Hoki ki tōu maunga kia purea ai e koe ki ngā hau o Tāwhirimātea – a supervision model

Vicki Murray

Ko Pūtauaki te maunga, ko Ōhinemataroa te awa, ko Mātaatua te waka, ko Ngāti Pūkeko te iwi, ko Ngāti Tamapare te hapū, ko Rewatū te marae, ko Vicki Rangitautehanga Murray ahau.

Vicki Rangitautehanga Murray (Ngāti Pūkeko, Ngāti Awa, Te Whānau-a-Apanui, Tūhoe me Ngāpuhi) worked in the Mātaatua ki te Moananui-a-Toi as a tutor/supervisor at Te Pū Wānanga o Anamata in the social and health fields for eight years, was a student of Te Tohu o Te Reo Maori and is completing a Masters in Social Work through the University of Otago. 2013 provided Vicki an opportunity to return to Te Matau-a-Maui to work in the Whānau Ora Team at Te Kupenga Hauora — Ahuriri.

As a clinical supervisor, I have been receiving increasing requests for supervision that is both culturally appropriate and culturally specific. There is a growing recognition that supervision covers a broad range of topics from clinical and administrative issues to specific cultural requirements, particularly of tangata whenua workers. Traditionally, supervision of social and health practitioners has been held predominantly within an agency's interview spaces or supervisor's offices. This article will look at ancestral sites as alternative locations for cultural and professional supervision, specifically within the Ngāti Awa rohe.

In his research, O'Donoghue found social workers asserted the need for culturally appropriate supervision and for a change in the environment for supervision (O'Donoghue & Hair, 2009; O'Donoghue & Tsui, 2012). The implementation of Kaupapa Māori models of supervision and culturally relevant training for supervisors were also identified. Reflecting and weaving the past into the future in meeting cultural safety in supervision was signalled in writings by Bradley (Jacob & Bradley, 1993) and Eruera (2005). The foundation of this process is through the use of pepehā and whakataukī. Writers from te ao Māori (Marsden, 1979; Ngata, 1985; Walker, 1990; King, 1992; Moon, 2003; Mead, 2003; Baker, 2008) support this notion. Establishing links to whenua through whakapapa and historical events are essential elements to knowing for Māori (Ruwhiu, 1995; Webber-Dreadon, 1999; Pohatu, 2003). These concepts from te ao Māori must be woven into social work practice. As yet no direct reference to landscapes as sites for supervision has been sourced. In the promotion of the advancement of social work training and practice, Jones and D'Cruz (2004) put forth the wero (challenge) to find resources and processes to meet the needs of the social worker.

'Return to your mountain to be cleansed by the winds of Tāwhirimātea' is the English translation of the whakataukī (proverb) and a tangata whenua model for supervision which seeks to address some of the points mentioned above.

Whakataukī are more than just sayings. Whakataukī are short expressions which conceal deep underlying messages relating to us as people, our humanity and what we do in our lives. Explanations and depictions of te Ao Māori (the Māori world) perspectives, ways of being and engaging are best conveyed in 'te reo Māori' so simply put by this adage 'Iti te kupu, nui te kōrero' (a deep and meaningful message conveyed by few words). In whakataukī the inferences are wide-ranging as tribal interpretations, histories and context establish the precise meaning. The accounts offered in this paper emanate through spoken and written commentaries by the past and present learned within Mātaatua ki te Moana nui a Toi (the Bay of Plenty region).

The whakataukī 'Hoki ki tōu maunga' is well known and is an often quoted saying dating back to primal Māori origins. Within the creation story and the separation of Ranginui and Papatūānuku the whakataukī references one of their offspring, Tāne's ascension to the heavens in search of 'ngā kete o te mātauranga (e toru)' (the three baskets of knowledge). In an attempt to distract and deter Tāne from his quest, swarms of his brother Whiro's progeny assail Tāne. Upon hearing his younger brother's calls of distress, Tāwhirimātea sends his own children, the winds to clear away Tāne's foe. Tāne is then able to complete his extraordinary task of attaining ngā kete o te mātauranga, thus gifting conscious learning to humankind. Hence the saying Hoki 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 i.e. to be cleansed from those things that are troubling you, attacking you, affecting your hinengaro, wairua and mauri).

