. Unmarried single mothers instead of being punished were encouraged to adopt out their illegitimate child. Doctors, clergy, family members and staff in homes for unmarried pregnant mothers facilitated this practice (Else, 2019). During this time the focus shifted from one of openness to secrecy, whereby a complete or "clean break" was seen as in the best interests of all (mother and child). The Adoption Act 1955, which replaced the Infants Act 1908, further promoted the clean-break theory. This period became known as the closed adoption era, where a new birth certificate with the names of the adoptive parents was issued to an adopted child. The child's original birth record naming the biological parent/s was sealed. The majority of adoptees were placed in non-kin stranger homes and their ties to their biological family was severed. Under this Act adoption orders were lodged in the Magistrates Court and this process became the usual route for non-Māori wanting to adopt children (including adopting tamariki Māori) (Mikaere, 1994; New Zealand Law

Commission, 2000a). The Act also meant Māori were able to adopt Pākehā children - a right previously denied to them under the Native Land Act 1909[135] (Else, 2018).

Some of the reasons for hiding the original birth records from adoptees was based on myths such as; opening up files would break up adoptive families; abortions would increase; birth mothers needed protecting from adoptees who could open old wounds; only misfit adoptees wanted to search for their origins and adoptive parents would lose their adopted child (Griffith, 2000). Griffith (1997, 2000) states the practice of closed adoptions was based on the notion of "environmental supremacy" which privileged nurture over nature, whereby it was expected the child could successfully integrate into their new adoptive family. Once the child relinquished their birth name they would then obtain the legal identity of their adoptive family, thus removing the illegitimacy associated with their birth identity. Closed adoptions were an antithesis to whāngai - the Māori worldview of child rearing, which was open and embracing of extended family relationships (Griffith, 1997; McRae & Nikora, 2006; New Zealand Law Commission, 2000a).

Impacts of Adoption Act 1955

Due to the mono-cultural outlook of the Adoption Act 1955 there were not many applications from Māori adoptive parents, however this did not mean tamariki Māori were not being adopted under this Act. During this time liaisons between unmarried Pākehā women and Māori men occurred, which resulted in tamariki Māori being adopted out to non-kin (Else, 1991). Although more common amongst Pākehā women (Else, 1991) some Māori mothers also adopted out their children. The

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[135] Mikaere (1994) explains that despite some Europeans giving their children to Māori to raise, the Attorney General of the time (in 1909) believed Māori were not living in a way that was 'proper' for raising European children.

urbanisation of Māori and the influence of Western perspectives has been attributed to this latter phenomenon (Haenga-Collins, 2019; Kaiwai et al., 2020).[136]

In its heyday (1960s) closed adoption under the 1955 Act was prevalent and has been described as one of New Zealand's "greatest social experiments" (Else, 1991, p. 197). The majority of adoptions involved 'ex-nuptial' children by unrelated 'strangers' (Else, 2019, p. 3)[137]. In the 1960s social stigma around illegitimate children and abortion[138] and lack of financial support contributed to women choosing to adopt out their children (Else, 2019). The Domestic Purposes Benefit (DPB) was only introduced in 1973 (New Zealand Government, 2020a) and in the 1960s only married or engaged women could access contraception (New Zealand Family Planning, 2023).

Influence of social workers

Prior to the introduction of the 1955 Adoption Act, adoptions were mainly arranged privately. After the introduction of the Adoption Act 1955 state involvement increased and social workers became responsible for matching adoptive parents to available children, reporting on adoptions and overseeing placements (Else, 2019). Else (2019) states Pākehā social workers promoted the 'clean break theory' by coercing unmarried mothers into relinquishing their children to deserving married couples, who could provide financial stability and a 'loving' family. The adoption policy meant birth mothers were required to give consent to the adoption ten days after giving birth. Although birth mothers could stipulate the preferred

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[136] In this rangahau Māori birthmothers were also adoptees (see Ella and Jean's birthmother's story Wāhanga 6).

[137] Griffith (1981) gathered data from the New Zealand Yearbook and Department of Social Welfare statistics and notes in 1970 there were 2,286 adoptions by strangers (Else, 2019).

religion for their child to be raised in, they could not select the adoptive family, instead the consent form hid the identities of the adoptive family from birth mothers. Birth mothers were encouraged to move on with their lives and not to try and find or contact their relinquished child (Else, 1991, 2019) (see Ella, Susie and Carla's story in Wāhanga 6). As an illegitimate child was considered the child of no one, birth fathers were not required to give their consent to the adoption, unless required to by the courts or they were named on the birth certificate or contributing financially (Else, 2019).

Impact of closed adoptions on Māori

Closed stranger adoptions of tamariki Māori was particularly challenging for Māori birthfathers and paternal Māori whānau, who may not have known of the adoption of their tamariki and did not have any means to stop it (Else, 1991). Else (2019) cites cases recalled from Māori social workers who knew of paternal grandparents who wanted to adopt their mokopuna, but were not allowed and instead their moko was adopted to Pākehā strangers (see also Sam and Sarah's story in this rangahau). Historian Dalley (1998) claims that although the Government's child welfare policy tried to keep tamariki Māori with their whānau (or within their own tribal areas or with Māori families) in practice this did not always occur. Recent studies (Ahuriri-Driscoll, 2020; Haenga-Collins, 2017; West, 2012) that explore the experiences of Māori adopted by non-Māori families support this notion.

Else (2019) states that the adoption system and those who administered it were blind to Māori perspectives and intrinsically racist. During the 1960s there was an increase in children requiring adoption placements, which meant prospective

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[138] In March 2020 abortion was decriminalised and removed from the Crimes Act 1961 and amendments made to the Contraception, Sterilisation and Abortion Act 1977 (Abortion Legislation

adoptive parents (usually Pākehā) could be selective about the type of child they wanted to adopt. Children who were slightly different (e.g. of mixed ethnicity) were seen as harder to place, which lead to dubious adoption practices. Pākehā social workers often racially profiled an adoptee's 'Māoriness' by their skin-colour instead of seeking out and recording a child's whakapapa, even when a Māori birth parent was known. Furthermore, when ethnicity was recorded it was not always accurate (Else, 2019). The "legal fiction" (Griffith, 1991) created by the adoption legislation also meant Māori adoptees lost access to their birth whānau name, whakapapa and cultural heritage. For Māori adoptees transracially adopted into Pākehā families pretending to be 'born to' their adoptive parents was an obvious lie as they knew they looked physically different from their parents (West, 2012).

Based on the yearbooks for 1955-1985 indicate that there was at least 6,794 "known" tamariki Māori[139] who were adopted during this period (see Appendix 11). However, the number is likely to be higher due. For example, the *New Zealand Official Yearbook* for 1961 indicates that early recording of Māori ethnicity was based on blood quantum categories[140] whereby a child had to have 50% or more of Māori blood to qualify as Māori, otherwise they were categorised under the European register (New Zealand Government, 2021b). This narrow criteria for collecting Māori statistics means there would likely have been children of Māori descent who were not officially recorded as Māori. There were also cases where the ethnic identity of tamariki Māori was hidden to make a child more adoptable (Else, 2019) (see Wāhanga 6 and Jean's story). Despite the lack of exact statistics on how

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Act, 2020).

[139] That is those whose adoption orders were processed through Māori Welfare Officers.

many Māori were adopted-out to non-kin and non-Māori (due to irregularities in how records were kept and how Māori were defined) the anecdotal impacts of the closed adoption era on whānau Māori is evident in the recent narratives shared by Māori adult adoptees in this rangahau and other studies (Ahuriri-Driscoll, 2020; Haenga-Collins, 2017; West, 2012).

Adoption Amendment Bill (1962) and Māori

Prior to 1962 the Māori Land Court still registered Māori adoptions. Māori who wanted to legally adopt a Māori child had to apply through the Māori Land Court under the Native Land Act. Legalising adoptions gave adoptees succession rights to land. These types of customary adoptions were open and were also published in the *Māori Gazette* and *New Zealand Gazette* (Mikaere, 2022; Native Land Act, 1909; Native Land Act, 1931). In 1962 an amendment to the Adoption Act 1955 (Adoption Amendment Bill 1962) removed the Māori Land Court's jurisdiction over Māori parents wanting to adopt and instead all adoption orders had to be lodged through the Magistrate's Court under the Adoption Act 1955 (New Zealand Law Commission, 2000a). The reason behind the 1962 amendment was to create one adoption law for both Māori and non-Māori (Else, 1991).

At the time of its introduction Māori criticised the 1962 amendment, with Māori Land Court Judge Brook stating Māori would be 'seriously prejudiced' (Williams, 2001 as cited in Ahuriri-Driscoll et al., 2023, p. 143). Brook argued Māori associated the Magistrates Courts with the criminal justice system, plus the cost to adoption applications would increase (Ahuriri-Driscoll et al., 2023). The Māori

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[140] After 1974 and the introduction of the Māori Affairs Amendment Act Aotearoa ceased to use blood quantum categories to define Māori identity, today ethnic identity, ancestry and tribal affiliations are used (Kukutai, 2004).

Women's Welfare League wanted to keep the Māori Land Court adoption process and believed the new system under the Magistrate's Court would dissuade legal adoptions and leave Māori children without legal protection (Ahuriri-Driscoll et al., 2023). Ratana MPs argued the practice of whāngai was at risk as Magistrate's Courts tended to refuse applications from close relatives (aunts, uncles, grandparents). Magistrates were also seen as ill-equipped to deal with tikanga Māori. The New Zealand Māori Council (NZMC) was divided in its support for the amendment. Despite the uncertainty and opposition from Māori in some districts, the amendment went ahead (Ahuriri-Driscoll et al., 2023; Anderson et al., 2014).

The 1962 amendment to the Adoption Act 1955 also aligned with the integrative agenda of the government, who that same year introduced the Māori Welfare Act 1962, which provided for the establishment of Māori Committees, District Māori Councils and the New Zealand Māori Council (Māori Welfare Act 1962). The initiatives were seen as a positive step towards integrating Māori as "it showed, Māori were prepared to emerge from the narrow and restrictive bonds of tribal affiliation and regional interests" and "unite as one progressive race and speak with one voice" (Auckland Star, 1961, as cited in Anderson et al., 2014, p. 354). Bringing Māori under the same law as Pākehā (as proposed by the Adoption Amendment Bill 1962) was also seen as a step towards equality, despite its obvious integrative agenda. Evidence of the government's ideology can be found in a response to Māori Welfare Officers[141] who sought greater recognition for Māori childrearing perspectives in adoption policies from the Justice Department and Child Welfare division (Ahuriri-Driscoll et al., 2023). The Acting Secretary of Māori

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[141] After the 1962 amendment to the Adoption Act Māori Welfare Officers were employed to support Māori adoptions in Magistrate's Courts (Ahuriri-Driscoll et al., 2023).

Affairs Jack Hunn's[142] (1963) response to the Māori Welfare Officers request was "the old ideas inherent in customary adoptions probably play no part at all in the business nowadays" (as cited in Ahuriri-Driscoll et al., 2023, p. 145). Such attitudes disregarded Māori childrearing practices and breached Te Tiriti principles.

Adult Adoption Information Act 1985

In the 1970s adoptees and adoption support groups such as Jigsaw[143] began challenging the ideology of closed adoptions. These groups began advocating for the rights of adoptees to know their identity and birthparents to be reunited with their children. Against the wishes of some adoptive parents, these groups with the support of Keith Griffith (an adoptee), Mary Iwanek (an adoption social worker) and Jonathan Hunt (a Member of Parliament) lobbied over several years for new legislation. Their efforts were eventually successful and the Adult Adoption Information Act 1985 was passed and came into effect September 1986 (Aburn, 2016).

Since the introduction of the Adult Adoption Information Act 1985 adoptees over the age of 20 have been able to access their original birth records and names of birth parent/s (assuming there is no veto in place) (Adult Adoption Information Act, 1985). However, in cases where birth fathers are unnamed on original birth certificates adoption social workers will not release any identifying information without the verification and consent of the birth mother (Oranga Tamariki adoption social worker, personal communication, September 14, 2022).[144] In such cases the

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[142] Hunn was also the author of the Hunn Report see Wāhanga 4.

[143] This group was established in 1976 to reunite birthmothers with their adopted out children. Joss Shawyer author of "Death by Adoption" was a foundation member (Aburn, 2016).

[144] Despite being over the age of 20 on two different occassions I tried to obtain information about my Māori birth father from Oranga Tamariki, but was declined any identifying information as he was unnamed on my original birth certificate.

adoptee is reliant on what a birth mother can or wants to reveal about a birth father (Aburn, 2016). An exception may be made to this rule (at the chief executive's discretion) if an unnamed birth parent is dead (Adult Adoption Information Act 1985, s 9). In this study Māori adoptees with Pākehā birth mothers seeking information about unnamed Māori birth fathers have highlighted the difficulties connecting to whakapapa (marae, hapū, iwi) and the life-challenges arising from this phenomenon (see Wāhanga 6).

A Breach of Human Rights, Indigenous Rights and Te Tiriti o Waitangi

The Human Rights Tribunal has declared New Zealand's adoption laws discriminatory and outdated and in contradiction with human rights laws. For example, the sealing of birthparents records until the age of 20 breaches the United Nations Convention for the Rights of the Child (UNROC, 1989), which stipulates the child's right to the preservation of identity (Article 8) and ongoing regular contact[145] with their parents (Article 9)(United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, n.d.). The Adoption Act's failure to acknowledge the whakapapa and culture of Māori adoptees[146] also breaches the United Nations for the Declaration of Indigenous Rights in a multitude of ways by denying cultural identity rights, (see Articles 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14 (3) and 33 (1))(United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples 2007).

The Adoption Act 1955 has also been widely criticised for its secrecy and its scant regard for Māori whakapapa. Adoption legislation has privileged Western notions of the nuclear family at the expense of Māori childrearing practices and

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[145] If in a child's best interests.

[146] See section 16 (2) of the Adoption Act 1955. The recording of an adopted Māori child's whānau, hapū and iwi affiliation was not required (Adoption Action Incorporated v Attorney-General, 2016; Adoption Act 1955).

Māori concepts of whānau, hapū and iwi (The Māori Perspective Advisory Committee, 1988). The shaming of unmarried mothers through adoption practices perpetuated colonial patriarchal hierarchies that have been oppressive and detrimental to women and Māori (Mikaere, 1994). Puao-te-ata-tu deemed Western adoptions as "contrary to the laws of nature in Māori eyes, for it assumed that the reality of lineage could be expunged, and birth and parental rights irrevocably traded" (Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Māori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare, 1986, p. 75). Mead (1994) deems the closed adoption of Māori children by Pākehā as 'wrong' and unjustifiable, whereas Bradley (1997) describes the practice as 'a policy of legalised cultural genocide' (as cited in Ahuriri-Driscoll et al., 2023, p. 138).

The disregard for tikanga Māori (e.g. whāngai practices) under New Zealand's adoption legislation breaches Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Under Article Two of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (the Māori version[147]) Māori are "guaranteed rangatira 'te tino rangatiratanga' – full rights of chieftainship over their lands, villages and taonga (treasured things)"(Archives New Zealand, 2023). Tamariki are taonga, therefore their permanent removal from whānau through state-enforced practices such as adoption is a breach of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Waitangi Tribunal, 2021). Māori seek redress for this Te Tiriti o Waitangi breach. Adoptees (see Smale et al., 2022) have lodged claims with the Waitangi Tribunal, Māori adoptee academics have described the personal impacts of closed adoptions (Ahuriri-Driscoll, 2020; Haenga-Collins, 2017; Newman, 2011; West, 2012) and claimants for the *Abuse in Care Royal Commission of Inquiry* have highlighted the ongoing abuse of outdated adoption laws

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[147] Please note there is contention over the English version and Māori version. For further information about the Te Tiriti consult the NZ Archives website (Archives New Zealand, 2023).

(Abuse in Care - Royal Commission of Inquiry, 2019; Else, 2019). Redress and a State apology for Māori adoptees and their whānau impacted by past and present adoption legislation is well overdue.

Contemporary Issues with Adoption Act 1955

Although there were only 98 adoptions granted in Aotearoa in the 2022/2023 financial year (Ministry of Justice, New Zealand Government, 2023) and open adoptions are now promoted, Māori adoptees are still living with the impacts of historic and current adoption legislation. Currently there is a lack of support for Māori adoptees seeking whakapapa knowledge, particularly when names of Māori birthfathers and hapū/iwi affiliations are not recorded on birth files. Furthermore, under the current law whānau members (e.g. grandparents) wanting information on an adopted-out whānau member must apply through the Family Court on special grounds[148] (Aburn, 2016; Adoption Act 1955).

Another anomaly with the Adoption Act 1955 is in regards to succession rights for adoptees. For Māori connection to whenua is an integral part of identity and for a hapū whenua provides access to cultural and economic wealth. For Māori who have been adopted-out of a whānau Māori, succession to Māori freehold land can only occur if they are named in a biological parent's will or through a family agreement (Malcolm, 2020). An adopted-out adoptee is also not entitled to Māori land interests if a biological parent dies intestate (Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993: Māori Land Act 1993, s108 (2) (c)). For a Māori person who has been adopted-out into non-Māori adoptive family (and does not know the name of their biological Māori whānau) then legally they are also not entitled to any Māori land interests. Another issue is an adoptee (irrespective of their ethnicity) who is adopted into a

Māori whānau can automatically succeed their adoptive whānau Māori land without limitation (if the will was executed before 1 July 1993).[149] In this scenario there is no mandate to provide any external evidence or an evaluation of tikanga perspectives. In cases where adoptees do not have whakapapa ties to their Māori adoptive whānau, this means land could transfer to non-whānau (Malcolm, 2020). Malcolm (2020) sees this scenario as an anomaly in the law, a breach of tikanga Māori and the Māori Land Court Act where whenua should be retained by whānau and hapū. Malcolm (2020) advocates for an amendment to the Adoption Act 1955, whereby adoptees inherit from adoptive parents in the same manner as biological children, except in the succession of Māori land. Malcolm (2020) suggests changing Te Ture Whenua Māori Act where the word "child" is redefined as "biological child", which would remove automatic succession rights of adoptees[150]. Malcolm (2020) makes a fair argument, however this topic is complicated and requires further discussion amongst Māori communities and adoptees. These discussions have highlighted examples where the current Adoption Act 1955 is still at odds with tikanga Māori and change is required.

A Call for Adoption Reform

Although there have been piecemeal tweaks to the adoption law such as, an overhaul of adoption legislation in Aotearoa is well overdue (Adoption Action Incorporated v Attorney-General, 2016). The Law Commission's comprehensive report *Adoption and Its Alternatives: A Different Approach and a New Framework* released in 2000 called for a reappraisal of the current adoption law however rather

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[148] See Section 23(3)(b)(iii) of Adoption Act 1955.

[149] An exception to this rule is succession to beneficial interests in Titī Islands (Malcolm, 2020).

[150] Adoptees who have been adopted into the whānau.

than updating current legislation they advocated for a "consolidation of the legislation relating to parenting and care of children" (Law Commission, 2000, p. 4). The report recommended adherence to the United Nations Declaration on Child Placement (UNROC), which would require the Care of Children Act to add "as a guiding principle that placement within extended family is preferable to placement with strangers" (Law Commission, 2000, p. 68). This perspective is aligned to a Māori worldview of childrearing where extended whānau are involved. In 2011 Adoption Action Inc, an adoption law reform group also asked the Attorney General to review adoption legislation as it breached the New Zealand Bill of Rights 1990. The response from the Minister of Justice at the time was that adoption laws were not a Government priority (Ludbrook & Marks, 2011). In 2016 the Human Rights Review Tribunal agreed with Adoption Action Inc that change was needed (Adoption Action Incorporated v Attorney-General, 2016).

Adoption law reforms (2021-2022)

Despite the years of lobbying, the process of adoption law reform only began recently when the Ministry of Justice opened the doors to public engagement on the topic between 18 June to 31 August 2021[151] and June-August 2022.[152] The objectives of the adoption reforms included; modernising and consolidating adoption laws; safeguarding children's rights, including the right to identity and information; meeting obligations under Te Tiriti of Waitangi; ensuring appropriate support to those involved in the adoption process; improving the timeliness, cost and efficiency

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[151] The Ministry of Justice received 271 submissions and met with 27 individuals and groups.

[152] The Ministry of Justice received 140 written submission and engaged with over 200 people in-person or online.

of the adoption process where a child is born by surrogacy, and ensuring Aotearoa fulfils its international obligations[153](New Zealand Government, 2021a).

Several themes arose from the adoption law reform engagements with a general consensus that adoption (particularly closed adoptions) had caused harm, needed changing and had to be in a child's best interests. Stakeholders thought adoption should be discontinued and replaced with long-term guardianship or replaced with a new process under the Care of Children Act 2004. Others called for a Government apology for past harms (Ministry of Justice, 2021), but addressing controversial earlier adoption practices was outside the scope of the adoption law reform process (Ministry for Justice, 2022). Adoptees shared their concerns about transracial adoptions (Jenkins, 2021). Acknowledging the rights of adoptees (as defined in human rights treaties)[154] and their extended birth whānau was considered important. Stakeholders said the law currently severed relationships with birth parents and was a "legal guillotine". An idea proposed was to establish a new legal effect for adoption, which would mean both birth and adoptive parents would be legal parents, but guardianship and financial responsibilities would transfer to adoptive parents. Adding this new legal effect would create greater openness and transparency (Ministry for Justice, 2022; Ministry of Justice, 2021). In the stakeholder meeting I attended there was also a discussion about whether iwi could be included as an adoptive parent (M. Noyce, Chief Adviser, Ministry of Justice, personal communication, August 2, 2022). Efforts were also needed to improve adoptees rights to maintain their culture and participate (or be represented) in the adoption process. Post adoption contact agreements and providing options for adult

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[153] Note this is an abridged version of the objectives.
[154] Including the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC).

adoptees to seek a reversal of their adoption was seen as favourable. Adoptees requested open and unrestricted access to information[155] about their adoption, birth history, birth records, medical history and whakapapa (Ministry for Justice, 2022; Ministry of Justice, 2021). Providing this information before an adoption would remove the onus on the adoptee searching this information out later in life and facing possible abandonment or rejection. This point was important for adoptees with an elusive birth father, particularly if their birth father was the only connection to their Indigenous heritage (Jenkins, 2021). Other requests included; specialised adoption services, counselling, cultural programmes, support groups and reunification services (Ministry for Justice, 2022a; Ministry of Justice, 2021).

Māori and Pacific stakeholders emphasised adoption laws needed to consider collectivist cultural frameworks.[156] Contributors (including non-Māori) affirmed the importance of adoptees knowing their identity and whakapapa and maintaining these connections (Jenkins, 2021; Ministry for Justice, 2022a). The Ministry of Justice proposed birth family and whānau should be able to attend adoption proceedings and their views included in the social worker's report to the Court (unless it would cause unwarranted distress to the child or birth parents). Māori respondents requested hapū and iwi involvement in the adoption process as they could be whānau advocates and could ensure tamariki would remain connected to their hapū and iwi. Māori also needed to be involved in the design and delivery of support services for whānau Māori. Most Māori respondents felt transracial adoption of tamariki Māori should not happen at all (Ministry for Justice, 2022a).

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[155] Including automatic access to information on their original birth record. It was also proposed there should not be an age restriction on when identifying information is available (Ministry for Justice, 2022).

Highlighted in the reform suggestions was a need for the Crown to meet its Te Tiriti obligations. Achieving this responsibility included establishing a partnership approach to adoption policymaking. Furthermore, Te Tiriti consistent adoption processes were needed to ensure adoption laws "respect the inalienability of whakapapa, the centrality of whānau, hapū and iwi, the rights of adopted persons to their whakapapa and the importance of culture" (Ministry of Justice, 2021). There were also submissions requesting that the principles of Te Tiriti be incorporated into adoption legislation similar to the Oranga Tamariki Act 1989 (s7AA) (Ministry of Justice, 2021; Ministry for Justice, 2022).

The findings from the adoption reform consultations provide some insight into the range of issues requiring change and mirrors some of the views of the Pūkōrero in this rangahau. The Ministry of Justice admitted in its first round of consultations that stakeholder engagement with adoptees (and whāngai) was challenging, stating they are a "difficult population to locate, due to their experience often being invisible and not necessarily well-known to others" (Jenkins, 2021). At the time of writing this thesis (June 2023) the final proposal for adoption reform was yet to be presented to the Minister of Justice (Ministry for Justice, 2023), however timeframes appear to be shifting again. Originally the Ministry of Justice indicated a final package of proposals would be presented [to the Minister] in the "first half of 2023," but as of June 2023 the message now reads on the Adoption Law Reform webpage that this will occur "in due course" (Adoption NZ, 2023a).

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[156] This is a view whereby a tamariki is an integral part of a wider family/whānau, not just a nuclear

Summary

Ko te manu huna a Tāne.

The hidden bird of Tāne. Refers to a stranger that arrives in the dark or a

person that remains in a place unnoticed.

(Mead & Grove, 2003, p. 255).

This wāhanga has provided a historical overview of adoption in Aotearoa, including the practice and impacts of closed adoption under the Adoption Act 1955. The Western ideology informing New Zealand's adoption legislation, policies and practices has been damaging to adoptees, women, tamariki Māori, whānau, hapū and iwi. Adoption reform is needed. The State's disregard for tikanga Māori has meant there is now a cohort of Māori and their descendants living with a whakapapa huna. The next wāhanga makes visible the voices of the Pūkōrero (Māori adoptees) from this study who provide personal insight into living with a whakapapa huna and how they navigate their diverse realities.

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family.

WĀHANGA 6: KA MAU KI TE RĀKAU – GRASPING TIGHTLY TO IDENTITY

Hina reached down to grab Rona. In despair Rona called to the tamariki of Tane for help. Nearby her brother Ngaio – a tree, still young and not firmly rooted, heard her cry. As Hina lifted Rona from her feet, Ngaio stretched out his arm and grasped Rona. Connected through Rona, the tug-o-war between Ngaio and Hina continued for some time. Rona felt the stinging in her arm as she desperately held on to Ngaio. However, the gravitational pull of Hina was strong. Horrified Rona watched as the shallow roots of Ngaio broke through the skin of Papatūānuku. Together Rona and Ngaio ascended, leaving behind their whānau - submitting to Hina (West, 2023).

Symbolically, this partial pūrākau of Rona represents the experiences of Māori adoptees who tentatively grasp on to what little whakapapa they have whilst remaining uprooted from their own birth whānau. The narratives shared in this study highlight the perseverance and courage required to overcome the barriers that make learning about whakapapa a challenging process. Some of the Pūkōrero (Māori adoptees) have spent a lifetime navigating their Māori identity or seeking answers to their whakapapa origins. For some the search has led to dead ends, misinformation, or unsatisfying relationships with birth whānau. Others have had positive reunion experiences or developed new relationships with birth whānau. This wāhanga speaks to the question – *how do Māori adoptees living with a whakapapa huna navigate whakapapa?* In this discussion there is a particular focus on what motivates whakapapa searches, the search process, and experiences before and after reunification with whakapapa whānau. The topics discussed are further informed (where relevant), with references to literature and insights from the Kaitautoko.

The Pūkōrero

     A Māori adoptee in this study is defined as someone who has been legally adopted by non-kin into a closed adoption and who self-identifies[157] as Māori. This wāhanga shares the pūrākau of five females and one male Māori adoptee who were raised outside of their whānau, hapū and iwi. Three of the Pūkōrero were transculturally adopted by non-Māori. Another Pūkōrero is the son of a transcultural Māori adoptee. Due to adoption legislation the adoptees have only sought connections with birth parent/s (and in some cases whakapapa whānau) as adults. Pūkōrero were approached through personal networks or voluntarily responded to an email notice sent to Māori organisations (see Appendix 8). The original intention was to select Māori adoptees who had reunified with whakapapa whānau and those still looking. However, this stipulation was removed after finding whakapapa discovery resulted in further whakapapa quests. Originally, the focus was on Māori who had only been adopted by non-Māori, however there was a richness in also understanding the adoption experience of adoptees with an adoptive Māori parent. Outside of the scope of this discussion were the voices of adoptive parents/whānau and birth parents/whānau.

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[157] In Aotearoa ethnicity is a measure of cultural affiliation and is self-perceived (Statistics New Zealand, 2022).

Pūkōrero	Birth mother (BM)	Birth father (BF)	Adoptive parents
Jean (Māori transcultural adoptee) (female)	Māori (Jean's BM is also a transcultural adoptee – whose BM self-identifies as Pākehā but has Māori ancestry. Her BF was Māori/Chinese)	Māori	British/Australian
Ella (Māori adoptee) (female)	Māori (Ella's BM is also a transcultural Māori adoptee)	Pākehā (Ella's BF is also an adoptee)	Māori/Pākehā
Carla (Māori adoptee) (female)	Pākehā	Māori (unknown)	Māori x2
Sarah (Māori transcultural adoptee) (female)	Pākehā	Māori/Irish	Dutch/Pākehā
Sam (Māori transcultural adoptee) (male)	Irish	Māori	Pākehā x2
Jake (Son of a Māori transcultural adoptee)	Mother's BM is Scottish	Mother's BF is Māori	Mother was adopted by two Pākehā parents
Susie (Adopted under Māori Land Act) (female)	Māori	Māori	Māori x2

Pūkōrero: Jean

Jean is in her early fifties and was transculturally adopted in 1969 by a British father and Australian mother and raised on a North Island dairy farm. Within her family were two male adoptees. Jean always knew she was adopted. During her childhood Jean experienced abuse from a family member and a community member. As an adult Jean (and her daughter) discarded their legal surname for a fictional surname to establish a more meaningful identity. Jean has worked in education and is currently a musician.

At 19 Jean found her birth mother and has a distant relationship with her but keeps in contact with her birth mother's daughter. Her birth mother is Māori but was also transculturally adopted. Her birth mother found her own whakapapa later in life (her birth mother was Pākehā/Māori and birth father Māori/Chinese). Jean's birth father is Māori, but lives in Australia. She has not met him but keeps in contact through Facebook.[158] Her adoptive parents have passed away and one of her brothers lives overseas. Jean has found comfort in getting to know her whakapapa whānau in recent years.

Pūkōrero: Ella

Ella is in her mid-forties adopted to a Māori father and Pākehā mother and always knew she was adopted. Ella had a positive upbringing growing up in a large North Island city with a brother (not biologically related) who was also adopted. Ella's adoptive parents knew of Ella's birth mother through a mutual family friend, but no contact was made or maintained. As an adult Ella found her birth mother through other means.

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[158] Social media site.

Ella's birth mother was Māori and a transcultural adoptee raised by Pākehā parents in a household of 20 other adopted children. Ella's birth mother had a very strict, religious, oppressive, and traumatising upbringing and this had a negative impact on her wellbeing. Ella has met her birth mother, but her birth mother decided to cease contact. Ella has met some of her maternal birth relatives and gets on well with them. Ella's birth father is Pākehā. She knows his name but has limited information and does not know where he is located, so is still searching for him. Ella is a mother and her work involves supporting whānau experiencing family violence.

Pūkōrero: Carla

Carla is in her forties and grew up in the South Island with two Māori adoptive parents. Her brother (not biologically-related) was also adopted. Carla had a positive upbringing and always knew she was adopted.

Originally, Carla was going to be part of an open adoption arrangement between a non-Māori family and her birth mother, however the non-Māori family thought Carla should be raised with a Māori family. Unbeknown to Carla the woman who was originally going to adopt Carla worked at the primary school Carla attended, so watched her grow up. As an adult Carla worked alongside this woman's best friend. Carla's adoptive paternal grandparents were also friends with her birth mother's grandparents. When her adoptive mother died, her birth grandmother attended the funeral. Furthermore, her adopted dad had visited her birth maternal grandmother's place as a child. Despite these connections, Carla did not have a relationship with her birth mother growing up.

Carla has met her Pākehā birth mother and gets on well with her. Her birth mother has told Carla that she cannot remember who her birth father is but remembers a nickname and knows that he is Māori. Carla has some possible clues

about his identity and is in the process of finding him, but this is proving difficult. Carla is a mother and works in education. She was widowed at a young age but has remarried. Her adoptive parents have both passed away.

Pūkōrero: Sarah

Sarah is in her fifties and was transculturally adopted to a Dutch/Indonesian father and Pākehā mother. She was raised in the South Island alongside her adopted brother (not biologically related). She always knew she was adopted and has always identified as part-Māori. Sarah has traced her Pākehā birth mother but does not maintain a relationship with her. Her Māori/Irish birth father died in his fifties, and she was able to attend his tangi, which was her first time on a marae. Sarah maintains contact with her birth father's daughters. As an adult she has learned more about her whakapapa and links to five Iwi at the top of the North Island. Sarah is a mother and grandmother and works in education.

Pūkōrero: Sam

Sam is in his fifties and grew up in the South Island. He was transculturally adopted by two Scottish parents and raised with an older sister, a younger sister (an adoptee), and older brother (an adoptee). He also has two half-sisters. Sam knew from a young age that he was adopted. His adoptive mother was supportive of him searching for his birth whānau.

Sam's birth mother is Irish, and his birth father is Māori. He has met both birth parents but does not maintain contact with his birth mother but keeps in regular contact with his birth father's whānau and his father's marae. Sam is a father and grandfather and works in his community. He lives in a large North Island city.

Pūkōrero: Jake

Jake is in his thirties and is the son of a Māori adoptee. His mother who is in her early fifties has a Scottish birth mother and Māori birth father. She was transculturally adopted by non-Māori non-kin. Several years ago, Jake's mother met her Scottish birth mother, but she had no knowledge of her Māori birth father. In recent years (and after several years of searching) Jake tracked down his mother's Māori birth father. The search and reunion with his mother and birth grandfather sparked other whakapapa searches within his mother's paternal whānau. Jake works in education and is a father. His own father is also Māori.

Pūkōrero: Susie

Susie is in her late fifties and was adopted by Māori. She has two siblings who were also adopted. Her Māori adoptive parents helped maintain her cultural identity. Susie's upbringing was positive and she identifies with the iwi of her adoptive parents, despite being unsure if she affiliated to this iwi through her whakapapa. Later in life Susie discovered that she was in fact linked through her whakapapa to the same iwi. Her birth mother's grandmother was the sister to her adopted mother's great grandmother. Susie's adoptive mother had been unaware of these whakapapa connections.

Susie has met her Māori birth mother and has an ongoing relationship with her. In recent years she traced her Māori birth father, but he had died before she could meet him. However, she has kept in contact with her birth father's relatives. Interestingly, she discovered that the friends she grew up with were connected to her birth father, unbeknown to her.

Susie is a grandmother and proudly wears her moko kauae which she had done when her adoptive parents passed away. She is a kaikaranga who works in education and lives in the South Island.

Note: Although Susie was not adopted by non-Māori, she did provide some unique insight, therefore her story is included within this analysis.

The Kaitautoko

In addition to the voice of Māori adoptees, practical insight was gained from people who support Māori seeking whakapapa reconnection. These people are referred to as Kaitautoko. All names are pseudonyms.

Kaitautoko: Lucy

Lucy is Māori and regularly supports her students, family, and friends in their search for whakapapa knowledge. She has a sister who was adopted. Several years ago, Lucy began undertaking whakapapa rangahau for her husband's nanny and his hapū. Lucy has also worked for Children Youth and Family Services (CYFS now called Oranga Tamariki), where she was responsible for searching for the whakapapa of tamariki Māori in care.

Kaitautoko: Mary

Mary is Māori and has been responsible for her iwi register for over 50 years. She has an extensive knowledge of local whānau and how they are connected, which is helpful when verifying whakapapa knowledge. Through her long-term service to her iwi and regular attendance at tribal events (including tangi and hui) she is often approached by iwi members searching for whakapapa knowledge.

Kaitautoko: Lorraine

Lorraine is Māori and supports her students and family with whakapapa knowledge. Her mother was the family kaitiaki of whakapapa – a responsibility she has inherited. She is an active member in her marae regularly attending rūnanga, which develops her whakapapa knowledge. Lucy is passionate about whakapapa and can access an extensive network of people who can help with whakapapa reconnections.

Kaitautoko: Denise

Denise's Māori dad was interested in whakapapa which sparked her own interest. She has completed postgraduate studies in genealogy at an overseas university. Denise helps people she knows search for whakapapa utilising a variety of processes including analysing a client's autosomal DNA results available through companies such as *Ancestry*, *My Heritage,* and *Family Tree DNA* to find answers. She also uses traditional genealogy methods such as record repositories to identify family groups, people movement and building family stories.

Pūrākau Pūkōrero

This next section highlights the key themes that have arisen from the Pūkōrero narratives, including why adoptions occurred and who made the decisions. Pūkōrero describe their upbringing and their experience of living with a whakapapa huna. They discuss their reasons for beginning their whakapapa journey, their methods, and the support they received. Their reunification experiences with birth whānau are also shared.

(Note: Pūkōrero comments are indented and are in italics).

Birth Mothers' Reasons for Adopting out Child

Pūkōrero were told a variety of reasons for their adoption. Their birth mothers said they were not ready to be parents, were in a non-committed relationship or were without family, moral or financial support. Sam's birth mother told him that in the 1960s there was no Domestic Purposes Benefit for unwed mothers. Ella's birth mother had wanted to keep Ella, but was young, and in a "bad headspace" due to her upbringing. Jake's mother's birth mother came from a devout religious background and was told by her mother to adopt out the baby and not tell her father. Ella and Carla's birth mothers saw the adoption of their babies to another family as a gift. This sacrifice reframed the reality that they were relinquishing their children. Ella explains:

> *She [my birth mother] looked at herself as a vessel from God, to carry a baby, to support someone else. And that's you know, like the ultimate selfless kind of sacrificial act, which I really, really admire her for that. And thank her for that because I had the best upbringing.*

These birth mothers' stories (as told to adoptees) reflect the social norm of the time that for unwed mothers adopting out was in the best interests of the baby as it would provide a deserving two-parent [married] nuclear family with a baby (Else, 1991; Gillard-Glass & England, 2002). Adoption was also viewed as a way to rescue illegitimate children, while providing a family to an infertile couple (Else, 1992). In an era where social and financial support for unwed mothers was limited, adoption was seen as providing a suitable solution.

