

NGĀ PĀ HARAKEKE O NGATI POROU: A LIVED EXPERIENCE OF WHĀNAU

BY

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For my grandmother, mother and sister

Kua ngaro ki te pō
E kore e mimiti te aroha

Abstract

Māori live within a post-colonial society, and were subjected to colonisation, warfare, land loss and urbanisation. These policies changed Māori from an agrarian society into an industrialised society within the cities. The impact on whānau of this included the separation from traditional lands, marae, hapu, iwi and the support of other whānau members. Māori living in cities were then categorised as urban Māori, which does not sit comfortably with participants in this study, who reject this term.

This thesis explores, with Ngati Porou participants, their lived experience of whānau. The views of three age cohorts are canvassed in order to identify whether their understandings of whānau differ. These three cohorts were divided as follows: 65 years and over; 35–64 and 21–34. A total of thirty-eight participants were interviewed. They spoke passionately about who they were, where they came from and why they valued whānau.

This is a qualitative research project, which utilises both Western and a Māori/tribal worldview. It was of importance to ensure that the data retained the Māori messages and the essence of the kōrero. A whakapapa and whānau sampling method was used to identify hapu and whānau. Face-to-face interviews were conducted, using a ‘snowball’ technique. Some of the issues explored included who participants counted as members of whānau, the various whānau types identified by the literature (kaupapa whānau, whaamere, family, virtual whānau, new whānau, statistical whānau and whānau ora) and whether the ‘whānau mantra’ is a ‘myth’. Participants were asked for their views on the roles within whānau, what strengthens and divides whānau and whānau leadership. Other topics explored were the role of whāngai within whānau, cross-cultural relationships, maintaining whakapapa links, urbanisation and the impact of policies on whānau.

Recently, government has begun to use whānau within policies in ways that differ from the lived experience of whānau. Academics have also used the metaphor of whānau in an attempt to explain some of the contemporary groupings of Māori, such as kapa haka activities. The pakeke cohort, most of whom lived within the tribal area, were totally involved with whānau, hapu and iwi. The middle cohort, most of whom were employed,

were involved with whānau and marae when required. They cared for both mokopuna and aging parents. There were other qualities they valued in addition to whakapapa. The youngest cohort, some of whom were young parents, were passionate about being members of whānau. Because many of them had been born away from the tribal area, they felt the need to traverse the lands where their tīpuna had lived, worked and played in order for the whakapapa to become real. This thesis has identified that whakapapa is of the utmost importance to the participants' understanding of whānau, and that this shapes their lived experience.

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Chapter One

Introduction

Personal, Tribal and Scholastic Background

Ko Hikurangi te maunga

Hikurangi is the mountain

Ko Waiapu te awa

Waiapu is the river

Ko Ngati Porou te iwi

Ngati Porou are the people

The above pepeha (tribal saying), written by Sir Apirana Ngata¹ is often used when identifying members of the Ngati Porou² tribe. It symbolically encapsulates the much wider context in which tribal members exist and indicates an association with a geographical area that has historical, emotional and spiritual significance for Ngati Porou. Tribal members do not belong only to whānau, hapu and iwi but are inexorably linked to the land through whakapapa. Contained within those three simple lines are many tribal histories and stories of the ancestors. At a hapu or sub-tribe level, whānau relate to the peaks and rivers of their ancestral lands and to the many stories associated with those areas.

I grew up with this mountain and river providing the backdrop to everyday life, and we knew the words before we knew what a pepeha was. They were contained in songs composed by local women that we sang at school and elsewhere, and that were sung on many different occasions. Such words and occasions become embedded in one's psyche and inform one's way of "knowing and being" (Walker, 2004, p. 111). Growing up in a small rural town within the Ngati Porou tribal area on the East Coast was a privilege. During that

¹ Sir Apirana Ngata was a member of parliament for most of the early 1900s. Besides being a renowned leader, he was also responsible for land consolidation and the gathering of traditional songs, published in *Nga Moteatea*.

² The macron conventions of Te Runanganui o Ngati Porou has been followed. See page 80 for further details.

period of Ngati Porou history, there was high employment and we were surrounded by whānau as a place of belonging, and by whānau as people – grandparents, aunts, uncles and cousins. Every day we were in the company of whānau. They were the children we walked to school with, sat in class with, played with and came home with. On Sundays we attended Sunday school, and again, this was with whānau. After-school activities, such as joining the choir, involved whānau. Our parents and grandparents knew the grandparents and parents of the other children with whom we attended school. It was a trans-generational society. Aunts, uncles and cousins were regular visitors. This was the lived experience of whānau, with the layers weaving across the generations, and parents and grandparents working to sustain, feed and educate their whānau. While the roads were unsealed and dusty and there was no electricity, the hapu were active and vibrant. With urbanisation, the arrival of forestry and the downturn in farming, the society we lived in changed dramatically.

This chapter begins by discussing the catalyst for this thesis and briefly outlines the background, aims and significance of the study, and the growing consciousness about the importance of whānau among Māori, as well as its contemporary significance. An account of the nature and core subject matter of the research follows. The title of this thesis is *Ngā Pā Harakeke o Ngati Porou: A Lived Experience of Whānau*. The phrase ‘pā harakeke’ is a metaphor for whānau. A flax or harakeke is made up of a cluster of three blades, often considered to represent the parents and the child, and as the flax bush grows, it creates many more of these blades. The roots are very, very strong and resilient. The thesis is tribal research in terms of the epistemology, for both the researcher and the participants, as indicated by the thesis title. Whakapapa and mana are key elements of the study.

In 1984 (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1995, p. 1) at the Hui Taumata, the focus of Māori development was on the “cultural, social and economic” aspects. With the devolution of government policies and policy-making in the 1980s, the emphasis of Māori development was on the iwi or tribe. While this remains a focus, there has been a marked shift in policy to the smaller unit or entity of whānau.