The whakataukī will be examined in three parts:

- Hoki ki tōu maunga ...
- ... kia purea ai e koe ...
- ...ki ngā hau o Tāwhirimātea.

Following this study, the whakataukī in its entirety and its relevance as a social work supervision model will be outlined.

Hoki ki tōu maunga ...

Return to your mountain refers to those places where you have whakapapa (genealogical) links to the land through histories and ancestors. Nestled beneath your mountain are flowing rivers, streams and creeks. From the base extend plains, wetlands, and native forests sheltering numerous marae, the hub of iwi and hapū for generations beyond memory. These landscapes are also known as ūkaipō, which is where you are nurtured by the land and the people.

The significance of mountains to Māori is such that they are the principal landmarks recited in pepehā (boasts) where one's connections to the land and ancestors are expounded.

Ko Pūtauaki te maunga Ko Rangitaiki te awa Ko Rangitūkehu te tangata

Pūtauaki is the mountain Rangitaiki is the river Rangitūkehu is the man To some tribes the maunga is the consummate landmark, to others the maunga is the ancestor (Russell, 2001).

Tribal identity also locates other geographical features like he moana (an ocean), he roto (a lake) or he awa (a river). Waka (ancestral canoes), iwi (tribes), hapū (sub-tribes), tīpuna (eponymous ancestors) and marae (the meeting house) are mentioned in epigrams which are considered more important than the speaker's own name which, if uttered at all, is usually delivered at the end. Tribal stories from long before mankind walked these lands are told of the major mountains including Taranaki, Mauao and Pūtauaki (Waka, 2007). Mountains were also sacred burial places. In oratories it was told where the kōiwi of the people of that area were purportedly housed, such as in the saying, 'Kai Pūtauaki i Te Matapihi o Rehua me Te Niho o te Kiore rātau e takoto ana' (Phillis 2002). Although these words are still heard in whaikōrero (speech making) on marae during tangihanga (funeral rituals) they are largely symbolic.

... kia purea ai e koe ...

The second part of the maxim talks about being cleansed or purified. In this instance pure is associated with the removal of tapu or restoring a person's mauri (life force) usually through karakia (prayer) and tohi (clearing rituals). Wai (water) is the other most common element used in such practices. Kai (food) and wāhine (women) are also associated with the lifting of tapu. There were strict protocols surrounding pure (loosening and binding) and tohi and as such came under the domain of roles performed by tohunga. This simple waiata is a common supporting item for informal speeches given in the whare kai (dining hall) following the hākari (meal).

Purea nei e te hau Horoia e te ua Whitiwhitiia e te rā Mahea ake nā pōraruraru Makere ana ngā here

Scattered by the wind Washed by the rain Transformed by the sun, All doubts are swept away All restrains are cast down (Henare Mahanga nā Ngati Hine).

... ki ngā hau o Tāwhirimātea

The saying closes with these words: 'by the winds of Tāwhirimātea.' Tāwhirimātea is also the God of rain, storms, clouds and other elements associated with the weather. He and Tūmātauenga are regarded by many as the most fearsome of ngā Atua Māori (Māori Gods). Hau symbolises breath, vitality and the spirit of life. A zephyr peculiar to Mātaatua known as 'te Ōkiwa' flows from the Rūātoki Valley down through the settlement of Tāneatua to Whakatāne on the coast (Best, 1996). The source of each airstream often has a well known narrative of a bygone era which is woven into the fabric of the people, the landscape and waterways. Human attributes of utu (reciprocity, balance, revenge), teina/tūākana (junior/senior) relationships, concepts of wellbeing and wellness linked to ngā atua and te tai ao (the environment) are considered here.

In summary, the whakataukī in a supervision sense is a tangata whenua model of care. By exhorting us to return to the place of nurturing, both by the breath of your ancestors in the caress of the land on your physical self and the gentle embrace of your spirit through karakia, mihi, waiata, pūkōrero and other traditional rituals.

It is from this tradition that my supervision model has been developed in an attempt to increase the appropriateness and the efficacy of my cultural supervision practice. In returning to ancestral sites in concert with the supervisees we are able to step outside of the pervading influences of the 'cultural other' which can cause us to doubt our own ways of thinking and being. There we submit and yield all of our senses ki te taiao (to the surrounding environment) and allow Ngā tama a Rangi (nature's elements including sunshine of brilliant intensity, singing leaves, bird calls in sheltering trees, bubbling streams and whispy breezes to name a few), to restore the wavering cultural spirit and our collective wounded soul. Returning to your mountain in the supervision setting champions the return to tangata whenua epistemologies and practices.