Birth Mothers' Ethnicity

New Zealand adoption literature suggests that the practice of adopting Māori babies outside of their kinship ties occurred more frequently when birth mothers were Pākehā. Māori birth mothers were more likely to keep their child within the family in a whāngai arrangement (Else, 1991; Haenga-Collins, 2019). In this study two of the birth mothers were Pākehā, one was Scottish, one Irish and three were Māori (Jean and Ella's birth mothers were Māori adoptees raised by non-Māori). In this study Jean and Ella's Māori birth mothers were not interviewed, therefore it is difficult to concur conclusively if their own adoption influenced their choice to adopt out their child. However, Ella did make the correlation between her own adoption and that of her birth parents:

> *How's that, both my birth parents are adopted. I think that says a lot about their mindset, about that – you know – capacity to put their child up for adoption. I think that is a tohu [sign].*

None of the Pākehā birth mothers were adoptees. An area that is under investigated in New Zealand adoption literature is the perspective of Māori birth mothers who adopted their children out to non-kin strangers.

Rights of Birth Fathers and Paternal Whānau

Sam's Māori birth father was unaware of the pregnancy until after Sam's birth. At the time of his birth Sam's paternal Māori birth grandmother had tried to search for him, but it was too late as Sam had been adopted out. Sarah was also told her paternal Māori birth grandmother had wanted to raise her, but she was stopped. Sarah explains:

In my case my Māori grandmother wanted me. She would have taken me but was not allowed. Back then Māori babies were dirty babies because they were Māori. There was a lot of stuff behind Māori adoptions, that hopefully is not there now. Yeah, we look at whāngai and that is what should have happened to Māori babies but didn't.

Sarah's comment brings to light the societal and institutional discrimination that existed in Aotearoa at the time of her adoption. The experience of Sarah and Sam's birth fathers and their whānau highlights the inequity of adoption legislation, which ignored the voice of paternal parents and their whānau. Unmarried birth fathers were not automatically recognised on birth certificates or adoption orders unless the mother had provided a name and given their consent (Else, 1991; New Zealand Law Commission, 2004). In such cases, birth mother's had full decision-making pertaining to the future of their child. The findings in this study correlates with other adoption literature (Else, 1991; Haenga-Collins & Gibbs, 2015), whereby paternal whānau Māori sought their tamariki being placed for adoption by Pākehā birth mothers, but were denied access or left out of the decision-making. Evidence in this study supports law reform advocates view that the rights of birth fathers and paternal whānau need to be considered when children are being placed for adoption (New Zealand Government, 2021a; New Zealand Law Commission, 2000a). Currently only birth fathers who are recognised as a child's legal parent or guardian can give their consent to adopt. While birth whānau are encouraged to participate in adoption discussions, they are not legally required to be involved (New Zealand Government, 2021a).

The Diverse Reality of the Māori Adoptee

This section explores the external and internal challenges adoptees faced because of their closed adoption. For the transcultural Māori adoptees there was also the added challenge of navigating Māori environments, while being raised by non-Māori. The adoptees shared how fictions such as the concealment of their ethnicity and whakapapa whānau impacted their identity.

External and internal reactions

The findings in this study supports some adoption literature that suggests some adoptees may struggle to deal emotionally with their adopted identity, which can lead to externalising disorders (conduct problems – aggression, rule-breaking) and internalised disorders (for example, depression or anxiety) (Griffith, 2000; Pace et al., 2022; Verrier, 1993). During her youth Ella became addicted to drugs and alcohol. In her twenties Jean "went off the rails" and eventually sought counselling and healing. Jake said his mother has suffered from anxiety her whole life. She also became an alcoholic, after losing her brother (an adoptee) to suicide. Compounding her sense of grief and abandonment was the loss of her adoptive mother at a young age. Sam joined a gang and was imprisoned for gang offences. Some of the adoptees explained that their behaviour was a reaction to not knowing where they belonged. Sam, described his lifestyle as a cry for acceptance:

> *I guess there was part of that whole thing of belonging, there was an attraction there of - yeah just of an identity. I know it's probably not the identity that you know many would want us to have, but at that time it was something. And, you know, I guess the whole thing of me not being able to find out who I was.*

Sam explained that because he could not get any answers as to why he was adopted he made up his own answers:

> *Yeah, some answers like maybe I was you know, just that I was a mistake. Maybe there was something wrong with me for my parents to have given me away. So those were answers that shaped my line of thinking. That shaped my years going forward. There was obviously something wrong with me you know, for my parents not to have wanted me, so it sort of, took me down a road of searching not only for identity, but I guess that need to belong.*

Sam said to compensate amongst his peers he would try to be the funny one to gain their approval and acceptance. He also gravitated towards likeminded peers who were of Māori and Pasifika ethnicity and in some cases also adopted.

Despite the emotional turmoil of their adoption and/or other life experiences the adoptees sought strategies to cope. Jean found solace through writing her own music. Sam, Ella, and Carla drew on strength from their spiritual beliefs. Ella found support through counselling and talking with others. She explains:

> *I used to be into alcohol and drugs, but that was seriously straight self-medication…You know numb the pain. Then I had a baby and couldn't do that anymore. So, in terms of building my resilience I see a counsellor, you know for other stuff…whakawhitiwhiti kōrero or talk therapy that is important. Whanaungatanga is important…connecting with people who you know, it doesn't matter if they are your whānau, workmates, or friends.*

In her workplace Ella supports others who have experienced trauma. This work is quite heavy, so she applies the coping skills she has learned through her

education. She finds daily rituals such as yoga from a te ao Māori perspective, waiata, moteatea and karakia useful rongoā (healing).

Navigating Māori environments

Literature from Māori adoptees has highlighted the detrimental impact of adopting pēpi Māori (Māori babies) to non-Māori families. For example, without a lived experience of engaging in Māori cultural practices, the Māori adoptee may struggle when navigating unfamiliar Māori environments (Ahuriri-Driscoll, 2020; Haenga-Collins, 2017; West, 2012). The transcultural adoptees in this study also described their awkwardness when immersed in Māori environments, such as entering a marae for the first time. Sam remembers how he used to feel before he knew his Māori whakapapa and marae:

> *I remember being at a camp somewhere up north… one of the Māori*
> *kaumatua says oh if you are Māori, I want you to group yourself by your*
> *specific iwi. So, we're going to have Tairāwhiti over here, Kāi Tahu over here*
> *and Ngā Puhi[159] over there. I just remember standing there thinking, where*
> *do I go? So, I sort of just went out the back and did some things in the kitchen*
> *or something.... It just raised the whole issue of you know, who am I? No*
> *whea koe? No whea ahau? Where am I from? You know - all those things?*

For people yet to learn their whakapapa, providing a pepeha can cause anxiety, however some adoptees in this study found solutions to deal with this challenge. Before they knew their whakapapa Jean and Sam would keep their pepeha simple and brief, whereas Ella saw living with a whakapapa huna as an exciting prospective as there was a mystery to be revealed. She did not see herself as lost:

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[159] These are Iwi.

The first thing that came to mind is the whakataukī - E kore au e ngaro, he kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea. I may not know how I got to where I am now. I may not know who did what to who or who put a baby in who, but I know that I'm from Rangiātea[160]. I know that line and that whakapapa lives within me.

Ella's use of the above whakataukī is an empowering solution for Māori adoptees living with a whakapapa huna. Instead of explicitly stating their adoption status or lack of whakapapa knowledge, a Māori adoptee can confirm their whakapapa back to the origins of Māori – Rangiātea.

Ethnic-racial socialisation

A challenge for the transcultural adoptive parent is how to provide ethnic-racial socialisation opportunities for their adopted child (Pinderhughes et al., 2021). This is particularly challenging for adoptive parents with limited contact with people of the same ethnicity as their child. Forty years ago, when the Pūkōrero in this study were growing up, the opportunities in some regions for people disconnected from marae, hapū and iwi to engage in Māori cultural activities was limited. Sarah explains:

My mum and dad always encouraged me to pursue things Māori but back then there wasn't a lot in [xxx region retracted]. They sent me to Māori cultural things like learning poi and doing rākau games, but there wasn't a lot of things te ao Māori, but it was a bit of culture and it always interested me.

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[160] While Rangiātea is a physical place in Ra'iātea (Tahiti) it is also a spiritual realm in Hawaiki, the first Whare Wānanga (house of higher learning) and a building within the 12th heaven (Royal, 2015).

Sam describes how at school he learned te reo Māori through correspondence, due to the lack of te reo Māori teachers. In contrast the adoptees with a Māori adoptive parent found engaging in Māori experiences easier. For example, Carla attended marae with her Māori adoptive father and Susie's adoptive parents (who were both Māori) provided her with a strong sense of her Māori identity. These findings demonstrate the benefits of raising tamariki Māori within their whakapapa whānau to maintain hapū and iwi connections.

Dealing with racism

Helping their adopted child deal with ethnic-racial discrimination is a necessary requirement of the transcultural adoptive parent (Pinderhughes et al., 2021). Adoptive parents also need to be prepared to examine their own colourblind perspectives or unconscious biases (and racism) they may have towards their adoptive child's ethnic group (Child Welfare Information Gateway, 2023). In this study the experiences of some of the transcultural adoptees highlighted adoptive parents' cultural biases. Jean says her adoptive father was a kind and happy person, but her adoptive mother was racist. She says:

> *You know I look back on it now and realise that the things that I believed were just things that my mother said…she used to come out with these sorts of racist beliefs, that I took on.*

Due to her upbringing navigating intrapersonal racism was a challenge for Jean, who said realising she was Māori made her confront her own attitudes towards Māori.

And then when I discovered that – well I'm Māori – so does that mean that I'm dumb and lazy. You know those kinds of attitudes, yeah – that affected me quite a bit, so I had to go through some healing about that really.

Jean says it was helpful knowing that she was adopted:

I think there's already enough lies – you know, but at least that part of it was true.

Jean's realisation that her internalised negative attitude towards Māori needed changing was a traumatic experience. In describing the "forced Māori identity" McIntosh's (2005) explains this identity is formed under conditions of deprivation, whereby Māori live on the "margins of both 'mainstream' as well as Māori society" (p.48). McIntosh, (2005) describes how this identity can distort personal perceptions, while reinforcing negative outsider perceptions. "The weakness of the forced identity is for the negative perceptions to become internalised and normalized, and the strength of the forced identity is the recognition that through sustained collective action and activism change is possible" (p.49). For Jean her deficit perceptions of Māori had become internalised and normalised, but this was challenged upon discovering her Māori ancestry. Her strength to pursue a different path highlights the challenges transcultural adoptees may face as they begin their whakapapa journey. Jean's ability to be self-reflective and honest is testimony to her courage to confront mistruths.

Despite the diversity of its members, identity politics can create perceptions of homogenous Māori and Pākehā social identities, often with competing agendas. However, McIntosh (2005) warns that identity articulations can exclude some individuals to the margins, particularly when there are certain expectations and

cultural markers that determine membership. In the case of transcultural Māori adoptees, they are a unique group who often straddle ethnic identities. Their journey of whakapapa reclamation is essentially the nullifying of a historic assimilative agenda designed to integrate tamariki Māori into non-Māori families. Māori adoptees who have been raised in a Pākehā family (or who look Pākehā) can find navigating their social identity a challenge. For example, Jake's mother who is fair in appearance and was raised by non-Māori was acutely aware of this dilemma after meeting her Māori birth whānau. Jake explains:

> *Some of the feelings mum has had is that she knows her new siblings come from a Māori father and a Māori mother. She feels like she's their white sister. I have heard her say that a few times. She's like 'oh – what are they going to think of me – the white sister'. They don't think that. It is just something in her head and she feels like she won't fit in, because there is something different about her.*

As demonstrated by Jake's comments an awareness of what transcultural Māori adoptees might feel and think when reuniting with Māori birth whānau is important to avoid miscommunication occurring. Whānau who are inclusive and understanding are likely to form stronger bonds with reuniting adoptees. In contrast whānau intolerant or ignorant of adoptees possible fears will reinforce the adoptees abandonment and rejection issues. Adoptees seeking reunion with whakapapa whānau also need to be mentally and emotionally prepared to confront some of the internalised beliefs they have about their ethnic identity.

Concealing Māori identity

Growing up, Jean had the added complication that she was uncertain of her Māori identity. On her birth certificate her Māori ethnicity was not listed. Jean was told she might be Greek or Italian, but when she met Māori, this fiction was often challenged:

> *You start grasping at straws when you don't have the answers, but the Māori knew I was Māori, cause everywhere I went people would always look at me twice and say – where do you stay? Who are you from?*

Jean remembers feeling confused when others thought she was Māori and she rejected it, as she thought Māori were inferior. Later in life Jean learned her birth mother's parents had told her birth mother (who was part-Māori herself) not to disclose on the paperwork that the baby [Jean] was Māori, because they thought this would damage her chances of being adopted into a "good home". Jean's adoptive parents continued this fiction. Likewise, on Sam's adoption file it said, "father of baby not markedly Māori". The attitudes reflected in the adoptees' narratives highlight the racism towards Māori that existed in Aotearoa during this period. The practice of masking indigenous adoptees ethnicity also occurred in other British colonial countries (see Wāhanga 4: Part 3 and Sixties Scoop). In Aotearoa at the time of Sam and Jean's birth (late 1960s) there were also more babies than adoptive families willing to adopt (Else, 1992). A consequence of the oversupply of babies meant would-be adoptive parents could select babies according to a child's sex, health, race, religious affiliation, and family background (Else, 1992). Else (1992) states that "the most easily placed babies, perfect Pākehā girls, rose to the top of the list, and boys who were disabled and/or of mixed race sank to the bottom" (p.48). Else (1992) adds that during the 1960s finding adoptive parents for part-Māori babies

was particularly challenging. For Jean's birth mother concealing Jean's ethnicity appeared the obvious solution to ensure her placement, however this was at a great expense to Jean.

Looking different

Within families often a taken for granted norm is the physical resemblances between family members. For transcultural Māori adoptees such differences were often obvious. Jean looked different from her adoptive parents and her blond-blue eyed brothers (also adoptees). She admits they looked like a group of adopted people. These findings correlate with other *transcultural adoption* literature, where phenotypic characteristics between an adoptee and their adoptive family are often noticeable to outsiders and can "out" an adoptive family (Pinderhughes et al., 2021). Furthermore, the physical differences between transcultural adoptees and their adoptive families are a constant reminder that they descend from another family.

Fictious identities

Another phenomenon that the adoptees shared was that in the absence of information about their Māori whakapapa they made up their own story about their origins. Fictionalising their birth history provided these adoptees with a narrative that was missing in their life. For example, both Jean and Ella wondered if they were related to famous New Zealand opera singer Kiri Te Kanawa. Ella explains:

> *I dunno you can make up all sorts of awesome stories about where you are really from. So, I think there is an excitement in it. You're a mystery that I just don't find pōuri [sad] at all. I find it special, because that talks about resilience, even though you don't know that stuff.*

Sarah shared a similar story about being related to a famous Māori singer:

I used to think that Bunny Walters was my father, because he was Māori, but of course that is not true. I have never told anyone about that. But you know I would dream about it - and it's funny because its more so not my Pākehā side, but my Māori side that I was drawn to.

Sarah's admission that she was more likely to romanticise about her Māori rather than her Pākehā ancestry correlates with the positivity she has towards her Māori ethnicity. Contributing factors to this attitude may have been influenced by her Māori adoptive dad; increased societal acceptance of te ao Māori; and her pursuit of kaupapa Māori educational opportunities.

Making up stories about unknown birth parents is likely a consequence of the closed adoption practice. Griffith (2000) explains that when an adopted person's background material is suppressed, they fill in the gaps with imagination and fantasy. "The greater the secrecy, the greater the fantasy" (Griffith, 2000, p.22). Although the purpose of the closed adoptions was to protect the privacy of birth mothers the practice resulted in state-enforced fictions, such as the suppression of adoptees biological history. The ethnicity of Māori babies was also fictionalised. Pretending a Māori baby's complexion was due to Greek or Italian heritage, instead of Māori whakapapa [as was the case with Jean[161]] was a ploy to make them seem more 'adoptable' to non-Māori adoptive parents. Today the continued secrecy around accessing full adoption files continues to exacerbate this problem. The challenge for the adoptee is to avoid substituting whakapapa knowledge gaps with misinformation.

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[161] Interestingly Jean also chose to select a new made-up surname for herself later in life.

Reasons for seeking whakapapa knowledge

There were a variety of factors that motivated the adoptees to seek whakapapa knowledge. The birth of their first child prompted Jake's mother and Sarah to seek their birth mothers. Sarah, who had her first baby at 20 explains:

> *And actually, to see my baby was like – whoa this is the first time that I can recall seeing somebody who is my flesh. It's like wow. Wanting to know why you are like you are and all those things motivate you to find out your biological background.*

Ella shared that reaching adulthood was a contributing factor that started her whakapapa journey:

> *I can't remember why, probably because I was coming up to my twenty-first [birthday] and you know it's kind of a landmark time. I just felt this need to get in touch with my birth mother.*

At 19 Jean also searched for her birth mother:

> *I hadn't started having kids, but I just knew I wanted to find out.*

Later in life Jean wanted to confirm her Māori whakapapa for her children's sake. This door was opened after her birth mother (also an adoptee) discovered her Māori whakapapa whānau. Sam always had a yearning to find his birth roots and had tried when he was a pre-teen, however because he was a minor (under 18), he could not access his adoption files. As an adult he restarted his search for his birth mother. He explains why:

I guess it was belonging...just that whole thing of just wanting to fit in somewhere. I just felt I didn't, I didn't know you know. I just felt there was a void.

Not all adoptees are interested in discovering their birth history. Sam said his brother was not interested. Growing up Carla was uninterested in finding her birth parents, although she was curious about who she looked like. Since the passing of her adoptive parents Carla is keen to know more so she can validate her iwi connections. She has met her Pākehā birth mother but is still looking for her Māori birth father. She says she is not too interested in a relationship with him but would like to know her iwi and validate her Māori ethnicity. She describes how a relative once joked that her birth father might not even be Māori:

She's like 'oh my gosh, imagine if your father isn't Māori – that would be the funniest thing in the world' and then I'm nearly crying, I'm like no – I am so Māori. And she's like 'imagine if you are Fijian – that's so funny'.

Carla's comment reflects the quandary some adoptees of closed stranger adoptions may face. Finding a birth parent may challenge or confirm their established ethnic identity. Although Carla was raised with a Māori adoptive parent, she described the satisfaction she would feel if she was to find her Māori whakapapa:

There would be a peace about that and probably a peace (since you brought it up for me) thinking about it – knowing my tūrangawaewae perhaps.

Jake's decision to find his mother's birth father was inspired by wanting to help his mother and his own desire to learn more about his own whakapapa:

My dad is Māori as well, so I knew who I was on that side, but there was always that missing piece for me too.

Pursuing tertiary studies (te reo Māori, toi, teaching) particularly within a Māori institution (wānanga) or working for Māori organisations prompted whakapapa exploration. Ella was motivated to learn more about her whakapapa after listening to her classmates give their pepeha:

This week just gone, because again like I said we are doing a lot of whakapapa stuff in my course and one of our classmates got up and could recite his whakapapa back to Kupe and he had it all on the screen di di di…ko au and that was gold. And I was like I would love to be able to do that. So just this week I messaged my cousin I said 'hey can you get me in touch with your aunty [Ella's birth mother] again, because I've lost her details…but I don't know who my dad is and I need to know who he is and I need to try and track him down.

Ella describes connecting to te ao Māori as an evolving process that connects her to her whakapapa:

And throughout the whole time – it's been who am I? Where am I from? What are our stories? It has been growing since then. And things just click into places when they are meant to.

The adoptees' narratives demonstrate that the reasons for seeking whakapapa insight are multiple and can span time. Furthermore, Kaupapa Māori environments are a valuable vessel for encouraging whakapapa journeys. Ella's help from her biological cousin also demonstrates how supportive whānau can help Māori adoptees.

Barriers to Accessing Whakapapa

Incorrect official records

Accessing whakapapa information can be challenging when information is sealed or wrong. For Sam an incorrect original birth certificate meant his search journey for his Māori birth father led him down the wrong track. He rang all the people in the phonebook and started knocking on the doors of people who shared the surname of his birth father, only to discover later his error. Sam's original birth certificate had incorrectly swapped his birth father's first and surname names around. Eventually Sam learned of his birth father's identity from his birth mother and was able to conduct an accurate search. As mentioned, Jean's ethnicity was also not recorded as Māori, but Greek or Italian.

Unnamed Māori birth fathers and evasive birth mothers

While some of the adoptees in this study learned the identity of their birth father through their birth certificate or their birth mother, Jean and Carla's birth mothers were less forthcoming. The adoptees were uncertain whether it was because their birth mothers did not know their birth father's name, or they were unwilling to release it. In such cases whakapapa restoration can be a lengthy and frustrating process. Jean is understanding of her birth mother's position and why she might be guarded with information. She explains that people who are searching for whakapapa need to have an open mind and not have too many expectations:

> *You must go in quite strong and be yourself. People have their baggage…as an adopted-out baby you are their pain, and you are kind of their shame. Like for my mother there was a lot of shame for her getting pregnant and then having a baby on the quiet - and having it quickly adopted out. So, I am not going to hold it against her if she is a little bit private or not as open as I*

might have wished. And I respect that. I will still be here one day when

everything is ka pai and she wants to know more or be present more, then

that would be cool with me. Have no expectations… prepare yourself that it

might not turn out as you hoped.

Jean's comments reflect the dilemma adoptees face as they manage their own expectations, while respecting their birth mother's unresolved issues or other reasons for withholding information. Education, support groups and advocation is required to support adoptees and birth mothers navigate this process.

A name but minimal information

Even if adoptees are provided with a name of a birth parent, the search for connection can be arduous. Jake describes how he had a name, but minimal information and spent two years of solid research to track down his mother's birth father. During this time, he did not share with her that he was actively looking as he did not want to disappoint her if there was a dead end. Jake's first success came when he connected through DNA testing to a first or second cousin. Through cross-referencing of known sources, Jake and his cousin built the whānau tree back to a tūpuna who signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Jake then traced the whānau line down to his mother's generation, until he found male twins who had lived in the same vicinity as his mother's birth mother. He then reached out to people he knew from this region providing them with a possible name. A female contact confirmed who Jake was looking for was not her father, but a cousin who shared the same name. This discovery led to the identification of Jake's mother's birth father. A positive DNA match confirmed the birth father's paternity. On Mother's Day 2019, the year his mother turned 50, Jake revealed to her that he had found her birth father and he was

willing to meet. Jake's whakapapa journey is inspiring, but also highlights the time-consuming process when the scope of a search is broad.

Intergenerational adoption impacts

While some literature explores the intergenerational impacts of closed adoptions on Māori descendants (see Newman, 2011), in this study it was coincidental that Māori adoptees Jean and Ella were also descendants of Māori adoptees, which further made accessing whakapapa knowledge difficult. Jean said because her birth mother (an adoptee) did not look Māori, Jean did not relate to her Māori biological background until she got to know her Māori birth father more. After Jean's birth mother discovered the identities of her birth parents, she was able to fill in some whakapapa gaps for Jean. For Jean and Ella, they have experienced two generations of living with a whakapapa huna, through their own experience and through that of their birth parents. As mentioned, Jake's quest to seek insight into his mother's whakapapa is also motivated by his need to fill in gaps in his own whakapapa and for the sake of his own children.

Whānau alienation from tūrangawaewae

Māori adoptees are not the only group alienated from their whakapapa whānau. Although Jake found his maternal biological grandfather, his grandfather was living away from his tūrangawaewae, which meant reconnection to his whenua and marae is still elusive to Jake and his mother. They have yet to meet other relatives such as Jake's mother's siblings. However, what has been fortunate is that due to Jake's investigating he has also helped his mother's paternal whānau establish connections:

> *I was able to share more of his whakapapa with him [Jake's mother's birth*
>
> *father], because of the work I had done. They sort of didn't know or weren't*

involved in their whakapapa or marae. What we discovered is that they had

connections to [region retracted]. They also hail from Ngāti xxx [hapū

retracted] and xxx [region retracted], so quite close to home. My mum's lived

here for most of her life, and she's had whānau all around her. She just didn't

know it.

Whereas adoptees may be easily dissuaded by emotional barriers preventing whakapapa reconnection their children (as in the case of Jake) may be better positioned to continue the whakapapa journey. Jake's perseverance to learn more about his whakapapa whānau demonstrates how he is championing whakapapa restoration within his whānau. An area of future investigation is how descendants of adoptees can advocate for adoptee's when their whakapapa journey may have come to a standstill.

Whānau blockers

As discussed earlier, while birth mothers and legislation can block access to whakapapa insight, whānau may also be barrier for people seeking whakapapa knowledge. Jean described how she reached out to her support network when she struck a brick wall and needed new ideas:

It is difficult when someone is being a gatekeeper or holding back

information or giving out misleading information deliberately, because they

are trying to protect something or themselves. That is when it gets real

detective work. So, you just reach out and try and find support on your

journey.

Jake believes whakapapa belongs to anyone with Māori blood in them, but he acknowledges others think differently:

I know of stories of whānau not allowing other family members to see their

whakapapa, because they wanted to know their intentions of its use

beforehand.

Jake and Jean's comments reflect the challenge Māori seeking whakapapa knowledge face, particularly when they are strangers to whānau members. Some whānau may be wary of newcomers (such as adoptees), who they may see as opportunists seeking a share of their limited resources. Kaitautoko Denise asserts that not all Māori have a whānau-centric view. She gave the example of a boy who had a DNA match with a biological aunt, but the aunt was unwilling to acknowledge him or help him connect to his whakapapa. Denise says some people hesitate to connect with biological whānau out of fear of rejection or offending someone. Connected whānau may be unempathetic towards the person without understanding why they might be disconnected. Denise explains:

Their [the connected whānau] view could be 'go back to where you came

from and ask the old people' or 'go ask your parents' or 'DNA tests are bad'.

Denise says some people like adoptees cannot go back to the old people when they do not know who those old people are. She adds that when such judgements occur, out of fear of rejection the person ceases looking. In this study, the adoptees who had connected with Māori whānau did not share examples of exclusion (although some were rejected by birth mothers), but instead provided examples of inclusiveness.

Internal barriers

Another barrier that can hinder an adoptee's whakapapa restoration is their loyalty to their adoptive family. They may delay their search for their birth origins

for fear of upsetting their adoptive families. Carla remembers a time when her birth mother was planning to meet her and her adoptive parents but was dissuaded because of Carla's adoptive mum's fears:

> *I went to mum and dad, mum was like – 'no, we don't want to meet her. No, no, no, no – she might take you'*

Carla explains that when her adoptive mum died, her adoptive dad shared with her more about her history and encouraged Carla to begin her search.

One perspective debated in adoption literature is that adoptees who search for their birth origins are ungrateful, unhappy, or insecure with their adoptive family (Verrier, 1993). In this study some of the adoptees expressed gratitude for their adoptive family. Ahuriri-Driscoll (2020) explains microinvalidations are subtle benign statements that nullify the lived experience of adoption triad members, while reinforcing dominant ideologies and hierarchies. For example, when others assume adoptees should show gratitude for their adoption it assumes they had to be rescued from an undesirable biological family and placed into a good adoptive home. This view reflects dominant discourses ignoring adoption-related trauma, such as the birth parent's pain of relinquishment or the adoptee's loss of whakapapa connection. Increased education pertaining to adoption assumptions and honest discussions between adoptees and adoptive parents may help alleviate adoptees fears that they will appear ungrateful or disloyal if they search for their birth origins. In this study the adoptees had both positive and negative perspectives of their upbringing, but as adults they were all interested in learning more about their whakapapa.

Online Interactions and Sharing Whakapapa

While social media is a useful tool to search for whānau and establish or maintain relationships from afar, there are also ethical responsibilities and implications. Social media can pose risks such as privacy breaches, which is what happened to Jean. She unwittingly revealed information on Facebook, that her mother wanted to keep private. Unfortunately this mishap impacted their relationship.

Pros and cons of DNA testing and ancestry sites

In recent years direct-to-consumer (DTC) genetic testing (GT) has increased in popularity. These tests can be purchased online without the involvement of health professionals (Jochem, 2016). In this study Jean, Ella, Jake, and Susie completed DTC-GT tests so they could find matches with potential biological relatives. The Māori adoptees acceptance of GT to search for whakapapa, was surprising considering the ethical and cultural implications of this method for Māori.[162] For example, Susie, who did a DTC-GT to confirm her ethnicity, encourages others to embrace this technology:

> *I believe that more and more people are accepting of getting it done, because they want to connect and it's all about connections. And we as Māori are all about whakapapa…and to get whakapapa we need to do this.*

Sam said although he would not pursue GT himself, he did not have a strong opinion about it as a method for searching for whakapapa. Kaitautoko Denise adds that GT is good when all other avenues have been exhausted. Ella, although aware of the cultural implications, was in favour of GT. She explains:

DNA testing contradicts our understanding of ira tangata and the sacredness of that, you know giving over your mauri to a laboratory to an external sterile environment. Our tūpuna were innovative and if there were new tools, they would have used them...if my tūpuna were now living they would say - cha bub you can put your thing on a stick, and they can tell you where they are from.

Jake admits using GT and ancestry websites to search for whānau can be a lengthy task. The search for his mum's Māori birth father spanned several years beginning in 2016 and ending in 2019. Jake describes how there were thousands of DNA connections on his *Ancestry.com* site, but they were to his mother's birth mother's Scottish relatives not his mother's birth father's Māori whānau. Jake thinks more Māori should do DNA tests:

I know reasons why people aren't testing, like the sovereignty over whakapapa and DNA is quite a strong topic within te ao Māori. I think because so many Māori are adopted or don't know their whakapapa it would just be highly beneficial to the wider community, if more people did test, because the more people that test the more specific and granular that DNA analysis can get. That's from a very scientific level.

Some Pūkōrero and Kaitautoko warned that you need to be prepared to discover unexpected information, when undertaking GT as secrets may be uncovered. Jake's cousin discovered her father was not her father. Jean unravelled a family mystery when she found an unknown half-brother who had been adopted out.

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[162] DNA is a physical expression of whakapapa, a taonga (treasure) and tapu (sacred) (Collier-Robinson et al., 2019).

Whereas Denise described a positive reaction after a friend discovered the identity of their maternal grandfather through GT:

> *I asked him what the exploration and discovery meant to him. He replied, 'Absolutely priceless. I wish my mum was still alive. This answer would have meant the world to her as she carried a lot of shame not knowing who her dad was. My siblings and I cried together to finally know the identity of our grandfather.'*

Although Ella does not have a problem with GT as a method, she acknowledges the potential for corruption and breaches of privacy. She says:

> *If you know how that data is going to be stored, managed, collected, and for what purpose it is being used, and absolutely aware of that, then I don't see a problem.*

Ella agreed that iwi should be future holders of this data as an expression of their data sovereignty:

> *DNA is a repository for whakapapa - whakapapa belongs to us iwi Māori. Absolutely we should have sovereignty and if you wanted to look at the Treaty of Waitangi - Article 2 - protection of our taonga.*

The issues that Ella raises pertaining to DNA collecting, management and storage, pose potential questions for iwi and government agencies. Currently, New Zealanders using sites such as *Ancestry.com* or *Myheritage* send their DNA samples to an overseas lab. Denise would like to see the New Zealand government allocate funds to a centre of Māori genealogical research, where all Iwi would unite and help whakapapa whānau reconnections. Denise warns people to read the fine print when

consenting to GT and subscribe to DNA blogs to keep abreast of changes to the terms and conditions.

Support Networks

Some of the adoptees wished they had received more guidance in how to make first contact with birth parents. The adoptees shared how they received support from kaumātua, whānau (cousins, uncles, aunties, adoptive parents, partners) when contacting whakapapa whānau. Sarah's adoptive parents formed an adoption support group, consisting of adoptees, birth parents, and other adoptive parents. This group shared stories and resources. Extended family members also acted as mediators between birth mothers and adoptees. For example, when Ella was trying to reconnect with her birth mother, she used Facebook to befriend all the people with the same surname as her birth mother. Eventually, a biological cousin accepted Ella's friend request and helped Ella connect with her birth mother. Having supportive whānau members who were connected to their marae was also beneficial to adoptees. For example, Sarah's birth sisters on her paternal side, plan to introduce Sarah to her whānau marae. Jean was also fortunate to have a birth uncle who took her to her birth mothers' whānau marae. Connected whānau play an important role in mediating relationships between other whānau and adoptees, which helps reduce adoptee's fear of whānau rejection.

Kaumātua knowledge

The knowledge base of kaumātua with longevity links to a region and are familiar with local Māori whānau are a particularly useful tool for people seeking whakapapa insight. For example, Mary who has been supporting tribal members with whakapapa for five decades, draws upon her extensive knowledge of whānau names, the physical characteristics of whānau and their backgrounds to reconnect people.

Ella contacted kaumātua in the region where her Māori birth mother's whānau were from. These kaumātua provided more details about her maternal birth whānau and their musical talents.

Māori workplaces/wānanga

Wānanga kaiako are often well connected to their local Māori communities. Several of the Pūkōrero in this study shared how wānanga kaiako and classmates or Māori work colleagues had supported them on their whakapapa journey. Sarah said when she was working for an iwi education organisation, her manager taught her how to give a pepeha and spent hours teaching her Māori pronunciation. After learning her pepeha Sarah discovered she shared whakapapa with others in her workplace.

Emotional and Spiritual Readiness

The mental and emotional preparedness required of reunification with whānau can be off-putting for some adoptees who may fear further rejection and abandonment. There may be long delays between finding information and making the first face to face contact. Ella shared she had reconnected again with her birth mother, to seek further information on her birth father (her Pākehā whakapapa), but also learn more about her birth mother's Māori whakapapa. Waiting for the revealing of whakapapa at the right time was a theme that other adoptees also shared. Ella said:

> *I believe in wā. I just think there is a time and place and you can't force it. You can't predict when learning is going to occur…Time talks about readiness, the environment and the people involved. The time of the maramataka talks about all the things that are ready to happen. So definitely on a whakapapa journey you have to be ready. Going back to that kōrero*

about resilience – you have to be resilient, strong, committed, prepared for
what will come up. All of these things take time to manifest.

Sam describes the search for whakapapa as a journey. Sarah also advises others
searching for whakapapa to take their time. She says:

When you are at that place you want to get there fast, but stop take a breath.
Think about it before you jump in.

Susie who is a kaikaranga says she trusts in the universe to provide her with what she
needs:

I found that only when you are ready you will receive the information. You
could get information, but not retain it. A lot of stuff I don't write down
anymore, I used to, but I don't think I need to anymore, because it is locked in
and comes out when it needs to come out.

Susie makes an important point that whakapapa is a lived experience and not
just about writing down names. Her method for whakapapa retention extends beyond
the written word.

Acting cautiously was also important when reconnecting with whānau. For
example, when Jake wanted to reconnect his mother and her birth father (his
grandfather), Jake knew his grandfather had a new wife and children, who might not
be aware or accepting of new whānau. Fortunately, this was not the case, and they
embraced the reunion. Throughout the reconnecting phase Jake, checked that all
parties were comfortable during the process:

When you come across a barrier – and there are going to be some brick
walls, you just need to sort of retract. Whenever engaging with a connection

or someone who you think might be related, always be cautious and mindful

of how they might receive your interaction.

Jake's advice to others seeking whakapapa insight is to persevere and remain positive.

Making Reconnections

Birth mothers and first contact

In this study all the adoptees initiated first contact with their birth mothers. Despite societal attitudinal shifts, historic ingrained attitudes towards closed adoptions impacted the relationship between some reuniting adoptees and their birth mothers. Else, (1992) describes how the closed adoption system worked best when mothers accepted that they had made a mistake. Mothers were encouraged to adopt out their child and move on with their life as this was in the best interests of all. In recalling her first phone call with her birth mother Susie demonstrates the impact of such attitudes:

> *She was very cold, very sharp. And the first thing she asked me was 'are your*
>
> *parents dead?'. And I went how rude, what if they weren't. I said 'yes, they*
>
> *are both dead'. And she says, 'good because not in a horrible way…they told*
>
> *me when I dropped you off that I wasn't to contact you while they were still*
>
> *living'.*

Susie explained that after the frosty introduction with her birth mother she wanted to finish the phone call but needed more information on her birth father. Susie also understood how her birth mother had been lied to and had kept her promise by staying away from Susie, despite knowing where Susie lived. (Susie added her

sister's birth mother had also been told to keep away from the adoptive family). Despite the aloof start Susie maintained contact with her birth mother.

In contrast Carla remembers her first contact with her birth mother as positive:

> *I was sitting in front of her, and we don't even look alike, because she is blond and blue-eyed and I'm not...She's the loveliest person and she's creative, and adventurous.*

Carla discovered she had a lot in common with her birth mother and she got on well with her. Likewise, Ella remembered her first interaction with her birth mother positively:

> *I can remember she opened the door and I just saw myself in the flesh in 20 years' time and it was incredible... I remember what she was wearing, she had on this royal blue nice kind of suit...and the shape of her arms were the same as mine and she had long beautiful hair like a horse. She was just beautiful...she was shy and very, very, very softly spoken.*

Ella admits that in her excitement she may have overwhelmed her mother with her questioning and bold nature.

Birth mothers and post-reunion relationships

Despite some positive first reunions, adoptees did not necessarily maintain ongoing contact with birth mothers. Ella, Sam, and Jean experienced rejection from their birth mothers. Ella said when she tried to reconnect with her birth mother after several years of not communicating, her birth mother said she could not see how she could add value to Ella's life. Ella described her reaction to this response:

That was really, really sad - so we left it at that and that was many years ago.

As birth mothers were not interviewed in this study it is unclear why relationships between adoptees and birth mothers broke down, however some adoptees suspect unresolved grief and lost expectations. Sam's birth mother did not have any other children after Sam. Sam explains that although his birth mother provided information on his birth father, and there were some good periods, eventually the relationship with his birth mother ceased:

> *It was a difficult relationship with her going forward as well… I guess you know, it was probably more difficult from the fact that I think for my birth mother, I couldn't be the son that my birth mother didn't have – if that makes sense. For me, mum in [city retracted] was mum, she was the one who brought us up and clothed us and fed us and loved us. I guess for me at the time, it was more of just you know, wanting some answers and maybe like a friendship of some kind. But I couldn't be the son that perhaps she thinks at the time she wanted.*

Jean's current relationship with her birth mother is also frayed. The reaction of some of the birth mothers (as shared by the adoptees), suggests that there needs to be more support for birth mothers during and after the reunion process. As noted in Sam's comment the reappearance of a child (who is now an adult) may be a reminder to a birth mother of the years that they lost. As demonstrated, for the adoptee their expectations of the type of relationship they desired from their birth mother may differ from their birth mother's expectations.