The use of the term ‘whānau’ first appears in legislation in the Children, Young Persons and their Families Act 1989, where it is acknowledged that whānau are a part of hapu and iwi

(Pakura, 2005). The significance of this point is that although the term is included in the legislation, there was no attempt to define it. In 2002, the Honourable Tariana Turia, Associate Minister of Health in the Labour Government, built on the notion of whānau in the whānau ora concept that forms the basis of the Ministry of Health's Māori Health Strategy *He Korowai Oranga* (King and Turia, 2002). This strategy required District Health Boards to measure whānau ora, which raises the question – what is whānau ora? The word whānau had made it into New Zealand legislation. The question is really whether the concept had. As part of the rapprochement of 'whānau' into the wider national psyche, in a speech at the Auckland University of Technology, the Honourable John Tamihere threw down the gauntlet when he asked the question "Is the whānau mantra a myth?" (2003, pp. 2–3)³. For Tamihere, instead of whānau being seen as nurturing and caring, he thought that too often whānau could be linked with too many children being brought up in one-parent homes, being exposed to violence and neglect, and being disconnected from other whānau members. Tamihere also suggested that the topic of whānau should be revisited, and that there was a need to look at whānau as it is, and "work with the current reality" in order to resolve some of the issues he had raised. Implicit within this is the question: What is the contemporary whānau? For me Tamihere's challenge was impossible to resist.

The aim of this study is to explore, with Ngati Porou whānau, their lived experience and practice of whānau so that an understanding of whānau as reality, as dynamic and as concept emerges. Whānau is about living relationships⁴ and how members see the world and each other; interact with the world and each other; and agree with, disagree with and love each other. These living relationships and connections are the essence of this thesis. This study explores whānau across three age cohorts: participants 65 years and over; participants aged 35 to 64; and participants 21 to 34. The experiences of each cohort are compared in order to note any changes that have occurred over time. This thesis also explores and evaluates the impact of policy on whānau, and the use of 'whānau' and whānau-related concepts in policy documents.

³ Speech at the launch of "Well-being and Disparity in Tamaki-makaurau", AUT, Tuesday, December 9th, 10am 2003.

⁴ This expression forms part of the title of a book by K. S. Coates and P. G. McHugh (Eds.) (1998). *Kokiri Ngatahi/Living Relationships: The Treaty of Waitangi in the New Millennium*. Wellington: Victoria University Press.

In its exploration of Ngati Porou perceptions and practice of whānau, or the lived experience, this study will investigate individual understandings of whānau from traditional and urban perspectives by:

1. identifying the ways in which whānau is understood by the participants and what that tells us about meaning;
2. assessing the conceptualisations of whānau in relation to the whakatauāki described later in this chapter, and to notions of what is and is not whānau from the lived experience of whānau;
3. ascertaining the functions and roles that exist within and in relation to whānau;
4. considering the links of whakapapa and what those links mean, especially in the face of dynamic change such as urbanisation;
5. interrogating concepts and constructs of whānau identified by the literature, e.g., kaupapa whānau, whaamere, family, new whānau, virtual whānau, statistical whānau and whānau ora;
6. considering the implications of the different uses of whānau for policy, and for our understanding of contemporary Māori society.

Many theories and theoretical frameworks have been developed and put forward by academics (for example, Best, 1952; Buck, 1949; Firth, 1959; Winiata, 1967; Kawharu, 1975; Hohepa, 1970; Williams, 1985; Metge, 1995; Durie, 2003) in order to understand whānau, and while some of this research was by Māori academics, their work tended to be done using Western approaches and frameworks. As Walker, Eketone and Gibbs (2006, p. 332) state, “Maori people were dissatisfied by their experiences of being researched by Pakeha ... as well as by the methodologies used by them.” Rangihau (1981, p. 174), a respected Tuhoe elder, observed that

You know the number of people, Pakeha people, who know better than I do how I am to be a Maori just amazes me. I could never be so audacious to suggest to Pakehas that I know better than they do how to live as Pakehas. But I am constantly reminded of the number of Pakeha people who know better than I do what is good for me. It is about time we were allowed to think

for ourselves and to say things for our reasons and not for the reasons set down by Pakeha experts.

Deloria, a Sioux academic, challenges the assumed authority of Western researchers working within indigenous communities. He further reinforces Rangihau's point, stating (1997, p. 34) that an academic "who does not speak the language, has never lived in the community and visits the people only occasionally during the summer [is seen to have a] better understanding of the culture, economics and politics of the group than do the people themselves". This is in part because Western knowledge privileges written accounts of events, and many indigenous societies had oral traditions and continue to rely on those traditions as repositories for historical and cultural knowledge. This thesis will illustrate the differences between academic understandings of whānau and lived experiences of whānau, and between insider and outsider views.

This study is important because it seeks to represent Ngati Porou whānau as they see themselves, and in doing so feeds into the wider picture of the growing body of indigenous research, where indigenous scholars have critiqued, analysed and challenged mainstream representations of indigenous peoples. Moreton-Robinson, an Australian Aboriginal academic, argues that "Aborigines have often been represented as objects – as the 'known'. Rarely are they represented as subjects, as 'knowers'" (2004, p. 75). Other indigenous scholars, in their observations, support this point, in contra-distinction to the past when indigenous communities had their own power and mana. According to Smith (2004, p. 5), for too long "the Pacific has been authored by non indigenous Pacific scholarship in such ways that have marginalised the indigenous knowledge systems", resulting in loss of authority over this knowledge. Linda and Graham Smith have contributed significantly as indigenous scholars to the body of indigenous knowledge through the kaupapa Māori research movement.

However, this study is principally tribal research – in keeping with the spirit of Ngati Porou academic Tawhai, who says "if you must speak, speak of your own" (1990, p. 14). It seemed appropriate to return to my own whakapapa base to conduct this study rather than to stand alone and act first of all as an indigenous researcher. For me, whānau and whakapapa –

identity through time and space, and collective as well as individual identity – are the lifeblood of existence, belonging and meaning. In this study, through whānau, I reclaim ownership of the knowledge and understanding of the lived experience of whānau, and the ways in which it is interpreted and expressed in reality. I sought the views of Ngati Porou participants from five hapu and across three age cohorts. This study will illustrate the contemporary practice of whānau, while ascertaining the degree to which traditional values are modified to meet changing needs and living arrangements.