Accessing cultural or ancestral landscapes as sites for supervision

Let us look at what is meant by cultural or ancestral landscapes, from my perspective as a descendant of Ngāti Pūkeko and Ngāti Awa.

Marae (meeting places), Pā (fortified palisades) sites, Wāhi tapu (sacred sites), Urupā (burial grounds), Wāhi Maumahara (memorial parks), Taunga Waka (landing places), Whenua Rāhui (reserves) and any other location that has cultural significance to Māori are usually associated to an ancestor, a prominent leader or an event within a tribe's history.

For the people of the Mātaatua Confederation of Tribes in the Bay of Plenty the traditional mantel of the tribes' reign extends 'mai i Ngā Kuri a Whārei ki Tihirau' (from Bowentown 'the Dogs of Whārei' southward along the coast to Whangaparāoa 'to Tihirau'). This was the boundary placed he rāhui (under restriction) after the drowning of two of Muriwai's children. Muriwai is one of the most celebrated ancestresses of te Waka o Mātaatua Waka (the Mātaatua Canoe).

These landmarks form the tribal domain of the tribe Ngāti Awa in the Bay of Plenty; from the western boundary of Pongakawa, eastward to Ōhiwa, inland to Matahina, Maungawhakamana, Pōkuhu and back to Pongakawa. The mountains and promontories of Pūtauaki, Whakapau-kōrero, Ōtipa, Te Tiringa and Te Rae-o-Kōhī overlook the plains, wetlands and tributaries flowing from the Tarawera, Rangitāiki and Whakatāne rivers out into Te Moana-nui-a Toi. The Mōtiti, Rūrima, Moutohorā and Whakaari islands not only adorn the expansive coastline but have been inherent in the distinctive lifestyle of the people of the Mātaatua.

When Te Waka o Mātaatua first made shore approximately 700 years ago the area was known as Kākāhoroa. Toroa, the captain and navigator of the Mātaatua, his brothers Tāneatua and Puhi, sister Muriwai and daughter Wairaka had been told to look out for three landmarks and, as a consequence, knew they had arrived at the right place (Waka, 2007a). Irakewa, Toroa's father said they would see a large rock near the estuary inlet, a cave and water falling from the cliff face. These landmarks are known as Te Toka a Irakewa (Irakewa's rock), Te Ana a Muriwai (Muriwai's cave) and Wairere (Wairere waterfalls).

The locations used in my supervision to date have been undertaken on 20 ancestral sites near the wahapū o Ōhinemataroa (the Whakatāne River mouth). The following chant cites 12 of those settings, 10 of which are expanded upon within this article.

He Tauparapara Toka Tipua

Tū ana ahau ki Pōhaturoa

Te iringa o ngā tīpuna

He kupu tauā ki Wharaurangi

Ko te Waiewe tuku kiri

Eke ana ki Pāpaka, ko Puketapu

Titiro whakarunga ki Kapū-te-rangi

Ko Toi-kai-rākau, Te tini o Toi

'Hōhonu te tangata ki te whenua'

Ko te Wairere tāheke noa

He puna wai ora

He tohu whenua ki a Tōroa

Ko te Ana a Muriwai

'Mai i Ngā Kurā-a-Whārei ki Tihirau'

Anga atu ki te ngutu awa o Ōhinemataroa

Ka whakairinga te waka

Ki te Toka Tapū o Mātaatua

Are mai anō te kupu a Wairaka

'E, kia Whakatāne ake au i ahau'

Toka runga, toka raro ko Irakewa

Toka mauku, Arai awa,

Toka roa, Himoki, Hoaki

He tipua, he taniwhā

Ka anga atu aku kamo ki te one i te wahapū

Ko Ōpihi-whānaunga-kore

Ki a Turuturu Roimata

Tae atu ki te Rae o Kōhī

Hei hēteri ki te ākau

Ka rere rōnakinaki atu ki te au tūraha

Ko te ahi atua ko Whakaari

Te Tahi-o-te-rangi te tohunga tapu rawa

Puea ake ko Tūtarakauika

Ka puta ko te kōrero 'Waiho mā te whakamā e patu'