While the adoptees in this study were relatively understanding of their birth mother's perspective, they also acknowledged adopted siblings who saw their

experience differently. Ella described how her adopted brother suffered spiritually and physically due to being rejected as an adult from his birth mother. Susie shared how her adopted brother discovered he was conceived due to rape. Although his mother rejected him, he was able to form relationships with other whānau members.

Finding birth fathers

In this study Ella and Carla have not found their birth fathers. Jean has yet to meet her Māori birth father as he lives in Australia, but she is in regular contact with him through Facebook. Susie's birth father died before she could meet him. Jake's mum, Sarah and Sam have all met their Māori birth fathers. Jake described the moment when his mother's birth father and adoptive father first made contact through a phone call:

> *She [Jake's mum] was very, very nervous, but she knew it was something that she wanted.*

Sam met his birth father in 1995 a few years after meeting his birth mother. He describes the reunion with his birth father and his whānau (aunt, grandfather, uncle, sister) as a low key and positive event:

> *We seemed to just naturally connect, and I really enjoyed that first meeting and the times we have spent together after that. All my dad's whānau have been welcoming of both myself and my own whānau.*

Birth fathers and post-reunion relationships

Although Jean has yet to meet her birth father in person, she adds the relationship is more reciprocal than that with her birth mother and equates this to their different personality types. She finds her birth mother bolshie and birth father nice. Sam and Sarah also found their post-reunion relationships with their Māori

birth fathers easier to navigate than with their birth mothers. Sarah said her birth father had told his children about her therefore they were more open to her. As birth fathers were not interviewed in this study it is inconclusive as to whether they are more receptive than birth mothers to renewed relationships with adoptees.

Re-establishing whānau relationships

Reconnecting with birth parents opened doors to new relationships with other whānau members, and opportunities for the adoptees to learn more about themselves. A positive experience that emerged from Jake's mother's reunion with her birth father is when her birth father met her adoptive father and Jake's mother's adopted siblings:

> *Something I didn't add is my mum's sense of aroha when her biological father met her adoptive father…they had a really strong bond…It was nice for her to see that her biological father didn't think that she was trying to replace him, but she was just filling the gap that was there within herself. It was really cool to see them meeting each other and her biological father thanked my grandad for everything he did to bring up their daughter…and mum's adopted siblings were welcoming too.*

A common experience that the transcultural adoptees found when reconnecting with biological whānau was a recognition of similar physical traits. Jake explains:

> *It is amazing how similar you can look to someone that you have not grown up with. My mother discovered that with both her families. I also have a cousin (biological) that is a spitting image of me.*

Sarah always knew she was Māori, and this did not change when she reconnected with her Māori whānau, however she did appreciate seeing the family likenesses between herself and her biological whānau:

Being told I looked like my Māori grandmother – that was awesome.

For Māori adoptees with limited exposure to Māori cultural experiences growing up, reconnecting to Māori whakapapa was particularly salient. Jean describes the experience of connecting with her birth mother's marae as a strange, but lovely event:

You feel a sense of loss as I didn't experience it [the marae]and tūrangawaewae as a child. I am on the outskirts looking in. It's mind-blowing.

Through her Māori birth uncle, Jean developed a relationship with her cousin, learned more about her whakapapa and connected with other whānau. For transcultural adoptees connecting with Māori whānau also provided opportunities to engage in marae activities. However, such experiences could also be daunting and required considerate whānau. Jean explains:

Although there are some things I get wrong, there are people who are inclusive and understanding, especially when you tell them this is probably why I am a little bit dazed and confused on the marae.

Jean, who always had a yearning to reconnect with birth whānau says reunifying with her whānau gave her sense of belonging:

So, it's affected everything really. It's brought me peace and happiness. I've found people I love being around who make me laugh. I don't feel odd

> *anymore…I feel really connected for the first time in my life to all these*
>
> *people and they are really present.*

Jean adds that discovering her Māori whakapapa and learning about te ao Māori through higher education also shifted her perceptions about being Māori. She now appreciates where she comes from and expresses this through writing and waiata. She has registered herself and her children with her iwi, attended iwi events, and has been welcomed by other iwi members. She says:

> *It's all coming together…you kind of own it [being Māori] a bit more or live*
>
> *up to it somehow or have a bit more knowledge about it, and you are*
>
> *strengthened, and this gives you confidence.*

Although Jean's experience of reconnecting to her whakapapa whānau has so far been positive, she admits whakapapa is a process requiring perseverance in the face of setbacks. During this journey Jean sought out her own support but admits it would have been helpful to have had more support.

Reconnecting to ancestral marae

While some of the adoptees had positive reunions with whakapapa whānau, for some sustaining contact to ancestral marae has not occurred or has waned overtime. Without ongoing contact through regular visits, it is difficult to learn more whakapapa knowledge or create ongoing connections for future generations. Sarah was keen to return to her birth mother's marae but was waiting for whānau from Australia to return. She is keen to re-establish ongoing connections once she has retired, which she sees as important for her mokopuna. This finding supports the 2018 postcensal *Te Kupenga Survey of Māori Wellbeing* (see Blanket Six) that found time restraints, travel costs/distances and work commitments all impact on

establishing ongoing marae relationships. This suggests Māori adoptees are not the only group who struggle to reconnect to marae tīpuna.

About 20 years ago when Sarah was 30 her birth father passed away. She remembers his tangi in Auckland as it was the first time that she had been on to a marae. Her birth father was also taken to his marae tipuna in the Far North, a marae Sarah has yet to visit. Sarah has maintained contact with her paternal biological siblings, and they had planned to visit their marae tipuna with her last year but were unable to go due to pandemic restrictions (Covid 19). For Sarah reconnecting to her marae is important for future generations:

> *I guess passing on my whakapapa to my children and grandchildren that is important, so they know where they come from as well. Not shutting it off to anybody.*

Sam also has tamariki and seeks opportunities for them to connect with whakapapa. He first formed connections with his birth father and his Māori whānau in his thirties, who subsequently introduced him to his marae tipuna. Today he regularly leaves the city and takes his whānau to his marae tipuna to help with working bees, the unveiling of new buildings or whānau events. He is also part of the whānau marae karakia committee, which involves attending monthly church services. Sam's regular engagement with his whakapapa whānau is a way he can meet his obligations to his marae. He is learning about the places of significance and his whakapapa connectedness. He says:

> *I started to be with him [his father] and granddad. Each time I get to go up there I know a little more about those places of importance... our marae, what waka I whakapapa back to, what our last name was…all those things…*

Just hearing the limited information Dad was able to provide about the history… gave me an understanding more about… my connectedness there to that place.

As part of his journey Sam is also studying te reo Māori, which gives him confidence and a sense of belonging. Sam's ongoing contact with his marae means he now known amongst his whānau.

Whakapapa Connections and Identity

Sam's access to his marae also means he can visit his whānau urupā where his tūpuna are buried. He recalls his first visit there:

Going to the urupā for the first time I saw the monument or the kōhatu of where my tūpuna lie and then seeing the different gravestones... but realising that this was different, because each line was a whānau line…I went to my whānau line, where my great, great grandfather, my great grandfather, my uncles and my grandparents lie… so that was quite moving for me, knowing that this is our place. I guess I was also saddened to some degree that these ones that I was now standing in front of, I had not had the opportunity to meet, to grow with, to learn from.

Sam's reminiscing reflects a satisfaction that he now knows the names of his tūpuna, but this is coupled with grief that he was denied a relationship with them. His involvement with his marae demonstrates his commitment to ensure his tamariki maintain their connections to their whakapapa whānau and whenua. Sam's experience highlights the advantages when Māori adoptees can connect and sustain their links to their marae tipuna. In addition to his commitment, he has been fortunate that he has had whakapapa whānau willing to help him and his whānau navigate and

maintain these connections. For other adoptees in this study, they have yet to make first contact or maintain connections to their marae, urupā or whakapapa whānau.

Sam says knowing his whakapapa has shifted his perspective. Previously, he would feel ashamed giving his pepeha:

I was sort of only able to sort of say, you know - 'kia ora I am of Māori-Irish descent, grew up in such a such', but I wasn't able to do anything else…and I guess that's how I sort of just got through that there.… Now it's nice to be able to say that. Even if it's just for my own ears to hear, you know.

Sam adds that it has made a difference to his life knowing his whakapapa:

 It gives you more confidence I suppose…It provided me with another piece of the jigsaw puzzle. It gave me knowledge, identity, and a place of belonging…this is where I am from.

Ella says knowing how she connects to her whānau and tūpuna [her birth mother's whānau] provides her with a greater sense of purpose:

When I look at myself and my family, I look at my place in my family as this is where I am, and this is my family. When you talk whakapapa, and you look at where you're from, then the penny just drops, and you realise that you're a continuation of this huge line of people that goes back to Hine-ahu-one. I think like wow it puts context and perspective into your own existence. It's hōhonu [connection], especially when you see someone in your whakapapa who is made up of the same DNA that you are - in the same vibrational frequency. That input is internalised as it was not fed into you from the environment you were brought up in. When you see someone, you make those

invisible and intangible connections. You can't describe that feeling. It's if there is anything that feels like home it is that… like this is - ko wai au, this is who I am.

For Ella gaining whakapapa knowledge signifies a return home and also a connection that spans time and generations. Denise adds discovering whakapapa is an emotional rollercoaster and life-changing for many people. She explains:

Those who have found someone, or found something of intrinsic value to their whakapapa stand stronger within themselves, their whānau and the world. Even though their jobs don't change and their lifestyle may not change, something inside them does. And everyone who takes this journey does not expect how much meaning the answers give to their existence.

Wairuatanga and Whakapapa

Jean, Ella, Sam, and Carla all mentioned how wairuatanga has guided them on their whakapapa journey. Jean said it is unrealistic to expect whānau to fill up every part of her life that feels missing. She decided to get her own life back on track by examining herself and her own spiritual journey. Jean was brought up Christian so used to reject Māori spirituality, but she now has more understanding and has sought out spiritual mentors who have educated her. Jean described how she had a magnetic pull to a place and discovered that her birth whānau were from the area. As mentioned, Jake's mother also learned she lived in the region that her Māori birth whānau were from. Jean found an ease and a sense of home in the town she currently resides, which she equates to fate and spiritual guidance. Knowing she has whakapapa connections to her hometown has motivated her to help her iwi in the region:

I am starting to realise now they [ancestors] kind of guide you, that there is the unknown and unseen are kind of there too all the way through.

Susie described a similar experience, whereby her and her daughter had a warm passion about Tongariro mountain to the point that one day Susie decided to walk it:

It was such a good experience and then afterwards I found out that I was actually Tuwharetoa [central part of North Island]. I knew I must have had a connection. For some reason I just loved that whenua, yeah - so that was pretty cool.

Ella also recognises the unseen guidance of tūpuna:

Well, I guess I just know that my tūpuna are always with me. I don't know who they are. I just know that I know that. I feel them when I am about to say something stupid…I feel those messages - kia tūpato [be careful]. I feel tautoko [support]. I feel the awhi [help] that sits behind - you know my tangible actions.

Susie explained that an impetus for her to get her moko kauae was after her parents had died and she had made her last whakapapa connection to her birth father. At the time she was visiting a friend who was a matakite [visionary] who told Susie that Susie's father (who had passed) was with her and that his message was that she had a moko kauae – but needed to bring her out.

The adoptees sharing of their wairua experiences was an unexpected finding in this study. It supports the Kaupapa Māori notion that whakapapa is not just about connecting to living whānau, but also to those who have passed on and places of significance (whenua). Ella's comments that "my tūpuna are always with me" also

demonstrates how wairuatanga can provide adoptees with a collective identity and sense of belonging. The adoptees shared that living with a whakapapa huna can be a lonely experience but being guided by tūpuna provides a counter-narrative.

In this study several of the adoptees also shared their Christian affiliations and found it a source of strength and comfort during their whakapapa journey. For Sam, Christianity had also brought a sense of peace to his life and belonging. He explained how he converted to Christianity during a prison church service:

> *I remember that night yeah, just something happened in the - in that church service. It was just different and look long, long story short that night I came to faith and Ihu Karaiti ... My faith in the Lord, brought a lot of healing - answered a lot of questions. That whole thing about searching, you know. For some reason, it just didn't seem as intense as it was when I was growing up.*

For some adoptee's their Christian faith also influenced how and when they approached their whakapapa search. Carla's beliefs means that she proceeds cautiously with her search. She has yet to find her paternal Māori whakapapa. Her faith gives her strength in the absence of information.

> *I pray about it and I absolutely trust God and his timing, because the timing of these things hasn't been by mistake.*

Kaitautoko Denise who has helped several people reconnect with their whakapapa has noticed several unexplainable synchronicities. For example she says she has also worked with people who have had reoccurring dreams of places they have never been to. In another case siblings who had been separated at birth due to adoption, upon reuniting realised that they had chosen the same name for their eldest daughters. Another person discovered his biological American father had died in

2018 and American grandfather in 2020, the same years that he happened to be in America. Other adopted people discovered they shared the same interests as their biological family. For example, an adopted teenager who was a brass band player, learned two of his biological grandparents also shared this same passion. In this study several adoptees also mentioned how they discovered that they shared the same talents as their biological whānau. For example, Ella who is musical and has a son with musical talents, was delighted to visit her great grandfather's gravestone and find an image of guitar. Likewise, Jean who is musical also learned she descended from a musical birth whānau. Kaitautoko Denise says sometimes answers are not revealed until you understand something else about a person or whānau. She states:

> *The experiences and life choices people make are mirrored down the generations – even when they don't know each other or have never met one another.*

In this study a presence of wairuatanga was viewed as an accepted indicator that people seeking whakapapa insight were on the right pathway. This is visible in the direct references to spirituality and indirect comments such as "my tūpuna are with me" [Ella] or "it will happen in the right time" [Ella, Carla].

Summary

As demonstrated in this study for Māori adoptees living with a whakapapa huna the journey home to tūrangawaewae can be arduous due to privacy laws, personal, physical, spiritual, and emotional barriers. Navigating the complexities of whakapapa when one has been raised outside of one's whakapapa whānau and culture requires a supportive network, embedded tikanga practices, patience, and perseverance. There are variety of reasons why people seek whakapapa insight and a

multitude of ways that people are accessing whakapapa. Some of these contemporary methods such as ancestry websites and direct to consumer genetic testing (DTC-GT) pose ethical and cultural challenges for Māori.

In summary, the narratives of the Māori adoptees in this small study are part of a grand narrative that speaks to the separation of Indigenous tamariki from their whānau and whenua in Aotearoa, Australia, and Canada. Preventing a whakapapa huna requires addressing structural barriers that threaten whakapapa transmission. Unfortunately, systemic inequities for Māori whānau continue exist in our current child welfare system, which is the focus of the next wāhanga.

**WĀHANGA 7: HINAPŌURI - WAIHOTIA A TĀTOU TAMARIKI –
HANDS OFF OUR TAMARIKI**

Rona looks down from her lunar home. She is in a state of pōuri as the reality

dawns upon her that she is separated from her tamariki and whānau

(West, 2023).

The title of this wāhanga is taken from a phrase that generated a political

protest and an open letter to the New Zealand government demanding a halt to the

taking of tamariki Māori from whānau (ActionStation, 2019). A socio-cultural

review of history provides context to the contemporary child welfare system in

Aotearoa. Relevant to this discussion is how Western notions of the nuclear family,

children and gender roles influenced laws in Aotearoa. While Wāhanga 5 and 6

focused on adoption legislation and its ramifications, this wāhanga explores the

impact of broader child welfare legislation, policy and practices on tamariki Māori

from 1970 to 2022. This discussion draws from comprehensive reports (for a

background on these reports see Appendix 3) that critique contemporary child

welfare laws and the State's child welfare agency (from the 1950s to the present) and

its culpability in disrupting Māori whakapapa whānau connections. This wāhanga

aims to demonstrate that unless the ideologies informing contemporary child welfare

legislation, policy and practices are challenged, then living with a whakapapa huna

will be an ongoing experience for many Māori.

Tamariki Māori and State Care (1970-2022)

Wāhanga 4 (Part 3) explored the destructiveness of State-imposed ideologies

embedded in child welfare legislation in Australia and Canada. The current

overrepresentation of Indigenous children in out-of-home care is testimony to the

reach of the colonisers' oppressive blanket. Aotearoa is also suffocating under an oppressive blanket with adoption just one area of the child welfare system needing an overhaul. The large number of Māori in state care is alarming. A statistical review noted that in June 2019 of the 6,429 children in state custody, 69% of them were tamariki Māori (Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2020b). Ensuring a future generation of tamariki Māori maintains their whakapapa knowledge requires scrutinising the system to identify systematic challenges that continue to marginalise Māori and perpetuate a whakapapa huna. This section aims to provide contextual and historical background to the discussion wāhanga of this thesis.

Early Child Welfare (1920s-1960s)

The 1925 Child Welfare Act resulted in the expansion of the child welfare system and employment of child welfare officers. The deployment of welfare officers to rural regions, increased contact with (and surveillance of) tamariki Māori and their whānau, which raised concerns about Māori communal living habits and health standards. After the second World War the urban migration of Māori, brought challenges, but at the time social welfare policy focused on self-reliance and Māori-led solutions, such as the Māori Women's Welfare League (Kaiwai et al., 2020). Māori welfare officers employed by the Department of Māori Affairs supported whānau Māori to maintain tamariki Māori within their whānau rather than placing them with non-kin (The Māori Perspective Advisory Committee, 1988). Separating Māori children from their families was seen as detrimental and the welfare of Māori ex-nuptial births best dealt with by Māori communities. In the 1960s the challenges of urbanisation intensified for Māori communities. State welfare policies shifted its focus from Māori led solutions, to a system aimed at integrating Māori into Pākehā society (Kaiwai et al., 2020) (see Wāhanga 4, Blanket 6).

Child Welfare (1970s)

A variety of changes to child welfare legislation occurred in the 1970s. The Department of Child Welfare Act 1971 led to the establishment of the Department of the Social Welfare (DSW)[163]in 1972 and in 1974 the Children and Young Person's Act[164] was introduced (Dalley, 1998)*.* These developments meant social work narrowed its focus on the so-called rights of children and the principle of paramountcy, when making decisions about the welfare of the child. During the 1960s-1970s increased public awareness (internationally and nationally) about child abuse also saw more children (including a high proportion of tamariki Māori) being removed from their whānau and being placed in state care (Kaiwai et al., 2020). However, some of these state care institutions (and faith-based institutions), foster and adoptive homes subjected tamariki and young people to further physical, sexual, emotional, and cultural abuse. At the *Abuse in Care Royal Commission of Inquiry* hearings personal testimonies from Māori have highlighted the abuse that occurred in these settings and the intergenerational impacts (Abuse in Care - Royal Commission of Inquiry, 2019). Unfortunately problems within state care and youth justice residences persists today (Whakaata Māori, 2023).

Puao-te-ata-tu (1980s)

It was not until the mid-1980s and the release of *Puao-te-ata-tu (Daybreak)*[165] that the ideologies underpinning child welfare legislation were challenged. This independent Ministerial report was released at a time when Māori had experienced decades of assimilative policies and the ensuing inequities. The

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[163] Replaced the Department of Education's Child Welfare Branch (Dalley, 1998)

[164] Replaced the Child Welfare Act 1925.

[165] (The Māori Perspective Advisory Committee, 1988).

report stated that legislative changes had not been in the best interests of Māori and in some cases had gone directly against Māori customary preference. The report condemned the Department of Social Welfare (DSW) for its policy of assimilation, institutional racism, structural inequalities and failing systems. As well as identifying legislation changes, the report advocated for a change in social work practices. Puao-te-ata-tu stated, "At the heart of the issue is a profound misunderstanding or ignorance of the place of the child in Māori society and its relationship with whānau, hapū, iwi structures" (p. 7). The report stated the Māori child should not be viewed in isolation or part of a nuclear family, but a wider kin group. Recommendation 4 requested an ideological change, training, social security support and an amendment to the Children and Young Person's Act 1974, to ensure recognition of a Māori child's wider whānau. Puao-te-ata-tu states:

> That in the consideration of the welfare of a Māori child, regard must be had to the desirability of maintaining the child within the child's hapū; that the whānau/hapū/iwi must be consulted and may be heard in Court of appropriate jurisdiction on the placement of a Māori child; that Court officers, social workers, or any other person dealing with a Māori child should be required to make inquiries as to the child's heritage and family links. (p. 11)

Puao-te-ata-tu stated it was a matter of urgency to ensure young people in care maintained knowledge of their tribal identities. It sought action from all government agencies, businesses and the community, plus a strengthening of tribal networks. In total, 12 recommendations were made to the DSW. Some of this advice included; attacking cultural racism in social welfare policy, eliminating deprivation and alienation caused by inequities, establishing an accountable Social Welfare Commission, and refocusing on nurturing children within the family group. It also

recommended that court processes be sensitive to Māori needs and establish preventative initiatives with hapū (The Māori Perspective Advisory Committee, 1988).

Maatua Whāngai (1983-1992)

Prior to the release of Puao-te-ata-tu the State was aware that large numbers of young Māori were being raised outside of their kin networks, residing in institutions, Social Welfare homes and prisons. The 1983 launch of the *Maatua Whāngai*[166] programme was an attempt to rectify the problem through prevention and also by relocating young Māori to extended whānau (Walker, 2006). Bradley (1994) states the aim of Maatua Whāngai was the "devolution of government funding directly to iwi for the purposes of Māori community development" (as cited in Walker, 2006, p. 14). Amongst the intended actions was a register of Māori foster parents, Māori consultancy services and the strengthening of tribal infrastructures to stop Māori from entering institutions (Walker, 2006). However, the Crown ignored the Puao-te-ata-tu report's recommendation to allocate more funding to Maatua Whāngai. Consequently, a lack of resources, a diversion from its original intentions to nurture tamariki within whānau, and high expectations saw the demise of Maatua Whāngai in 1992 (Kaiwai et al., 2020; Walker, 2006).

Children Young Persons, and their Families Act 1989

In response to the scrutiny of Puao-te-ata-tu (and other reports) the Children and Young Person's Act 1974 was replaced with the Children Young Persons, and

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[166] Implemented by Department of Māori Affairs, Department of Social Welfare and Department of Justice.

Their Families Act 1989.[167] The CYP&F Act was a significant piece of legislation for its time as it was designed to be more culturally responsive and emphasis was on honouring the relationships of a child's family, whānau, hapū, iwi and family group. The welfare of the child was also paramount (Kaiwai et al., 2020). To achieve the goals of the 1989 Act, the Family Group Conference (FGC), (which is based on te reo me ōna tikanga)[168] was promoted as an innovative tool for engaging with Māori whānau (Oranga Tamariki - Ministry for Children, 2019).[169] The original intention of the FGC was that they were whānau led but facilitated by social workers and a forum to discuss issues and seek solutions pertaining to the placement of tamariki.

Enactment of Puao-te-ata-tu Principles (1990s)

By the 1990s although the principles of Puao-te-ata-tu had been embedded in legislation, concerns[170] arose around the implementation of these principles. For example, despite the increase in Māori social workers they were seen as "the brown veneer of Eurocentric policy". The FGC was "a hybridised Māori method grafted onto the new social welfare system, which amounted to tokenism" (Moyle, 2013, p. 13). The FGC was struggling to fulfil its vision, due to staff's lack of cultural competency and expertise, and budget restraints. For some Māori the FGC was a culturally unsafe and disempowering experience. Non-Māori practitioners' also

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[167] In 2018 it was changed to Oranga Tamariki Act 1989 - Children's and Young People's Well-being Act 1989. The Act has had several amendments since, including the inclusion of section 7AA – see later discussion.

[168] Māori language and ethical behaviours.

[169] Oranga Tamariki stated they would strengthen "commitment to practice framed by Te Tiriti o Waitangi, based on a mana-enhancing paradigm for practice, and drawing from Te Ao Māori principles of oranga to support mana tamaiti, whakapapa and whanaungatanga" (Oranga Tamariki - Ministry for Children, 2019).

[170] See *Te Punga: Our bicultural strategy for the nineties* (Department of Social Welfare, 1994) and *Pūao-te-Āta-tū: Informing Māori social work since 1986* (Hollis-English, 2012).

found it difficult to network with Māori communities or maintain the whakapapa records of tamariki Māori (Kaiwai et al., 2020).

Children's Rights

The late 1980s early 1990s was a significant time for children's rights. New Zealand's Office of Children's Commissioner was also established in 1989 to be an independent advocate for children (Mana Mokopuna: Children and Young People's Commission, n.d.). The United Nations also adopted the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (UNCROC), which New Zealand ratified on 6 April 1993 (Ministry for Justice, 2020b).[171] Article 30 of the UNCROC states children have a right to their own culture:

> In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities or persons of indigenous origin exist, a child belonging to such a minority or who is indigenous shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of his or her group, to enjoy his or her own culture, to profess and practise his or her own religion, or to use his or her own language (United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, n.d.).

UNCROC also states children have the right to a "name and nationality" (Article 7), "identity protection" (Article 8) and the "right to live with their parents" (Article 9) (United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, n.d.). Despite the commitment to UNCROC Aotearoa has had a poor track record of honouring the Convention particularly when considering tamariki Māori. Closed transracial adoptions, fostering and the institutionalisation of tamariki Māori have all

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[171] The Convention was also incorporated into the Oranga Tamariki Act 1989 (Oranga Tamariki - Ministry for Children, 2023d).

contributed to the loss of whānau connections, culture, language and whakapapa knowledge.

During the 1990s there was a lack of institutions, agencies, staff and resources to cater for the rising numbers of young people who were presenting with physical, social and emotional needs (Human Rights Commission, 1992). In 1992 the Children and Young Persons Service (CYPS) was tasked with protecting children. At the time it was debated whether the Crown should be the ultimate guardian of tamariki Māori and had the right to lock up tamariki Māori in secure care units. At the time Ngā Kaiwhakamarama i Ngā Ture (the Wellington Māori Legal Service) believed under "rangatiratanga" (Article 2 of Te Tiriti of Waitangi) it was Māori not the Crown who should care for and protect tamariki Māori (Human Rights Commission, 1992). Note decades later, Māori are still advocating for "tino rangatiratanga over kāinga" (see Wāhanga 8).

"Vulnerable" Tamariki Māori and the Media

Despite 14 restructures in 10 years (1998-2008) and name changes[172] the Child, Youth and Family (CYF)[173] agency came under heavy criticism during this period for its failure to protect children at risk, particular after high-profile cases cast a spotlight on tamariki Māori dying at the hands of their guardians (Waitangi Tribunal, 2021). Instead of dealing with the situational factors that had led to "vulnerable" tamariki and the intergenerational harm caused by destructive colonial policies, whānau were vilified. Between the years 2002-2014 there was a 222% increase in notifications received by the agency (Waitangi Tribunal, 2021, p. 34).

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[172] In 1992-1999 CYFs was a business unit within the Department of Social Welfare, a stand-alone entity from 1999-2006 & in 2006 it was integrated into the Ministry of Social Development (Waitangi Tribunal, 2021).

[173] Formerly the Children and Young Persons Service (CYPS).

The agency was under-resourced, overworked, demoralised, and struggling to meet its obligations to tamariki Māori and their whānau. CYFs was blamed for being risk-adverse instead of preventative in approach. Keeping tamariki Māori with whānau was challenging for social workers when incidents of abuse or neglect were detected (Kaiwai et al., 2020). Decades of colonising legislation and policies had adversely impacted the connections Māori had to their whakapapa, whenua and whānau resulting in deficit social and economic outcomes. Social workers were ill-equipped to work with whānau Māori and due to heavy caseloads too time poor to arrange good quality Family Group Conferences (Human Rights Commission, 1992).

Amending Legislation to Cater for "Vulnerable" Children

Responding to the call to revamp the child protection system, the *White Paper for Vulnerable Children*[174] (Bennett, 2012a, 2012b) consisting of two volumes was released in 2012 along with proposed initiatives, and the *Children's Action Plan* (Ministry of Social Development, 2012). Part of the overhaul included the Vulnerable Children's Act 2014[175] and amendments to the Children, Young Persons, and Their Families Act 1989 (Ministry for Justice, 2020a). The effects of these changes appeared in the Family Courts in mid-2016 (Ministry for Justice, 2020a). The amendments have since been criticised for its inequitable impact on Māori, creating risk-adverse social work practices, instead of focusing on crucial wellbeing factors such as keeping tamariki and whānau connected (Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2020b). One example of this inequity is parents who had previously had children removed from their care, had to prove their capability in caring for subsequent children. The law proved particularly challenging for young mothers,

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[174] There was also a Green Paper on this topic (Ministry of Social Development, 2011).

[175] Later renamed the Children's Act 2014.

who had escaped abusive relationships (refer to Hastings' uplift discussion in this chapter). Furthermore, new special guardianship orders meant the rights of birth parents could be limited for some children in a Home for Life[176] placement (Children, Young Persons, and Their Families (Oranga Tamariki) Legislation Act 2017; Duff, 2018).

Critics of the *White Papers for Vulnerable Children* describe it as a mono-cultural document, underpinned with "neoliberal conceptions of individuated responsibility, which conflict with the social situated and relational understandings, which are native to the theory and practice of social work". Furthermore, the reference "to the significance of Māori social structure and values is selective, superficial and clichéd" and appeared an "uneasy fit with the concurrent Whānau Ora[177] policy programme" (Hyslop, 2016, p. 5). The *White Paper* was criticised for its failure to examine the social determinants contributing to child abuse. Instead of supporting families to uphold their children's wellbeing, the paper's paternalistic approach focused on rescuing vulnerable children from these environments and increasing State surveillance of whānau (Kaiwai et al., 2020). The *White Paper* is an example where Western ideology is at odds with tikanga Māori.

Another document that informed amendments to the Children, Young Persons, & their Families Act 1989 (CYP&F Act) was the 2015 *Expert Panel, Final Report: Investing in New Zealand's Children and Their Families*. This panel addressed the question: "How can we transform the lives of our vulnerable children once and for all?" (Modernising Child, Youth and Family Expert Panel, 2016, p. 3).

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[176] This was a Ministry of Social Development policy aimed at making fostering placements permanent and providing support to foster parents (Bennett, 2010).

[177] Launched in 2010 Whānau Ora is whānau-centred, strengths-based and a "culturally anchored approach, shaped by Māori worldviews, cultural norms, traditions and heritage", delivered through a commissioning approach (Independent Whānau Ora Review Panel, 2018, pp. 4–5).

The recommendations from the panel called for system-wide structural changes and future investments "responsive to the child's needs and aspirations" (Modernising Child, Youth and Family Expert Panel, 2016, p. 5). The report adds:

> There has been considerable debate in the past three decades on the place of children in Māori society and on the place of whānau. Much has been said in order to emphasise the differences in Māori society from others and this is not always accurate or true. Some interpretations have confused the issue. The safety of Māori children is paramount and any work we do must be child centred. (Modernising Child, Youth and Family Expert Panel, 2016, p. 13)

The panel acknowledged the need for culturally appropriate models that eliminated system bias and involve iwi in services, decisions and exercise of functions. However, philosophically the proposed model was Euro-centric in design and there is no mention of Te Tiriti obligations. If one digs deeper into the document one finds the following statement:

> If the child is placed in the care of a family and has stable loving relationships within that home, then regardless of differences in their ethnicity or culture to the family, the child should not be moved.
> (Modernising Child, Youth and Family Expert Panel, 2016, p. 88)

The above statement reflects an inconsistency with the "hapū principle"[178] (as outlined in Puao-te-ata-tu) (Kaiwai et al., 2020). The focus on permanency in this (possible transracial, non-kin) "home for life" arrangement removes the option of tamariki returning to whānau or being raised with extended family (including hapū)

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[178] This refers to maintaining tamariki Māori within their hapū. For example, seeking foster families within the hapū consulting with hapū pertaining to decision-making, strengthening hapū bonds.

(Kaiwai et al., 2020). The Expert Panel's risk adverse and child-centric[179] focus as opposed to a whānau-centric approach was a major oversight and at odds with other government initiatives (such as Whānau Ora[180]) aimed at enhancing Māori well-being. A whānau-centred approach is based on the premise that it is not individuals, but whānau who require access to holistic integrated services (Kaiwai et al., 2020). This is based on the common understanding that "the wellbeing of tamariki Māori are inextricable from the well-being of their whānau" (Māori Affairs Committee Inquiry, as cited in Kaiwai et al., 2020, p. 38).

Oranga Tamariki (2017-2021)

In 2017 the Children, Young Persons, and Their Families Act 1989, became the Oranga Tamariki Act 1989. CYFS transformed into a stand-alone agency (no longer under the Ministry of Social Development) and rebranded as Oranga Tamariki. Puao-te-ata-tu and the 2015 Expert Advisory Panel reports were influential in the design of Oranga Tamariki, which focused on meeting its Te Tiriti o Waitangi obligations envisaged through partnership (Oranga Tamariki - Ministry for Children, 2023c). Amongst the 2017 changes Kaupapa Māori principles were embedded into the compulsory *Oranga Tamariki Practice Standards*, the organisation's key values and the *Social Workers Registration Board's Core Competence Standards*. For example, Practice Standard eight states: "Whakamana te tamaiti: Practice empowering tamariki Māori", which requires staff to apply the principles of "mana tamaiti, whakapapa and whanaungatanga" when working with whānau Māori (Oranga Tamariki - Ministry for Children, 2017b). A variety of tools, a bicultural principled framework and resources supported social workers with the changes.

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[179] A child-centred approach, views the child in isolation, instead of part of a wider kinship network.
[180] See section later in this wāhanga on Whānau Ora.

However, despite these new initiatives, evidence post-2017 highlights significant issues with the actualisation of these intentions (Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2020a).

Removal of Tamariki Māori from Parents

Like its predecessor (CYPFS) Oranga Tamariki has received stark criticism for being disingenuous to Māori, in particular when there are notifications of abuse or neglect (Pollock, 2018).

Sections 18A-18D

Sections 18A-18D of the Oranga Tamariki Act 1989 came into effect on 30 June 2016. This "subsequent child" legislation refers to a person who has previously been convicted of murder, manslaughter or infanticide of a child/young person in their care, or when there is "no realistic prospect that the child/young person will be returned to that person's care". In such cases if this person has another baby they must have an assessment and they must prove to the Family Court their subsequent child is not at risk. Although the Children's Commissioner found this provision is seldom used, its philosophical intent significantly influenced Oranga Tamariki practices. For example, the Commissioner cited examples of social workers not carrying out proper assessments, or not making an effort to enlist support from whānau, hapū, iwi, or the community, and an assumption the mother would be unfit to resume care of their removed baby in the future[181]. Overall, the number of babies removed from whānau significantly increased after Section 18A-18D's introduction. The Commissioner called for an urgent and full repeal[182] of this provision citing it

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[181] Mother's who had been in abusive relationships were also targeted.

[182] Cabinet agreed to a partial repeal of the provision in July 2020 (Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2020).

inconsistent with the principles of the Oranga Tamariki Act 1989 (Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2020a).

Overuse of Section 78

Another area of particular concern that resulted in the removal of tamariki Māori from whānau has been the overuse and application of Section 78 of the Oranga Tamariki Act when dealing with new-born pēpi (babies) (Boshier, 2020; Oranga Tamariki - Ministry for Children, 2021b). Section 78 of the Act allows for the Court to place a tamaiti in the interim care of Oranga Tamariki when there are immediate concerns for their safety and wellbeing. Custody orders can be applied for in two ways: (1) with notice where the application is served on the parent(s) before it is granted by the Court, and (2) without notice where parent(s) are not informed of the application, before it is granted by the Court (Oranga Tamariki - Ministry for Children, 2021b). It is the application of the latter *without notice* (ex parte) order that has caused particular angst.[183]

Hands off our tamariki

The failure within the Crown agency erupted in 2019, when Oranga Tamariki staff attempted to uplift a six-day old pēpi (baby) from its Māori mother, while both were still in hospital. Although a court order had been issued the whānau had not been consulted. Coined the "Hastings Uplift", the event and the uplift practices (application of Section 78) created a furore of dialogue, an open letter, a public petition (Hands off Our Tamariki) signed by 16,000 (ActionStation, 2019), a rally and a Newsroom documentary (M. Reid, 2019). The Hastings uplift was just the tip of the iceberg. Anecdotal and statistical evidence highlighted the inequities. For

example, in 2019 pēpi Māori (0-3 months) were five times more likely to be taken into state custody compared to non-Māori babies. There were also horrific cases of babies being uplifted while mothers were birthing the placenta (Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2020b). Māori lawyer David Stone feared the intervention practices of Oranga Tamariki was creating another "stolen generation" (Stone, 2019). Stone was right to be concerned. As history has proved removing Indigenous Peoples from their whenua and whakapapa through child welfare practices has been incredibly detrimental to Indigenous Peoples (see Wāhanga 4: Part 3).

As a result of the media attention cast on Oranga Tamariki a public apology was issued with a promise to do better from the chief executive of the time Grainne Moss (Te et al., 2019). What followed was an internal review of the Hawkes Bay case, an Ombudsman inquiry, a Māori-led review and a Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry. This next section analyses some of the findings of some of these reports and their structural, philosophical and practical recommendations for Oranga Tamariki and the Crown's subsequent response. An area of particular interest to this rangahau is the State's commitment to its Te Tiriti obligations and to *mana tamaiti*, *whakapapa* and *whanaungatanga* (see Section 7AA of the Oranga Tamariki Act 1989). The relevance of this analysis to this project is to also examine contemporary threats to whakapapa, while identifying Māori-led solutions that can help maintain and strengthen whakapapa.

The reports reviewed include:

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[183] The Ombudsman's 2020 Inquiry *He Take Kōhukihuki/A Matter of Urgency* found a lack of specific operating guidelines for social workers and "over 94 percent of all section 78 orders for 2017/18 and 2018/19 were granted on the basis of without notice applications" (Boshier, 2020, p. 10).