The social structure of Ngati Porou, as distinct from other tribes, consists of approximately fifty-eight co-equal hapu and fifty marae, with a total membership of 72,000 people. Members of Ngati Porou are those who descend from the hapu located between the two tribal boundaries – Potikirua in the north and Te Toka-a-Taiau, located in Gisborne harbour. According to Soutar (2011, p. 1), this covers an area of about 400,000 hectares. Rangiheuea (2010, p. 188) describes hapu as being “amorphous” and without formalised structure or size. These hapu carry ancestral names and, by and large, are each associated with a marae. These marae operate autonomously, although several are closely related through tīpuna, and each retains its own mana. The tribe had a runanga, which recently became a Runanganui or body corporate, which was established to receive Treaty of Waitangi Settlement⁵ assets. The social structure of the tribe is dependent on support from whānau and hapu. Representatives to the Runanganui are chosen on a hapu basis. Contemporary tribal structures, as defined by the Courts, have been perceived as “archaic” (Rangiheuea, 2010, p. 196) and not meeting the needs of urban Māori. Ngati Porou have established taurahere groups in all the main urban centres in order to maintain the cohesion and hononga or connection back to the tribe.

As Cram and Pitama (1998, p. 130) point out, any discussion of whānau “must be informed by traditional legacies and contemporary contexts”. The reality for whānau is that the majority of people now live in urban centres, so urbanisation is part of the lived experience of Ngati Porou, where approximately 80 per cent of the iwi live outside the tribal area. This shift to the cities is described by Walker (2007, p. 230) as the “urban diaspora”. Sissons

⁵ The Waitangi Tribunal was established in 1975. It makes recommendations on claims relating to the Crown’s breaches of the promises made under the Treaty of Waitangi.

(2004, p. 19) depicts urban Māori as “‘relocated indigenous identities’ ... who chose to be non-tribal ... and who may or may not speak Maori”. These accounts throw up several issues: is a Māori who lives in a city an urban Māori; is a Māori who lives in a city no longer a ‘real’ Māori; does the urban cityscape replace the heartland where whānau informs meaning and relationships? There are several aspects to these issues. As reported in the literature, the movement to urban centres began in the 1950s. Tuoro notes in *Te Whanau o Waipareira Report* (Waitangi Tribunal, 1998, p. 35) that there was a “breakdown of the traditional whanau links. These ... links were no longer a guarantee in the new urban environment.” Living in urban centres has raised key issues for whānau and how they retain their hononga or connections to other whānau members, their marae, hapu and iwi.

In an era when the term ‘whānau’ is being incorporated into policy, accurate understanding and usage of the word is even more important than it was previously. It is easy for meaning to be transmuted when the word is used frequently and generally throughout government policy and other official documents. It can be used as a blanket term and it can be used carelessly. This thesis engages with Smith’s contention that research has for a long time collected and classified indigenous knowledge “and then represented [it] back to the West” (1999, p. 44), which then raises the question of whether the Crown has the ability to accurately understand and implement social policy for and about the lived experience of whānau if it does not actually know what whānau is.

An important aspect of this research is whakapapa, which is the basis from which interactions and relationships are established, developed, maintained and severed between and among whānau members, whanaunga (relatives), marae, hapu, iwi, mountains, rivers and the environment. Whakapapa has been used as a method, a rationale and a basis of analysis, and is also a linking principle. In its lived form whānau is the expression of whakapapa. Whakapapa gives individuals their identity, their sense of belonging, their mana, and their association and kinship with the land; it also confers access to marae, knowledge, rights and responsibilities.

The two tribal whakatauaiki that appear below encapsulate the past, present, future and essence of whānau.

E tipu e rea, mo nga ra o tou ao	Grow up, o tender youth, in the time of your generation
To ringa ki nga rakau a te Pākehā	Your hands reaching for the tools of the Pākehā
Hei ara mo to tinana.	For your physical wellbeing.
To ngākau ki nga taonga a o tīpuna Māori	Your heart centered on the treasures of your ancestors
Hei tikitiki mo to māhuna	As a plume upon your head
To Wairua ki te Atua	Your soul dedicated to God
Nāna nei nga mea katoa.	The creator of all things. (Kaa and Kaa, 1996, n.p.)
Whakahokia mai te mana o te iwi ki te iwi	Return to the tribe the mana of the tribe
O te hapu ki te hapu	To the hapu the mana of the hapu
O te whānau ki te whānau	To the whānau the mana of the whānau
O te tangata ki tōna ake rau kotahi	Of the individual to his/her multiple identities (Tibble, 2001)

Both Māori and Western knowledge systems have influenced the understanding and practice of whānau. The tribal saying that heads this chapter recognises the spiritual, intellectual, emotional and physical well-being of each member of a whānau. It also emphasises the need to hold fast to one's cultural identity while living in the modern world. There have been both positive and negative effects from the process of urbanisation. The whakatauāki by Tibble reinforces and upholds the mana of the individual, whānau, hapu and iwi, and argues for the reclamation and maintenance of these important expressions of whakapapa. These two whakatauāki are the basis for the analysis in the data chapters.

Different environments such as the whānau home, workplace and marae, and different events such as those involving any part or aspect of whānau, influence how participants see whānau. In addition, the notion of rau kotahi or multiple identities (in Tibble above) is

extremely important because a person can belong to more than one whānau or hapu or iwi and this forms the plurality of the individual (see also Ballara, 1998, p. 335). This means that at any point in time an individual can be relating to their paternal line or maternal line. There is fluidity in the way an individual can move naturally between the whānau, hapu and iwi groups to which they belong. While values may have been modified by the urban environment, there are whānau who still hold to traditional values. Two very important values to Ngati Porou are mana (which can be defined as “influence, prestige or power”, Williams, 1985, p. 172), and rau kotahi. Durie asserts (1994, p. 1) that there are diverse Māori realities, but this thesis argues that this diversity already exists through the notion of rau kotahi.

This thesis positions whānau within a tribal worldview while at the same time acknowledging and accepting its contemporary realities. Whānau is conceptual as well as a description of Māori familial ways of life. It is paradoxical because of who is included and when they are included, for example, while whānau is inclusive, hapu and iwi are exclusive. Whānau exists on a continuum from the individual to whānau ake to whānau whānui and to hapu and iwi. It can be an entity in itself as well as a collective of entities. Therefore context is vital to an understanding of whānau. It is both dynamic and flexible.