Ka rere āwhiowhio atu au ki Motu tohorā

'Pōwhiri a Raetihi kōwatawata kōangiangi

Ka karanga ngā ngaru whatiwhati ō te Moana-nui-a-Toi

Ka waiata mōteatea ko pōhutukawa'

Ko te wai pūkaea a Taiwhakāea

Hūpekepeke ana au ki ngā moutere iti

Ko Rurima, Tōkata, Mou-toki

Ko te kauae o Waitaha-ariki-kore

Ko te Paepae ki Rarotonga te waka tipua

Huri whakauta rā taku rere ki te maunga nekeneke

Ko Pūtauaki, Te Matapihi o Rēhua,

Ko Rangitūkehu te tangata

Ko Rangitāiki te awa

'Ngā mate kai runga, ka tangi kai raro'

Hoki kōmuri au ki te rarā o te ora, ki Ōrini

Ko te Toka a Taiao te punga tāwhiti o tōku waka

Ko Mātaatua ki Te Mānuka Tūtahi Ko Ngāti Awa, ko Ngāti Pūkeko E kō, kō, koia e ara e!

This tauparapara is a compilation of whakataukī and whakatauākī coupled to the ancestors of some of the most predominant Ngāti Awa landmarks as seen from Pāpaka Pā lookout. It was written in March of 2012 as an expression of my Ngātiawatanga (what it is to be Ngāti Awa) and partial requirement towards te Tohu o te Reo Māori with Te Pū Wānanga o Anamata. Whakapapa to each ancestor, the histories and sayings associated to every land mark and their relevance to present day Ngāti Awa are beyond the confines of this article but it is suffice to note from this one example the significance of landmarks within Māori identity for Ngāti Awa.

Landscape summary

The following descriptions give the reader a quick insight into the rich historical, cultural and spiritual associations Ngāti Awa have to ancestral places within the Rohe o Mātaatua. It is important from my perspective that they are documented as they provide context as to why these narratives form the tāhūhū (backbone) of this supervision framework.

Kāpū-te-rangi

Kāpū-te-rangi is thought to be one of the oldest settlement sites in New Zealand. The magnificent views from this historic reserve demonstrate its strategic importance. The line of ancestors associated with this pā site is long and significant dating back to the arrival of Toi-te-hua-tahi to the area. A striking carved effigy to Toi (also known as Toi-kai-rākau) surveying his domain is situated at the top of the hill. Kāpū-te-rangi abuts 154 hectares of native bush extending from Wairaka, the small settlement on the banks of the Ōhinemataroa, to the ridge known as Te Rae o Kōhī (Kōhī Point), across the valley to Ōtara-wairere, and along the coast to the beach at the western end of Ōhope.

There are numerous walking trails leading to sentinel posts found throughout the reserve. One of the more popular tracks is known as Ngā Tapuwae-o-Toi (the footsteps of Toi) a reminder of Toi-te-hua-tahi's standing in local history. We, his descendants are also known as the Tini o Toi (the numerous progeny of Toi).

Mātaatua ki Te Mānuka Tūtahi

'Te hokinga mai o Mātaatua Wharenui' (Mātaatua the House that came home) and 'Mātaatua tāwharautia' (let Mātaatua be sheltered) talk about the return of Mātaatua Wharenui from the Otago Museum to Te Mānuka Tūtahi in Whakatāne, September 2011. This is one of my favourite sites for supervision, but the story of the wharenui and its relevance for supervision in contrast to the organically evolved landmarks (Kawharu, 2009) reviewed must be told in its entirety and as such cannot be related within the scope of this article. (Ngāti Awa marae as sites for supervision will also be explored at another time.)

Pāpaka Pā

Ngāti Awa tribes were living up on this pā site up to the 1860s under the mantel of Ruaihona, Wairaka and others. The pā was named Pāpaka (Crab) at the time of the great ancestor Awanui-a-rangi II. One day while collecting pipi (an edible bivalve) his wife, Ahiahitahu, said that his stance was like that of a crab. The name Pāpaka endures today. Ngāti Awa and

Ngāti Pūkeko fought their last major battle here in 1868. Pāpaka affords more of a rural vista of Whakatāne, from Pūtauaki in the west across the Rangitāiki Plains with a northern view of the coastline and its network of islands.