- The Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency (2020). *Ko te Wā Whakawhiti: The Māori-led inquiry.*

- Waitangi Tribunal (April 2021) *He Pāharakeke, He Rito Whakakīkinga Whāruarua – Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry – (WAI 2915).*

- Oranga Tamariki Ministerial Advisory Board (2021). *Hipokingia ki te Kahu Aroha Hipokingia ki te Katoa* (Te Kahu Aroha).

- The Office of the Children's Commissioner (June 2020). *Te Kuku o te Manawa – Ka puta te riri ka momori te ngākau, ka heke ngā roimata mo tōku pēpi (June 2020).*

- The Office of the Children's Commissioner (November 2020). *Te Kuku o te Manawa – Moe ararā! Haumanutia ngā moemoeā a ngā tūpuna mō te oranga o ngā tamariki (November 2020).*

Note the findings from the *Abuse in Care Royal Commission of Inquiry* into State and Faith-based abuse is not included in this literature review as this is to be published after the submission of this thesis (although some reference is made to this Inquiry). The dates for the scope of this Inquiry also means scrutiny of Oranga Tamariki practices in recent years is outside the Inquiry's authority, although the Inquiry does have the discretion to listen to survivors of abuse in State care after 1999 (Abuse in Care - Royal Commission of Inquiry, 2019).

A Broken, Disconnected, and Racist System

The WAI 2915 report described Oranga Tamariki as "broken beyond repair". *Te Kahu Aroha* criticised Oranga Tamariki for its lack of strategic vision and partnership with Māori. The agency was described as self-centred and its systems "weak, disconnected, and unfit for population of tamariki it serves" (Ministerial

Advisory Board, 2021, p. 17). *Ko Te Wā Whakawhiti* described how State policy and practices has inflicted "intergenerational (or whakapapa) trauma" on whānau (Kaiwai et al., 2020, p. 45) *Te Kuku o te Manawa* cited examples of unprofessionalism, racism and discrimination towards Māori whānau (Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2020b).

Paternalistic, monocultural and assimilative ideologies

The reports cited the ideology underpinning Oranga Tamariki intervention practices[184] and policies as paternalistic and mono-cultural (Kaiwai et al., 2020; Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2020b; Waitangi Tribunal, 2021). The Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency asserted, "caring and supporting our whānau in a 'Māori way' has not, and will never, work in an environment that does not understand our worldview and our 'ways of knowing'" (Kaiwai et al., 2020, p. 6). The agency added, "the State's policies and practices have imposed a view of the Māori person or child as someone who does not need their whānau, an identity or their culture to thrive" (Kaiwai et al., 2020, p. 20). Supporting this notion was the Waitangi Tribunal's (2021) statement that the most "enduring and pernicious" disparity is the "effects of alienation and disconnection from culture." The Tribunal states:

> The primary cause of this disconnection is decades of Crown resistance and hostility to the guarantee to Māori of the right to cultural continuity – embodied in the article 2 guarantee of tino rangatiratanga over kāinga. Poverty, and disparities in health, education, and the criminal justice system are all linked to this and compound the prejudice. It is clear to us that Māori must lead and direct the transformation now required. (p.178)

The Waitangi Tribunal stated since the 1850s, the Crown policy to assimilate Māori

has been a pervasive breach of te Tiriti and difficult to correct as "…the disparities

and dependencies arising from the breach are rationalised as a basis for ongoing

Crown control. To our minds, the disparities are a consequence of the Crown's

intrusion into the rangatiratanga of Māori over kāinga" (Waitangi Tribunal, 2021, p.

xv). The Children's Commissioner added that pēpi have a right[185] to "retain an

unbroken connection with their whakapapa" with parents and if this is not possible

be cared for in way that takes into account their "ethnic, cultural, religious and

linguistic background" (Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2020a, p. 66).

Racist, discriminatory, and inequitable practices

Highlighted in the reports was the Crown's ineptitude at listening to the voice

of Māori, even when solutions were presented (as evident in Puao-te-ata-tu)[186]. The

Tribunal noted "little evidence of Tiriti/Treaty partnerships in the design or

implementation of Crown policy and legislation" (Waitangi Tribunal, 2021, p. 18).

Power, agency and decision-making had been removed from whānau, instead social

workers (without any understanding of whānau Māori) were making life-changing

decisions. Under Section 78 (uplifts), whānau described being raided in a "Rambo-

like style" by the police and Oranga Tamariki. These unannounced and forced

removal of children from hospitals, public places and schools caused distress for

tamariki and their whānau. Furthermore, getting tamariki back was described as a

disempowering, prolonged, discriminating, and challenging process compounded by

poor social work practices (Kaiwai et al., 2020; Office of the Children's

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[184] For example, the uplift of tamariki Māori from their whānau.

[185] Articulated in Te Tiriti o Waitangi, NZ Bill of Rights Act, Convention on the Rights of the Child
and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

[186] In the WAI2915 report the Crown admits this omission.

Commissioner, 2020b). The Commissioner's report cited anecdotal evidence where social workers had acted unprofessionally, used threats, coercion and surveillance to disempower whānau. The Commissioner surmised that "critical factors for wellbeing – such as the connection between pēpi and their whānau, hapū, iwi and whakapapa" were not being considered in social work practice (Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2020b, p. 54). Organisational racism meant whānau Māori were receiving more notifications of child uplifts and being treated differently from non-Māori (Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2020b; Waitangi Tribunal, 2021). Oranga Tamariki did not adequately consult with parents and whānau, explore options or plan early with other professionals, instead decisions were made late and without whānau involvement (Boshier, 2020). Oranga Tamariki was criticised for its inadequate reporting and analysis of its strategic outcomes for tamariki Māori (Waitangi Tribunal, 2021). The Crown agency's practices reflected an "inter-related systemic dysfunction across multiple government agencies" in particular regarding the application of Section 7AA of the Children, Young Persons and Their Families Act (Kaiwai et al., 2020, p. 20).

Conflict of interest

An area that is of particular relevance to this rangahau is the Children Commissioner's observation that the same state agency (Oranga Tamariki) responsible for the care and protection of tamariki was also in charge of carrying out adoptions or permanent care arrangements. The Commissioner talked with whānau who felt the State was more interested in adopting out their pēpi than working with whānau so baby could be returned to them. The Commissioner states, "…it raises questions about how appropriate it is for the same state agency to be working to both support whānau to keep, nurture and care for their pēpi as well as finding prospective

families, including non-kin placements, for children placed in permanent care by Oranga Tamariki" (Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2020b, p. 66). The Commissioner concluded that "inequities in statutory care and protection for pēpi are stark and persistent; and the current statistical oversight of the statutory care and protection system insufficient" (Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2020a, p. 59).

Recommendations for Oranga Tamariki

The issues raised in these comprehensive reports are alike and not too dissimilar from the recommendations of Puao-te-ata-tu published three decades earlier that also called for an end to institutional racism and discrimination (Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2020b). These contemporary reports all called for philosophical, legislative, structural, and operational changes to how the Crown was interacting with tamariki Māori and their whānau.

Whānau-centric focus

A strong message that emerged from the external reviews was a need for a whānau-centric care and protection model with Māori at the helm.[187] This perspective required a philosophical change, whereby the Crown would step back, allowing Māori to reclaim their space, thus recognising Māori rights to expression of tino rangatiratanga over kāinga (Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2020b, 2020a; Waitangi Tribunal, 2021). It was stated commitment to a whānau-centric model and tamariki Māori wellbeing (social, cultural, spiritual, health needs) required "a deep, authentic, and meaningful recognition of whakapapa, whenua and whanaungatanga" (Kaiwai et al., 2020, p. 71). The Children's Commissioner -

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[187] This perspective was echoed in the sentiments of public campaigns (for example, Hands off Our Tamariki) that fought against the Crown's uplift of tamariki Māori from whānau.

Andrew Becroft - stated past attempts at improving Oranga Tamariki has been "mere tinkering", which has failed tamariki and whānau Māori. His key recommendation was a total transformation of the care and protection system, whereby there would be "a transfer of responsibility, resources and power from the state to appropriate Māori entities, as determined by Māori" (Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2020a, pp. 6–7). Dr Kathie Irwin - The Chief Māori Advisor to the Office of the Children's Commission added Māori are experienced in designing, leading, and implementing this change and there are numerous examples of successful Māori development initiatives (wānanga, kōhanga reo, Whānau Ora…). Irwin also stated, "radical disruptive change will only be created if systemic change is undertaken. Te Tiriti/the Treaty must be used as a framework – partnering with whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori entities as determined by Māori" (Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2020a, p. 10).

Structural change required

To provide increased Māori autonomy the reports proposed structural change. The Tribunal advocated for an independent Māori Transition Authority, whose "primary function would be to identify the changes necessary to eliminate the need for State care of tamariki Māori" (Waitangi Tribunal, 2021, p. xvi). The role of the Transition Authority would be to transfer some of the powers, functions and responsibilities of Oranga Tamariki to other Crown agencies and Māori communities or organisations with capability and capacity (Ministry of Justice, 2023b). The Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency also requested a "by Māori, for Māori" funding authority with "multi-dimensional deliverables that address social and cultural determinants of health and wellbeing for whānau Māori, including tamariki care and protection". This would involve dual accountability between whānau/Māori and

government, informed by mātauranga Māori, strengths-based, future-focused, mana-enhancing and whānau-centred (Kaiwai et al., 2020, p. 71). The Ministerial Advisory Board also proposed a new operating model based on a collaborative approach and a national Oranga Tamariki Governance Board. Amongst the Board's urgent recommendations was the need for strategic vision, partnerships with Māori and communities and a social work sector workforce strategy (Ministerial Advisory Board, 2021).

The inquiries called for a reprisal of the purpose of Oranga Tamariki (Ministerial Advisory Board, 2021) plus a structural analysis of systems, policies, processes and practices for their adherence to Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Kaiwai et al., 2020). Some of the practice changes included; improving social workers professionalism and cultural responsiveness; establishing independently facilitated Family Group Conferences; having fairer parental assessments based on current information (not only historical) when determining custody orders; and stopping hospital removals of pēpi (Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2020b).

Amongst some of the legislative recommendations was a need to review uplift practices; social workers' legal parameters; inter-agency collusion and targeting practices; Family Court processes; caseload management; interagency accountability and the Crown's compliance with the legislative and whakapapa rights of whānau[188] (Kaiwai et al., 2020). The Commissioning Agency (Kaiwai et al., 2020) proposed abolishing "ex parte orders (section 78) or the uplift of tamariki 'without notice' to the whānau" (p. 70), stating the State's current uplift practices are "never appropriate for the long-term wellbeing of Māori" (p. 74). The Children's

Commissioner agreed that the system needed to show humanity and recognise the role of mothers as *te whare tangata* (house of humanity). The Commissioner proposed amendments to the Oranga Tamariki Act (i.e., a full repeal of section 18A-18D) and explicitly incorporating Te Tiriti o Waitangi into the Act (p. 18). The inquiries all agreed that keeping pēpi in the care of their whānau was best practice, which required investing in "by Māori, for Māori" approaches. The Ministerial Advisory Board and Ombudsman was of the opinion that "without notice orders" (uplifts), should only be used as a last resort, only after consultation with whānau and if all other options to ensure safety are unavailable (Boshier, 2020; Davis, 2021; Ministerial Advisory Board, 2021).

Support and resources required

Providing adequate long-term support, resources and funding on the ground was also seen as a neccessity in the operationalisation of the inquiries vision for *tino rangatiratanga*. Addressing the structural determinants resulting in the removal of tamariki from whānau was also deemed critical. One of the Ministerial Advisory Board's (2021) overarching recommendations noted "collective Māori and community authority and responsibility must be strengthened and resourced to lead prevention of harm to tamariki and their whānau" (p. 51). The Ombudsman also recommended Oranga Tamariki develop training materials and comprehensive guidance with clear criteria to ensure the safety of pēpi in urgent cases (Boshier, 2020).

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[188] Note there were three overarching action points and within these several recommendations. Refer to *Ko te wā whakawhiti: It's time for change: A Māori inquiry into Oranga Tamariki* (Kaiwai et al., 2020).

The Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency also recommended immediate support[189] should be provided to whānau involved in the State care process. The agency proposed a re-allocation of State resources to high quality kaupapa Māori service providers across Aotearoa to deliver whānau-centred wrap-around support. Whānau with lived experiences should drive localised solutions to provide avenues for healing from intergenerational trauma caused by State uplifts. An idea of particular relevance to this rangahau was the need for a hapū and iwi led system to support all tamariki Māori, including Māori who are now adults with finding their whakapapa, whenua and whānau. The Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency noted hapū and iwi as rich repositories of cultural and whakapapa knowledge, in particular kaumātua who had dedicated their lives to helping people reconnect with whānau and whakapapa[190] (Kaiwai et al., 2020).

Overall the key recommendation from the inquiries into Oranga Tamariki was that transformational change was needed urgently to legislation and statutory social work practices. This change required a new vision and plan, with "by Māori, for Māori, with Māori" wholistic approaches being integral to this transformation. These services could be based on a "whare-tiaki-whānau" concept to strengthen the long-term capability and capacity of whānau through respite, healing, relationship building and future planning (Kaiwai et al., 2020, p. 71).

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[189] For example, legal resources, coherent communication and complaints pathways and navigation services, a nationally funded helpdesk.

[190] This mirrors the findings of this rangahau see Wāhanga 6.

Crown Response to Reviews

In 2020 the Crown agreed that it had undermined the trust and confidence of Māori by ignoring Māori views and solutions. The Minister for Children, Hon. Kelvin Davis stated:

> For too long Oranga Tamariki and the state has put itself at the centre of the child protection system. For too long, communities have been told what to do with their tamariki and rangatahi, rather than be asked for solutions. (Oranga Tamariki - Ministry for Children, 2022, p. 5)

The Crown also admitted structural racism existed within the care and protection system; partnerships with Māori needed to be stronger; upskilling of staff in Māori-centred practices was required and that a disproportionate number of tamariki Māori were entering the system. The Crown acknowledged the disparity for tamariki Māori and their whānau and the Crown's Te Tiriti obligations to address these inequities.

An action plan, Section 7AA and standards

In response to the scrutiny it received, the Crown released the *Oranga Tamariki Future Direction Action Plan September 2021.* The action plan incorporated the suggestions from the Ministerial report and other reviews (for example the Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry) and outlined five key areas for action; organisational blueprint; people and culture; relationships, partnering and decision-making; social work practice and data insights and evidence. The document explicitly stated that one of its values is whakapapa, which means recognising tamariki are part of a whānau and a community (Oranga Tamariki - Ministry for Children, 2021a).

The Crown also increased its commitment to Te Tiriti through legislative changes. On 1 July 2019, over 100 new amendments to the Oranga Tamariki Act

1989 came into force, including the insertion of *Section 7AA*, which was significant as it was the first time in New Zealand history direct reference was made to Te Tiriti in legislation referring to children (Doyle, 2019; New Zealand Family Violence Clearninghouse, 2019). The insertion of *Section 7AA* meant the government had to monitor and report back on outcomes for tamariki Māori. *Section 7AA* outlines that amongst the duties of its chief executive is an obligation to "recognise and provide a practical commitment to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi (Te Tiriti o Waitangi[191])" (Oranga Tamariki Act, 1989, s 7AA (1)). This obligation requires ensuring that "the policies, practices and services of the department have regard to mana tamaiti (tamariki) and the whakapapa of Māori children and young persons and the whanaungatanga responsibilities of their whānau, hapū and iwi" (Oranga Tamariki Act, 1989, s 7AA (2) (b)). In the Oranga Tamariki Act *mana tamaiti (tamariki)* is interpreted as "the intrinsic value and inherent dignity derived from a child's or young person's whakapapa (genealogy) and their belonging to a whānau, hapū, iwi, or family group, in accordance with tikanga Māori or its equivalent in the culture of the child or young person" (Oranga Tamariki Act, 1989, s 2 (1)). The chief executive is also obligated to ensure the department seeks to develop strategic partnerships with iwi and Māori organisations, including iwi authorities (Oranga Tamariki Act, 1989, s 7AA (2) (c)). Iwi and Māori organisations can also request partnerships with the chief executive of Oranga Tamariki.

As part of its obligations to Section 7AA (2)(a) and (b) of the Oranga Tamariki Act 1989 and Te Tiriti o Waitangi principles[192] Oranga Tamariki

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[191] Note there is a difference between Te Tiriti (the Māori version) and the Treaty (the English version).

[192] The principles used in the courts are partnership, active protection and redress, however the Waitangi Tribunal refers to a wider range of principles including kāwangatanga, tino rangatiratanga and equity (Oranga Tamariki - Ministry for Children, 2023, p. 2).

introduced quality assurance standards to provide a Māori centred approach to its policies, practices and services. Amongst these standards was a "regard to mana tamaiti; whakapapa and whanaungatanga" (Oranga Tamariki - Ministry for Children, 2023b, pp. 4–6). Another Crown initiative to maintain connections with whakapapa whānau was the introduction of the Oranga Tamariki - *National Care Standards and Related Matters Regulations 2018*.[193] These regulations outline that in an assessment and care plan, the cultural and identity needs and the views of a child or young person and their whānau, hapū and iwi are considered (cl 10(2) and cl 18(2)). The regulations also request that a process is in place for identifying, arranging, and supporting the child or young person's connections with their family, whānau, hapū, iwi and family group (cl 12; cl 20; cl 31). Drawing upon internal and external reports this next discussion briefly focuses on whether in practice Oranga Tamariki are meeting the intentions of these new initiatives.

Internal review of Oranga Tamariki (2020)

In its 2021 s7AA report, Oranga Tamariki claims although it is early days, and firm conclusions are not conclusive, the agency states it is making steps towards achieving its mana tamaiti objectives. From 1 July 2020 to 30 June 2021 Oranga Tamariki saw a decrease in the number of tamariki Māori entering care; a drop of 1029 in 2017/18 to 253 in 2020/21 in Section 78 orders for emergency removal of tamariki Māori, and more tamariki Māori (who were in care) being placed in the care of whānau (Oranga Tamariki - Ministry for Children, 2022, p. 44). Oranga Tamariki acknowledged the reviews that had been conducted on its practices, policies, and services, identifying three areas of changes; transferring decision-making and

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[193] Introduced July 2019.

resources to Māori; addressing cultural competency and institutional bias and improving practice (Oranga Tamariki - Ministry for Children, 2020, p. 12).

In its *Working with Iwi and Māori Snapshot (July 2020)* Oranga Tamariki also outlined its increased engagement with Māori. These relationships include "formal Treaty-based accords, strategic partnership agreements, memoranda of understanding, localised agreements to support the delivery of services and relationship agreements to support the day-to-day operation of our sites and residences" (Oranga Tamariki Ministry for Children, 2020, p. 2). In 2022 Oranga Tamariki had partnerships with Eastern Bay of Plenty Iwi Provider Alliance, Māori Women's Welfare League, Ngāti Kahungunu, Te Rūnanga o Ngai Tahu, Te Rūnanga-ā-Iwi-o-Ngāpuhi, Te Kahu Oranga Whānau, Tūhoe and Waikato-Tainui (Oranga Tamariki - Ministry for Children, 2021c). One example of Oranga Tamariki working with iwi is the strategic partnership with Waikato-Tainui (re-signed 2019). An objective of this relationship includes reconnecting Waikato-Tainui tamariki and mokopuna back to whānau, hapū and cultural identity. One way the iwi hopes to achieve this goal is through its *Mokopuna Ora Sustainability Project* described as "a whānau-led and owned approach" intending to "disrupt the current system within Oranga Tamariki and continue a substantial downward trend of Waikato-Tainui mokopuna entering care and remaining in care" (Oranga Tamariki - Ministry for Children, 2021e).

Changes to the Monitoring of Oranga Tamariki

One controversial outcome to emerge in late 2022 was the Oversight of Oranga Tamariki System and Children and Young People's Commission Bill, which proposed changing how the Oranga Tamariki system was monitored (New Zealand Parliament, 2023). At the time the Children's Commissioner had the power to

advocate on behalf of individual tamariki in the care of Oranga Tamariki and hold

the Crown agency accountable. The new bill proposed shifting the Children's

Commissioner's advocacy responsibilities to a Children and Young People's

Commission, increasing the monitoring responsibilities of the Independent

Children's Monitor and transferring the Commissioner's investigative powers

regarding individual tamariki cases to the Ombudsman. At the time the

Ombudsman's role was limited in its ability to investigate complaints with the

Oranga Tamariki system (New Zealand Parliament, 2023). Opponents[194] of the new

bill believed it would weaken oversight of Oranga Tamariki and diminish advocacy

for tamariki lodging complaints about Oranga Tamariki (Fitzmaurice-Brown, 2022;

NZ Herald, 2023; Sachdeva, 2022; Smale, 2022). Despite the controversy, the

Oversight of Oranga Tamariki System Act 2022 came into effect May 1 2023 and the

new Children and Young People's Commission Act 2022 was launched July 1 2023

replacing the role of the Children's Commissioner[195] (NZ Herald, 2023). The

Ombudsman states it is currently working with the relevant parties to strengthen its

role in overseeing the Oranga Tamariki system and has also established a panel of

"eminent rangatira to support engagement with Māori" (Ombudsman New Zealand,

2023).

Aroturuki Tamariki reports

The Independent Children's Monitor - Aroturuki Tamariki was established[196]

to monitor the compliance of the agencies responsible for the custody and care of

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[194] All political parties opposed the changes, except Labour who were the Government at the time (NZ Herald, 2023). Other opponents included children's charities (Sachdeva, 2022), child advocates and child protection experts (Smale, 2022).

[195] *Mana Mokopuna – Children and Young People's Commission* superseded the Office of the Children's Commission.

[196] The Oversight of the Oranga Tamariki System Act expanded the Monitor's role (Aroturuki Tamariki: Independent Children's Monitor, n.d.).

tamariki and rangatahi (Barnardos, Open Foundation and Oranga Tamariki[197]) to the

National Care Standards (NCS) Regulations.[198] In response to the first *Experiences*

of Care in Aotearoa Aroturuki Tamariki report (2020/2021)[199] Oranga Tamariki

introduced a Social Worker's Practice Framework, that honours the rights of tamariki

and whānau. Amongst the new initiatives were *Whānau Care partners*[200] who

whakapapa (through whānau, hapū, iwi) to the tamariki requiring care and support.

The Whānau Care partners help these tamariki with their whakapapa connections – a

practical commitment to section 7AA of the Oranga Tamariki Act (Aroturuki

Tamariki: Independent Children's Monitor, 2023). Kairaranga ā-whānau staff who

strengthen whakapapa connections were also appointed to "identify, engage whānau,

hapū and iwi in decision-making, support hui ā-whānau and help staff integrate

cultural knowledge into their practice" (Office of the Children's Commissioner,

2020a, p. 39). Unfortunately, the Children's Commissioner's inquiry found that

Kairaranga ā-whānau were not offered in every Oranga Tamariki site, and these staff

were overloaded (Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2020).

In the second *Experiences of Care in Aotearoa* report (2021/2022)[201]

Aroturuki Tamariki stated "Oranga Tamariki is yet to fulfil the regulatory

requirement to self-monitor its compliance with the NCS Regulations" (Aroturuki

Tamariki: Independent Children's Monitor, 2023, p. 10). Other criticisms were the

flawed processes of Oranga Tamariki for assessing suitable caregivers for tamariki,

and a lack of cross-agency frontline relationships. The rights of tamariki and

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[197] The majority (99%) of tamariki/rangatahi in care are in the custody of Oranga Tamariki (Aroturuki Tamariki: Independent Children's Monitor, 2022).

[198] These regulations came into effect in 2019.

[199] Reporting period 1 July 2020 and 30 June 2021.

[200] An example of Whānau Care partners is *Waitomo Papa Kāinga* - a social service agency in Kaitaia who steps in before the Ministry does to find homes for tamariki with relatives (Johnsen, 2019).

rangatahi needed supporting and a commitment to disability awareness. Social workers required cultural competency training and their workloads reduced (Aroturuki Tamariki: Independent Children's Monitor, 2023).

In January 2023 the Children's Commissioner, Judge Frances Eivers commenting on the second Aroturuki report stated: "In short – change is too little and too slow, and in some cases things have actually gone backwards" (Children's Commissioner, 2023). Eivers added:

> This report shows some major concerns for mokopuna Māori and their whānau. Only 13% of tamariki Māori have connections to key people from their marae, hapū or iwi. Only 9% of plans for tamariki Māori include contact arrangements with those key people. Only 5% of plans consider the views of hapū or iwi. And in the past year there has been a 10% decrease in the proportion of tamariki Māori being supported to connect with their marae, hapū or iwi, from 39% to 29%. The report notes that there is a lack of connection and consultation outside the immediate family/whānau group. (Children's Commissioner, 2023)

Eivers also had serious concerns with the level and quality of data being provided by Oranga Tamariki to the Independent Child Monitor (Mana Mokopuna: Children and Young People's Commission, 2023).

In response to the second Aroturuki Tamariki report Oranga Tamariki promised to continue developing its self-monitoring and reporting measures, address social worker workloads, increase staff's cultural capacity, develop a te reo Māori strategy, provide voice for rangatahi advocacy groups, develop a *Disability Vision and Strategy and Advisory Group*, and address how the caregiver assessment policy

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[201] Reporting period 1 July 2021 and 30 June 2022.

was being implemented (Oranga Tamariki - Ministry for Children, 2023a). In July 2022 the *Oranga Tamariki Action Plan (OTAP)* was released, which is a commitment between Oranga Tamariki, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Social Development, Ministry of Education and New Zealand Police to work together for the wellbeing of tamariki/rangatahi (Aroturuki Tamariki: Independent Children's Monitor, 2023). While it is important for Oranga Tamariki to involve others, the Crown must not sidestep its legislative obligations to Māori (and their whānau) impacted by adoption, fostering or state care. As the Waitangi Tribunal (2021) states: "There are major systemic flaws in the current system which operate to the disadvantage and prejudice of Māori" (p. 185). Structural change to the system is still required.

A by Māori, for Māori, with Māori Future

Whānau Ora

In recent years Māori leaders[202] have proactively lobbied for whānau-centric services. Whānau Ora is described as a "culturally-based, and whānau-centred approach to wellbeing focused on whānau (family group) as a whole, as the decision-makers who determine their goals and aspirations" (Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency, 2019). In the latest 2023 budget the Labour Government allocated $168 million towards the operationalisation of Whānau Ora (Palmer, 2023). Aimed at improving the social and health outcomes Whānau Ora has a holistic approach by "wrapping services around whānau" with the support and advocacy from specialist navigators. Non-Government and community-based Whānau Ora partners provide localised solutions to whānau across the country (Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency, 2019). Launched in 2010 with full funding and nationally implemented,

Whānau Ora has been described as "a philosophy, a model of practice for providers, an outcome goal, a funding mechanism and a foundation for future generations" (V. Smith et al., 2019, p. 513). Based on a strengths-based model of practice the success of Whānau Ora lies in its flexibility, and responsiveness to address whānau needs with a focus on full whānau functioning[203] and extending whānau capabilities[204](V. Smith et al., 2019). A participant[205] involved in the design of Whānau Ora states:

> What [the child protection system] didn't do was do any of that healing. They didn't heal the situation; they just removed the ability to be in an unsafe environment … Whānau Ora stays and says, "Come on, what are we going to do? Follow the tamariki, tamaiti to make sure they stay connected" (V. Smith et al., 2019, p. 518).

Whānau Ora has not been without its implementation challenges and criticisms with the Auditor-General in 2015 questioning the agency's inconsistent aims and high administrative costs (Provost, 2015). Smith et al., (2019) argues that despite the challenges Whānau Ora has evolved and should be seen as an example of "strikingly successful policy entrepreneurship" that embedded Indigenous concepts, practices, into policy "within a political environment that has proved itself to be indifferent to Māori initiatives at best, and outright hostile at worst" (p. 507). However, in 2023 the challenges still persist with the Auditor-General noting whānau needs are not being met due to competing social sector policies whose

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[202] Dame Tariana Turia and her colleagues were instrumental in designing this initiative.

[203] Rather than just intervening when things go wrong.

[204] This was done through "a commissioning model which provided a purpose for capability to be built and that whānau led their own capability building in the pursuit of their aspirations" (Savage et al., 2016, as cited in Smith et al., 2019, p. 517).

[205] This participant was part of a qualitative research that utilised documentary analysis and sought semi-structured interviews with decision-makers, leaders and participants who were directly engaged in the design of Whānau Ora (Smith et al., 2019).

systems and processes[206] are in direct conflict with the whānau-centric approaches of Whānau Ora (J. Ryan, 2023).

An independent Mokopuna Māori entity

In 2021 the Māori Party[207] announced the country needed an independent mokopuna Māori care entity, an idea that had been proposed in the WAI2915 claim (Māori Party, 2021; Waitangi Tribunal, 2021). The Māori Party was damning of Oranga Tamariki stating:

> The very system responsible for the care and protection of our mokopuna has been complicit in the inception of their intergenerational trauma. How many more chances do we give a Pākehā agency purporting to have the oranga of our tamariki at the centre of their work, who have failed over 14 reviews in recent years, who have failed to protect our whakapapa? *(Māori Party, 2021)*

The Māori Party envisaged that this entity would need $600 million to "establish a partnership network across Māori organisations, hapū, and iwi, to ensure mokopuna Māori remain connected to their whakapapa". The intention of this "by Māori, for Māori, with Māori" entity would be to protect and maintain whakapapa Māori (Māori Party, 2021). Although the mokopuna Māori care entity is still in its proposal stage, the Māori Party's stance sends a strong message about what should occur. How this entity might work and the ensuing benefits will be interesting to follow.

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[206] For example, funding, contracting, and reporting requirements.

[207] This is a political party.

Summary of Wāhanga

Evidence shows child welfare statutory practices in Aotearoa have impeded the rights of whānau Māori to "tino rangatiratanga over their kāinga" and threatened whakapapa connections. Damning reports has meant the Crown has had to make some rapid changes in the last few years, however tinkering with legislation has not necessarily led to changed practices. Furthermore, patching up one "broken system" (Oranga Tamariki) is wasted energy, when other systems (e.g. justice, adoption laws, etc…) are also discriminatory to whānau Māori. The literature reviewed provides some insight into what is needed in the future to ensure tamariki Māori remain connected to whakapapa whānau. The ideas proposed suggests maintaining whakapapa whānau connections requires legislative, structural and philosophical alignment, based on authentic Māori-led Te Tiriti o Waitangi partnerships and mātauranga Māori informed solutions. Cultivating whakapapa connections requires wholistic, whānau-centred solutions which are resourced for long-term sustainability. Advocating against discriminating policies and practices that perpetuates whakapapa trauma is also required. A "by Māori, for Māori, with Māori" approach that honours whakapapa and "tino rangatiratanga over kāinga" was at the heart of the recommendations in the literature reviewed. While the Māori infrastructure is strong, adaptable and innovative, missing from the conversation is how to cater for whānau Māori (who due to closed adoptions, fostering and institutionalisation) sit outside of whānau, hapū and iwi networks. Many of our whānau Māori who have gone through the State care system (including fostering and adoption) are also descendants of whānau who also experienced State care.[208] What does a "by Māori,

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[208] For example, 48 percent of pregnant women whose pēpi Māori were taken into state custody before birth had been in state custody themselves (Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2020b, p. 40).

for Māori, with Māori" future look like for them? The discussion chapter of this thesis (see Wāhanga 8) explores this question.

Summary of Literature

Whakapapa is an integral theme in this study, therefore it was necessary to begin this thesis by outlining whakapapa as a concept. Whakapapa is much broader than just knowing an ancestor's name. Whakapapa is a lived experience, connecting us to each other, to our whenua and to our narratives, weaving together our past, present and future. Whakapapa is in everything. The literature reviewed thus far has highlighted the historic and contemporary impacts of colonisation on whakapapa transmission. Although the key question of this thesis is how to reconnect Māori back to whakapapa whānau, this question is futile if current child welfare practices and policies continue to keep separating whānau and perpetuating a whakapapa huna. The reports analysed in this wāhanga demonstrate the ongoing systemic and intergenerational failures within our child welfare system and the influence of dominant western ideologies on child welfare legislation in Aotearoa. In this rangahau Māori adoptees provided first-hand accounts of the damage western ideologies embedded in closed adoption practices has had on their connections to whakapapa. If we keep accepting the status quo and ignoring the destructive ideologies informing our policies and practices then then there is likely to be another cohort of Māori in the future living with a whakapapa huna. Challenging the status quo is the focus of the next wāhanga, which is a karanga or call to action.

WĀHANGA 8: HINA - HE KARANGA KI TE MAHI – A CALL TO ACTION

Ānō ko te marama kua ngaro, kua ara anō

Just like the moon that disappears and rises again.

If a person were like the moon that dies, he would rise again no matter what the

adversity

(as cited in Mead & Grove, 2003, p. 17).

As the years pass, Rona watches as her mokopuna become old and frail. Rona has come to accept that returning to her life on earth is never going to happen, besides her tūrangawaewae has changed. Concrete jungles have replaced lush forests. Noisy vehicles zip left and right for no particular purpose and kai is now gathered from large pātaka with very little effort. However, some of Rona's people complain they do not have enough time in the day to warm the wharenui of their tūpuna. Others are learning to read the map home to their tūrangawaewae. Nevertheless Rona is hopeful. Dotted around the country marae, kura, wānanga, whānau homes reverberate with laughter and tears, as whānau hui. Rona watches a whāriki for a wharenui being woven using an ancient pattern. Rona waits for the 'hup' telling paddlers to switch their paddles to the other side of the waka ama. Rona giggles as a newbie struggles to keep in time with his team's kapa haka beat. Rona smiles as two tamariki practice a waiata passed down from their tūpuna. Rona knows her people are rising again despite their adversity.

In the pūrākau of Rona she does not return home, instead she is seen by her people as a constant companion of Hina - the moon. When I reflect upon this pūrākau I think about how Rona must feel, knowing that she once belonged to her

whānau, but can no longer be with them. I think about her whānau who see her from a distance, but cannot reach out to touch or hold her. I also take comfort that Rona's destiny is different now, she is with Hina. Together they watch over humanity. As descendants of ngā atua our infradian rhythms remind us of our whakapapa connections. In the pūrākau it is unclear why Rona did not return to her earthly whānau. Perhaps she was content with her new home. Perhaps originally there was more to the narrative, but over time this part of the story has become hidden from view or lost in translation. I think what would have happened if Rona had returned to her whānau. Would they have welcomed her or remembered her? For some Māori, returning home never happens or if it does occur, home may have changed. The language and customs may seem foreign. The whenua and its whare (the homestead, the marae) may no longer exist. Whānau may have passed on. Other whānau remember the baby, not the grown wahine or tāne that stands before them.

Although the English translation of the above whakataukī says the moon dies, another translation for the word *ngaro* is "lost, missing, absent, hidden…or inconspicuous" (Ryan, 2012). In te ao Māori a whare ngaro (lost house) is when a family line is in danger of disappearing through lack of children (Tupara, 2017). The State's removal of Indigenous tamariki from their whānau had the intention of creating many whare ngaro. In British settler societies (Aotearoa, Australia and Canada) the notion that the Indigenous group was a "dying race" was used to excuse the colonisers' actions who were intent on removing Indigenous Peoples from their whenua, culture and whānau. When it was evident that Indigenous Peoples were not dying out the coloniser set about civilising the "savages" through Western indoctrination and the assimilation of their tamariki into residential schooling, closed adoptions and fostering (Australian Human Rights Commission, 1997; Cassidy,

2006; Hurley & Wherrett, 1999; MacDonald, 2019; Starblanket, 2018; R. Walker, 2004). As Walker (2004) states assimilation creates the illusion of a unified society (one people), but instead the "colonizer as the oppressing class has created a dichotomy of white dominance and brown subjection" (p. 151).

In this study the subjection of Māori that occurred through closed adoptions resulted in whakapapa trauma. By sealing biological records, creating fictious identities (legal fictions) and severing access to whakapapa whānau the State disrupted the whare of whānau Māori. Although closed adoptions no longer occur in Aotearoa the residual impacts still exist. Our child welfare laws are still based on ideologies of paternalism and assimilation, which contributes to whānau fragility. While the land-grabbing that occurred in the 19th Century was a blatant affront to Māori whānau, the "child-grabbing" of the 20th and 21st Century (reinforced through law) was and continues to be destructive to Māori whakapapa. Despite attempts to add Māori perspectives into legislation, contemporary child-welfare practices in Aotearoa are saturated in dominant Western discourses about family, women and children. These Western worldviews are an antithesis to the Māori worldview of whānau and tamariki. Past and present policies and practices have thwarted and continue to disrupt Indigenous Peoples' tino rangatiratanga over their kāinga and their taonga (tamariki).

Despite the attempts of the state, Māori are not a dying race. Neither are our whare lost. Even if our whakapapa whānau is hidden from our view, our whakapapa resides within us and we are connected by our atua. However, to cast aside the "blankets of oppression" that prevents access to whakapapa whānau requires digging deeper into the taken-for-granted ideologies embedded in legislation, challenging the status quo, and advocating for a new way of thinking and doing that honours Māori

and Indigenous worldviews. Changing the current phenomenon and ensuring we have tino rangatiratanga over our whakapapa (and kāinga), requires shifting paradigms. This means being bold and honest about our destructive past, awakening those suffering from amnesia and having robust conversations.

While the purpose of thesis was to discuss ways to connect Māori to whakapapa whānau, this topic could not be explored without first examining why some Māori have been forced to live with a whakapapa huna. In Aotearoa the blankets of oppression that the colonial powers have enacted through various means has impacted the social, economic, spiritual, political, cultural and whakapapa structures of whānau Māori. Despite the adversity it is important not to pathologize Māori. Kaupapa Māori methodologies provides an alternative to Western research by privileging Māori perspectives and advocating for transformative rangahau (Pihama, 2015; G. Smith, 2015; L. Smith, 2011). While in this thesis whakataukī, whakatauākī and pūrākau were used as tools to illustrate key topics, they can also be used to re-write narratives, heal, guide and inspire.