Conclusion

This first chapter has introduced the topic, described the catalyst for and background of the thesis, and outlined the aims and objectives. The theoretical approaches are summarised, the significance of the study is highlighted and the tribal nature of the research is then detailed, along with an account of the social structure of Ngati Porou. Most Ngati Porou now live in urban centres, which can result in either a loss or forgoing of their tribal identity, in favour of new opportunities. The emphasis here is therefore on the lived experience of whānau. The lack of recognition or understanding of whānau by policy-makers is briefly outlined, which is of especial importance when there is clearly both a highjacking of the term in the policy documents and legislation, and also an assumption that understanding is comprehensive and even flawless.

The tribal nature of this research has been reinforced, using two significant whakatauaiki. The tribal worldview and whakatauaiki emphasise the Ngati Porou approach to whānau in this thesis.

In chapter two a selected body of literature on whānau is reviewed. This encompasses material from the early scholars who explored the topic, to current understandings of whānau and what it means. This thesis argues for the lived experience of whānau, and the literature is interrogated in terms of how it does or does not match this.

Chapter three discusses the methodology, and explains the dual approach to this study, which is a combination of Western and Māori/tribal approaches. A qualitative approach was favoured, for the whakapapa and whānau sampling methods. Consultation with various members of Ngati Porou has been an important aspect of this thesis. Details of the participants' relationships to each other have been explained in order that the whānau sampling may be clearly understood. The analysis is explained in detail, as well as the challenges and tensions of working within the academy. There is a brief outline of the ethical approval obtained.

Chapter four presents the findings from the 65 and over age group. This small cohort of five participants had great depth of understanding and wisdom, while at the same time being liberal about the realities of contemporary society. Whakapapa was of the utmost importance to them. This flowed very naturally into the widest possible definition of whānau and the many meanings of whānau were also explained. They were strongly grounded in a tribal worldview and understood “ngā taonga a o tīpuna”, as outlined by Ngata in *E Tipu E Rea* (Kaa and Kaa, 1996, n.p.). This cohort was spiritually aware as well as having sound whānau and cultural practices. Te reo and their mokopuna were also important in their lives, and whāngai was very much part of their lived experience of whānau. The pakeke were very clear as to what their roles involved, both in the whānau and on the marae. The concept of ‘urban Māori’ brought a very strong response, as did the various whānau constructs, which had little meaning or significance in terms of the lived experience of this cohort. Policies were seen as inadequate and incapable of meeting the needs of whānau.

The findings from the 35–64 year old cohort are presented in chapter five. This was a large cohort of fifteen participants, and several were brothers and sisters, while others were cousins. Three participants had a brother amongst the pakeke, the mother of two participants was in the older group, and the husband of yet another.

Chapter six presents the findings from the under 35-years old participant group. There were eight participants in this cohort, four male and four female, and all had grown up in urban areas. They retained a strong connection to the tribal area and were very articulate in their understanding and practice of whānau. Three had a Pākehā parent, and were therefore able to provide useful insights into the differences between whānau and family. Four had children who were still relatively young.

In chapter seven, comparisons between the three age cohorts are expanded upon. I discuss how whānau is conceptualised for Ngati Porou participants and their lived experience, and suggest ways in which this can inform policy.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

Introduction

This thesis⁶ first of all seeks to explore the lived experience of Ngati Porou whānau and thus to arrive at a deeper understanding of whānau. Whānau comes from a uniquely Māori worldview, and therefore accurate understandings and representations from within the Māori context are necessary in order to ensure that the vitality of whānau, hapu and iwi is maintained. Whānau is of increasing importance in Aotearoa/New Zealand society, particularly in the area of policy. It is constantly referred to, altered, extended and made the point of explication and analysis. The second task of this thesis is therefore to explore whether the Crown has captured accurately and adequately the meaning of whānau, or whether it has the capability and capacity to, and what that meaning may be.

The literature review seeks to identify items of literature of relevance to participants. The literature has been organised around the categories of:

- Whakapapa: The Core of Whānau
- The Meaning and Typology of Whānau
- The Social Structure of Whānau: Whānau, Hapu, Iwi
- Complexions of Whānau: Cross-Cultural Relationships and Whāngai
- Functions, Roles, Responsibility, Leadership
- When Whānau is Whānau: Resilience and Challenges
- Whānau Constructs: An Outsider Version of Whānau
- Policy and the Whānau Worldview

The conception of whānau, in the literature, is strongly influenced by Western values and interpretations. More recently, there has been an assertion of the Māori worldview from which whānau emerges.

⁶ Parts of this literature review are built upon previously published work in T.W. Walker (2006). *Whānau is Whānau*. Wellington: Families Commission.

The material was obtained primarily from books, but also includes journal articles, conference papers and unpublished papers from disciplines such as anthropology, law, history, psychology, sociology, health, policy, social work, education, economics and Māori studies. Government publications from the Ministry of Social Development, Te Puni Kōkiri and the Families Commission, as well as ministerial speech notes, were accessed. As the concept of whānau is Māori and therefore specific to a people and a place, all of the literature is sourced from New Zealand. It covers the period from 1929 to 2012. Some of this literature is from an ‘insider’ perspective, while some is written by ‘outsiders’. The literature, while not necessarily analysed in this section, has been analysed in relation to the data in later chapters.

Whakapapa: The Core of Whānau

Fundamental to Māori society and its connectedness through time and space is the notion of whakapapa. It is the core of whānau, shaping the lived experience of it, and forging the links between the spiritual and physical realms. Whakapapa is what connects people not only to each other but also to land, seas, forests, lakes, rivers and mountains. These physical entities are very important in Māori society, as they are not only identifiers of a particular tribe but are also eponymous ancestors who are at the root of whakapapa and whose existence and name determine identity, origins, provenance and mana: all tribes trace their whakapapa from such an ancestor in order to know who they are, identify where they come from and signal their mana. (Mahuika (1998); Ka’ai and Higgins (2004)).