Puketapu Pā site

Puketapu Pā (Sacred Hill) was used as a lookout for the heavily fortified Pāpaka Pā nestled above and behind this site. This is a significant vantage point which Ngati Awa occupied for more than 600 years, including the chief Te Ngāngara who also laid claim to the island of Moutohorā (Waka 2007). It is now a reserve providing magnificent views of the town, river mouth, ocean and the coastal islands.

Tauwhare Pā (Village suspended in space)

Tauwhare Pā is a preserved pre-European occupation site offering panoramic views of the ocean east to west and below to Ōhiwa harbour. It was built around the 1700s and borders the two tribal territories of Ngāti Awa and Whakatōhea. During its 200 year occupation the top terraces were heavily fortified to protect the meeting house and dwellings. Preparation, cooking and storage of food were restricted to the lower terraces. Coastal and inland tribes fought for control of Tauwhare, as it was the gateway to a harbour abundant with resources as expressed in 'Te Kete Kai a Tairongo' (Tairongo's food basket) and 'Te Umu Taonoa a Tairongo' (the place where Tairongo found an abundance of food).

Following are the leading lines in Kāpo te Rangi's popular pātere (a song or chant of a person's journey from one place to another) recited from Tauwhare.

E noho ana anō ahau ki te koko ki Ōhiwa Whakarongo rua aku taringa ki te tai ō tua rā o Kanewa E aki mai ana ki uta rā ki te whānau ā Tairongo Kei Tauwhare, ko te kōpua ō te ururoa Ko te kai rā i rari noa mai te rawaweketia e te ringaringa (Orbell, 2002).

The open spaces in the upper levels of Tauwhare provide an atmosphere of benevolence; it is almost like being in another world somehow removed from the throng of everyday life. It is the best site for the larger group or smaller clusters with enough distance between to retain confidentiality but stay within sight of each other. As a location known for its resources the theme for supervision here could be: 'kai' (food) in various forms, kaimahi (worker), kaiwhakahaere (facilitation), kaitiaki (caregiver/caretaker), te kai o te tinana, o te wairua, o te hinengaro, (physical, spiritual and mental wellbeing) where the roles, responsibilities, health and welfare of the worker can be addressed.

Although not shown in this account, the ensuing verses in Kāpo te Rangi's song are ideal for connecting iwi members wider than Ngāti Awa and Whakatāhea to the site; inclusiveness and belonging are imperatives in the process of engagement.

Te Toka Tapu o Mātaatua

It was here in the river Ōhinemataroa that the Mātaatua Canoe first made land. The men set out to survey the surrounds from Kāpū-te-rangi, leaving the women to tend to the canoe. At the rising tide the great canoe began to float off its mooring and began drifting out to sea. Realising the impending danger Wairaka, daughter to Toroa and a chiefteness in her own right, uttered these famous words, 'E! Kia whakatāne ake au i ahau!' (I will be bold

and act as a man) broke protocol and paddled the canoe to safety. Thus the name of the township Whakatāne is dedicated to this incident. A bronze statue depicting our ancestress Wairaka stands on Turuturu Roimata, a sacred rock at the river mouth, and memorialises her actions.

Which site is chosen and why?

According to Mead (2003), 'Ko te whenua ko au, ko au ko te whenua' (The land is me, and I am the land) is an expression which shows that 'land evokes strong emotions'. The vital ingredient is to therefore find a site which connects the participant (the supervisee) to it in some way, through whakapapa, the ancestor/s, the actions of the ancestor/s, the whakataukī or themes running parallel to the site's history, narratives, songs or movement.

Kāpū-te-rangi, Tauwhare and Mātaatua ki te Mānuka Tūtahi are the best sites for introducing folk to ancestral sites used in tangata whenua supervision as the stories and whakapapa are well known and far reaching. Outposts like Pāpaka and Puketapu are perfect for consecutive one-on-one work, as the natural setting is suited to more generic sessions. The expansive view out across the plains and ocean adds to the therapeutic element of being outdoors.

These elevated sites lie beyond the workplace milieu and the bustle of the happenings in the township below, providing peaceful spaces for reflection. Standing in the footholes of generations of our tīpuna who gazed across these very plains and waterways reminds us of who we were and where we've come from. We are reminiscent of the relationships our tīpuna had with the whenua. In their stories, songs and sayings are wise counsel which can and must be embedded into current day Kaupapa Māori practices woven into the context of the present which will be effective and have a positive impact into the future.