For our moon to rise again (or to create transformation) the restoration, maintenance and protection of whakapapa connections is required. To achieve this goal requires acknowledging and addressing the hara (transgression) that has occurred, but also looking at systemic changes that are needed to prevent the hara from being repeated. Drawing from the literature and the voices of the Pūkōrero, this wāhanga discusses three calls to action (karanga). The first karanga is directed towards the Crown and pinpoints a need for structural change. The Crown must recognise past harms, develop genuine partnerships with diverse Māori groups and commit to decolonising systems that prevent Māori from having tino rangatiratanga over their kāinga. This karanga is also a call to Iwi to continue advocating for these

changes, while also strengthening the whakapapa connections for whānau Māori yet to connect to iwi, hapū, whānau. The second karanga is aimed at Māori communities and discusses the need for long-term whānau-centric kaupapa Māori services that advocate for and support Māori living with a whakapapa huna (for example adoptees). The third karanga is directed to those living with a whakapapa huna by challenging them to reframe the personal narrative. The intention of these discussions is not to provide definitive answers, but plant seeds of ideas to generate future conversations, debates and actions. This discussion highlights the need to address past issues and identify present challenges that are impacting whakapapa whānau connections. This wāhanga speaks to the following question: *What needs to be done to restore, protect and maintain whakapapa knowledge?*

Karanga Tuatahi: Structural Change

Redress for Māori Adoptees

The restoration, protection and maintenance of whakapapa knowledge cannot occur without first recognising what has happened in the past. For the Māori adoptees in this study, they have had to live with forced legal fictions, such as new names that did not come from their tūpuna. They were denied access to their cultural practices and in some cases [such as Jean] denied their ethnic identity. Māori whānau were left out of the decision-making and whāngai as a customary practice was dismissed as an option in favour of adoption [see Sam and Sarah's story]. Closed adoption files and inaccurate records has meant whakapapa knowledge restoration has been difficult for this group. Moving forward as a nation is difficult when past

hara[209] (such as closed adoptions) have not been acknowledged and those who have been marginalised continue to be left out of the conversation for redress, reform, and redesign.

Between 2019-2023 a *Royal Commission of Inquiry into Historical Abuse in State Care and in the Care of Faith-based Institutions* invited contributions from survivors (Ministry of Justice, 2021). People impacted by adoption placements were also belatedly included in consultation rounds (Adoption New Zealand, 2023). Due to the criteria for participation some Māori adoptees, like myself may not have contributed because they did not grow up in State care or see themselves as abused.[210] Although ultimately there were adoptees who contributed to the inquiry, some advocacy groups such as Adoption New Zealand believe the issue of adoption warrants a separate inquiry (Adoption New Zealand, 2023).

Another lost opportunity for redress could also have occurred during the recent adoption reform consultations, however addressing past wrongs was not part of the reform's objectives (Jenkins, 2021). To date there has been no formal Crown apology to the thousands of adoptees, birth parents or whānau impacted by closed-stranger adoptions. This amnesia (or purposeful forgetting) continues to perpetuate the perception that the adoptee voice does not matter. The fact that adoption reform in Aotearoa is several decades overdue (and now deferred) is also an example where political agendas have ignored or shelved solutions for change, despite the vociferousness of the adoptee community.

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[209] A *hara* is a sin or wrongdoing (Ryan, 2012), a violation of tapu (Williams, 1985) or transgression (Mead, 2003, p. 360).

[210] Although some scholars such as Ani Mikaere argue closed adoptions disconnected Māori from their whakapapa links and that it was a form of violence (Collis, 2017).

International Allies and Redress

If the Crown was to apologise for removing tamariki Māori from their whakapapa whānau then authentic redress needs to follow. The story of colonisation of Māori parallels with the narratives of Indigenous Peoples in Australia and Canada, who also had their tamariki removed from their whānau through the Residential School system, adoption and fostering into non-indigenous families. Lessons can be learned from the redress successes and failures in Australia and Canada, where efforts have been made to support Indigenous Peoples who were impacted by the IRS system and the Sixties Scoop (see Wāhanga 4, Part 3). As these overseas examples show Crown apologies are futile if they are disingenuous, there is inaction or delayed action. Various reports (*Puao-te-ata-tu - Daybreak*; *Bringing Them Home* and the *Royal Commission on Aboriginal People*) have pleaded strong Indigenous cases to their governments about the impacts of discriminatory systems. Unfortunately, governments either ignored the voice of Indigenous Peoples, were slow to act, or implemented change poorly.

Indigenous whānau in Canada, Australia and Aotearoa are all dealing with the whakapapa trauma that has occurred (and still occurring) through the assimilation of their tamariki into non-indigenous families or state institutions (see Wāhanga 4: Part 3 and Wāhanga 7). The high numbers of tamariki Māori and Indigenous children being raised outside of their kinship is alarming, despite legislation in place to prevent it. There may be some merit in Indigenous Peoples uniting as a collective to seek and share solutions to address the impacts of colonisation and advocate for recognition. For example, in May 2023 Indigenous and republican representatives

from 12 Commonwealth countries petitioned[211] to King Charles requesting a formal apology at his Coronation and a commitment to make reparations for the destruction caused by British colonisation (Butler, 2023).[212] A similar commonwealth group of Indigenous Peoples could be formed to specifically address the rights of Indigenous whānau impacted by closed adoptions, fostering, state care, faith-based care, and residential schools. This advocacy group could consist of indigenous human rights lawyers, Indigenous scholars, child welfare practitioners and Indigenous Peoples impacted by colonial child welfare systems (residential schools, closed adoptions, Sixties Scoop, Millennial Scoop, fostering and state care).

Māori and Crown Relationships

A state apology is fruitless if the status quo and inequitable societal structures of the dominant class remain. Providing opportunities for Indigenous Peoples to be active contributors (and designers) of their nations' laws, requires breaking down institutional and structural biases that impede involvement in political and legislative decision-making. In April 2021 Ināia Tonu Nei[213] signed a Mana Ōrite model of partnership with the Justice Sector Leadership Board (JSLB) with the aim of providing Māori voice to justice and constitutional reform issues[214] (New Zealand Ministry of Justice, 2020). The vision of Ināia Tonu Nei is to transform the justice system whereby "Māori are no longer affected by the impacts of institutional racism, whānau and communities are empowered, and the system focuses on healing and

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[211] The letter was titled '*apology, reparation, and repatriation of artefacts and remains*' and was signed by representatives of Antigua and Barbuda, Aotearoa (New Zealand), Australia, the Bahamas, Belize, Canada, Grenada, Jamaica, Papua New Guinea, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines (Butler, 2023).

[212] Like other Indigenous Peoples Māori are still waiting for an apology from the British Crown.

[213] For further information about Ināia Tonu Nei go to: https://www.inaiatonunei.nz/about

restoration"(Ināia Tonu Nei, 2023). The Mana Ōrite model acknowledges that transformation requires the combined efforts of Māori and the Crown agencies and investment in capacity building of Māori structures, routines, and resourcing. The aim of the Mana Ōrite agreement is to decolonise the justice system and design an intergenerational plan to reform the justice system (Ināia Tonu Nei, 2023). Although it is early days and difficult to determine the success yet, the Mana Ōrite relationship between Ināia Tonu Nei and JSLB is one example of a framework of which other sectors (for example child welfare) could explore.

Partnerships with Māori requires genuine Crown commitment. The inability of the Crown to effectively engage with Māori was highlighted in the recent criticisms of Oranga Tamariki (see Wāhanga 7). While Oranga Tamariki has developed some partnerships with iwi (e.g. Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu) for these partnerships to be successful this requires the Crown to cede its control over Māori lives and allow for Māori to deliver the services they see fit for their whānau unrestrained. The Crown must acknowledge the impacts of colonisation and the damage of paternalistic or assimilative policies that still undermine Māori collectiveness. The literature and the Pūkōrero in this thesis both concur that removal of tamariki Māori from whakapapa whānau was and continues to be detrimental and must cease. Kupu Māori embedded in legislation holds significance and obligations. In the design of new legislation thought must be given to how te ao Māori principles are implemented and supported and how legislation contributes to the long-term vision Māori have for themselves.

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[214] This partnership included the Ministry of Justice, Ara Poutama Aotearoa, New Zealand Police, Oranga Tamariki, Serious Fraud Office and Crown Law Office (New Zealand Ministry of Justice, 2020).

Providing Voice to Māori Adoptees

Critics of the recent adoption reform process were concerned that Māori adoptees were not consulted on the design of the questions proposed to stakeholders (Newshub, 2021). As an interested stakeholder in the adoption reforms, who by chance found out about the reforms through a friend, I agree efforts to reach Māori adoptees could have been better. As the Ministry of Justice (who led the reform consultations) admitted adoptees are a "hard to reach" group (Jenkins, 2021). Despite this admission to my knowledge there has been no commitment (or resourcing) from the Ministry of Justice to support a formal coalition of Māori adoptees to consult with the State over adoption reform issues.[215] Transformative structural change also means asking the questions – Who is in control? Who is included/excluded? Many Māori adoptees do not have the collective strength of hapū, and iwi and it can be daunting lobbying government officials, lodging Waitangi Tribunal claims, sharing personal testimonies, self-funding travel to important hui or talking to the media about your personal story. For those of us living with a whakapapa huna, the structural impediments existing in both the Pākehā and Māori worlds, continue to keep us (Māori adoptees) on the outside looking in. While it might be convenient for the Crown to liaise with large entities (such as the National Iwi Chairs Forum[216]) and challenging for Iwi to identify their whānau disconnected from hapū and iwi, much more needs to be done to ensure a diverse representation of Māori voice is at the decision-making table. While Māori adoptees need to mobilise themselves, advocacy and support from Iwi and groups such as the National Urban Māori Authority

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[215] Note there are advocacy groups for adoptees such as Adoption Action (http://adoptionaction.co.nz/) but no formalised group specifically for Māori adoptees.

[216] https://iwichairs.Māori.nz/tikanga/

(NUMA)[217] and the government to support a Māori adoptee coalition could be beneficial. As well as contributing to the issues pertaining to adoption a Māori adoptee coalition could also provide valuable insight into how to protect whakapapa connections when designing new laws and policies (for example, AHR and surrogacy legislation). Māori adoptees could also advocate alongside other Māori seeking restoration of whakapapa connections (e.g. incarcerated Māori, Māori ex-pats returning home, Māori who have been in long-term foster care). Māori adoptees have unique insight into the structural and personal challenges that occur when reconnecting to whakapapa whānau, marae, hapū and iwi.

Decolonising the System

Although the era of closed adoptions in Aotearoa has ceased, as this thesis has attested the ramifications still remain and the removal of tamariki Māori from their whānau still occurs. Fundamental flaws in our current child welfare system continues to disrupt the lives of whānau Māori. As the Waitangi Tribunal (2021) stated Māori must lead and direct the transformative change needed. Māori require the resources and power to determine this future and authentically embed Te Tiriti as a framework for systemic change (Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2020a). For 'tino rangatiratanga over kāinga' to be actualised the State must act on recommendations from Māori to transform the system. As mentioned some of the many ideas mooted include an independent Māori Transition Authority, a "by Māori, for Māori, with Māori" funding authority, a new operating model, an accountable Oranga Tamariki Governance Board and strategies to improve partnership with Māori and the social work sector (Kaiwai et al., 2020; Ministerial Advisory Board, 2021).

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[217] (NUMA National Urban Māori Authority, 2023)

Tikanga Māori and the legal system

Ināia Tonu Nei stated in their stakeholder adoption law reform submission that Māori were bound by the same adoption laws as non-Māori. The Adoption Act 1955 did not recognise whāngai as a legitimate practice for raising tamariki, which was a breach of Article 2 of Te Tiriti of Waitangi, which guarantees Māori retain tino rangatiratanga over their taonga (or tamariki). Māori were prevented from practicing their own tikanga, thus diminishing the values of "tapu, whakapapa, whānau and aroha that underpin those tikanga" (Ināia Tonu Nei - Pou Tikanga - National Iwi Chairs Forum, 2022, p.6). Ināia Tonu Nei believes the future lies in recognising tikanga Māori and collective approaches to raising tamariki such as whāngai (Ināia Tonu Nei, 2022).

The recent insertion of *Section 7AA* of the Oranga Tamariki Act 1989 also promotes a tikanga Māori approach whereby there are obligations to adhere to mana tamaiti, whakapapa and whanaungatanga (see Wāhanga 7). Understanding how tikanga Māori could inform the legal system is worth exploring. Tikanga Māori is described in Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993 as "Māori customary values and practices" (Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993: Māori Land Act 1993, 1993, s4) and in the Oranga Tamariki Act 1989 as "Māori customary laws and practices" (Oranga Tamariki Act, 1989). Mead (2003) argues tikanga Māori is a much broader concept:

> …tikanga is the set of beliefs associated with practices and procedures to be followed in conducting the affairs of a group or individual. These procedures are established by precedents through time, are held to be ritually correct are validated by usually more than one generation and are always subject to what a group or an individual is able to do…Tikanga differ in scale…Tikanga are

tools of thought and understanding …and frameworks to guide our

actions…They help us differentiate between right or wrong (p. 12).

Mead (2003) adds that tikanga Māori is "the Māori ethic" and part of a

"Māori normative system" (p. 6). To deal with contentious issues Mead (2003) offers

a tikanga Māori framework called the take-utu-ea (or TUE) test[218]. The TUE test can

be applied when there is a mutual acceptance by all parties that a breach of *tapu* (the

sacred) and/or *mauri* (life principle) has occurred. When the *take* (cause/matter) is

agreed, then *utu* (restitution) is applied whereby questions are asked to determine

who caused the breach, why and what harm it caused. The final state *ea* (a state of

satisfaction) whereby the relationship is restored, and the matter closed. Mead's

tikanga framework provides one way forward when dealing with Crown

transgressions. For example, the TUE test could be used to address the hara of the

State that resulted in thousands of tamariki Māori being removed from their whānau

over generations (through closed adoptions, state care and fostering).

In recent years lawyers have advocated for tikanga Māori recognition in

common law[219] (Jones, 2020). This thinking has the potential to challenge legislation

and provide a Māori worldview. Although Section 7AA of the Oranga Tamariki Act

embeds tikanga Māori, whānau Māori and tamariki move in diverse contexts.

Consideration must also be given to how tikanga Māori in the child welfare system

aligns to tikanga Māori in other sectors such as the education or justice systems. In

the articulation and practice of tikanga some Māori whānau may also need to be

supported during the process. For example, as this thesis attests not all Māori can

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[218] Refer to Mead's book *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori Values*.

[219] For example, in the Takamore v Clarke [2012] NZSC 116 case, the Supreme Court found tikanga Māori burial customs relevant, when deciding where a body was to be buried. At the time Chief

recite their whakapapa lines or are familiar with or comfortable in te ao Māori environments. Unsafe cultural practices that shame Māori further isolate those living with a colonised reality.[220]

Challenging barriers

When tikanga Māori is incorporated into the legal system, then education is required to avoid misinterpretations and ensure there is a genuine commitment. Wāhanga 7 discussed how Oranga Tamariki worked with Māori to embed Māori principles in legislation (e.g., Oranga Tamariki Act) and implement tikanga based processes (e.g., the Family Group Conference). However, despite the efforts and investment the status quo remained with high numbers of tamariki Māori still being removed from their whānau. A multitude of reports have condemned Oranga Tamariki for their failure to cater for whānau Māori, which suggests fundamentally the delivery and ideology underpinning the processes and policies of Oranga Tamariki were incongruent with the intended legislation (i.e. Oranga Tamariki Act 1989). Tikanga Māori informed legislation is futile if the ensuing policies, practices are substandard, resourcing limited and attitudes of personnel are incompatible with the intended laws.

Other barriers that hinder the actualisation of tikanga Māori principles and the protection of whakapapa are inconsistencies between related legislative acts (for example the Vulnerable Children's Act 2014 and the Children Young Persons and their Families Act 1989) or amendments that deviate from an Act's original intentions (for example Section 18A-18D or Section 78 of the Oranga Tamariki Act

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Justice Dame Sian Elias stated "Māori custom according to tikanga is, therefore, part of the values of New Zealand common law" (as cited in Sykes, 2021, p. 22).

[220] Mikaere (2011a) discusses further the concept of 'colonised reality'.

1989, see Wāhanga 7). The lessons that can be learned is that despite the Crown consulting with Māori when designing legislation, Māori also need to be integral to the delivery of legislation. As Māori lawyer Annette Sykes states "if tikanga is to be truly incorporated in anyway in the Pākehā legal structures of this nation, we need the power and respect to define how that is to occur" [221](Sykes, 2021, p. 8).

How laws are interpreted by those in power influences outcomes for whānau Māori. There are examples of judges with limited knowledge of or regard for tikanga Māori who have made life altering decisions for whānau Māori that contradicts the intended legislation. For example, there was the highly publicised custody dispute of Moana[222] a tamariki Māori who had lived for four years with non-Māori and non-kin foster parents. Acting on the intentions outlined in Section 7AA of the Oranga Tamariki Act 1989, Oranga Tamariki (and the child's biological mother) disputed the decision to keep Moana with the non-Māori foster home, citing cultural needs were not being met. Oranga Tamariki had found a Māori foster family, who had Moana's brother and was also willing to take Moana. However, a family Court judge found in favour of the non-Māori foster parents, criticising Oranga Tamariki for privileging ideology over the best interests of the child. The biological mother lodged a high court appeal, but this was overruled and Moana remained with the non-Māori foster family (Sharpe, 2022). In response to the case Act MP Karen Chhour[223] lodged a private Member's bill to the Supreme Court to repeal Section 7AA of the Oranga Tamariki Act. Her rationale was that legislation should be colour-blind and should place more value on the best interests of the child rather than the Treaty (Chhour,

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[221] Sykes (2021) defines this power as the power to define, protect, assign for use, decide, reconcile, and develop (pp. 8-9).

[222] A pseudonym.

[223] Chhrour was the Act Party's Children's spokesperson.

2022). In early 2023, Chhour's bill was introduced to Parliament but (as of June 2023) it has yet to be debated (Oranga Tamariki (Repeal of Section 7AA) Amendment Bill, 2022). The example given here, demonstrates the challenge that despite tikanga Māori concepts being embedded into legislation, they can still be overruled or questioned by others in power. In addition to social workers, judges, lawyers, and politicians also require education of tikanga Māori and its application in legislation.[224]

The example provided also points to another issue that Ināia Tonu Nei has highlighted that the justice system also needs transforming. Aotearoa already has examples of Māori-led solutions such as marae-based restorative justice.[225] What if marae instead of courthouses were also used when deciding upon the placement of tamariki Māori? Ignorant judges and unfriendly court houses perpetuate a negative cycle. Marae are steeped in tikanga and the paepae is an ideal place to debate and make decisions. Although marae can be daunting for those living with a whakapapa huna (see Wāhanga 6), they are also integral places for strengthening whakapapa and revitalising customary practices.

Constitutional change

In Aotearoa a challenge that legislators have is incorporating tikanga Māori into legislation within the constraints of a judiciary system founded upon Western philosophy and ideologies. Providing more scope for Māori governance over the care of their tamariki may require changes to our constitutional structure to bring about real change. In Australia - *The Uluru Statement of the Heart* is a call for legal and

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[224] In 2022 tikanga Māori and te ao Māori was implemented into all core law degrees in Aotearoa (New Zealand Law Society - Te Kāhui Ture o Aotearoa, 2023).

[225] This is where Iwi community panels meet with offenders on marae. An example is *Te Whānau Awhina* based at Hoani Waititi Marae https://hoaniwaititimarae.co.nz/te-whanau-awhina/

structural reforms, to "reshape the relationship between the First Nations people and the Australian population" and create "real and lasting change" that results in justice and self-determination for its First Nations people. In Finland, Sweden, and Norway there are Indigenous Parliaments that report to the main parliament (The Uluru Dialogue, 2022). In Canada Indigenous Peoples seek a restructuring of the relationship betwen Indigenous Peoples and non-Indigenous peoples and want to establish an Indigenous parliament (Doerr, 2021). In 19th Century New Zealand, Māori used to have their own parliaments (Kohimarama, Kotahitanga,[226] Kauhanganui[227]) – maybe these initiatives could be resurrected? Although Aotearoa has Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Māori seats within Parliament, a Māori Party, Māori electorates and Mixed Member Proportional voting, there may be other constitutional reforms required to ensure Māori have greater tino rangatiratanga over their lives. For example, Tūhoe advocates for Mana Motuhake (self-governance) - a political stance that validates "hapū political systems and rights to exercise leadership authority pertinent to decision-making that is based on Tūhoetanga". Mana Motuhake gives Tūhoe the freedom to determine how they will raise their tamariki and mokopuna (Tūhoe, 2013). Discussions amongst Iwi and Māori on constitutional reform and the entrenching of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, te ao Māori and Tikanga Māori in all legislation (Ināia Tonu Nei, 2019) may be timely, considering there are current debates about whether New Zealand remain part of the Commonwealth and become a republic in the future[228].

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[226] These were not recognised by the Pākehā government, but was for all Māori tribes and convened annually from 1892 to 1902 (Keane, 2012).

[227] For tribes descending from Tainui waka (Swarbick, 2015).

[228] A February 2022 Reid Research poll found 48% wanted to stay with the Commonwealth and 36.4% wanted New Zealand to leave it (McClure, 2023).

Tino rangatiratanga over kāinga

A key recommendation of Canada's *Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP)* final report was a "recognition of Aboriginal nations' authority over child welfare" (as cited in Hurley & Wherrett, 1999). In 2019 Bill C-92 An Act Respecting First Nations, Inuit and Métis Children, Youth and Families was passed. This historic moment was "the first time the federal government had exercised its jurisdiction to legislate in the area of Indigenous child welfare" (Yellowhead Institute, 2019). Bill C-92 speaks to the TRC's[229] Call to Action 4 and UNDRIP[230] by recognising Indigenous People's jurisdiction over child and family services, right to self-governance and establish national standards. (Yellowhead Institute, 2019).[231] While Bill C-92 appears promising, critics suggest there are some key problems in the areas of national standards, jurisdiction, funding, accountability, and data collection that remain. For example, one issue is that in the wording of Bill C-92 there was not recognition that Indigenous laws would apply to Indigenous children off reserve, non-status, or out of province. Another issue is that Bill C-92 did not articulate clearly the accountabilities of federal and provincial governments to fund Indigenous child welfare services. Wording in the legislation also has the potential for Indigenous lawmaking jurisdiction to be challenged and overturned in Canadian courts (Walqwan Metallic et al., 2019).

Like the Indigenous Peoples in Canada, Māori also seek autonomy over the care of their tamariki and an example of this is the Māori Party's (Te Pāti Māori) call for an independent mokopuna Māori entity (see Wāhanga 7). In other sectors such as

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[229] Truth Reconciliation Commission.

[230] United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

[231] Note lawyers criticised Bill C-92 when it was first introduced citing issues pertaining to national standards; jurisdiction; funding; accountability; and data collection (Yellowhead Institute, 2019).

education Māori have already disrupted the status quo. Despite the structural inequities and challenges Māori have faced kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa and wānanga[232] are prime examples of Māori-led successes. In the shaping of a new approach for the care of tamariki Māori, there are lessons that can be learned from the Kaupapa Māori education sector and also from Indigenous People's in Canada who are in the process of establishing their own Indigenous child welfare system. These are areas for future investigation.

Sustainable investment

Whānau Ora is an example of Māori innovation (Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2020a) with the potential to strengthen whakapapa connections. However, as previously discussed there have been criticisms that the environment that Whānau Ora has operated within has not been conducive to its whānau-centric philosophy (see Wāhanga 7). These concerns place Whānau Ora at potential risk in the future, particularly if there is a change of government or fiscal priority or if State-based entities continue to hinder the aspirations of Whānau Ora. The demise of Maatua Whāngai in 1992 should act as a warning bell. Establishing long-term kaupapa Māori whānau services and solutions that can continue unhindered irrespective of the government in power is the challenge. Careful monitoring is required to ensure the original intentions of Whānau Ora remains, instead of hybridised or watered down versions as was the case with the Family Group Conference and Maatua Whāngai initiatives (see Wāhanga 7).

Finding and bringing our mokopuna home (and preventing their removal from whānau) requires mobilisation from the Crown and Māori to develop capacity,

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[232] Education and Training Act 2020, Public Act Contents – New Zealand Legislation, 2020.

capability and long-term strategies for systemic transformational change through the removal of structural barriers. Providing an environment that is self-determining for Māori, non-discriminatory, with coherent policies and adequate resourcing is essential. There also needs to be a Crown commitment that repetition of past injustices towards tamariki Māori do not reoccur and impact another generation. Māori have called for immediate change, which could occur through a new bill, a new Mokopuna Authority, Te Tiriti and tikanga Māori informed legislation or constitutional change. However, changing the ideology in legislation is futile if pragmatic solutions are ignored, therefore the next section explores some service-led ideas that could support Māori seeking whakapapa whānau.

Karanga Tuarua: Service-led Suggestions

Mehemea ka moemoeā ahau, ko ahau anake. Mehemea ka moemoeā tatou, ka taea e tātou.

If I dream, I dream alone. If we dream as a collective, we can achieve our dreams

(Te Puea Herangi, 1883-1952)

The Pūkōrero in this thesis are just a small snapshot of the broader Māori adoptee population requiring support to help them connect with whakapapa whānau. The ideas suggested in this section would also benefit other Māori impacted by state practices.

Advocacy, Awareness, and Healing Foundations

Raising societal awareness of injustices in our history through education can be effective at shifting change. In Aotearoa, while there have been media reports and theses completed on the topic of Māori and closed adoptions, there could be more

done to educate people on this chapter of our history. Overseas there are examples of Indigenous organisations[233] dedicated to increasing public awareness of the impacts of colonisation on Indigenous whānau. For example, in Australia the *Healing Foundation* advocates for the Stolen Generations, through developing educational resources, providing community healing, knowledge creation, research and community projects (Healing Foundation, 2023). Canada's *Sixties Scoop Healing Foundation* and the *Sixties Scoop Network* are survivor-led organisations independent of the government. The *Sixties Scoop Healing Foundation* focuses on "cultural reclamation and reunification, holistic wellness services, advocacy, commemoration, and educational initiatives" (Sixties Scoop Healing Foundation, 2021). The *Sixties Scoop Network* provides access to counselling and adoption support and raises awareness through resources, community workshops, the media, *Amnesty International* and *KAIROS*. The *Legacy of Hope Foundation* is a national, Indigenous-led charitable organisation who raises awareness of the Residential School System and the Sixties Scoop in schools, through exhibitions, community workshops, trainings and research reports (Legacy of Hope Foundation, 2023). Similar ideas could be initiated in Aotearoa but from a te ao Māori perspective to increase awareness of the ramifications of our historic child welfare practices. Crown reparation could also help fund the establishment of hauora foundations or support existing groups, who could undertake the required work, such as the creation of educational resources, the sharing of testimonies and advocacy.

Reunification and Counselling Services

Another area needing addressing is the provision of kaupapa Māori based counselling and reunification services that specifically help Māori (e.g., adoptees or

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[233] Refer to Appendix 5 for a list of organisations mentioned in this section and their weblinks.

wards of the state) reconnect to whakapapa whānau. In Australia *Link-Up* provides family tracing and reunion services to members of the Stolen Generation (Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, 2022). Canada's *Resolution Health Support Program* caters for Indigenous IRS survivors and their families through cultural and emotional support and mental health counselling (*Indian Residential Schools Resolution Health Support Program*, 2020). Canada's *Genetic Detectives* (in partnership with the Sixties Scoop Network), help Sixties Scoop survivors connect with biological family through DNA testing and plan to establish a database of Indigenous families and communities. People can also pay Genetic Detectives to undertake family research and create published family books (*What Is Genetic Genealogy?*, 2023). The *Manitoba Métis Federation Sixties Scoop Wellness Centre* also provides "repatriation, mental/emotional support and cultural programming", which includes supporting the Métis Sixties Scoop Survivor's with re-integration into the Manitoba Métis community (Manitoba Métis Federation, 2023).

In Aotearoa Ināia Tonu Nei believes a radical transformation of the justice and social service sector is required in Aotearoa, where long-term strategies need to be co-designed with whānau, hapū and iwi. Ideas include community-based, iwi and hapū-led habilitation centres with wrap-around services that allow for eventual reintegration into the community (Ināia Tonu Nei, 2022). The Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency has similar views to support Māori separated from whānau. They have advocated for whānau-centred, wrap-around support and localised solutions driven by whānau with lived experiences and a hapū/iwi led system designed to help Māori find their whakapapa whānau and whenua (Kaiwai et al., 2020).

Having Government-funded (and Iwi/hapū supported), well-trained, and well-connected Māori able to undertake whakapapa searches on behalf of Māori adoptees could be particularly beneficial. Whakapapa work is a time-consuming and lengthy process (see Jake's story Wāhanga 6) and currently most of the genealogy support services in Aotearoa are made up of volunteers. Genetic Detectives familiar with tikanga Māori, ancestry websites and DNA testing could provide added cultural safety and protection of Māori DNA and whakapapa.

Services for Māori Adoptees

Most adoption services in Aotearoa are run by volunteers or services are user-pay[234](see Wāhanga 9). To my knowledge currently there is no Government funded agency which specifically caters for Māori adoptees. Access to kaupapa Māori counsellors specifically trained in the adoption of Māori and services to help Māori adoptees (and wards of the state) reconnect to whakapapa whānau are needed. To fund these services a quantum amount (equivalent to an iwi settlement) could be held in a trust to support adoptees and wards of the state to reunify with whakapapa whānau.

In Canada and Australia redress funds were provided to support Indigenous Peoples who were impacted by assimilative government child welfare policies. As a result, there are services in these countries for survivors of the residential school system and Sixties Scoop. In Aotearoa, redress conversations are just beginning through the *Abuse in Care - Royal Commission of Inquiry* for survivors of state-care and faith-based care abuse (Abuse in Care - Royal Commission of Inquiry, 2019). There has been no mention from the Government whether a similar inquiry will be

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[234] For example ConnectionsNZL: https://www.facebook.com/ConnectionsNZL/

held regarding closed adoptions. Exploring service-led hauora solutions for Māori impacted by closed adoption (and fostering and State care) is timely. This next section briefly explores some possible ideas.

Māori adoptee coalition

If a formalised coalition of Māori adoptees was established it could be similar in function to Australia and Canada's *Healing Foundations* and *Sixties Scoop Network*. A Māori adoptee coalition could undertake education, advocacy, rangahau and networking opportunities and connect Māori adoptees (and wards of the state) to wrap-around hauora services (counselling, rongoa, mirimiri, whakapapa tracing and reunion services). This coalition could work with other groups (e.g., Adoption Action, the Law Commission, Iwi Leaders Forum, urban Māori authorities) and be proactive in the adoption reform (and related legislation) space. Formation of this coalition could provide the Crown with an identifiable group of Māori adoptees with whom to fuel communications. There are a variety of debates related to adoption reform (such as a Māori adoptee's right to Māori land succession) and Māori perspectives on surrogacy laws that a coalition of Māori adoptees could participate in and lead.

A marae for Māori adoptees

In 1921 Māori leader Te Puea Hērangi[235] rallied 170 of her followers including orphans (due to the 1918 influenza epidemic) and boarded a river barge at Mangatawhiri. The group was towed for two days down the Waikato River to Ngāruawāhia (Waikato, New Zealand) (Te Ao Māori News, 2021). Throughout the subsequent decade Te Puea mobilised her people to turn swampy scrub-covered land

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[235] Granddaughter of Tāwhiao Te Wherowhero the second Māori king from the Waikato and prominent Māori leader.

into what is now known as Tūrangawaewae marae, based in the heart of the Kīngitanga (Parsonson, 2022). As someone who grew up in Ngāruawāhia the story of Te Puea is inspiring and a true model of whāngai and leadership in action.

For some Māori adoptees raised in non-Māori adoptive family they were denied access to their marae, and for those yet to reconnect some still do not have a marae for their tamariki and moko. For this group having a physical place to congregate, such as a marae could have multiple benefits. Perhaps a portion of State-owned property (such as a closed school) could be provided as muru whenua[236] to Māori adoptees to achieve this goal. The purpose of this marae would not be to replace people's whakapapa connections to their ancestral marae, but rather provide a first port of call for Māori adoptees (or wards of the state) yet to find their whakapapa whānau. The purpose of this marae could be multi-functional. For example, it could deliver wrap-around holistic hauora services (counselling, rongoa, mirimiri, whakapapa reunions) or facilitate whakapapa wānanga. To reach regions outside of its catchment area the marae could partner with existing Māori hauora services and other hapū marae in other regions. Utilising their existing tools and networks these Māori organisations could help connect Māori to whakapapa whānau and ancestral marae. In addition to a physical building, the marae could have an online portal with relevant resources for Māori adoptees. In the establishment of this marae (and committee) the appropriate tikanga would be required, such as working in collaboration with tangata whenua. Decisions pertaining to the long-term funding and operation of the marae would also be necessary, whether it is State funded, or Iwi supported, independent self-funded organisation or a charitable trust.

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[236] Mead (2003) explains that traditionally the concept of muru whenua was when a group sacrificed land to another group as compensation for a wrongdoing (p. 280). Note that in such a case there would need to be an agreement and support from local hapū as the original owners of State owned whenua.

Identifying Māori adoptees

Many Iwi now have an online register to trace their members. For Māori adoptees there are insufficient records to identify this cohort. A Crown funded online register could be set up to support Māori (e.g., Māori adoptees) seeking whakapapa whānau. This data could also be collected via a census for example *Te Kupenga Survey of Māori Wellbeing* (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). The register could record those who have found their whakapapa (whānau, hapū and iwi) affiliations and those still seeking. This register could also include a portal where a Māori adoptee (and wards of the state) can also access files/records about their birth history that has been held by various government agencies. The ability to access personal records is an area that Pūkōrero in this study requested. Further rangahau is required to explore the administration of the register, the retrieval of archival information from government agencies, the privacy, protection and storage of information and the technology needed. The creation of such a register could bring to light how many Māori adoptees were impacted by closed adoptions.

In Canada Sixties Scoop Indigenous survivors have funded an online mapping project, that allows for the sharing of information and profiles between adoptees[237]. Adoptees can add to the online map their name, date and place of birth, year of adoption, whether they are reunited or looking for family. While this sounds like a good idea, there may also be privacy issues that would need consideration if the idea was used in Aotearoa.

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[237] See https://sixtiesscoop.geoforms.ca/map and also: https://www.indigenousmaps.com/ourstory/

Utilising Existing Hauora Services and Charitable Trusts

The Māori Health Provider Directory[238] provides multiple listings of services in Aotearoa (although slightly outdated) (Ministry of Health, 2018). These services and initiatives are independently run or under iwi and charitable trusts and societies. An area for future rangahau is whether these Māori health providers (and like-minded organisations such as urban marae) have the capacity (or desire) to extend their services to include adoption specific counselling for Māori and/or facilitate whakapapa reconnection support. Collective discussions (e.g., through a collective body) amongst these diverse Māori hauora organisations could provide opportunities to share best practice and methods that support Māori living with a whakapapa huna.

A Whakapapa Programme of Study

Many years ago, Apirana Ngata proposed the idea of a programme of study where people could learn about the transmission of whakapapa, but he died before this eventuated (Mahuika, 2019). Today the learning of whakapapa does happen organically through a variety of ways (e.g., pepeha, tangihanga attendance, whaikōrero, moteatea), however there might be some merit in designing a programme of study specifically to help Māori who do not have strong connections to their hapū or mātauranga Māori. A short course could cover subjects such as the tikanga of approaching whakapapa work, support systems available, tips and tricks for finding and recording whakapapa and techniques for developing emotional readiness. The programme could also be adapted or co-designed with different hapū who could incorporate their own tikanga and kawa and ideas to suit their context. Delivery of this programme could be through hapū, wānanga, probation reintegration

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[238] https://www.health.govt.nz/your-health/services-and-support/health-care-services/Māori-health-provider-directory

programmes or existing kaupapa Māori hauora services. This programme could also pathway into a higher-level programme of study, which explores pre-colonial whakapapa terminology and methods, thus continuing the unfinished work of Ngata.

Centre for Māori Genealogical Research and New Technologies

While DNA ancestry testing is now possible on popular sites such as Ancestry.com, these DNA samples are sent overseas, which has implications for Māori as effectively they are giving away their whakapapa and the whakapapa of whānau to an overseas agency. An area needing further discussion is whether a Māori-based organisation (e.g. Iwi) should instead hold Māori DNA. Although organisations such as Manaaki Whenua - Landcare Research (2023)[239] have held online discussions to gather Māori voice regarding DNA retrieval in non-human samples, similar forums are needed to discuss the implications of this technology on human-sample collection, storing and dissemination. A Māori-led Centre for Māori Genealogical Research (as proposed by Kaitautoko Denise) could advocate for the stewardship, sovereignty, and governance of Māori whakapapa while collaborating with groups such as Te Mana Raraunga (The Māori Data Sovereignty Network[240]) to undertake rangahau. Māori leading the debates on the use of these new technologies means greater agency when contributing to new or amended legislation (e.g., AHR, HART Act, Surrogacy). Māori voice is vital in the new technology space as there is a

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[239] In 2023 online meetings were held to discuss Te Tiriti-guided national DNA reference library, data stewardship, data sovereignty and governance. For further information go to: https://www.landcareresearch.co.nz/events/national-dna-database-webinar-series/

[240] https://www.temanararaunga.Māori.nz/nga-rauemi

potential that future whakapapa huna will be created if Māori worldviews and

tikanga[241] are not considered.

Iwi/Hapū/Marae Reconnection Strategies

Reconnection is more than just being a name on an Iwi register it requires

ongoing kanohi-ki-te-kanohi (face-to-face) engagement with whakapapa whānau.

Iwi, hapū and marae need short and long-term strategies and a communications plan

dedicated to reconnecting whakapapa whānau. In this rangahau the adoptees first

port of call was usually a whānau member, however not all Māori have this

connection. Marae websites or social media sites need to clearly identify the

kaumātua or whānau responsible for whakapapa reconnections and outline the

process for making contact. Stronger networking between wānanga kaiako, Whānau

Ora Kaiārahi (navigators), schoolteachers, hapū members and marae could also help

identify whānau Māori seeking hapū and marae engagement. (Wāhanga 9 outlines

other practical strategies marae are using to engage with whānau).