In 1944, Ngata gave a series of lectures known as *Rauru-nui-a-Toi* which outline the whakapapa of Ngati Porou. In them he discusses the importance of whakapapa or the use of genealogical charts in tracing the history of his tribe, beginning with the eponymous ancestor Porourangi, from whom he traces descent of several major lines. Ngata (1944, n.p.) stresses the importance of whakapapa in describing human history, “the account of the lives of the men and women of successive generations”. These accounts are told in story form, passed down from generation to generation. He acknowledges the experts such as “devoted priests and learned men of our race [who] have transmitted the story ... through their whare wananga” (1944, n.p.).

Mahuika, the chairman of Te Runanganui o Ngati Porou (1998, p. 219), states that “whakapapa is the heart and core of all Māori institutions from Creation to what is now iwi”. Whakapapa is important to membership of iwi, and Mahuika asserts that “kinship roles[,] ... responsibilities to other kin ... and one’s place and status within society” are determined by whakapapa.

Mead (2003, pp. 42–43) expands on Mahuika’s comments, explaining that only one whakapapa link through a parent or ancestor is sufficient to claim membership of hapu or iwi. He states that in order to “enjoy the full benefits of whakapapa”, the individual needs to be seen. To be seen, in this context, means to return to the marae, to tangihanga and to the tribal area. This is the ‘ahi kaa’ or ‘burning fires’ principle, which describes how members of a whānau living close to the marae and hapu are keeping the whakapapa connections warm. Whakapapa is also fundamental to membership of the tribe or iwi “and opens doors to the assets of the iwi”, such as scholarships for education. Mead writes that “in short, whakapapa is belonging. Without it, an individual is outside looking in.”

Jackson, Tibble and Reedy (all of Ngati Porou descent) discuss three aspects of whakapapa that illustrate its depth. Jackson (in Walker, 2001, p. 68) states that whakapapa is the “fundamental grounding of who we are, the eyes through which we see and when we know who we are that in turn shapes how we see”. Tibble (in Walker, 2001, pp. 65–66) also discusses the importance of understanding whakapapa in relation to speaking on the marae or in public places: without whakapapa, “kaore he papa hei whakatakoto i o kōrero ki runga. Kare o tuhituhi e whiwhi whāriki”. What this means is that whakapapa forms the basis, the papa, for the acquisition of knowledge, while simultaneously knowledge of one’s own whakapapa is a fundamental requirement. It also forms the papa from which to construct and weave discourse, discussion and interaction. It sets the terms of reference.

Reedy (2001, p. 66) claims that “Whakapapa is part of our worldview. It places us in the whole context of relationships and therefore how we relate to each other and how we should work with others, argue with others, live with others.” This is the papa for the creation, maintenance and re-negotiation of relationships, which is an important dynamic in Ngati Porou society.

Mikaere (2002, p. 22) uses a high-level analysis of whakapapa, and traces Māori whakapapa from Ranginui and Papatuanuku, noting that because of this descent from the gods, all Māori are therefore “connected to one another, to past and the future generations, and to the world around them through whakapapa”. She reiterates the truism that whakapapa is central to Māori life and that it provides a sense of balance.

In Walker (2006, p. 19), participants reiterated the importance of blood, whakapapa and marriage, and links to iwi. Whānau was considered to be “grounding and something you intrinsically care about”; “the essence of life”. “Divorce, separation and death do not sever the links within whānau or the sense of whānau.” On occasions, non-kin are accepted as members. Whānau was also described as a “micro unit, a little whānau unit that [makes up] the whole, within a wider unit, with values, beliefs, stories, [and] knowledge” which are shared with the wider whānau. The connections were also described as “horizontal and vertical”. There is also a depth to whānau, “which comes right from your puku [stomach]”.

As whakapapa is the core of whānau; it is a given that it is inherent in the lived experience of whānau. Whakapapa is as fundamental to whānau as breathing is to life.

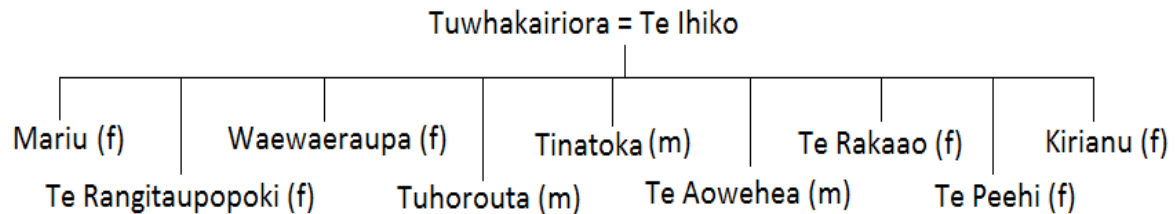
The notion of tuakana/taina is of great importance to the lived experience of whānau as it relates to who has the authority to speak, in other words, who has the mana – encapsulated in whakapapa – to speak on behalf of or in confrontation with others. However, the concept is dynamic and subject to change: the authority usually resides with the tuakana or elder, unless the person who holds this role delegates the associated responsibilities to the taina or younger sibling.

Mahuika (1981, pp. 65–82) using a genealogical table, explains in depth the difference between tuakana and taina, as it applies in Ngati Porou:

The terms tuakana and taina were used to denote one’s genealogical relationship to other members of the society. ‘Tuakana’ means the elder brother or male cousin of a male, or the elder sister or female cousin of a female. ‘Taina’ means the younger brother or male cousin of a male, or the

younger sister or female cousin of a female. The following genealogical table of parents and offspring shows examples of tuakana and taina.

Table 2.1. Whakapapa table showing tuakana/taina relationships



In the figure above, reformatted from the one provided by Mahuika (1981, p. 65), one sister, Mariu,

... is tuakana to all her sisters, but the term is not applied to describe her relationship to her three brothers, Tuhorouta, Tinatoka and Te Aowehea. The only term one can use in this context is ‘tuahine’ which simply means ‘sister’ and which applies to all the sisters regardless of order of birth. Similarly, all the other female issue are taina to Mariu, whereas the male issue are all simply ‘tungane’ or ‘brothers’. Tuhorouta is tuakana to Tinatoka and Te Aowehea, Tinatoka is tuakana to Te Aowehea, and both Tinatoka and Te Aowehea are taina to Tuhorouta. Te Aowehea is taina to Tinatoka. But, once again, the only terms available to define their relationship to their sisters are tuahine and tungane.