Conclusion

'Hoki ki tōu maunga kia purea ai e koe ki ngā hau o Tāwhirimātea' as a supervision model offers time and place for Kaupapa Māori practitioners to develop, extend and reflect on their person and practice from a tangata whenua perspective. Accessing the taha wairua and recognising the atua in participants of supervision is a step on the journey towards mauri ora! In seeking mauri ora we return not only to the ancestral mountains of our hapū and iwi but to the ancestral mountains of our cosmological origins as tangata whenua collectively. 'Hoki ki tōu maunga' also means to return to the whenua to reconnect to Papatūānuku. The relationship we as Māori have with Papatūānuku is reflected in the relationships we have with ourselves and each other.

Mā te tū i runga i te whenua ka rongo, Mā te rongo ka mōho, Ma te mōho ka mārama, Mā te mārama ka mātau, Mā te mātau ka ora!

By standing on the land you will feel, in feeling you will know, in knowing you will understand, in understanding comes wisdom and then life!

References

Baker, J. T. (2008). 'Te Pahitauā: Border Negotiators. International Journal of Cultural Property, 15(2), 141-157.

Best, E. (1996). Tuhoe. The Children of the Mist. Auckland: Reed Books.

Bradley, J. E., Jacob, & Bradley, R. (1993). Reflections on culturally safe supervision, or why Bill Gates makes more money than we do. *Te Komako: Social Work Review, III*(XI (4)), 3-6.

Eruera, M. M. (2005). He Korero Koorari: Supervision for Maori. Weaving the past, into the present for the future, pp. 1-186

Jones, M., & D'Cruz, H. (2004). Social work research: Ethical and political contexts. London: Sage.

Kawharu, M. (2009). Ancestral landscapes and world heritage from a Maori viewpoint. The Journal of The Polynesian Society, 118 (No. 4).

King, M. (1992). Te Ao hurihuri: Aspects of Māoritanga. Auckland: Reed.

Marsden, R. M., Ed. (1979). God, man and universe: A Maori view. In M. King (Ed.). Te Ao Hurihuri: Aspects of Māoritanga (pp. 118–138). Auckland: Reed.

Mead, H. M. (2003). Tikanga Māori. Living by Māori values. Wellington: Huia Publishers.

Mead, S. (1977). Landmarks, bridges and visions. Wellington: Victoria University.

Moon, P. (2003). Tohunga: Hohepa Kereopa. Auckland: David Ling.

Ngata, A. T. (1985). Ngā Moteatea. Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed.

O'Donoghue, K., & Hair, H. J. (2009). Culturally relevant, socially just social work supervision: Becoming visible through a social constructionist lens. *Journal of Ethnic & Cultural Diversity in Social Work*, 18(12), 70-88.

O'Donoghue, K., & Tsui, M. (2012). Towards a professional supervision culture: The development of social work supervision in Aotearoa New Zealand. *International Social Work*, 55(1), 5-28.

Orbell, M., & McLean, M. (2002). Songs of a Kaumātua. Sung by Kino Hughes. Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Phillis, O. (2002). Eruera Manuera. Wellington: Huia Publishers.

Pohatu, T. (2003). Maori world-views: Source of innovative social work choices, in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Social Work Review*, Spring: 249-257.

Russel, K. (2001). Landscape: Perceptions of Kai Tahu I Mua, Aianei, A Muri Ake. PhD thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Otago.

Ruwhiu, L. (1995). Home fires burn so brightly with theoretical flames. Social Work Review, Te Komako, II(I), 21-25. Waka, T. (2007). "Pūtauaki." Ko ngā kōrero o ngā Kāhui Kaumatua o Ngāti Awa: Ma te reo. Development Ngati Awa. Waka, T. (2007a). "Toroa raua ko Wairaka." Ko ngā kōrero o ngā Kāhui Kaumatua o Ngāti Awa: Ma te reo. Development Ngati Awa.

Walker, R. (1990). Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou. Auckland: Penguin Books.

Webber-Dreadon, E. (1999). He Taonga Mo o Matou Tipuna (A gift handed down by our ancestors): An indigenous approach to social work supervision. *Te Komako, Social Work Review 3*, XI(4), 7-11.

Copyright of Aotearoa New Zealand Social Work Review is the property of Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Workers Inc. and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.