A framework to support Māori reconnecting with whakapapa whānau

While connecting to whakapapa occurs organically within te ao Māori,

having a tikanga-Māori embedded framework which utilises pūrākau to support

those seeking whakapapa whānau reconnection could be useful. This framework

could be used and adapted depending on the context or used by hapū or iwi needing

practical guidance on how to reconnect with unknown whānau. The framework could

profile the type of person seeking whakapapa reconnection (e.g., Māori adoptee,

Australia Māori), the gateway through which they are seeking support (urban

authority, whānau, individual, hapū/iwi), their state of readiness, the barriers they

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[241] For example, Mead's (2003) framework 'the tapu test, the mauri test, the take-utu-ea test, the precedent test and finally the principles test' (p. 349).

face, and the practical support required. Alternatively, Iwi could develop their own reconnection strategy framework (see Wāhanga 10 and the Ahi Kā framework of Tainui), which could be used to guide their activities.

The discussion so far has identified the structural changes needed to ensure Māori remain connected to whakapapa whānau and the support services required to support Māori adoptees. The next conversation focuses on what needs to occur at a personal level to restore, protect and maintain whakapapa knowledge.

Karanga Tuatoru: Personal Change

Sometimes, our inner knowledge (our psychic, our wairua, our mātauranga) may appear obscured by an ominous cloud lurking over our life. The cloud of colonisation and blankets of oppression persist centuries after colonial contact, seeping into our legislative, justice, welfare, and education systems. For Māori living with a whakapapa huna sometimes the structural inequities within society render us powerless, however this need not be the case. There is personal agency and empowerment in shifting the "status quo" within ourselves. This next section is a karanga to Māori living with a whakapapa huna and identifies some personal actions for those navigating their whakapapa journey.

Whakapapa is a Journey

In this study Pūkōrero shared how having children, reaching adulthood, a desire to belong or a need to know their whakapapa prompted their search for whakapapa whānau. Pūkōrero discussed how inaccessible or fictitious information, privacy and adoption laws made their search for whakapapa knowledge difficult. The decision to seek whakapapa knowledge may occur at any stage of life or incrementally and it is not up to others to tell you when that journey should begin. As

Pūkōrero in this study shared whakapapa reveals itself at different times and ways and one revelation can also lead to further revelations. Being emotionally ready may never eventuate therefore courage, perseverance and a good support network is required before beginning your whakapapa journey.

New Technologies and Whakapapa

In the quest for whakapapa insight there are now many modern technologies to support people, such as online ancestry sites and DNA testing. While there are benefits and challenges to these approaches, there is also a need for caution and care. Who owns the DNA data if sent overseas? How is DNA stored and mauri protected? What is the tikanga about sharing DNA? Do ancestry DNA testing subscribe to outdated notions of blood quantum? In this study there were mixed views about use of DNA testing to determine whakapapa connections. What these findings highlighted however is that Māori need to lead the debates about the implication of new technologies on whakapapa and tikanga, including any changes to legislation (such as AHR, surrogacy, adoption). Māori adoptees with their unique lived experience are in a good position to contribute to these conversations and ensure future generations are not denied access to their whakapapa.

Reconnecting and Obligations

For Māori adoptees who have reconnected with whakapapa whānau, there is also the obligation of being visible and contributing to the collective. Filling in the gaps on a whakapapa chart should not be the end goal, but rather the beginning of developing long lasting relationships for you, your current and future moko. Kaitautoko Lucy urges others to explore whakapapa in its entirety,

"It is all well and good to have black and white pieces of paper with names on them, but you need to put your feet in your awa, climb your maunga and smell the air in your kāinga. It's your cultural identity - those sites of naku puku [quiet]*, whatumanawa* [heart] *– we need to understand…it's a whole-body experience."*

While Lucy paints the ideal situation whereby cultural identity is reclaimed, for many Māori this is not a reality or takes some time to achieve. In this study the majority of Pūkōrero shared their quest for whakapapa insight, their post-reunion experience, and their relationship with birth parents. Although this study is titled – *Bringing our mokopuna home* in this study only Sam has regular ongoing connection with his ancestral marae through his birth father. Although some of the other adoptees have reconnected to whānau through iwi led events, some are still waiting to enter the gates of their ancestral marae. Future investigation could explore how adoptees navigate and sustain their connections to their ancestral marae. An in-depth analysis of the support required to overcome personal and physical barriers for engagement in ancestral marae may also benefit the wider Māori population.

Managing Reunion Expectations

Sometimes establishing fulfilling relationships with whakapapa whānau, while desirable is not always a reality. While Pūkōrero Sam and Jean relayed positive experiences about connecting with whānau, they also shared that not all reunions are positive and searching adoptees need to have realistic expectations. Sam warns adoptees to have an open mind and understand that not all questions will be answered. As discussed, adoptees and whakapapa whānau may have conflicting expectations about their relationship post reunion and relationships may be tenuous,

creating a risk of further rejection. People need to be prepared to have their formerly held truths challenged. Kaitautoko Lorraine adds people may discover information that is not pleasant, but it is "not their history to wear". People also need to be prepared that biological family might not respond to enquiries. Keeping an open mind and gaining strength from supportive people can help manage expectations or rejections.

Whakapapa and Identity

Returning to your tūrangawaewae is not necessarily a simple process, furthermore it may never physically happen. Belonging to the whenua of one's residence may be suffice for some, while others may see tūrangawaewae as a metaphysical space. These connections to whenua and whakapapa may occur through wairuatanga experiences or through dreams or by listening to the prompting of a tūpuna. Owning your space and Māori identity at whatever stage of your whakapapa journey is your right. As this rangahau has discussed whakapapa is more than just knowing the name of your tūpuna (see Wāhanga 3). Whakapapa can be about engaging in mahi toi, studying at a wānanga, making connections to whenua, paddling a waka ama or having a dialogue with your atua/tūpuna. Engaging in and expressing whakapapa occurs in many forms and contexts.

Giving a Pepeha

Moeke-Pickering (1996) describes pepeha as "tribal structures, descent, and cultural practices [that] provide integral pathways through which whānau, and Māori identity can be developed and maintained" (p. 12). Giving a pepeha (or relaying one's iwi, hapū, maunga, awa, waka, tipuna/tupuna, marae tipuna) can facilitate connections with potential whānau. Knowing which whakapapa line to share and the

historic connections between whānau is useful. Although providing a pepeha can create angst for some people who do not know their whakapapa[242] it is important not to fictionalise one's pepeha. Previously, when giving my pepeha I included the iwi of the region I lived in, despite being unsure if I belonged to this iwi. Today, I do not do this, but rather I state my adoptee status to situate myself and advocate for Māori adoptees. Other Māori living with a whakapapa huna may prefer to provide a pepeha inclusive of Rangiātea or Ranginui and Papatūānuku or acknowledge an eponymous tūpuna, if whānau names in more recent generations are not known.

Reframing Language

This rangahau has outlined some of the direct and intergenerational impacts Māori living with a whakapapa huna face due to the assimilative and secretive practices of closed adoptions. It is important to reiterate to Māori adoptees that their situation was not of their own making. Seeking healing and casting aside deficit perceptions that oppress requires retelling the pūrākau from your perspective. Throughout this rangahau there has been an attempt to reframe the narrative by presenting concepts that are not deficit. For example, Māori adoptees are not lost, but are living with a whakapapa huna. Whakapapa huna suggests whakapapa is hidden, but still present. I am not suggesting the term "whakapapa huna" be used universally, but rather challenging Māori adoptees to discard words or thinking that is unhelpful or deficit and choose for themselves appropriate language that better defines them.

As part of the discussion on language discourse the terminology Ngata explored may be useful when exploring the diverse relationships of contemporary Māori. Finding suitable kupu Māori to describe the Māori adoptee identity is fraught

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[242] Te Kupenga 2013 statistics suggest 40.4% of all Māori know all of their pepeha (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). At the time of publication of this thesis there were not more recent statistics.

with difficulty as the Western concept of adoption is an antithesis to the Māori worldview. As an adoptee some people introduce me as whāngai, which I reject as the concept differs from adoption, whereas other adoptees may be comfortable with the term. I have also heard adoptees distinguish between their biological family or whānau-a-toto and their adoptive whānau or whānau-a-ngākau. Toto means blood and ngākau means heart (Moorfield, 2023). However, these terms still place biological and adoptive whānau into two different categories and assumes the adoptive family is the only family that is close to the heart. Perhaps a more inclusive approach is needed that calls birth and adoptive family simply – whānau. Future discussions on language discourse for Māori adoptees is required as language is a means of communication, empowerment and disempowerment. During these discussions about language one needs to be mindful that Māori are not homogenised. As mentioned in Wāhanga 4 (Blanket 5) a colonising tactic was to promote a singular Māori narrative, while ignoring diverse perspectives.

The clashing of worldviews (Māori and non-Māori) may be uncomfortable for Māori adoptees who straddle both worlds. Engagement in kaupapa Māori contexts can be frightening when there is a fear of rejection or being labelled an inauthentic Māori. Unpacking one's own unconscious biases, intrapersonal racism and taken for granted hegemonic norms is part of the decolonising process. Activism begins within. The decolonising process may include reframing how you express, read or view whakapapa or seeking healing through rongoa and whakapapa kōrero. Validating Māori epistemologies and cosmology, embracing tikanga, being guided by wairuatanga and exploring te ao Māori through rangahau can be a rewarding experience.

Summary

Wāhanga 4 and Wāhanga 5 explored the hara (blankets of colonial oppression) Māori have endured due to State practices, while Wāhanga 6 described the impacts of closed adoptions on Māori from the perspective of the selected Pūkōrero. The intention of this wāhanga was to be strengths-based and pragmatic in approach by providing a possible pathway forward. The discussion presented was a small snapshot of possible structural, service-led and personal transformations that could help whānau Māori thrive. The ideas shared are by no means a comprehensive list, but were included to provoke and highlight areas requiring further investigation.

For whānau living with a whakapapa huna "tino rangatiratanga over kāinga" is difficult to achieve when threats to whakapapa remain. More support and advocacy is needed to help Māori with unknown hapū or iwi affiliations restore their whakapapa knowledge. Authentic acknowledgement, redress and reparation for Māori impacted by closed adoptions, fostering and state care is well overdue. Shaping a positive future for our current tamariki Māori and their whānau also requires a decolonisation of the system. Tikanga Māori informed legislation, whānau-centric models of care, and Māori-led funding and resourcing structures are needed. More rangahau (not research) is required. Our answers are visible in our communities, in our pūrākau, in our toi, in our mātauranga and in our whakapapa.

Finally, decolonising oneself requires being reflective and brave. It means stepping out into unfamiliar territory and discarding oppressive blankets that suffocate or confine. Rejecting deficit thinking from oneself or from others emancipates oneself, leaving room for   one's true divine spark (tama-riki) to shine. To shine requires refilling your hue for yourself (and your future moko), which is the focus of the next wāhanga.

WĀHANGA 9: TE WHAKAKĪ ANO I TE HUE – REFILLING THE HUE

Hoki atu ki tōu maunga kia purea ai e koe ki ngā hau o Tāwhirimātea.

Return to your mountain to be cleansed by the winds of Tāwhirimātea.

(as cited in Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga - New Zealand Māori Centre of

Research Excellence, 2023)

Te kai pae kau a Rangi*.

The abundant food given by Rangi, the Sky-father.

(as cited in Mead & Grove, 2003, p. 372)

> *This saying referred specifically to the calabash or hue because of its
>
> prolific crops.

From her lunar home Rona gazes down at her earthly whānau. The days,

months, years pass as she watches from afar her tamariki growing into

mothers and fathers and then kuia and koroua. Sometimes Rona bathes in the

bright light of Hina, hoping her whānau will notice her. On other occasions

Rona visits her whānau as they sleep. In those moments she raises her hue to

the lips of her tamariki and moko, whispering to them to drink and remember

her (West, 2023).

Practical Strategies for Connecting with Whakapapa Whānau

In the 2018 Te Kupenga survey "six out of 10 Māori adults had discussed and

explored their whakapapa or family history in the previous 12 months" (Statistics

New Zealand, 2020). Refilling the hue by gaining whakapapa knowledge is

rewarding. However, for some with limited knowledge of their whakapapa refilling

one's hue (calabash) is challenging. This wāhanga discusses the diverse methods

people use to discover whakapapa whānau. Non-academic sources (websites, social media sites, newspapers) and those involved in this study add insight to this discussion. Note this review is not a comprehensive analysis and there may be useful methods that are not discussed but which could be useful for whānau seeking whakapapa whānau connections. This wāhanga speaks to the question - *What strategies are effective at reconnecting Māori adoptees to whakapapa whānau?* Note resources are italicised and their website link found in Appendix 4.

Beginning Whakapapa Work

Whakapapa and tikanga Māori

In te ao Māori there is a notion that whakapapa will be revealed to you when you are ready (Māori Interest Group, NZSG, 2008). The meaning behind this saying is unclear but it suggests the receiver of whakapapa must be spiritually ready, but also cognisant that whakapapa is a "taonga tuku iho" or gift of the ancestors (Mead, 2003). Whakapapa therefore requires protection and public transmission of whakapapa is not necessarily a given. Kaitautoko Mary sees whakapapa work as a practical process requiring face-to-face interactions. Mary has been supporting whānau with whakapapa for decades and adheres to the tikanga of her iwi. Her tikanga includes conducting karakia before and after working with whakapapa and refraining from eating around whakapapa charts. A tikanga approach also means not entering an urupā uninvited to photograph gravestones as this behaviour disrespects the tapu of whakapapa (Mead, 2003). In addition to learning tikanga through observation and experience wānanga also offer programmes of study in appropriate tikanga practices (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, 2019b).

Whakapapa work requires treading carefully, being respectful and managing your expectations. Pūkōrero Sarah said people need to plan how they will contact

birth whānau to avoid surprises. Kaitautoko Denise added receiving whakapapa requests from strangers can be weird or unexpected and can lead to defensiveness or no response. Denise shared how people in their excitement to know more about their whakapapa can be too forceful in their lines of enquiry or inadvertently reveal secrets to third parties. Pūkōrero Jake mentioned other whānau may not be aware that whānau have been adopted out. Other Pūkōrero in this study suggested taking your time and being willing to retract when you have gone down a wrong path. Denise said people seeking whānau need to be mindful of others when they do not get the answer they desire. She knew of a case where a person who had been rejected posted a defamatory blog that also included the identity and address of a potential birth father. This action ruined any chance of future reunions. Denise advises whānau receiving whakapapa requests from other whānau also need to be considerate as most people seeking whakapapa are terrified of being rejected and may ask in an abrupt way. She says rather than getting defensive, replies such as – "how are we connected?" or "I don't have anything to share" are better than no response.

This discussion has highlighted the need to think carefully about the appropriate approaches to use when seeking whakapapa knowledge or engaging with whakapapa whānau. A tikanga Māori framework, with embedded takepū applied to the search and reunion process can help. To avoid making mistakes, kaumātua, whānau and wānanga can help people navigate and learn the appropriate tikanga and kawa for undertaking whakapapa work.

Genealogical assumptions

Undertaking whakapapa work requires casting aside assumptions about how genealogy is interpreted and naming conventions. There are diverse kinship structures within whānau Māori and what nowadays would be termed marital

arrangements that existed within Māori society. Pūkōrero Susie shared how Māori whakapapa can seem confusing, particularly when there are multiple and conflicting stories, or tūpuna married within or across whānau lines. For example, marriages may have occurred between cousins, some chiefs had multiple wives, or tamariki may have been whāngai. As Ngata (2021) attests whakapapa recitation varies depending on the relationships, line of descent and method selected (see Wāhanga 3: Whakapapa Transmission and Terminology). For novices seeking support from Māori familiar with the nuances of whakapapa methods is needed.

Māori and naming conventions

Sometimes when the search for a close whānau member is broad, starting with a common ancestor can help. This approach helped Jake and a cousin narrow down their whakapapa search for a biological grandfather. When seeking whakapapa information sometimes what is recollected or written down may be conflicting or incorrect. When non-Māori started writing down Māori names, sometimes these were indexed incorrectly or anglicised. Therefore, using Māori dictionaries to translate anglicised names can be helpful when undertaking whakapapa searches. Sometimes Māori surnames and first names were transposed or were double-barrelled. Names with prefixes such as "Te" may have been dropped or merged or non-Māori sounding names transliterated to sound Māori[243] (Māori Interest Group, NZSG, 2008). Traditionally Māori did not use surnames (Douglas, 2021), but when Māori began using surnames, sometimes a father's first name became the son or daughter's surname. Sometimes siblings from the same family would their mother's surname and other siblings their father's surname. Names were not necessarily

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[243] For example, Te Rawhiti could be Rawhiti or Terawhiti, Webber could become Wepa (Māori Interest Group, NZSG, 2008).

gender specific. Married Māori women also kept their father's name rather than their husband's name (FamilySearch, 2022).

Places were also named after chiefs, a practice called taunaha whenua, which gave a tribe claim to the whenua (Taonui, 2008). Knowing the names of tūpuna and historic migration patterns of tūpuna may help people determine the iwi, hapū or region they descend from or now reside. In addition to talking with hapū and whānau members the deeds of ancestors with historic ties to a region can also be found in local museums, library archives, newspapers, tribal books and records, waiata, and old school records. The common practice of naming descendants after tūpuna can also help those seeking living relatives through whānau lines. Henry James Fletcher's[244] *Index of Māori Names* is now online and may provide clues as to the region tūpuna descend from. Another useful source is the Whakapapa Genealogy Project on the webpage of the *Whakapapa Māori Charitable Trust*.

Seeking Support

Māori networks

If you are unsure how to begin your whakapapa journey genealogy organisations such as the *Māori Interest Group* may provide advice to people interested in undertaking their own research. This voluntary group comes under the umbrella of the New Zealand Society of Genealogists and has been in operation since 1994 (NZSG Māori Interest Group, 2009). Other support includes administrators of iwi registers, wānanga kaiako, Facebook groups such as the *Whakapapa Club* and *DNA Search Angels – Aotearoa NZ* and the *Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* who have church members trained in genealogy searching.

Kaumātua support

Kaumātua with long links to a region are important repositories of knowledge. Kaiwhaikōrero are required to memorise whānau connections as part of their oratory duties. Other kaumātua may be able to recognise the inherited traits and physical characteristics of whānau lines or know where whānau in their region lives. Kaitautoko and kaumatua Mary says people often provide clues and she uses these as a starting point. Kaitautoko Lucy says that often kaumātua do not realise that they have the answers. For example, it might be the recollection of a landmark or an unusual story. She says it is about asking the right questions and listening carefully, "…whakapapa is – layering, so there is that one layer that leads to another layer."

Mary says the greatest challenge is when she is given the name of whānau who have left the region many years ago, as sometimes there is no prior knowledge to draw upon. She adds that a quarter of her own iwi live elsewhere. For Māori raised outside of their culture or region, connecting with the right kaumātua can also be challenging. Māori organisations (wānanga, hapū, iwi, kura or marae) can help establish those first connections. In this rangahau study, Kaitautoko Lucy and Lorraine who work for a Māori organisation shared they have a regional network of people connected to their marae so that they can direct their students to the right people. Often it is also best to arrange for face to face meetings first with kaitautoko rather than expecting whakapapa will be shared via email or through social media.

Whānau support

In this study the adoptees greatest allies were biological relatives connected to their whakapapa whānau. These people can act as mediators and can provide

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244 Fletcher was a missionary who in about 1925 complied a manuscript of the names of boundaries, Māori individuals, canoes, trees, landmarks, and geographical locations (Fletcher, 2023).

emotional and physical support for adoptees seeking reunification with whānau. Whānau narratives can also narrow the scope of searches by providing approximate dates, key events and locations that can be cross-checked against official records (for example, birth, deaths, and marriages) or other whānau stories. Whakapapa charts (family trees) can be useful but can be confusing in cases of multiple marriages/relationships and multiple offspring (Te Rito, 2007), therefore drawing from multiple sources to triangulate information is advised. Other sources include whakapapa manuscripts, family bibles with whakapapa records, old diaries, christening records, personal records, letters, and photographs.

Iwi Initiatives

Iwi registers

In the 2018 postcensal survey Te Kupenga, only 47 percent of Māori adults were registered with their iwi (Statistics New Zealand, 2020). Registering with one's iwi (if known) means you can be notified of upcoming iwi and hapū events such as; whānau days, sports days, pa wars, marae renovations, tira hoe, tangi, kapa haka, tikanga and te reo Māori wānanga. Some Iwi have an online register of Iwi members accessible from their main website (Waikato Tainui, 2023b) or there are online sources such as *Iwidex – He Tikanga-ā-Iwi*, which is an index on Māori tribal history, tikanga-ā-iwi and whakapapa and apps such as *YourIwi.com* which helps (for a price) iwi connect with its members.

Iwi strategies

Iwi offer leadership at a strategic governance level and are tasked with growing the capacity and capability of their people. For example, a kaupapa goal for

Waikato-Tainui[245] is to ensure "100% of tribal members are connected to their marae and know their pepeha and whakapapa" (Waikato-Tainui, 2019b). Tainui has established relationships with a variety of sectors, agencies, organisations, and education institutions. Iwi members can also connect with their marae through a website, with access to newsfeeds and social media (Facebook, YouTube, Instagram, Twitter). Some Iwi have developed communication strategies to improve connections between members (He Kainga Tuwharetoa - Te Tari o Te Ariki, 2014).

The Tūwharetoa Mātauranga and Education Strategy 2014-2025 states - "To be strong Tūwharetoa people, we need to know who we are" (Te Ara Mātauranga o Tūwharetoa, 2014, p.22). This strategy identified the large number of whānau living outside of the Tūwharetoa region and the aspirations their members had to reconnect, which including being able to practice their Tuwharetoatanga away from home and gain employment at home (Te Ara Mātauranga o Tūwharetoa, 2014). A goal of this strategy was to ensure mātauranga o Tūwharetoa learning occurred back on marae and re-connecting schooling communities with hapū (p.22).

Iwi have also been proactively engaging with Government to advocate for legislation that protects whakapapa. For example, the National Iwi Chairs Forum were involved as stakeholders in the latest adoption reform consultations (Ministry for Justice, 2022b). Although Iwi are seeking ways to influence change, a challenge is building the capacity (people and resources) to adequately cater for the growing roles required in governance.

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[245] Note Tainui are an example of an iwi in the post Te Tiriti o Waitangi settlement phase.

Iwi and education partnerships

Strong relationships between Iwi and schools are helpful when collating data on tamariki Māori with whakapapa links to a local iwi. This objective is also consistent with the government statisticians' goal of recording school students' iwi affiliations on to *Te Mataaho-a-Iwi*, a national statistical database (Education Counts, 2019). This method for gathering data could also be useful for identifying possible whānau (for example, descendants of Māori adoptees) who require support in reconnecting with their iwi and hapū.

Waikato-Tainui also has a relationship with a local tertiary provider who offers a design thinking programme whereby rangatahi co-design and carry out projects for their marae. For rangatahi who have not had a connection to their marae before, this initiative provides a potential pathway for future marae engagement. The marae also benefits as the practical tasks of maintaining a marae are shared (R. Mahara, personal communication, 3 March 2023).

Being Visible

Tangihanga

Tangihanga are often the one event that brings whānau home. Through whaikōrero and informal conversations whānau reaffirm or learn of their whakapapa connections. However, some whānau cannot make it home for tangihanga and seek alternatives to farewell their loved ones. This challenge was highlighted during the COVID-19 pandemic, which due to lockdowns resulted in tangihanga being offered over Zoom. Virtual tangihanga raises questions about the modification or practice of tikanga and the impact on whakapapa whānau reunions (O'Carroll, 2013).

Iwi events

An annual event involving multiple Iwi is the Tira Hoe Waka (a waka event) held on the Whanganui River. Whānau can make whakapapa links as they are hosted at different marae enroute. The event has been going for about 30 years and attracts whānau from as far away as Australia. Whānau who were initially children on the first Tira Hoe are now the ones sharing the stories of the awa to others (A. O'Malley, personal communication, 30 October 2019). Tainui also has annual poukai, whereby the Māori king visits marae in the region - a tradition dating back to the late 19th Century (Waikato Tainui, 2023a). Kiingi Taawhiao initiated poukai to feed the widowed, bereaved, and destitute and bring people home once a year (Moana Rāhui o Aotea, 2023). Other Iwi organise large events to entice those living outside of the Iwi region to return home. In Tūwharetoa the Pā Wars are held in the summer months to attract whānau from Australia (He Kainga Tuwharetoa - Te Tari o Te Ariki, 2014). Te Hui Ahurei is a biennial festival that has been going for 50 years for Ngāi Tūhoe whānau (Tūhoe, 2023).

Community events

There is a plethora of community events with a Kaupapa Māori focus where Māori (and non-Māori) can congregate. These occasions include kai festivals, Matariki and Waitangi Day celebrations, Te Wiki o Te Reo Māori (te reo Māori week), Mahuru Māori (te reo Māori month), waka ama, IronMāori, Koroneihana (coronation), pā wars, Te Matatini (national kapa haka festival), and the list goes on. These events provide opportunities for all ethnic groups to celebrate kaupapa important to Māori. Anecdotal evidence in social media indicates the success of these events for forming, maintaining, and sustaining whānau relationships.

Marae Initiatives

The marae is where lived experiences of being Māori can be enacted and where mātauranga and tikanga Māori can be imparted. They are integral to kinship identity, embodying the relationships between people, their ancestors, and their environment. Marae symbolises the tangible (physical) and intangible (spiritual), while providing a tūrangawaewae or place to belong (Kawharu, 2010, 2014).

Marae tīpuna

Māori are acutely aware of the need to bring whānau home to their ancestral marae (Hoskins, 2007; Kawharu, 2014; Tapsell, 2014). Marae events include: kapa haka, kura reo, kōhanga reo, whānau days, celebrations, movies, holiday programmes, sports events (pā wars), Kaumātua Idol, working bees, Master Chef, marae renovations and wānanga for waiata, mōteatea, karanga, whaikōrero, whakapapa, reo and raranga. Being physically visible at these marae events connects people with kaumātua and whānau, which can lead to further whakapapa insight. Hapū relationships with schools also provide opportunities for marae to work with teachers to offer curriculum-based activities, while helping reconnect whānau[246]. Some marae sites have community gardens and provide onsite living (papa kāinga and kaumātua flats) and education for their tamariki (kōhanga reo and kura). They also transport whānau to marae events and deliver social services.

Several years ago Tapsell (2014) surmised that many marae lack wider economic, political and social influence, hence the human resource depletion. The Miere Coalition is a consortium of iwi across the North Island committed to

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[246] An example of this is an intiative of Ngaa Pou Whirinaki o Waikato-Tainui whereby marae/hapuu lead projects, strengthen relationships and grow the cultural capability of kaiako in schools in their region (https://waikatotainui.com/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/Waikato-Tainui-Annual-Report-2023.pdf)

apiculture (Jenkins, 2015). These entrepreneurial iwi ventures provide an economic and education outlet for whānau keen to live near their ancestral whenua. Tapsell (2014) adds that revival of marae is also dependent on tribal leadership recognising the value of marae by providing whānau with tangible opportunities such as connecting with the digitally dispersed. One practical digital response is *Māori Maps*, which was designed to reconnect descendants with their ancestral marae. Another government funded initiative is the *Māori Digital Connectivity Project,* which is aimed at increasing the internet broadband connectivity of marae. Some of the cited outcomes of this project is to increase social inclusion, cultural connections and provide alternative ways to access health, social and education services. Within this agenda is a desire to connect whānau living out of the region and overseas with their marae (Te Puni Kōkiri - Ministry of Māori Development, 2022).

While there are marae innovations occurring, what is needed is, an analysis of effective marae and whānau engagement strategies that provide social, cultural, and economic benefits. Tūwharetoa recognise the importance of sharing of ideas and hold hui-a-iwi to address the potential use of marae beyond the obvious. They see the importance of a well-functioning marae that can be used for a multitude of purposes including wānanga, business ventures, training and to connect with other Ngāti Tūwharetoa marae (He Kainga Tuwharetoa - Te Tari o Te Ariki, 2014). The dissemination of successful marae initiatives such as these could help other whānau, hapū and iwi future-proof their marae.

When providing occasions for whānau to return to marae tīpuna, marae need to be mindful of how returning whānau might be feeling, particularly if prior connections with the marae have been minimal or non-existent. In this study Māori adoptees raised by non-Māori cited feeling uncomfortable, particularly when

entering a marae for the first time. Pūkorero shared that having access to whānau who were connected to the whānau marae made the process of reconnection to marae tīpuna less intimidating. A Marsden funded project[247] which examined young people's connection to ancestral marae reflected similar results citing shyness and uncertainty as a barrier that prevented people returning to their marae (Royal Society Te Apārangi, 2023). Findings from *Taunakitia Te Marae: A Te Arawa Perspective of Marae Wellbeing* found a tough love approach towards people unfamiliar with marae protocol was detrimental to people feeling positive about their marae experience. The study found key factors to wellbeing were "marae relationships, succession infrastructure, learning environments, self-sufficiency and a sense of community" (Te Arawa Tangata et al., 2015, p. 2). The report noted succession planning needed to create a "culture of collective marae leadership" and more whānau were needed to fulfil cultural and administrative roles (Te Arawa Tangata et al., 2015, p. 2). The issues raised suggests reconnecting with ancestral marae is also a challenge for those with whakapapa knowledge and further analysis is required to determine how Māori are maintaining whakapapa identity outside of marae tīpuna.

Urban marae and rūnanga

The emergence of urban marae occurred in response to the significant numbers of Māori moving from rural areas to urban centres during the 1960s and 1970s. Walker (2004) describes the need for urban Māori to cater for tangi led to the formation of marae-building associations, which consisted of related whānau, hapū, tribal and multi-tribal groups. Māori also congregated in urban homes or community centres. In 1965 Te Puea Marae in Mangere, was one of the first urban marae to be

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[247] This project is being led by Otago University researchers and is called *"A question of identity: How connected are young Māori to ancestral marae, and does it matter?"* (Royal Society Te Apārangi, 2023).

established and although controlled by Waikato was open to all Māori irrespective of their tribal affiliation. That same year Te Unga Waka opened with Catholicism, instead of kinship as the unifying principle. The third type of urban marae to emerge, which was secular, multi-tribal and elective was West Auckland's Hoani Waititi Marae and Christchurch's Nga Hau e Whā. Hoani Waititi was also the first marae to open a kōhanga reo (Walker, 2004). Walker (2004) describes these urban wharenui as a symbol of Māori identity signifying the dynamism of the cultural renaissance and the accomplishment of the migrants to transplant their culture into the urban milieu.

During the 1980s with the devolvement of Māori Trust Boards into Rūnanga (urban Māori authorities) some Māori saw this as an opportunity to further develop marae in cities (Kirikiriroa Marae, 2019). For example, in 1985 Hamilton's Kirikiriroa Marae was established as a marae based urban Rūnanga and today offers a range of health, youth, adult and community services and commercial enterprises (Kirikiriroa Marae, 2019). Rūnanga can also be found in West Auckland (Te Whānau o Waipareira Trust), South Auckland (Manukau Urban Māori Authority), Wellington (Te Rūnanganui o te Ūpoko o Te Ika) and Christchurch (Te Rūnanga o Ngā Maata Waka) (Waikato-Tainui, 2019). Rūnanga also provide taura here representatives on iwi boards (for example, the Wellington-based Te Rūnanga nui o Ngāti Kahungungu ki te Upoko o Te Ika for Ngāti Kahungungu) (Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi, 2022).

The history of Wellington-based Tapu Te Ranga Marae is interesting. It was built from recycled car cases and other materials, carved into a hillside levelled with a pick and shovel by gang members, youth, tradesmen and whānau. Tapu Te Ranga Marae was the vision of Bruce Stewart, who recognised the need for a

tūrangawaewae for Wellington's disfranchised urban Māori youth. The entire marae complex took 30 years to complete but the first building opened in 1983 (Tapu Te Ranga Marae, 2019). The inspiring story of Tapu Te Ranga Marae demonstrates how with little resources, innovation, and community spirit a dream can be realised. Furthermore, despite its recent destruction through fire, the kaitiaki of the marae are determined to rebuild again.

Urban marae also play an important role in creating relationships between whānau Māori living in cities. Further rangahau is needed however to understand if urban marae help facilitate reconnections with marae tīpuna or interact effectively with Māori without hapū, marae or iwi affiliations or knowledge. Urban marae with decades of experience in this area may provide some insight to these questions.

Australian marae

For years Australian Māori have advocated for a marae but have been met with the complications of establishing a site on another Indigenous People's whenua, financial constraints, and collective agreement (Cropper, 2022; Kupenga, 2016; Te Puni Kōkiri & Griffith University, 2007). In 2022 the greenlight was given to build a traditional marae in Sydney - a 30-year dream realised (Cropper, 2022). The establishment of a marae in Australia to cater for the large Māori population is not without controversy, with some suggesting Australian Māori are not Indigenous to Australia and they need to return home to their own marae tīpuna in Aotearoa if they seek a marae experience (Godfery, 2022). This debate is not straightforward. It could be seen as arrogant for Australian Māori to claim an indigenous space on another Indigenous People's whenua, particularly when that land was stolen due to colonisation. Furthermore, if a wharenui is a tūpuna and requires connection to whenua, what does this mean for an Australian based wharenui? The other side of the

argument is how to meet the cultural needs of the generations of Māori now living in Australia in ways that maintain tikanga Māori.

Sourcing Information

Adoption files and original birth certificates

Most of the Māori adoptees in this study discovered their birth mother's identity from their original birth certificate.[248] Jean and Ella were also given letters that their birth mothers had written. When receiving official information adoptees do need to be mindful of inaccuracies or pursuing fruitless searches. In this study Sam's birth father's name was misspelt on his birth records and Jean's ethnicity was incorrectly listed. Cross-checking information and using a variety of sources may be necessary (for example, electoral rolls, phone books, whānau stories). Even when information is retracted or is non-identifying there can still be clues (such as approximate dates, locations, and key events) to assist searches.

Photographs and facial recognition software

Pūkorero Susie described her unique method for tracking down her Māori birth mother, whereby she found a picture of a woman on a marae website that looked like herself and through social media made contact. The lady ended up being her birth aunty and consequently, Susie was able to connect with her birth mother. Wharenui often display the photos and names of whānau who are deceased, this may be another useful source for some seeking resemblances to whānau. With the advent of facial recognition technology apps[249] it is also now possible to match yourself to relatives using photographs. However, creating connections with the people from

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[248] Since the introduction of the Adult Adoption Information Act 1985, adult adoptees of closed adoptions have been able to apply for their original birth certificates.

[249] See *Face DNA Test* app available on Google Play. Note the use of facial recognition techology is also controversial in regards to privacy.

that marae is the best approach as they are likely to be the holders of whānau

information and be able to connect you to the correct whānau members.

Māori Land Court records

New Zealand Archives stores original copies of historic Māori Land Court

Minute books which detail whakapapa in text or diagram form. Copies are available

from major libraries and *Māori Land Court* district offices. Today these archives are

a rich repository of Māori whakapapa. Māori Land Court Records, *Pātaka Whenua*

(formerly *Māori Land Online*) can help identify whānau to a specific geographical

region, which can then narrow a search. When sourcing Māori Land Court records

searches people need to be mindful of tūpuna whose names may differ from the

names they are known by today (see earlier section – Tūpuna Names).

Libraries, Offices of Registrars of Electors, archives, old newspapers etc…

Census and electoral data, birth, death, and marriage records (of the

deceased), old phone books, school records and newspapers are accessible from

some public libraries and offices of registrars of electors. Birth, Death and Marriage

Records of deceased relatives (which occurred at least 50 years ago) are also

available online, however note Māori were not required to register births or deaths

until 1913 and marriages until 1911 (Paewai, 2013). At the National Archives people

can apply under the Official Information Act to access records such as letters from

tūpuna to the government of the day, which can be used to cross-reference Māori

Land Court records. There are also digitised resources such as the *Sir Donald*

McLean papers which includes correspondence, diaries, telegrams, letter books and

maps, including 3000 letters in te reo Māori. Other online sources include the

National Library; Index of Māori Names; Papers Past (past newspaper articles)*;*

Niupepa - Māori Newspapers; Te Kāhui Māngai (Directory of Iwi and Māori

Organisations)*; Te Ao Hou; the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography; Ngā Tāonga Sound and Vision; Kura Heritage Collections Online; Waitangi Tribunal Reports; A Memory Tree; Whakapapa Club; Māori Maps* and iwi and marae websites.

Army and war records

The *National Army Museum* provides advice for whānau seeking archival access to the Kippenberger Research Library and family history information about New Zealand veterans. *Archives NZ* holds service personnel records prior to 1920 and The *New Zealand Defence Force Personnel Archives and Medals* holds military service records from 1920 onwards. To access records after World War Two you will need written permission from the living person you are searching for to obtain their records (New Zealand Government, 2022). To search for deceased tūpuna who served in wars (e.g., World War One and Two) other useful sources include: *He Toa Taumata Rau - Online Cenotaph*, *Commonwealth War Graves Commission*, *New Zealand Wargraves Project, New Zealand Electronic Text Collection, World War 100,* and *Returned Servicemen's Associations* (RSA) also provide connections to veterans.

Churches

In Aotearoa churches such as the *Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints* (LSD) value the importance of whakapapa. This church established their online genealogical software *FamilySearch* in 1999, which has billions of searchable names, digital images, historical documents, and records. LSD church members trained in genealogy searching are also available to provide help (Taiapa, 2017). Old church graveyards, newspaper obituaries and the website *Find a Grave,* which covers graves from 1500-2018 may also reveal connections to deceased whānau.

The Virtual World and Tikanga Māori

Virtual marae, websites, livestreaming, videoconferencing, and social networking

Web pages, online groups, livestreaming, videoconferencing (Zoom) and social networking sites (Facebook, LinkedIn, WhatsApp) are an important means of connecting whānau. Apps for locating marae (Te Potiki National Trust, 2019) and use of technologies such as augmented reality are being used. For example, Gisborne's Te Pahou Marae provides a virtual tour of their wharenui, and Papakura Marae have developed an augmented and geo mobile app (*AwhiWorld,* 2019).

For Māori seeking reconnection with whakapapa whānau, virtual methods for connecting may be more convenient and less intimidating than physically entering a marae that one has never been to before. Online relationships may also act as support networks and facilitate links with other whānau (O'Carroll, 2013). However, O'Carroll (2013) raises concerns around the implications of virtual whanaungatanga on rangatiratanga status as relationships across generations are negotiated. O'Carroll (2013) gave the example of rangatahi Māori using social networking sites (SNSs) to express their identity, discuss politics and debate whānau, hapū, iwi leadership. O'Carroll (2013) suggests in these informal virtual environments it may mean less respect is given to customary practices. Such questions are worthy of further discussion. What is the tikanga when live streaming tangihanga, filming the whakairo of a wharenui, or uploading whakapapa online? What happens when whānau have breached tikanga or the privacy of others or when there are incidents of exclusion, competitiveness, rejection, bullying or misinformation?