Because the first-born child, Mariu, is female, ‘the functioning position of ariki passed to the first-born male child’, in this case Tuhorouta. Further, according to the commonly accepted view, Tuhorouta would be used in preference to Mariu in establishing the eminence of a pedigree. Mariu is entitled to the term ariki, but Tuhorouta is referred to as the mataamua (first-born male).

Cram and Pitama (1998, p. 132) support Mahuika's exposition of the tuakana/taina relationship, elaborating that "a person may be 'Tuakana' to a person a lot older than him/herself because the younger person descends from an older brother or sister than does the other person. Thus 'Tuakana' refers to seniority of descent rather than actual age." Mead (2003, p. 42–43) corroborates this, stating that though the tuakana is usually the elder, the youngest can also be treated like the eldest.

Going beyond this, Ka'ai and Higgins (2004, p. 14) relate tuakana to mana based on the order of birth, with the tuakana line "having a closer relationship to the atua by its position in ... the whakapapa". These authors claim that there is "an intricate relationship between *mana*, *Ariki*, *rangatira*, *taurekareka*, *tuakana*, *teina*, and *atua*".

Reedy discusses (in Walker, 2001, pp. 69–70) how the terms tuakana and taina should be used, and explains some of the complexities of the roles. He states that it is the role of the taina to whakarangatira (elevate) the tuakana, not for the tuakana to whakaiti or put down the taina. He tells the story of going into another tribal area and being greeted as the taina. The greeting was as follows: 'kia ora te tuakana. Mena kāore ko māua, kāore ko koe': if it were not for us, the taina, you would not be the tuakana. This greeting acknowledges the status of the elder, but also contains a rebuke for putting down the manuhiri as the taina. Reedy advises caution and emphasises that status is not hierarchical and vertical but is more complex than this. Care should be used when exercising one's tuakana status, because tuakana and taina are interdependent. One cannot exist without the other.

The Meaning and Typology of Whānau

The word whānau in the literature has several key meanings: one of its most basic or literal meanings is "to be born" or "to be produced or brought forth" (Metge, 1995, p. 52, Williams, 1985, p. 487); another refers to a familial group (Williams defines whānau as "family" or "offspring"). Williams also notes that 'whānau' is sometimes used as part of the name of a tribe, as in Whānau-a-Apanui, and as "a familiar term of address to a number of people". However, these meanings and attempts at understanding alone do not reach into the heart of whānau.

In order to arrive at an understanding of the term whānau and its various expositions, it is necessary first to address those concepts that are part of its context, subliminally, culturally, psychologically and spiritually. This means taking a broader initial contextual view before focusing on specific meanings and uses of the word whānau. The first of these concepts is whanaungatanga; the second is turangawaewae.

Whanaungatanga

Whanaungatanga is an abstract term and concept whose meaning derives from the notion of whakapapa. It refers specifically to relationships within and between whānau, and expresses a sense of the lived nature or expression of these relationships, not just their static existence. It also incorporates hapu and iwi, and the spaces and linkages between hapu and between iwi. Whanaunga are those members to whom whānau members are related, but beyond the whānau ake (immediate familial group). Whanaungatanga also refers to the nature of the relationship and the obligations associated with that relationship. It exists in layers, both vertical and horizontal: it extends between and across generations as well as forward into the future and back into the past.

Because of its abstraction, whanaungatanga is difficult to define and to pin down. It is through its expression that it is more successfully delineated in the literature. Mead (2003, pp. 28–29) places a high value upon whanaungatanga, although acknowledging that “the ideal is difficult to achieve”. In describing whanaungatanga and analysing its meaning, he refers to the support of the whānau for the individual, and how in return, the individual is expected to support the collective. He states that this is a “fundamental principle” of whanaungatanga. Using a tangihanga, or the death of a person, as an example, he describes how support is crucial for the duration of the tangi so that balance is restored after the rupture of death. Such ruptures expose the fragility of relationships, and in order to strengthen these relationship ties, it is important for people to activate their connections, for example, by seeing each other from time to time. Whanaungatanga is sometimes also extended to “non-kin persons”.

Durie (1997, p. 2) defines whanaungatanga as “the process by which whānau ties and responsibilities are strengthened”, and goes on to specify some of the active behaviours that

occur in its realisation. He notes that “Māori have recognised that whanaungatanga cannot be a passive process; active planning, economic contribution and redistribution of resources are necessary if whānau are to be strong and meaningful forces for the future development of Māori.” He further states (1997, p. 22) that “Whanaungatanga, the process by which whānau are empowered, depends on active leadership, an economic base, effective communication, the creation of new resources and facilities to meet changing whānau needs, and legislation that is compatible with whānau values and aspirations.”

Turangawaewae

Mead (2003, p. 43) states that turangawaewae is a birthright derived from whakapapa. Turangawaewae literally means ‘a place for feet to stand’. Narrowly defined, it is usually associated with ancestral land, marae, urupa and wahi tapu. “The individual can say ‘I belong here. I can stand here without challenge. My ancestors stood here before me. My children will stand tall here.’” In a wider definition, it includes “the territory of the iwi – the rivers, lakes, mountains, islands, coastline, forests, swamps, harbours and specific land blocks”.

Ka’ai and Higgins (2004, p. 18) give an all-inclusive definition of turangawaewae:

A term used to locate the very source of origins of a person’s *whakapapa*, sometimes referred to as one’s ‘roots’ or place of belonging, for example, one’s *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* histories and aspirations, including genealogy, performing arts, *whakataukī*, *tikanga*, cultural obligations and responsibilities and politics.

Now that a large number of Māori live in urban centres, it is even more important that they know where they come from, not just in the tribal sense, but specifically that they know the marae to which they are connected by whakapapa.

Some of the early attempts to define whānau were unable to pinpoint its essential elements and instead found it easier to define the concept by saying what it was not, and specifically by comparing it, usually pejoratively, with the Western concept of family. For example,

Best (1952, p. 96), an ethnologist, concluded that “true family life, as we know it, did not exist among the Maori”. Similarly, when discussing the definition of whānau as ‘family’, Williams (1985, p. 487) notes that “it is questionable whether the Māori had any real conception of the family as a unit”. Best was also convinced that “all members of a Maori tribe were not only blood relatives but were descended from a common ancestor ... [because] no outsider can become a true member”. Best here describes whānau purely as a descent group, with no reference to ‘married-ins’ or other non-kin, or to the lived experience of whānau.

In attempting to analyse and describe whānau, Best (1952, p. 96) tended to focus also on functions and behaviour. He considered that whānau life was arranged according to the needs of the whānau during the period under discussion, and that “each family group had the right to use certain lands, fish certain waters, &c., so that clan and tribal boundaries were well known”.

Clearly, Best and Williams had an outsider view of whānau; they were unable to approach an understanding of the values and nature of the connectedness of whānau, and instead focused on irrelevant and ethnocentric comparisons and on functions and behaviour. This outsider view was colonial, and grounded in their British backgrounds and worldview.

Te Rangihiroa, Sir Peter Buck, did not do extensive work on the topic of whānau, but it appears that kinship terms were of great interest to him. He states (1949, p. 333) that “the smallest social unit is the biological family ... termed whanau”, and (1949, p. 338) that family ties are preserved and maintained in the family genealogy or whakapapa, which means that all members of a tribe are related. Buck (1949, p. 339) describes kinship terms as covering five generations of family or whānau – two preceding the current generation, and two succeeding. It is unclear why he limited these terms to only five generations. In his view (1949, p. 342–3), these terms

... meant more to Maori than such terms meant to Europeans. The use of the Maori kinship terms helped to keep alive the fact that all members of the tribe

belonged to the same family, and the stressing of the blood tie made them stick together through fair and foul weather.

His insider view was tempered by his grounding in Western anthropological training and appeared to add little of a revelatory or more accurate account of whānau than those arrived at by Pākehā scholars.

In his book on the economics of Māori, Firth, another Pākehā scholar, describes (1959, p. 111) much the same whānau arrangements as Buck regarding the number of generations occupying a similar dwelling or area, but adds that whānau could also consist of a man, his wife and their children, much like a European family. He characterises whānau as “a social unit of the utmost importance. It had great cohesion since its members were few, ranged only through three or four generations, and were bound together by the closest ties of kinship. Of its nature the whanau was not a large group The whanau functioned as the unit for ordinary social and economic affairs.” Firth recognises the need for a sociological analysis of whānau.

In relation to the role of the individual, Firth (1959, p. 135), quoting Best, states that “In Maori society the individual could scarcely be termed a social unit, he was lost in the *whanau* or family group It is almost impossible for us to conceive or to bear in mind the point of view of such peoples. To them the individual is as nothing – he does not exist, as it were, as an individual, but only as part of the group or clan.” Like Best, Firth presents Māori as being detached from any sense of self, at the mercy of the family group and as having very little volition. Firth’s summation provides a good example of how the ethnographic understanding of one person, albeit an outsider, may be picked up and repeated by other, later scholars, where repetition takes on the appearance of giving veracity to the original statement. As indicated by his condescending and patronising tone, Best had no conception of how whānau actually operated, and the finer points of how the individual worked within the group were lost on him. Firth’s acceptance of this interpretation makes his work on whānau misleading, to say the least.

Metge, a social anthropologist, has done the most substantive work on whānau among her peers in her sixty years of studying and writing about the topic. She gives a composite

account of eighteenth-century whānau (1995, p. 35) based on the work of Best, Buck and Firth as follows:

... a family group usually comprising three generations [although Buck referred to five generations]: an older man and his wife, some or all of their descendants and in-married spouses, or some variant (such as several brothers with their wives and families) ... ; a domestic group occupying a common set of buildings ... ; a social and economic unit responsible for the management of daily domestic life, production and consumption; [and] the lowest tier in a three-tiered system of socio-political groups defined by descent from common ancestors traced through links of both sexes, the middle tier consisting of hapū and the highest tier of iwi.

She notes that “the model of the whānau is often referred to as the ‘traditional Māori family’”. However, her preference is to describe the whānau of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as the “classic” whānau (1995, p. 35), covering the period described by Best, Buck and Firth. This is the benchmark whānau. It is questionable, however, to what extent this composite is applicable to whānau in the twenty-first century: while there may be remnants of it, many whānau no longer live in the same area, or share common dwellings. Contemporary Māori whānau are widely dispersed throughout Aotearoa New Zealand and overseas, while still claiming their identity as whānau.

Metge argues that the term “extended family” (1995, p. 60) is the most proximate and primary definition of whānau, while recognising that English translations are not completely adequate in explaining the concept of whānau. However, this thesis argues that the term ‘extended’ when applied to whānau is a colonising term, and contributes to an erosion of the understanding of whānau by placing it within a Western conceptual framework.

Two Māori anthropologists added new insights to the concept of whānau when they published their wider studies that were based on observation and interviews with whānau in each of their tribal areas. They were Winiata (1967) and Kawharu (1975).

Winiata (1967, p. 27) looked at whānau as part of a broader study on leadership in his tribal area. He describes whānau as “the most convenient work unit”, noting the changes that occurred as a result of European settlement (1967, p. 82): “Land is still owned by *whanau* (extended family) units, and although the *whanau* is slowly but surely breaking up into nuclear units, sentiment and integration within the *whanau* framework are stronger than between *whanau* and *whanau* in the village and *hapu*” (1967, p. 82).

Whilst discussing “bilateral extended family”, Kawharu (1975, pp. 50–51) refrains from using the term whānau “since this term may be applied to kin groups that vary in sociological significance”. Consequently, he defines this kind of family as consisting of “a parental couple, their children, the latter’s children and married children with their issue”. With reference to his case study, he notes the ‘family’ “may therefore contain upwards of four generations living both in Orakei and in other suburbs of Auckland. Children or grandchildren living at a distance from Auckland, although not denied membership of their family, of necessity act only marginally in its affairs.” Kawharu (1975, p. 51) argues that “reasons for families organizing themselves are, in Orakei, confined to the celebration of life crises and religious ritual, and to discussions about resources – of land, children, housing and the like”.