Whakapapa online – ancestry websites

In recent years ancestry websites such as *Ancestry.com*, *Familysearch* and *MyHeritage* have become popular online sources for people searching for relatives.

On some of these paid subscription websites cross-checking of information is possible through the linking of names to census and electoral and census data, birth, deaths, marriage, and military records. Searchers can also view publicly visible family trees created by others or posted photographs and news items. On sites such as Ancestry people can connect with others who share their DNA. While pricey the global network reach is large. For Māori seeking whakapapa there are also sites such as the *Whakapapa Māori Charitable Trust* (see Appendix 4 for full list).

While publicly visible online whakapapa charts (accessed through social media or ancestry sites) can be useful they should also be treated with caution. There is the potential for futile searches, particularly if other relatives have shared incorrect information or people are using broad or incorrect search terms. While opponents to posting whakapapa online may be seen as gatekeepers, their concerns are valid. When tikanga is breached and the sacredness of whakapapa is not understood this can lead to the misappropriation of whakapapa. The sharing of whakapapa knowledge is a broader discussion for the wider Māori community, especially when technology has enabled global transmission.

DNA Genetic Testing and Tikanga Māori

In recent years, DNA testing (DTC-GT) has become more accessible to the public interested in family history. Access to DNA testing involves buying a kit online through companies such as *23andMe, AncestryDNA, FamilyTree DNA, LivingDNA* and *MyHeritage*. Once DNA results are processed and visible on affiliated ancestry websites (for example, Ancestry.com or MyHeritage) DNA matches can be made with other biological relatives profiled on the same website. Once a relative's surname is known social media can also be used to track down other possible biological relatives who may not be listed on the ancestry website.

People using this method of finding whānau also need to be mindful of privacy breaches and discovering unexpected or conflicting information.

Another challenge with DTC-GT is that it subscribes to the debatable notion of 'blood-quantum', whereby a person's 'Māoriness' is measured by the percentage of their DNA. Currently in Aotearoa a variety of criteria (ethnicity, ancestry, tribal affiliation) is used in legal, tribal and policy contexts to determine who is Māori (Kukutai, 2004). In 2000 in the United States Vermont Legislature attempts were made (and failed) to use DNA testing to prove an individual's Native American ancestry (Kukutai, 2004). Kukutai (2004) notes governments are reluctant to endorse such methods as it harks back to the "pseudo-scientific racism of the past" (p. 90). However, increased public acceptance of DTC-GT to determine ethnicity could mean such methods find favour again in public policy. In Aotearoa this could mean ignoring other relevant socio-cultural factors used to determine Māori ethnicity.

DTC-GT is a growing practice in Aotearoa and research that explores the personal and cultural impacts of this method is emerging. This thesis and various Aotearoa and international researchers highlight the challenges that DTC-GT proposes. Questions arising include the accuracy, validity, usefulness, storage, transmission, privacy and consent, psychological, personal, and familial impacts, and commercialisation of DTC genetic testing (Hazel et al., 2021; Jochem, 2016; Mahuika & Kukutai, 2021; Rubanovich et al., 2020). These issues pertaining to DTC-GT need further debate amongst Māori.

Education Institutions

University marae

A variety of educational institutions now have marae onsite. Victoria University has Te Herenga Waka, the University of Waikato – Te Kohinga Mārama Marae, the University of Auckland has Waipapa Marae. These facilities are usually inclusive of all Iwi and provide a safe space for Māori students on campus and a cultural space to host pōwhiri, teach kaupapa Māori concepts and celebrate graduations.

Kura kaupapa

The Te Kupenga Māori Wellbeing Survey found that of the students enrolled in Māori-medium education 90 percent had been to their marae tīpuna. This group were twice as likely to have been in the last 12 months compared to those who had no Māori-medium education (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). While this high statistic is encouraging, an area needing further analysis is why the majority of whānau Māori still choose English-medium schooling for their tamaiti or opt out of Māori Medium education when their tamaiti reaches high school age. In 2015 of the proportion of all Māori students in Māori Medium 21% percent were enrolled in early childhood, 12 percent in years 1- 8 and five percent in years 9 plus (Ministry of Education, 2015).

English-medium schools

In the English-medium school sector there has been a concerted effort over the last few decades to address the cultural needs of Māori learners (Education Council, 2017). In 2022 *Te Takanga o Te Wā* and *Aotearoa New Zealand's histories* was launched with teaching beginning in 2023 to all kura and school students. Schools are also encouraged to engage with hapū and iwi (Ministry of Education,

2019). Some Iwi have kawenata partnerships with schools and are developing school resources (Waikato-Tainui, 2019a). Nationally accredited Māori education facilitators support schools with their engagement with whānau, hapū and iwi (Ministry of Education, 2019). Māori scholars have also provided culturally responsive resources and tikanga Māori models of practice for educators responsible for educating Māori learners and connecting with mana whenua (Berryman & Ford, 2014; Bishop & Berryman, 2006, 2010; McFarlane, 2004). What is missing from the education conversation is how to support Māori who do not have whakapapa whānau connections. With the focus on traditional notions of Māori identity (or the encultured Māori) there is the danger of marginalising tamariki Māori with a whakapapa huna, as teachers make assumptions about their Māori students' cultural capital.

Wānanga

An identified barrier for Māori not connecting with their marae tīpuna was not knowing enough te reo and tikanga Māori (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). In some regions wānanga (Māori tertiary organisations) are meeting these community needs by providing classroom and marae based Kaupapa Māori educational programmes. In Aotearoa the three wānanga include: Te Wānanga o Aotearoa (pan-tribal); Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi (Ngāti Awa); and Te Wānanga o Raukawa (Ngāti Toa, Rangatira, Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai and Ngāti Raukawa). These tertiary institutions have a relatively young and at times tumultuous history, but their success at transforming whānau lives is evident in the number of graduating Māori and their stories of personal, social, and cultural success. Guided by tikanga, wānanga provide safe and nurturing environments to connect to whakapapa through marae-based delivery and curriculum requirements that stipulate whakapapa

understanding. Whānau relationships also occur between wānanga whānau (tauira, kaimahi and kaiako). In this rangahau Lucy, a wānanga kaiako takes her students to different marae during the delivery of her course. She says often there are students who can affiliate to the selected marae, which helps them reconnect to their whakapapa whānau.

Māori organisations

On its website *Takoa Māori Directory* (Tuhituhi Communications, 2022) identifies over 8000 Māori organisation and services. *Te Puni Kōkiri - Ministry of Māori Development* (2021) also lists five key national Māori organisations. These include the *Federation of Māori Authorities Inc* (FoMA) which is committed to economic advancement of Māori Authorities; *Te Rōpū Wāhine Māori Toko i te Ora* (Māori Women's Welfare League Inc.), which supports the wellbeing of Māori women and their whānau and has over 100 branches nationally (Jackson-Amiga, 2021); *Te Kaunihera Māori o Aotearoa – New Zealand Māori Council* which is the national policy making body; *Te Ohu Kaimoana Trustee Limited – Māori Fisheries Trust*; and *Tūhono* which is a register that links 70 iwi organisations and over 100,000 registered Māori members.

Summary

Wāhanga 3 identified traditional methods used for transmitting whakapapa such as waiata, pūrākau, mōteatea, whakapapa kōrero, oriori and ngā toi. This wāhanga explored contemporary methods of sharing whakapapa, which occurs through face-to-face and virtual interactions, at tangi, Iwi, or community events, in education institutions, churches, marae, amongst whānau and within Māori organisations. For some Māori reconnection may be an ongoing journey, determined by their pace, their confidence levels, and the support they receive. Pivotal to future

conversations is how Māori navigate their ethnic identity and hauora as they reconnect to whānau in these different contexts. In addition to Māori adoptees other Māori may seek reconnection. For example, recently released inmates, 501 Māori deportees, wards of the state, Australian Māori or Māori raised by non-Māori whānau.

While this review has assumed reconnection with whakapapa whānau is desirable not all reconnections with whakapapa whānau will be successful or sustained. There may be unresolved grief and difficult reasons as to why disconnection occurred in the first place. For some Māori reconnection with whakapapa whānau may never occur, but despite this possibility exploration of this topic is vital. The loss of whenua, the hiding of whakapapa, the devaluing of wairua and the separation of whānau has been devastating to Māori. Tino rangatiratanga belongs to all Māori. It is essential we work collectively in seeking solutions for whānau who hear the call of the conch shell home.

WĀHANGA 10: TE KAWE MAI I Ā TĀTOU MOKOPUNA KI TE KĀINGA - BRINGING OUR MOKOPUNA HOME

After completing my Master thesis in 2012 I knew there was unfinished business, when I challenged whānau, hapū and iwi to ask the question "where are our tamariki?" (West, 2012). At the time, I was trying to raise awareness of the Māori adoptee situation and believed it was a question that Māori needed to ask themselves and hold the State accountable. Although the closed adoption of Māori (and other adoptions) rarely happens today, there are adoptees (their children and moko) still living with its ramifications. Some Māori adoptees have restored their whakapapa knowledge while others have not. The State needs to take responsibility for its actions. Over the years there has been minimal support for Māori adoptees seeking whakapapa knowledge and readdress. Adoption reform is also well overdue.

Silence is an effective technique at keeping the oppressed passive and subservient. In recent years Māori have noisily asserted their voice over the Crown's treatment of tamariki Māori. "Hands off our tamariki" has been the catchcry, which has mobilised an inert Crown to examine its flawed child welfare system. Like a rotting apple, the paternalistic colonial ideologies that were present in the practices of closed adoptions decades ago have infiltrated the contemporary child welfare system (Oranga Tamariki) to negatively impact another generation. Years from now I suspect tamariki Māori who were caught in the cross-fire of this "broken system" will also write of their experiences.

When similar historic and contemporary narratives emerge from other British settler colonies (Australia and Canada) about the poor treatment of Indigenous tamariki one recognises a familiar pattern. Approaches that pathologize and punish whānau or laws that are ignorant of the customs and values of its Indigenous Peoples

serve only the dominant class. These blankets of oppression undermine the social, spiritual, economic, cultural and kinship structure of Indigenous Peoples.

While blankets can provide comfort and warmth they can also be used to conceal or hide. The concealment of whakapapa whānau identity creates a whakapapa huna. Interrupting the status quo requires creating dialogue that brings to the forefront salient arguments that challenge these blankets of oppression. This rangahau has discussed the State's culpability in attempting to disrupt the connection Māori have to their whakapapa whānau. Assimilative and integration practices aimed at disrupting whānau Māori started with colonisation and has been a poison that has seeped into contemporary society.

Māori adoptees are not the only cohort whose connection to whakapapa whānau has been compromised. The placement of tamariki Māori in the foster system, state and faith based institutions, justice facilities and the uplift of pēpi Māori has wounded whānau Māori immensely. Society must also be conscious of how ideologies of capitalism, materialism and individualism threatens whānau social structures as whānau chase lives in countries far from their ancestral lands.

Seeking ideological change within our legal system is futile if policies, practices or legislation does not align or those in power continue to perpetuate inequity. Advocacy, education and awareness of historic and contemporary inequities is required to shift mindsets and behaviours. There has been a lot of time and effort invested in reviewing and changing the child welfare system, but it has not worked. Māori are tired of the status quo. The overwhelming message is Māori seek "tino rangatiratanga over their kāinga". However, change can only occur if there are structural, service-led and personal transformations that are Te Tiriti and tikanga Māori informed with whānau at the centre. Aotearoa has an exciting opportunity to

do things differently. If whakapapa transcends time, then it is about time we as a nation got things right in this generation for our current and future mokopuna.

Whakapapa Huna

As this thesis has discussed whakapapa is a concept with many interpretations, likewise the kupu *huna* has several meanings. Huna translates as "conceal", "concealed", "destroy, devastate, lay waste", "unnoticed" or "seldom seen" (Williams, 1985). Huna can also be the tenth, eleventh night or in some tribes (Te Whānau-ā-Apanui) the twenty-sixth night of the lunar month. Huna is also an urgent karakia that a Moeraki chief uttered to create a mist, which consequently hid him from his pursuing enemies. Tūhoe iwi use the phrase *kura huna* which translates as "concealed treasure" (of knowledge) (Stout, 1987). Hawaiians have similar meanings for the word huna for example "hidden", "secret", "eleventh night of the month", "to conceal knowledge or wisdom", "disguise" or "protect" (University of Hawaii at Hilo, 2023).

For Māori adoptees the practice of closed adoptions has meant that their Māori whakapapa was kept a secret, hidden, or concealed from them. Furthermore, Māori adoptees (and their descendants) are a taonga of which their whakapapa whānau were denied, so effectively their whakapapa whānau are also living with a whakapapa huna. As evident in this study for some Māori adoptees the concealment of Māori whakapapa creates anguish, a sense of loss and exclusion. Māori adoptees may hide by avoiding kaupapa Māori environments. Some Māori adoptees internally wrestle with their Māori identity, which is not of their own making, but a blanket of oppression – a hegemonic ideology perpetuated by the State. The impact of closed adoptions endures in the narratives of Māori adoptees.

Translating kupu Māori into English can mean the original meaning and intention of terms is not fully understood, meanings are taken out of context or only surface explanations are given. Therefore, the concept of *whakapapa huna* could be perceived as a negative concept when English definitions such as "lay waste" "devastate" are applied (see dictionary definitions above). Although there is no denying that the impacts of closed adoptions were devastating to whānau Māori, this does not mean that this deficit state of being must remain. Discarding the blankets of oppression over Māori adoptees lives means also reframing the narrative and using empowering language. A whakapapa huna can provide hope and like huna (which is a phase of the moon) a whakapapa huna is not a fixed state. As discussed, a whakapapa huna implies whakapapa is concealed - a taonga within.

Living with a whakapapa huna may mean different things to different people. It may mean a desire to discover more about whakapapa whānau and this thesis outlined the many ways Māori are achieving this goal. Living with a whakapapa huna may mean learning how whakapapa is transmitted through whakataukī, whakatauāki, pūrākau, waiata, oriori, raranga, or karanga. Living with a whakapapa huna may mean engaging in deep rangahau to explore the ancestral wisdoms of our tūpuna hidden from view. Access to this mātauranga may be a life-long (or an intergenerational) journey requiring engagement in whanaungatanga, wānanga, whakapapa and wairuatanga. Access to whakapapa is also not a given, as not all whakapapa should be revealed and instead it may require protection. For example, the contemporary debates about the sharing of DNA to overseas databanks, the sharing of whakapapa online or the tikanga around AHR and surrogacy are debates that need to occur amongst Māori. Furthermore, freely sharing or claiming whakapapa that does not belong to you or reciting whakapapa when relationships

with whānau have not be formed also creates risks. A tikanga Māori approach and support from kaumātua when undertaking whakapapa work is required.

Although the term whakapapa huna is used in this study other concepts within tikanga Māori may be more useful to others. For example, Waikato-Tainui Iwi has explored the notion of "ahi" as a possible[250] principle-based framework to achieve their strategic goal of reconnecting with their tribal members. In this framework "Ahi Maeke" describes someone who does not know their pepeha, marae and whakapapa. "Ahi Mahana" is when pepeha, marae and whakapapa are known, but the person makes minimal contribution to marae wellbeing. "Ahi Wera" is someone who knows their whakapapa and contributes to the well-being of their marae. "Ahi Kaa" describes a tribal member who knows their whakapapa and is fully committed to the wellbeing and sustainability of their marae for future generations (Waikato Tainui Education Team, 2016).

To explain the whakapapa journey of Māori adoptee Ahuriri-Driscoll (2020) utilises the metaphor of Te Korekore (The Void) or "the realm of potential being", Te Pō (The Nights) "the realm of becoming" and Te Whaiao – "a state of emerging"[251](pp. 92-93). Ahuriri-Driscoll (2020) explains Te Korekore describes a state when whakapapa knowledge is unknown, but there is potential it will be known. Te Pō describes the process Māori adoptees transition through as they reunite with birth family and Te Whaiao a stage when there is an increase of personal agency and connection to te ao Māori beyond one's adoptive or biological identities. Conversations such as these reframes discourse and gives Māori adoptees an

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[250] Note this framework was not formalized as part of their strategy (R.Mahara, personal communication, 13 April, 2023).

[251] Ahuriri-Driscoll cites Nepia (2012), Marsden (1992) and Piripi and Body (2010).

alternative way to describe their whakapapa journey. Living with a whakapapa huna (or in a state of Te Korekore or Ahi Maeke) was a circumstance created by the coloniser. To provide a counter narrative requires seeking insight from te ao Māori, while ensuring Māori adoptees are authors and agents of their own pūrākau.

Revisiting the Pātai

This study has told the story of how a small cohort of Māori adoptees living with a whakapapa huna navigate their whakapapa. In Wāhanga 6 the Pūkōrero shared why they wanted to find whakapapa whānau, their reunion experiences, the new relationships they made and the emotional and spiritual journey of whakapapa exploration. Their realities and experiences were diverse. For many their whakapapa journey has been ongoing and challenging. This thesis also drew from the voices of Māori and Indigenous Peoples who have contributed thought around what needs to be done to restore, protect and maintain whakapapa knowledge. These authors were critical of the past and present child welfare system that has damaged the lives of Māori and Indigenous tamariki and their whānau. Wāhanga 4 described overt threats to whakapapa due to colonisation, while Wāhanga 5, Wāhanga 6 and Wāhanga 7 described how closed adoption and child welfare legislation in Aotearoa continues to disrupt the lives of tamariki Māori and their whānau.

The restoration, protection and maintenance of whakapapa was also discussed. Wāhanga 8 identified calls of action (karanga) to change the status quo. Restoration of whakapapa knowledge requires acknowledging and redressing past hara, while providing healing, resolution, and support. To protect the whakapapa of current and future whānau Māori, advocacy is required to create systemic changes within our legislation, policies, and practices across diverse sectors. Maintenance of whakapapa knowledge requires a "by Māori, for Māori, with Māori" service

approach with the resources and autonomy to succeed. Some strategies for effectively reconnecting Māori adoptees to whakapapa whānau were outlined in Wāhanga 8 and Wāhanga 9. Approaching whakapapa work requires adhering to tikanga Māori while seeking help from supportive people, utilising multiple sources and technologies and rangahau through wairua, whanaungatanga and whakapapa engagement.

Future Rangahau

This thesis highlighted several areas where future rangahau and Māori voice is required. For example:

- How can tikanga Māori shape legislation, policy, practices and common law?

- How do we create environments where Māori who sit outside of hapū or iwi networks (e.g. Māori adoptees) can be heard, included in decision-making and supported?

- What structural system changes and services are required to provide Māori with "tino rangatiratanga over their kāinga"? How will the suggested changes to the care of tamariki Māori be practically implemented? How might whāngai practices be strengthened and who might support these initiatives?

- What international Indigenous collaborations/rangahau is needed to improve child welfare practices for Indigenous tamariki?

- What are Māori perspectives on the use of new technologies (AHR and surrogacy, DNA ancestry testing, virtual marae or the virutal

transmission of whakapapa? How does tikanga and kawa apply in such spaces?

- How do we restore, maintain and protect whakapapa now and into the future? How do Māori lead conversations regarding data sovereignity, stewardship and governance?

- How can we bring our mokopuna home to whakapapa whānau? What intergenerational strategies do urban/ancestral marae, hapū and iwi need to put in place to strengthen whakapapa whānau connections? How do hapū and ancestral marae connect with whānau living in other regions?

- What is the role of wānanga, kura and schools in whakapapa restoration work? What opportunities are there for future programmes of study that examine diverse Māori whakapapa methods/terminology (as proposed by Ngata)?

- How might rangahau into the perspectives of Māori birth fathers, Māori birth mothers or the whānau of Māori adoptees or the post-reunion experience add to the exisiting literature on Māori and closed adoptions?

- What are the connections between wairuatanga, whenua, whanaungatanga and whakapapa and how are these experienced in diverse settings?

- What adoption reforms and redress is still required to support Māori adoptees (e.g. succession laws, access to records an Inquiry)?

- What other Māori are living with a whakapapa huna (501 deportees, Australian Māori, returning Māori migrants, the incarcerated)? What

resource/support is needed to help them reconnect to whakapapa whānau?

The above list is not exhaustive. There are many other topics that need to discussed and practical solutions sought.

Whakapapa Transmission in the Future

As discussed, the dissemination of whakapapa is not a new debate, but the contexts have changed. While previous generations may have debated the wisdom of written whakapapa (manuscript books, Land Court records), today whakapapa displayed on the worldwide web provokes controversy. How does a marae, whānau, hapū maintain their mātauranga as a taonga or prevent it from being commodified when it is out in the public forum? How does a marae physically bring people home to upkeep the physical buildings and whenua, when relationships are played out in a virtual world? How does one really engage with wairuatanga without a physical tūrangawaewae – a place to touch the whenua, a place to stand beneath the photos of ancestors or a place to hongi with whānau? How might SNSs, apps and innovative technologies aide the person seeking reconnection with their whakapapa whānau, while ensuring tikanga is maintained? In the rapidly expanding technological age, what new threats to whakapapa are there? How do Māori feel about AHR or surrogacy? If whakapapa is in everything (e.g., water) - how do Māori feel about DNA or water samples being collected and shipped overseas, the storage of blood samples by blood banks or the use of facial recognition technology? Whakapapa is a hot topic requiring much more wānanga.

Kaupapa Māori and Rangahau

This study has been guided by the principles of Kaupapa Māori theory (see Wāhanga 2), which requires reacting against colonisation, challenging hegemony, validating Māori worldviews and being guided by tikanga Māori. Rangahau undertaken with a Kaupapa Māori lens re-imagines the future, frees the indigenous imagination through consciousness raising, while seeking transformative action through tangible outcomes (Mahuika, 2015; Pihama, 2011a; Pohatu, 2003). This thesis journey has been a dance between "the theorist" and "the pragmatist", "the scholar" and the "poet", "the rangahau practitioner" and the "academic writer". While I am a novice to Kaupapa Māori theory and Rangahau I have learned that there is more than one way to tell a story. I have attempted to *ranga* (weave) the *hau* (mauri) of the Pūkōrero and literature, while being inspired by pūrākau and whakataukī/whakatauāki. Like Tane who sought knowledges (kete aronui[252], kete tuauri[253], kete tuatea[254]), I have learned knowledges come from many sources. The akoranga (learning) that has occurred is that I must be brave and engage in the richness of te ao Māori. The mōhiotanga (knowing) I have gained is that my tūpuna will be with me. The māramatanga (understanding) I now have is that oppressive blankets or ominous clouds need not define my reality. My pono/tika (truth once it is experienced) is whakapapa resides within.

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[252] Basket of aroha, peace and arts and crafts… acquired through careful observation of the environment...of literature, philosophy…of the humanities (Moorfield, 2023).

[253] Basket of sacred knowledge...relates to the creation of the natural world and the patterns of energy that operate behind the world of sense perception and the realm of the tohunga...includes the knowledge of karakia (Moorfield, 2023).

[254] Basket of ancestral knowledge of mākutu and whaiwhaiā and evil, including war...includes agriculture, tree or wood work, stone work and earth works (Moorfield, 2023).

The Karanga – What is in a Name?

When I was a young girl I found a small pink cardboard heart with the name 'Janie' on it tucked away in a drawer. My parents told me it was the first name that the nurses gave me when I was in hospital as a newborn. Years ago in one of my house moves I lost that heart. Last year at 50 years of age I was given another name – the full name of my Māori birth father. Like the name 'Janie' I am not sure what this new name means yet. I am not sure where the whānau who own this name comes from or which eponymous tūpuna or waka they (and I) descend from. People say names mean something, they can carry mana (or shame). Names can describe occupations, places, events, characteristics or traits. Names are given to memoralise mothers, fathers, a favourite aunt, uncle or tūpuna. Names can be found in bibles or in cross-stitches displayed on walls or on a lost jumper discarded on a school bench. Names can also be locked away in a government archive or in the secrets of an unrequited love affair.

Currently, in my search for whakapapa knowledge I feel I have a key, but I have yet to find the lock to which it belongs. I may or may not ever find the lock that fits my key. However, I am undeterred by the task ahead or lost or sad. I hold many keys that open many doors, that allow me to navigate the moon cycles of life. For now, I am comfortable seeking Ranga-hau (the questing breath of life), listening to manawatina (the beating heart) and following manawatoka (the throbbing heart) to find my way home.

The key question driving this rangahau was - *how can we bring our mokopuna home to whakapapa whānau?* I have attempted to explore what this means to me and a small group of adoptees. However, this is our story. My karanga to you is – what does *bringing our mokopuna home* mean to you?

The Story Begins Again

The summer night is warm and Mokopuna is playing spotlight with the cousins in the backyard. Sausages are sizzling on the barbeque tickling the nostrils and teasing the tastebuds of hungry mouths. Inside the old wooden whare the loud laugh of Aunty shakes the walls. Hina is in the phase of Te Rākaunui (the full moon), brightly illuminating the garden. Mokopuna quickly finds a hiding spot in the shadow of a Hydrangea hedge. A cool breeze creates goosebumps and a faint karanga can be heard. Mokopuna looks up and for the first time notices (West, 2023).

We are mokopuna

We are mokopuna of many homes

We are mokopuna coming home

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Kupu Māori

Appendix 2: Literature Search

Appendix 3: Background of Report and Inquiries

Appendix 4: Useful Links for Searching for Whakapapa

Appendix 5: Overseas Foundations and Networks

Appendix 6: Ethics Approval Letter

Appendix 7: Pānui and Participant Information Form

Appendix 8: Participant Consent Form

Appendix 9: Participant Interview Schedule

Appendix 10: Confidentiality Agreement

Appendix 11: Adoption Statistics

Appendix 12: Timeline of Key Events and Political Parties in Power

Appendix 1: Kupu Māori

On the advice of fluent te reo Māori experts my first preference as a source for interpreting kupu Māori (Māori words) was Williams (1985) *A Dictionary of the Māori Language.* Other dictionaries used included the online *Ngata Dictionary*, *The Raupō Dictionary of Modern Māori* and the online *Te Aka Māori Dictionary.* Note amongst te reo Māori experts there are dialectal differences. There are multiple meanings for kupu Māori that are context-dependent; therefore, only the interpretation that is of relevance to the context described in the thesis is included in this glossary. In the body of this thesis, the first mention of a kupu Māori is followed by an interpretation in English and thereafter readers should refer to the glossary. In situations where the word is discussed in more depth in a Wāhanga (chapter) a footnote directs readers to the relevant chapter.

Kupu	Williams (1985)	Ngata (2023)	Ryan (2012)	Moorfield (2023)
ahau	I, me			
ahi	fire			
ahi kā/ahi kaa/ ahikāroa	title to land by occupation		occupation rights	burning fires of occupation.
ahi māeke	cold			cold fires
ahi mahana	warm			warm fires
ahi mātaotao			growing cold	cooling fires
ahi tere				unstable fires
ahi wera				burning fires
aho	string line, genealogy line of descent	weft		
aho tāhuhu	first weft in weaving a garment			
āhua		fashion		character
ahunga				direction, source, origin, generation
akoranga	circumstance, time, place of learning		learning	
ara	path			
ariki	first born, leader			
aroha	love, regard			
atawhai	foster, kindness			
atua	god			
awa	river			
awhi	embrace, foster, cherish			
ea	reappear as the new			satisfied

	moon		
hapū	secondary tribe, clan	sub-tribe	
hara	violate intentionally or otherwise		
hau	vitality		
Haumia			atua of fernroot and uncultivated food
hauora	spirit of life, health	healthy	
Hawaiki		ancestral home of Māori	
Hikohiko	recite genealogy - indicating principal names on line and omitting others		
Hina	Moon personified, shine with pale light		
hinapōuri			darkness, sadness
hinauri			be dark grey
Hine-ahu-one/ Hine-hau-one			first woman created by Tāne-nui-a-Rangi
Hine-kōrako			lunar rainbow
Hine-nui-te-pō			atua of the underworld
Hine-te-iwaiwa			atua representing a wife and mother
hoa pūmau		comrade	timeless companion (Whakaatere Pohatu, 2017)
hoa-haere			partner
hōhonu	deep		deep, profound, esoteric
hue	calabash, gourd		
huna	conceal, unnoticed, seldom seen, the moon on the tenth day, destroy, devastate, lay waste		
iho			umbilical cord (middle section)
Ihu Karaiti			Jesus Christ
Io		God	
ira	life principle		
ira tangata	life principle of mortals		
iwi	bone, nation people	tribe	
ka pai	good, excellent		
kaha	strong		
kaihauwaiū	birth-right (Mead, 2003)		
kaikaranga			A woman/women who calls visitors onto marae
kāinga	home		
kāinga waewae	The places my feet have trod		
kairangahau	A person who undertakes rangahau (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, 2019)		

kairaranga		weaver	
Kaitautoko	Supporter		
kaitiaki			caretaker
kaitiakitanga			guardianship
kākano			seed
kanohi ki te kanohi/kitea			face to face, in person, in the flesh
kapa haka			group performing Māori songs
kapu tī	cup of tea		
karakia	incantation		
karakia pure			ceremony to remove tapu
karanga	call, summon		
kareao	supplejack		
kaumātua			elder
kaupapa	proposal		
kaupapa Māori	Māori plan, proposal		Māori approach, topic, practice, agenda, principles, ideology
Kaupapa Māori theory	A kaupapa Māori approach to undertaking rangahau (refer to Wāhanga 2)		
kauri tree			*Agathis australis* - largest forest tree
kauwha/ kauhau/ kauhou		recite, proclaim, declare aloud	
kauwhata	Recite old legends, stage or frame for fish etc		
kawa			protocol/ ceremony
kāwanatanga	government (loan word)		
kawe	bring		
kete aronui	basket of knowledge of aroha, peace and the arts and crafts … of ritual, of literature, philosophy and sometimes the humanities (Moorfield, 2023)		
kete tuatea	basket of ancestral knowledge of mākutu and whaiwhaiā and evil, including war … of agriculture, tree or wood work, stone work and earth works (Moorfield, 2023)		
kete tuauri	basket of sacred knowledge…the creation of the natural world…the realm of the tohunga …knowledge of karakia (Moorfield, 2023)		
kia tūpato	be cautious		
kihikihi	cicada		
Ko wai au	Who am I?		
koha	gift		
kōhanga reo			Māori language pre-school
kōhatu	stone, rock		
kōhatu tipua			supernatural rock
kōiwi	skeleton		descendants, human bone
kore	not		
kōrero	conversation		
kūmara	*Ipomoea batatas*,		

	sweet potato		
kupu	word		
kupu Māori	Māori words		
Kupu whakataki	prologue		introduction, preamble
kuputaka			glossary
kura	treasure		school
kura huna			important knowledge
kura kaupapa Māori			primary school using Māori as the medium of instruction.
māhaki	mild, meek	humble	
mahi	work		
mākutu	incantation		
mana	give prestige to	integrity	
mana motuhake		independent, absolute	separate identity, autonomy, self-government, self-determination, independence, sovereignty and authority
Mana Ōrite	accordance		equality
mana tamaiti (tamariki)	"…the intrinsic value and inherent dignity derived from a child's or young person's whakapapa (genealogy) and their belonging to a whānau, hapū, iwi, or family group, in accordance with tikanga Māori or its equivalent in the culture of the child or young person" (Oranga Tamariki Act, 1989, s 2 (1)).		
manaakitanga	show respect or kindness		
manawa-tina	beating heart (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, 2019)		
manawa-toka	throbbing heart (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, 2019)		
manu	bird		
Māori			Indigenous person of Aotearoa
Māori Adoptee	Indigenous person of Aotearoa who was adopted under the Adoption Act 1955		
marae			courtyard - the open area in front of the wharenui. Also includes the complex of buildings around the marae.
marae tīpuna	ancestral marae (Statistics New Zealand, 2013)		
māramatanga	understanding		
maro	apron		
Mātaatua region	In the Bay of Plenty region of Aotearoa		
mataora	tattooing chisel		full face tattoo
mātauranga		knowledge, education	
mātauranga continuum	(see Wāhanga 2)		
mātauranga Māori		Māori knowledges	

matakite		visionary, psychic		
mau			grabbed/take	
Māui-pōtiki				well-known Polynesian character of narratives
maunga	mountain			
mauri/ mauri ora	life principle, thymos of man	life principle		
mea nui	all things			
mihimihi	greetings		greetings	
moemoeā	dream			
mōhiotanga	knowing			
moko				grandchild
moko kauae				chin tattoo on women
mokopuna	grandchildren/ descendant			
mōteatea	lamentation	lament		
motu	island			
muru whenua				confiscated land
naku puku				quiet, without speaking
ngā	the (plural)			
ngā atua	the gods		the gods	
ngā takepū	preferred ways of doing (Pohatu, 2013) (see Wāhanga 2)			
ngā toi		the arts		
ngaio tree	*Myoporum laetum* - tree			
ngaro	hidden, missing, absent, destroyed, forgotten, undetected			
oriori		lullaby, chant		
paepae		threshold of the meeting house		
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent			
papa kāinga	original home, homebase, village			
Papatūānuku	Earth, Earth mother			
paraikete	blanket		original home, home base	
pātaka	storehouse raised upon posts			
patupaiarehe	sprite, fairy			fair-skinned mythical people who live in bush on mountains.
pepeha				proverb saying of the ancestors
pēpi		infant, baby		
pito			section of umbilical cord nearest the baby's body	
pono/tika	truth			
pounamu	greenstone, jade			
pōuri	sorrowful, intense darkness		grief	
Pūkōrero	orator			
pūmanawa	natural talents			
pūmautanga		stability		

puna	spring of water		
pūrākau	ancient legend, any incredible story		
pure	a ceremony removing tapu		
rākau	tree		
rākau tipua	a tree of unearthly powers (Keane, 2011)		
rākau whakapapa	mnemonic genealogical staff (Te Papa)		
ranga	weave		
Rangahau	seek, search out, pursue		
rangatira	chief, noble		
rangatiratanga	evidence of breeding and greatness	dominion, ownership, freedom	
Rangiātea	a place in Hawaiki …final dispersal point of some migration canoes		
raranga	weaving	to weave	weave
raro	beneath, under		under/beneath
reanga		grow	generation
Rona			woman in the moon
rongoa Māori	Māori medicines		
Rongomātāne			atua of the kūmara and cultivated food
rōpū	company of persons		
Rūaumoko			atua of earthquakes
ruia		sown	
rūnanga		caucus, assembly	
taha wairua	spiritual side		
tāhuhu		weft, ridgepole, ancestry	
tahuhu haere		recitation method which focuses on eldest son of the eldest branch.	
taiao	world/country		environment
taina		junior, younger sibling	
takatāpui			intimate friend of the same gender
take		cause, matter	
takepū	preferred ways of doing (Pohatu, 2013)		
Tama-te-ra	the central sun (Pere, 1997)		
tamaiti	child		
tamaiti whāngai	whāngai child		
tamariki	children		
tamariki Māori	Māori children		
tāne			husband, man
Tāne Mahuta/ Tāne			atua of the forests and birds
Tangaroa			atua of the sea and fish

tangata	man/human beings		
tangata whenua			local people, hosts
taniwha	a fabulous monster		water spirit, guardian
taonga	anything highly prized		treasure
taonga tuku iho	highly prized		legacy
taotahi/ tararere	recite genealogy in a single line of descent		
tapu		sacred	
tātai		birth, genealogy, recital, line	
tātou	we us (including speaker and person being addressed)		
taura here		cord	
tautoko	support		
Tāwhirimātea			atua of the weather
te ao	the world		
te ao Māori	the Māori world		
te ao mārama			world of life and light, Earth, physical world
Te Kore/ Te Korekore		the void	realm of potential being
Te Po	the night		
Te Rā	the sun		
te reo Māori	the Māori language		
te reo me ōna tikanga	language and customs		
te whare tangata			house of humanity, womb
tihei mauri ora			sneeze of life, call to claim the right to speak
tikanga	correct, right		
tikanga Māori			Māori protocols
Tikiāhua	the first being according to Tainui tradition (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, 2019)		
tino rangatiratanga		independence	unqualified exercise of their chieftainship over their lands, villages, property and treasures
tipua			supernatural
tipuna/ tupuna	ancestor/grandparent		
tīpuna/ tūpuna	ancestors/grandparents		
titiro	look		
toa		victories	
tohi	perform certain ceremonies		
tohu	sign		
tohunga	skilled person, priest		
Totara	*Podocarpus totara*, a forest tree		
tuakana		eldest sibling	

tuarua			second
tuatahi			first
tuatoru			third
Tūmatauenga/ Tūkāriri			atua of war and humans
tumu whakaara	(see p.55)		
tūpuna/ tīpuna	ancestors (plural)		
tūrangawaewae			the place where one has a right to stand
Tuwharetoa	Tribal area in the central North Island surrounding Lake Taupō (Wikaira, 2005)		
ure tane or ure tarewa	tracing through the agnatic line		
uri	offspring or descendant		
urupā	burying place		cemetery
utu		restitution	
wā	time, season		
wāhanga	chapter		chapter
wāhine	women		
wahine pukupā	barren woman		
wahine rangatira	noble woman		
wai	water, who		
wai māori			freshwater
waiata	song		
waihotia			leave alone
wairua	spirit		soul
wairuatanga	spirituality		
waka	canoe		
waka ama			outrigger canoe
waka pākaru			broken canoe
wānanga	lore of the tohunga		
wero	challenge		
whāea	mothers		
whaikōrero		oration	
whakaira tangata			to conceive, become pregnant
whakakī ano			refill
whakamahana		heat	
whakamoe			to give in marriage
whakamua			forward, ahead
whakapapa	lie flat...place in layers, lay one upon another, recite in proper order genealogies		
whakapapa huna	concealed, hidden whakapapa (see Wāhanga 1)		
whakapapa kōrero	important narratives which define tangata whenua identity (Smith, 2000)		
whakapapa whānau	relatives with shared whakapapa (Cunningham et al., 2005)		
whakaparu wahine	tracing through female line (Ngata, 2023)		
whakapiri			

			closely associated
whakarongo	listen		
whakatakoto	lay down	lay down	
whakatakoto tupuna			to set down, place ancestors
whakatauāki	utter a proverb, saying, proverb		
whakataukī	exclaim say with emphasis, utter a proverb, saying, proverb		
whakatika		redress	
whakatipuranga		generation/ bringing	
whakatōmuri		hold back	
whakatupuranga		grow/prosperity	
whakawhānau		childbirth	
whakawhanaungatanga	relationship building		
whakawhitiwhiti kōrero	exchange		
whākina		reveal	
whānau	family		
whānau Māori	Māori families		
whanaunga	blood relatives		
whanaungatanga	relationship, kinship		
whāngai	feed, foster child, nourish bring up		
whare kōhanga			building erected for childbirth
whare wānanga	house where the lore of tohunga were taught		Also a tertiary institution
wharengaro	a line or family that has become extinct		no offspring
wharenui		meeting house	
whāriki	floor mat		
whatumanawa		heart	
wheiao			daylight/world of light
whenua	land, country, placenta		

Appendix 2: Literature Search Table

The following table outlines the types of themes that informed the literature review. For a list of the articles used refer to the reference list.

Search tool	Search terms *"With the exact phrase"*	Search links	No results (Excludes citations)
Google Scholar	"Aboriginal transracial adoption"	1955-2023	1520
	"Ahi ka"	1955-2023	438
	"Assimilation and Māori"	1955-2023	17000
	"Assisted human reproduction and Māori"	1955-2023	17,100
	"Birth father"	1955-2023	10,200
	"Māori birth father"	1955-2023	8
	"Birth mother"	1955-2023	23,400
	"Māori birth mother"	1955-2023	17,500
	"Pākehā birth mother"	1955-2023	8960
	"Child welfare and tamariki Māori"	1955-2023	2,150
	"Closed-stranger adoption"	1955-2023	137
	"Colonisation of Māori"	1955-2023	17000
	"DNA testing and Māori identity"	1955-2023	6610
	"Foster care and tamariki"	1955-2023	2520
	Whakapapa "genealogy and Māori"	1955-2023	8300
	Residential school "indigenous children"	1955-2023	16,800
	"Indigenous research methodologies"	1955-2023	6320
	"Kaupapa Māori theory"	1980-2023	2440
	"Māori adoptee"	1955-2023	23
	"Māori adoption"	1955-2023	153
	"Māori identity"	1955-2023	5960
	returning, reconnecting "marae"	1955-2023	18700
	"Mokopuna"	1955-2023	5,280
	Legislation "New Zealand Adoption"	1955-2023	281
	Māori "Oranga Tamariki"	1955-2023	979
	"Pūrākau" research or methodology	1955-2023	1060
	"Rangahau"	1955-2023	5600
	"Residential schools"	1955-2023	17800
	"Tamariki whāngai"	1955-2023	642
	"Tamariki and state care"	1955-2023	3650
	"Tikanga Māori"	1955-2023	15200
	"tūrangawaewae"	1955-2023	1540
	"Social media and Māori"	1955-2023	17900
	"Stolen generation"	1955-2023	41000
	"Surrogacy and Māori"	1955-2023	7780
	"Tino rangatiratanga"	1955-2023	6780
	"Urbanization and Māori"	1955-2023	9560
	"wairuatanga"	1955-2023	1520
	"Whakapapa connection"	1955-2023	11300
	"Whakapapa trauma"	1955-2023	3080
	"Whakapapa loss"	1955-2023	6840
	"Whakapapa whānau"	1955-2023	8270
	"Whakapapa and hauora"	1955-2023	2090
	"whakatauāki"	1955-2023	271
	"whakataukī"	1955-2023	1960
	"whenua" and whakapapa	1955-2023	5550

Broad Search Themes: Proquest, Google Scholar, Google, personal collection, books, websites, news sites…Some of the common themes appear in the downloaded Zotero database. Not all literature was used.	In Zotero
Australian Aboriginal Peoples	30
- Stolen generation and Australia	
- Stolen generation apology	
- Motion of Reconciliation	
- Bringing Them Home Report	
- Reconnecting stolen generation	
- Child Placement Principle	
- Uluru Statement	
Adoption New Zealand	69
- Adoption reform	
- Closed stranger adoption	
- Māori adoptees	
- Adoption Act 1955	
- Birthmothers New Zealand	
- Birthfathers New Zealand	
- Adoption & succession rights	
Assisted Reproductive Technology	14
- surrogacy	
- ECART Act	
Australian Māori	17
- Māori in Australia demographics	
- Marae in Australia	
- 501 Deportees	
Canadian Indigenous Peoples	30
- Indian Act	
- Indian Residential Schools	
- Sixties Scoop	
- Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples	
- Manitoba Métis and child welfare	
- Inuit and child welfare	
- First Nations and child welfare	
- Truth and Reconciliation Canada	
- Bill C-92	
- Stolen Generations and Canada	
- Removal of Indigenous Children from families & Canada	
- Genetic Detectives	
- Manitoba Métis Foundation	
Children in Care & New Zealand	88
- Tamariki Māori in State Care	
- Oranga Tamariki	
- Vulnerable Children	
- Hands off our Tamariki	
- Whānau Ora	
- Mokopuna Māori	
- Section 7AA	
- Children's Commission	
- Aroturuki Tamariki	
Colonisation Māori/Indigenous Peoples	28
- Māori self-determination	
- Biological warfare in America and Indigenous Peoples	
- Colonisation and Māori	
- Christianity and Colonisation	
- Kiingitanga	
- Colonisation and Education in New Zealand	
DNA testing in New Zealand	8

- Māori perspectives of DNA testing		
- Direct to consumer testing and ancestry		
New Zealand History	70	
- Te Puea Herangi		
- Whina Cooper		
- Māori land loss		
- Te Tiriti o Waitangi		
- Māori Land Court		
- Tohunga Suppression Act		
- Traditional Māori childrearing practices		
- Māori cosmology		
- Hunn Report		
- Assimilation and Māori		
- Women's movement in Aotearoa		
- Tūrangawaewae marae history		
- Early child welfare laws in NZ		
- Te Apirana Ngata		
- Māori battalion		
Māori identity	60	
- Ancestry and DNA		
- Māori social identity		
- Ethnic identity and Māori		
- Urban Māori		
- Being Māori and Pākehā		
- Whakamā and Māori identity		
- Māori demographics		
Māori and the justice system	19	
- Marae based justice		
- Rangatahi and the justice system		
- From state care to custody		
- Reintegration programmes		
Iwi	20	
- Iwi tribal registers		
- Iwi strategies		
- Iwi & Crown partnerships		
- Iwi and Mokopuna Ora		
Kaupapa Māori	92	
- Kaupapa Māori theory		
- Rangahau		
- De-colonisation		
- Mātauranga		
- Tikanga Māori & common law		
- Whāngai		
- Pūrākau		
- Whakataukī		
- Whakatauāki		
- Whānau		
- Moko		
- Whakapapa		
- Whenua		
- Wānanga		
- Wairuatanga		
- Whenua		
- Marae, Urban marae, online marae		
- Ahi kā		
- Mana		
Reconnecting to whanau/family/whakapapa	20	
Whakapapa	25	

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Appendix 3: Background of Reports and Inquiries

This appendix provides a brief background of the key reports that informed the literature review of this rangahau. The documents are listed in chronological order from when they were published.

Published 1988*: Puao-te-ata-tu (day break): The Report of the Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Māori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare*

The terms of reference for the Māori Perspective Advisory Committee was to advise the Minister of Social Welfare on how to meet the needs of Māori in policy, planning and service delivery in the Department of Social Welfare (DSW). The Committee examined the organisation, structure and functions of the DSW by assessing its capability, identifying areas that needed addressing (e.g. staffing) and proposing a strategy and recommendations for change (The Māori Perspective Advisory Committee, 1988). Despite the inaction of DSW (and its successors e.g. Oranga Tamariki) to act on the recommendations that Puao-te-ata-tu proposed, this document is often cited for its significance and ideas on how to strengthen Māori social work practices in Aotearoa. Puao-te-ata-tu validated Te Tiriti o Waitangi and tikanga Māori, while calling out the institutional racism and inequities within the DSW (Hollis-English, 2012; Oranga Tamariki - Ministry for Children, 2023c).

Published November 1996: *Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples Report*

The Canadian Government explains that the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples was established in 1991 to help "restore justice to the relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in Canada, and to propose practical solutions to stubborn problems." Four Aboriginal and three non-Aboriginal commissioners were appointed, which resulted in the *Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*

(RCAP) report (Government of Canada, 2010). This five-volume, 4,000-page report lists 440 recommendations aimed at significantly changing the relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people and governments in Canada. The report describes a "20-year agenda for change, recommending new legislation and institutions, additional resources, a redistribution of land and the rebuilding of Aboriginal nations, governments and communities" (Hurley & Wherrett, 1999). A recommendation of relevance to this rangahau was recognition of Aboriginal nations' authority over child welfare (Hurley & Wherrett, 1999).

Published 1997: *Bringing them Home: Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from their Families April 1997.*

At the request of the Australian Government the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission carried out this Inquiry, which involved consulting with 1000 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. The Inquiry's report traces the 'laws, practices and policies which resulted in the separation of Indigenous children from their families by compulsion, duress or undue influence' and also the ongoing effects for children removed, their families left behind and their communities. The report made 54 recommendations to the government for remedy, but many of them still need to be actioned (Australian Human Rights Commission, 1997; Healing Foundation, 2017).

Published October 2012: *The White Paper for Vulnerable Children (Volume 1)*
In this volume the Minister of Social Development Paula Bennett states the purpose of the White Paper was to "shine a light on abuse, neglect, and harm by identifying our most vulnerable children and targeting services to them to ensure they get the

protection and support they need" (Bennett, 2012a, p. 4). The paper based its research on "the public's response to the Green Paper for Vulnerable Children, domestic and international research, and other evidence, including investigations into the killing of infant twins Chris and Cru Kahui, and the subsequent coroner's report" (Bennett, 2012a, p. 4). Amongst the recommendations the document outlines how the government intends to tackle the problem of child abuse, such as launching a public awareness campaign to spot signs of abuse and statistical tools to help professionals identify 'at risk' children early. The document also outlines 'tough new measures' to target people who hurt children (Bennett, 2012a).

Published October 2012: *The White Paper for Vulnerable Children (Volume 2)*

This second volume of the White Paper outlines the Government's set of reforms and rationale to address the issue of vulnerable children. Amongst these reforms was the introduction of the Vulnerable Children's Bill and changes to the Children, Young Persons, and their Families Act 1989 (Bennett, 2012b).

Published April 2020: *Ko Te Wā Whakawhiti: The Māori-Led inquiry*

The Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency advocated for this Māori-led Inquiry to examine how Oranga Tamariki fulfils its statutory obligations to Māori. The Inquiry focused on gaining understanding and giving voice to whānau with lived realities of Oranga Tamariki policies and practices. The Inquiry consulted with 1100 people[255] across Aotearoa New Zealand. The report provided a historical review of Crown policies and practices, whānau and tamariki Māori experiences with Oranga Tamariki and proposed solutions moving forward. The report suggested three action

points; supporting whānau – strengthening whānau capability and capacity; a structural analysis and review of Oranga Tamariki systems, policies, processes and practices and to build on the call from whānau for "By Māori, for Māori, with Māori" solutions for long-term sustainability. These actions were based on the key principles for action which were "whānau centred; systems focused; kaupapa Māori aligned and mātauranga Māori informed" (Kaiwai et al., 2020). Since its release Iwi Chairs have voted unanimously to support all 'action point' recommendations of this inquiry, to overhaul the child welfare system and strengthen whānau capability and capacity (Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency, 2023).

Published June/Nov 2020:

Te Kuku O Te Manawa – Ka puta te riri ka momori te ngākau, ka heke ngā roimata mo tōku pēpi (June 2020) and

Te Kuku O Te Manawa – Moe ararā! Haumanutia ngā moemoeā a ngā tūpuna mō te orange o ngā tamariki (November 2020)

The Office of the Children's Commissioner 2020 report is a two-part review of Oranga Tamariki, in response to the events at Hastings Hospital in May 2019 with the attempted uplift of a new-born baby (pēpi) from its mother. The review focused on the question – "What needs to change to enable pēpi Māori aged 0–3 months to remain in the care of their whānau in situations where Oranga Tamariki is notified of care and protection concerns?" Informing the first report were the views of mothers and whānau of 13 pēpi (aged 0-3 months) who had been removed or at risk of being removed from whānau by Oranga Tamariki. Other evidence included "a consideration of the Treaty of Waitangi, a statistical analysis of care and protection

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[255] The only criteria being that people were over the age of 16 (Kaiwai et al., 2020). Refer to report for

data, a summary of legislation and policy settings, key human rights frameworks, and literature" (Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2020b). In the second report the Children's Commissioner also admitted the work to overhaul the system is broader than just pēpi Māori and needed to cater for all tamariki Māori and their whānau. New evidence was gathered from parents, whānau, midwives, community support people and Oranga Tamariki staff. An environmental scan of relevant rangahau and mātauranga Māori to provide a te ao Māori perspective was also conducted (Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2020a).

Published: August 2020: *He Take Kōhukihuki/A Matter of Urgency*

This document was collated from a 2020 Ombudsman inquiry, which investigated the decision making around applying to the Family Court for a *without notice* interim custody order, including the evidence used by Oranga Tamariki to seek this order and the practices around the removal of a baby when an order is granted – including looking at how Oranga Tamariki works with other parties involved, such as district health boards, iwi and Police.

Published April 2021: *He Pāharakeke, he Rito Whakakīkinga Whāruarua –*
Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry – (WAI 2915)

This Waitangi Tribunal report emerged from an urgent inquiry, which examined the reasons for the significant and consistent disparities between tamariki Māori and non-Māori being taken into state care; the extent to which legislative policy and practices changes implemented since 2017 could change this disparity; and what the Crown still needs to do to secure outcomes consistent with Te Tiriti/the Treaty and its principles. The Tribunal received 51 claims from individuals, whānau,

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further details about this process.

hapū, iwi, and other entities including trusts, District Māori Councils, and rūnanga (Waitangi Tribunal, 2021).

Published September 2021: *Hipokingia ki te Kahu Aroha Hipokingia ki te Katoa* (Te Kahu Aroha)

The role of the Oranga Tamariki Ministerial Advisory Board was to provide independent advice to the Minister for Children on the performance of Oranga Tamariki across three key areas – relationships with whānau, and Māori; professional social work practices and organisational culture. Service providers, hapū, iwi, communities, heads of government agencies and statutory organisations and 750 Oranga Tamariki staff (including social workers) contributed to this report. The Government accepted the report's recommendations, which was reflected in its Future Direction Plan (Oranga Tamariki - Ministry for Children, 2021d).

Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Treaty of Waitangi)

This is an agreement between the tangata whenua and the Crown. Please refer to the following websites for a detailed description:

- https://www.waitangitribunal.govt.nz/treaty-of-waitangi/meaning-of-the-treaty/
- https://www.archives.govt.nz/discover-our-stories/the-treaty-of-waitangi
- https://teara.govt.nz/en/te-tiriti-o-waitangi-the-treaty-of-waitangi/print

United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP)

This "universal framework of minimum standards for the survival, dignity and well-being of the Indigenous Peoples of the world" was adopted by General Assembly on 13 September 2007. New Zealand initially voted against it, but now support it

(*United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, 2007). Please refer to the following document:

- https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/wp-content/uploads/sites/19/2018/11/UNDRIP_E_web.pdf

Appendix 4: Useful Links for Searching for Whakapapa

- 23andMe https://www.23andme.com/

- A Memory Tree https://www.amemorytree.co.nz/aboutus.php

- Ancestry.com https://www.ancestry.com.au/

- AncestryDNA https://support.ancestry.com/s/ancestrydna?language=en_US

- Archives NZ https://www.archives.govt.nz/

- Birth, Death and Marriage Records https://www.govt.nz/browse/history-culture-and-heritage/search-historical-records/search-historical-birth-death-and-marriage-records/

- Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints New Zealand

  https://pacific.churchofjesuschrist.org/nz

- Commonwealth War Graves Commission www.cwgc.org

- Dictionary of New Zealand Biography https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies

- DNA Search Angels – Aotearoa NZ https://www.facebook.com/DNASearchAngels/

- E Tū Whānau https://etuwhanau.org.nz/our-values/whakapapa/

- FamilyTree DNA https://www.familytreedna.com/

- Family Tree Maker https://www.mackiev.com/ftm/

- FamilySearch https://www.familysearch.org/newzealand/

- Find a Grave https://www.findagrave.com/

- GEDmatch https://www.gedmatch.com/

- He Toa Taumata Rau - Online Cenotaph https://www.aucklandmuseum.com/war-memorial/online-cenotaph

- Index of Māori Names https://www.waikato.ac.nz/library/resources/library-publications/index-of-Māori-names

- Iwidex - He Tikanga-ā-Iwi

  https://kura.aucklandlibraries.govt.nz/digital/collection/IwiIwiIwidex

- Iwi-hapū Names https://natlib.govt.nz/records/22194534

- Kura Heritage Collections Online https://kura.aucklandlibraries.govt.nz/digital/

- LivingDNA https://livingdna.com/nz/

- Māori Interest Group & NZ Society of Genealogists https://www.nzsgmig.com

- Māori Land Court Records https://www.Māorilandcourt.govt.nz/

- Māori Maps https://Māorimaps.com/

- MyHeritage https://www.myheritage.com/

- National Army Museum https://www.armymuseum.co.nz/explore/research/family-history/

- National Library https://natlib.govt.nz/

- Native Land Court and latterly Māori Land Court Minute Books https://collections.library.auckland.ac.nz/mlcmbi/

- New Zealand Defence Force Personnel Archives https://www.nzdf.mil.nz/nzdf/

- New Zealand Electronic Text Collection www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/subject-000003.html

- New Zealand Genealogy Wiki https://www.familysearch.org/en/wiki/New_Zealand_Genealogy

- New Zealand Wargraves Project www.nzwargrave.org.nz

- Niupepa Māori Newspapers https://www.nzdl.org/cgi-bin/library?a=p&p=about&c=niupepa&l=mi&nw=utf-8

- Ngā Tangata Atawhai Whakapapa https://www.facebook.com/whakapaparestoration

- Ngā Tāonga Sound and Vision https://ngataonga.org.nz/

- Papers Past https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/

- Pātaka Whenua (replaced Māori Land Online) https://māorilandcourt.govt.nz/en/contact-us/pātaka-whenua-our-online-portal/

- Reconnecting NZ htttps://www.facebook.com/ReconnectingNZ

- Sir Donald McLean papers https://natlib.govt.nz/collections/a-z/sir-donald-mclean-papers

- Takoa Māori Directory https://www.takoa.co.nz/

- Te Ao Hou https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/periodicals/te-ao-hou

- Te Kāhui Māngai (Directory of Iwi and Māori Organisations)

  https://www.tkm.govt.nz/

- Te Mataaho-a-Iwi https://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/topics/dashboards-and-

  infographics/dashboards/iwi-education

- Te Puni Kōkiri (Find Iwi by Local Authority) https://www.tkm.govt.nz/browse/

- Te Rōpū Wāhine Toko I te Ora (Māori Women's Welfare League)

  https://www.mwwl.org.nz/

- Te Wānanga o Aotearoa https://www.twoa.ac.nz/

- Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi https://www.wananga.ac.nz/

- Te Whata (Statistics on iwi) https://tewhata.io/

- Te Wānanga o Raukawa https://www.wananga.com/

- The long, long trail www.1914-1918.net

- The National Archives https://www.archives.govt.nz/

- Tribal Pages https://www.tribalpages.com/index.html

- Tūhono (Lists Iwi and Māori organisations) https://www.tuhono.net/iwi-info

- Tupu.nz (Basic information about iwi, hapū and marae)

  https://www.tupu.nz/en/tuhono/find-information-about-iwi-hapu-and-marae

- Waitangi Tribunal Reports https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/WT/reports.html

- Whakapapa Māori Charitable Trust http://whakapapa.org.nz/

- Whakapapa Club https://www.facebook.com/WhakapapaClub/about

- Whakapapa Māori Charitable Trust (Whakapapa Genealogy Project)

  http://whakapapa.org.nz/

- World War 100 www.ww100.govt.nz

- Youriwi.com https://iwi.youriwi.com/

Appendix 5: Overseas Foundations and Networks

Australia

- Healing Foundation: https://healingfoundation.org.au/about-us/

- *Link-Up* family tracing and reunion services:

  https://aiatsis.gov.au/family-history/you-start/linkv

Canada

- *Resolution Health Support Program:* https://www.sac-
  isc.gc.ca/eng/1581971225188/1581971250953

- *Genetic Detectives* (in partnership with the Sixties Scoop Network):
  https://geneticdetective.ca/services/

- *Manitoba Métis Federation Sixties Scoop Wellness Centre:*
  https://www.mmfsixtiesscoop.ca/wellness-centre

- KAIROS: https://www.kairoscanada.org/what-we-do/indigenous-rights. See also the
  Kairos Blanket Exercise a teaching tool to teach about the history of colonisation -
  https://www.kairosblanketexercise.org

- The Legacy of Hope Foundation: https://legacyofhope.ca/news/

- Sixties Scoop Foundation: https://www.sixtiesscoophealingfoundation.ca/

- Sixties Scoop Network: https://sixtiesscoopnetwork.org/about

- In our own words: Sharing the stories of 60s scoop survivors:
  https://sixtiesscoop.geoforms.ca/map

- Indigenous Mapping Collective: https://www.indigenousmaps.com/ourstory/

Appendix 6: Ethics Approval Letter

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O
AWANUIĀRANGI

24/08/2021

Tēnā koe Emma,

Tēnā koe i roto i ngā tini āhuatanga o te wā.

Ethics Research Committee Application EC2021.22 Outcome: Approved

We are pleased to inform you that your ethics application has been approved. The committee commends you on your hard work to this point and wishes you well with your research.

Please ensure that you keep a copy of this letter on file and include the Ethics committee document reference number: **EC2021.22** on any correspondence relating to your research. This includes documents for your participants or other parties. Please also enclose this letter of approval in the back of your completed thesis as an appendix.

If you have any queries regarding the outcome of your ethics application, please contact us on our freephone number 0508926264 or via e-mail ethics@wananga.ac.nz.

If you have any queries in the interim, please let me know.

Nāku noa, nā

Shonelle Wana, BMM, MIS
Ethics Research Committee Administrator
Phone: 0508 92 62 64

Appendix 7: Pānui and Participant Information Form

Email pānui sent to networks for distribution:

Are you an adoptee who is searching for or has recently found their Māori whakapapa? Do you have expertise in helping Māori reconnect with their whakapapa whānau?

Kia ora - my doctoral study explores how to reconnect Māori Adoptees* back to whakapapa whānau. I am seeking:

1. Māori adoptees who have little knowledge of their Māori whakapapa and want to reconnect with Māori whakapapa (e.g. birth parents).
2. Māori adoptees who have recently discovered their whakapapa and have reconnected with Māori whakapapa (e.g. birth parents).
3. Were born in or before 1986
4. and people who have expertise in the area of searching for genealogy/whakapapa

I am defining a Māori Adoptee as someone who was legally adopted under the 1955 Adoption Act and who self-identifies as Māori.

If you are interested in learning more or taking part please contact me on the attached email.

Originally the term "kairangahau" for participants was used, but this was changed to the terms Pūkōrero (Māori adoptees) and Kaitautoko (people who support others to connect to whakapapa). In this study I refer to myself as a Kairangahau.

Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi
YOUR TERTIARY PROVIDER WITH A DIFFERENCE

AWANUIĀRANGI

INFORMATION SHEET

"Bringing our mokopuna home:
Reconnecting Māori to whakapapa whānau"

Researcher's (Kairangahau) Information:

Name: Emma West   Mobile: [retracted]   Email: [retracted]

Address: [retracted]   Workplace: [retracted]

Supervisors:

Dr Rae Si'ilata [retracted]

Dr Alison Green [retracted]

Type and purpose of project:

Whakapapa understanding is an integral element of being Māori, but for some Māori disconnection from their Māori whakapapa (whānau, hapū, marae, iwi or waka) is a reality. This doctoral study aims to explore the perspectives of Māori as they navigate their journey of whakapapa discovery, which may include reconnecting with whānau, returning to marae or whenua.

The key question driving this study is:

How can we bring our mokopuna home to whakapapa whānau?

Within this overarching question are two areas of inquiry:

a) How do Māori with a hidden whakapapa* navigate their Māori identity?

b) What strategies are effective for reconnecting Māori to whakapapa whānau?

(*A hidden whakapapa is a whakapapa that is not known)

The purpose of this project is to provide guidelines and an ethical framework for Māori searching for Māori whakapapa whānau or for those supporting others who are searching. This study is interested in the experiences, emotional and social barriers that make searching for whakapapa whānau difficult. This study will also examine the diversity of the Māori identity from the perspective of Māori who are learning about their whakapapa.

Participant Recruitment

- *Recruitment method:* Participants (kairangahau) will be selected through personal and work networks, word of mouth, social media, an advert for whakapapa workshops and e-newsletters.

- *Method of obtaining participant names:* An e-pānui with a contactable email will be sent out

seeking expressions of interest. Personal networks will also be asked directly. Whānau Group Three will be selected through the online directory and networks.

- *Selection criteria:* This study is seeking kairangahau for the following cohorts:

Whānau Group 1:
- Four urban Māori with little knowledge of their Māori whakapapa and seeking whakapapa reconnection.
- Females and males with preference for those aged 35-65 years.
- Preference will also be given to people who have a desire to connect with first generation Māori whakapapa (e.g. birth parents).
- Preference will be given to people living within a two-hour radius of Hamilton city.

Whānau Group 2:
- Four urban Māori who have recently discovered their whakapapa.
- Females and males with preference for those aged 35-65 years.
- Preference will also be given to people who have connected with first generation Māori whakapapa (e.g. birth parents).
- Preference will be given to people living within a two-hour radius of Hamilton city.

Whānau Group 3:
- Three people who support others in the search for whakapapa. (For example, genealogists, iwi/hapū members, community or government agencies, churches).
- One Māori expert with an understanding of maramataka
- A mix of Māori and non-Māori
- Over the age of 35+
- Preference will be given to people living within a two-hour radius of Hamilton city.
- For Whānau Group 1 and 2 this study is particular interested in the Māori generation affected by state policies during the era 1955-1985. Their access to Māori whakapapa knowledge may be (or may have been) limited and searching for information is (was) challenging. Therefore, excluded from this cohort selection are people who:
    - are non-Māori
    - are under the age of 35
    - are seeking second or third generation Māori whakapapa whānau or Pākehā whakapapa
    - have (or had) an easy experience of reconnecting to whakapapa whānau.
- Four participants for each whānau group will be selected. The reason for this small selection is to provide opportunity for sourcing rich in-depth qualitative data.
- A koha of $50 will be offered to participate. Reimbursement to cover petrol expenses to attend hui or wānanga (if required) can be made to the researcher (Emma West). Due to the added time-commitment additional koha (kai and $100 of vouchers) will be provided to whānau group 1 who also choose to complete a journal.

Page **2** of

- If at any point during this study kairangahau (participants) are uncomfortable or feel that their emotional welfare is at risk please contact the researcher or supervisor listed at the top of this consent form. Counselling services and a cultural advisor are listed at the end of this form.

Project Procedures

- All hui will be audio-recorded. The wānanga will also be video recorded. While confidentiality will be guaranteed, due to the wānanga process anonymity might not be guaranteed. Kaupapa Māori principles and tikanga will guide all practices. The video and audio recordings will not be used for publication.

- All audio recordings will be transcribed and emailed to participants for checking and amendments. A summary of key discussion points will be shared with all kairangahau who attended the wānanga. Prior to the final wānanga a summary of the project findings will be provided via email. At the final wānanga kairangahau will have further opportunity to reflect on these findings as a group. An electronic copy (and hardcopy if requested) of the final thesis will be provided to all kairangahau.

- All data that is collected will be stored electronically on an external hard-drive (usb) and also held with the researcher in a lockable cabinet in her private residence for a period of 5 years. Printed documents with identifiable information will be shredded at the conclusion of the completed thesis. Prior to this printed documents will be kept in the lockable cabinet.

Kairangahau involvement *(Select the group that applies).*

Whānau Group 1 be asked to commit to:

- Face-to-face 1-2 hour hui (x3) (Please note due to Covid – these may be zui instead)
- Wānanga of 2-3 hours (x2)
- Zui (Zoom video conference) as per needed

Whānau Group 2 be asked to commit to:

- Face-to-face 1-2 hour hui (x3) (Please note due to Covid – these may be zui instead)
- Wānanga of 2-3 hours (x2)
- Zui (Zoom video conference) as per needed

Whānau Group 3 be asked to commit to:

- Face-to-face 1-2 hour hui (x2) (Please note due to Covid – these may be zui instead)
- Wānanga of 2-3 hours (x2)
- Zui (Zoom video conference) as per needed

Participants Rights

You have the right to:

- Decline to participate;
- Decline to answer any particular question;
- Withdraw from the study up to the time of final data collection;
- Ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;

- Provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher;
- To be given access to a summary of the project finding when it is concluded.
- I also understand that I have the right to ask for the audio/video tape to be turned off at any time during the interview.

Support processes

If during the course of this study you require cultural or emotional support the following agencies are available:

- Cultural support: (Note this will be discussed with my supervisor to determine suitable person)
- For a list of mental health counselling services go to: https://mentalhealth.org.nz/help/accessing-mental-health-services

Project Contacts

- We invite you to contact the researcher and/or supervisor if they have any questions about this project at any stage.

Ethics Committee Approval Statement

- This project has been reviewed and approved by Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi Ethics Committee, ECA # eg. 09/001. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact the Ethics Committee administrator as named below.

Contact Details for **Ethics Committee Secretary**:
Kahukura.epiha@wananga.ac.nz
Postal address:
Private Bag 1006
Whakatāne

Courier address:
Cnr of Domain Rd and Francis St
Whakatāne

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Appendix 8: Participant Consent Form

Name and Address of School

School of Indigenous Graduate Studies

Rongo-o-Awa

Domain Rd

Whakatāne

"Bringing our mokopuna home:

Reconnecting Māori to whakapapa whānau"

CONSENT FORM

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF FIVE (5) YEARS

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of study explained to me.

My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I agree/do not agree to the interview being audio taped.

I agree/do not agree to the interview being video-taped.

I agree to participate in this study under conditions set out in the Information Sheet, but may withdraw my consent at any given time.

Signature: _____   **Date:** _____

Full name – printed: _____

Appendix 9: Participant Interview Schedule

Whānau Group 3 – People who support others searching for whakapapa whānau

- Tell us about how you (or your organisation) supports whānau who require whakapapa knowledge

- [Question to hapū/iwi] What does your hapū/iwi do to connect with absent or unknown whānau members?

- From your observations working with whānau who are seeking whakapapa knowledge, what do you see as the main challenges?

- What do you (or your organisation) do to help Māori overcome these challenges?

- What else could be done to support Māori seeking whakapapa whānau?

Questions to all groups:

- The title of this ranghau is: ***How can we bring our mokopuna home to whakapapa whānau?***
  - What does this question mean to you?
  - What do you see as the key issues relevant to this kaupapa?
  - What outcomes would you like to see from a study such as this?
- DNA testing and analysis and the internet (eg. Social media) are being used to support people searching for whakapapa whānau. What is your opinion on these methods?

Whānau Group 1 – People searching for whakapapa whānau

- Tell me a bit about yourself

- Tell me about your whakapapa journey so far?
  - What motivated you to learn more?
  - What have been the challenges?
  - What have been the successes?

- What would reconnection to your whakapapa whānau (whānau, hapū, iwi, marae, waka) mean to you and your whānau?

- How important is whakapapa knowledge to your Māori identity?

- Tell me about experiences of giving a pepeha?

- What does tūrangawaewae mean to you currently?

- What might tūrangawaewae mean to you once your know your whakapapa whānau?
- How is wairuatanga guiding you in your whakapapa journey? Describe some experiences to date. (These might be dreams, intuitive moments, visions, chance meetings, a connection to a place etc)
- What support have you found useful during this whakapapa journey?
- What type of support would you like to help you discover whakapapa whānau?

Whānau Group 2 - People who have found whakapapa whānau

- Tell me a bit about yourself
- Tell me about your whakapapa journey?
    - What motivated you to learn more?
    - What were the challenges?
    - What were the successes?
- How has reconnection to your whakapapa whānau (whānau, hapū, iwi, marae, waka) changed you and your whānau?
- What additional obligations do you now have now you know your whakapapa whānau?
- Has knowing your whakapapa Māori changed your perception of your Māori identity? If so, how?
- What does tūrangawaewae now mean to you?
- How did wairuatanga guide you in your whakapapa journey? Describe some experiences to date. (These might be dreams, intuitive moments, visions, chance meetings, a connection to a place etc)
- What advice would you give to Māori searching for their whakapapa whānau?
- Who/what supported you in your whakapapa journey and how?

Appendix 10: Confidentiality Agreement

"Bringing our mokopuna home:
Reconnecting Māori to
whakapapa whānau"

CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF FIVE (5) YEARS

I_____ (Full Name – printed) agree to
keep confidential all information concerning the project

Signature:_____   Date: _____

Full name – printed: _____

Appendix 11: Adoption Statistics

Table 1

New Zealand Adoptions between the years 1955 – 1985 from Official Yearbooks

(Statistics New Zealand, n.d.)

Year	Māori Male	Māori Female	Total	Ex-Nuptial	Adoption Status unknown	Stranger adoption	Māori Welfare	Child Welfare	Yearbook
1955	92	78	1,625				170	1,455	1957
1956	79	84	1050				163	887	1958
1957	99	100	1,890				199	1,691	1959
1958	115	131	1,917				246	1,671	1960
1959	178	155	2,302				333	1969	1961
1960	181	181	2,242				362	1880	1962
1961	217	190	2,579				407	2172	1963
1962			2,645				No data	No data	1964
1963			2,843				No data	No data	1965
1964			2,885				No data	No data	1966
1965			3,088				No data	No data	1967
1966			3,462				No data	No data	1968
1967			3,513				No data	No data	1969
1968			3,780				No data	No data	1970
1969			3,888	2977	50	2499	388	3500	1971
1970			3,837	2831	36	2286	475	3362	1972
1971			3,976	2674	51	2176	745	3231	1973
1972			3,642	2713	69	2136	362	3280	1974
1973			3,524	2551	86	2000	436	3088	1975
1974			3,366	2391	79	1821	390	2976	1976
1975			3 322	2106	74	1581	571	2751	1977
1976			2 942	1902	59	1347	388	2554	1978
1977			2 523	1536	43	1052	407	2116	1979
1978			2 380	1526	81	1067	250	2130	1980
1979	No data	No data	2 050	1375	205	845	96	1954	1981
1980	No data	No data	2 125	1323	317	715	168	1957	1982
1981	No data	No data	1,885	1,014	297	556	238	1647	1983
1982	No data	No data	2368	909	328	478	No data	1582	1984
1983	No data	No data	No data	946	242	462	No data	1544	1985
1984	No data	No data	No data	869	251	No data	No data	1460	1986-87
1985	No data	No data	No data	732	212	No data	No data	1258	1987-88
Total			**81,911**		**2,480**	**21,021**	**6,794**	**52,115**	

Note: While the statistics in Table 1 show the large number of adoptions that occurred in Aotearoa between 1955-1985, it is difficult to determine how many of these were tamariki Māori, due to the way ethnicity was counted (or not counted). For example, tamariki of Māori descent may have been counted as non-Māori. For example the *New Zealand Yearbook for 1961* states:

For the purposes of the Māori Births and Deaths Registration Regulations 1935 a Māori is defined as "a person belonging to the aboriginal race of New Zealand and includes a half-caste and a person intermediate in blood between half-castes and persons of pure descent from that race". Only registrations relating to persons possessing half or more Māori blood are made in the register of Māori births or Māori deaths. All registrations in respect of persons possessing less than half Māori blood must be made in the European register. (Statistics New Zealand, n.d., s4E Māori Vital Statistics)[256]

In cases where a Māori Welfare Officer was involved in an Adoption order it can be assumed a tamariki Māori child was involved. However, as the statistics in Table 1 shows this data is also missing for some years.

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[256] Note macrons removed as per original source.

Appendix 12: Timeline of Key Events and Political Parties in Power

For more information about the political parties who have held power refer to:
Labour: https://www.labour.org.nz/   National: https://www.national.org.nz/

Date	Government in power	Key Events/Publications Released
1935 - 1949	Labour	
1949 - 1957	National	• Adoption Act 1955
1957 - 1960	Labour	
1960 - 1972	National	• Adoption Amendment Act 1962 • Department of Child Welfare Act 1971 • Hunn Report released 1961
1972 - 1975	Labour	• Department of Social Welfare 1972 • Children and Young Person's Act 1974
1975 - 1984	National	
1984 - 1990	Labour	• Maatua Whāngai programme launched 1983 (closes 1992) • Adult Adoption Information Act 1985 • Puao-te-ata-tu report 1988 • Children Young Persons and their Families Act 1989 (CYPF) • Office of the Children's Commissioner established 1989 • Family Group Conferences mandated 1989
1990 - 1999	National	• NZ ratifies UNCROC 1993
1999 – 2008	Labour	• Multiple Child Youth and Family restructures (1998 – 2008)
2008 - 2017	National	• Whānau Ora launched (2010) • White Papers on Vulnerable Children released 2012 • Vulnerable Children's Act 2014 • Amendments (e.g. Sections 18A-18D, 78) to Children Young Persons and their Families Act 1989 (2016) • Oranga Tamariki Act 1989 (July 2017 replaces CYPF Act) • CYPFs rebranded as Oranga Tamariki (OT) (2017)
2017 - 2023	Labour (elected Oct)	• Hands off our Tamariki rally (2019) • Oranga Tamariki Act amendments (e.g. Sections 7AA) (2019) • Royal Commission of Inquiry into Abuse in Care launched (2019) • Ko te wā Whakawhiti – Māori led inquiry released (2020) • Children's Commissioner reports released (2020) • WAI2915 report released (2021) • OT release Action Plan (2021) • Oversight of Oranga Tamariki System Act 2022 • Children and Young Person's Commission Act 2022
2023 –	National (elected Oct)	