Metge (1990, p. 64) notes that “the *whaanau* described by Hohepa, Kawharu and myself differed substantially from the *whaanau* of the 18th and 19th centuries described by Best, Firth and Hiroa”. For example, under Metge’s concept, whānau “lacked residential unity and economic self-sufficiency, and their members co-operated on an occasional rather than a daily basis”. In his study, as noted, Kawharu includes whānau members living out of Auckland who retain membership in the whānau, suggesting that membership of whānau is through whakapapa and descent, irrespective of domicile. Despite her critique, the definition of whānau as ‘extended family’ is a concept that Best, Buck, Firth and Metge all share.

Like Buck, Henare (1988, pp. 11–12) describes whānau as the “basic social unit” of Māori society, but differs in the number of generations and individuals involved: whereas Buck says that whānau kinship terms refer to five generations, Henare cites three generations and up to 30 people living together. Significantly, Henare also notes that “The whanau had its

own internal authority structure and was the group in which the basic day-to-day decisions were made.” Henare’s understanding differs from that of Metge, Kawharu and Winiata.

Walker (1990, p. 63) describes whānau in much the same terms as Henare and Buck, as “the basic social unit in Maori society”. He goes on to characterise it as the “extended family” consisting of “three generations ... at its head were the kaumatua and kuia”. These anthropologists (Metge, Kawharu, Winiata and Walker) have a penchant for the term ‘extended family’ – this is evidence that the terminology of their academic disciplines has usurped and replaced cultural understandings. O’Regan (2003, p. 35) gives a timely reminder that whānau is more than an extended family. The word ‘family’ does not apply at all to whānau: they are not the same thing.

Durie, a leading contemporary Māori scholar (2003, p. 13), while referencing Metge and her definition of whānau, covers his bases through the provision of several definitions in an attempt to provide an understanding of whānau:

Whānau refers to groups of people, brought together for a special purpose. Generally the members of a whānau are Māori, though not always, and generally their association together is mutually beneficial, though, that is not always true either In a narrower definition, whānau members all descend from a common ancestor and therefore, among other things, possess common patterns of DNA. Their shared heritage may go back four, five or six generations, or may be traced back well beyond the memories of the oldest members, into the depths of history and the domains of tradition.

As scholars struggle to define whānau, it becomes clear that for some the place-based or household whānau is not an adequate description of whānau (Walker, 2006, pp. 20–21) as it excludes whānau members living elsewhere. Proximity and relationship emerge as of far greater significance than location. There are three key aspects that arise in relation to distance: the ease with which whānau members can communicate with each other, the challenges distance raises when members need to attend tangi, and the necessity of educating mokopuna about their whakapapa and tribal links and helping them maintain

those links. Another aspect of distance is when a whānau member longs to see another whānau member.

In a literature review for the Families Commission, Lawson-Te Aho (2010, p. 24), after summarising all the early anthropological and ethnographic scholars above, argues for the paramount importance of whakapapa in understanding whānau, which she considers “the more permanent and culturally authentic form of whānau”. She claims (2004, p. 25) that whakapapa is “the cultural construct that defines Māori or the glue that holds Māori together culturally or sets them apart”. She explains (2010, p. 24) the dynamic that can exist between whakapapa and kaupapa whānau: “Whakapapa whānau will regularly pursue kaupapa or goals, whereas kaupapa whānau may or may not have whakapapa connections.” By this she means kaupapa whānau could be a pan-tribal group or a work collective. Lawson-Te Aho (2010, p. 27) concludes that “there is no universal, generic definition of whānau when dealing with Māori”.

O’Regan (2003, p. 35), besides her assertion of the whakapapa and inter-generational basis of whānau, states that “there has long been an acceptance within Maoridom that ‘whānau’ does not simply translate as ‘family’ in the Western conventional sense. When we use the term ‘Whānau’ we imply something more than the family nucleus, and even more than the readily used definition of the ‘extended family’.” In addition, O’Regan notes the common use of whānau as a metaphor, in relation to unrelated groups of people, a phenomenon that has occurred as people have recognised some of the inner values implied in the concept of whānau. She states that inherent within whānau is the notion of collectivity and collective responsibility, and that these notions can be applied to other social groups.

O’Regan (2003, pp. 36–37) also makes the important link between whānau, hapu, iwi and Māori. She asserts the vital importance of whānau, stating that (2003, pp. 36–37):

As a vehicle the whānau is the best positioned grouping within our society to effect change In the 21st century – whānau are our biggest agent of change and as such are our greatest resource as we make efforts to pull ourselves out

of the trenches of colonialism and re-establish ourselves as viable economic, political and cultural leaders in our society.

Durie (1997, p. 2) questions the relevance of whānau, stating that “the meanings of family and whānau in contemporary New Zealand have changed to the point some would argue they have lost all significance and are, at the best, vestiges of bygone eras. Others maintain that families and whānau have simply evolved to meet new circumstances and are no less significant now than they were three or four decades ago. But they are different.”

The Taskforce on Whānau-centred Initiatives (n.d. [2010], p. 13) claims to have developed a contemporary definition of whānau based on the reality of where whānau live. The definition takes account of the inter-generational nature of whānau as well as their living arrangements. This definition is “a multi-generational collective made up of many households that are supported and strengthened by a wider network of relatives”.

The Ministry of Social Development (2004, p. 105) recognises Māori family and whānau. Like previous authors, the Ministry acknowledges that whānau is the basic social unit of Māori society, as well as being “a much wider concept than the traditional ‘family’”. The report notes that Māori are more likely to “live in multi-generational households”. The “‘whakapapa whānau’ may bring legal rights to communally owned land, customary rights and interests to traditional areas and resources, as well as shared grievances” (p. 106). The report also acknowledges kaupapa whānau. While Māori have a special place in New Zealand because of the Treaty of Waitangi (p. 106), this special place is ceremonial only.

In a report for the Families Commission entitled *Whānau Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow*, Irwin (Irwin et al., 2011, p. 71) states that whānau “can be described as being at the heart of Māori society in two significant respects. The first is structural; the second socio-structural.” Her comments were based on an extensive research project which looked at whānau success rather than failure, and the report refers to the collective nature of whānau, as opposed to the individualism of Western societies. The social structure acknowledges the connection of whānau, hapu and iwi, while these structures are also involved in issues of social justice such as Waitangi Tribunal claims. Irwin notes that at the level of iwi involvement, kaupapa whānau cannot be members of tribal databases.

In grappling with the various attempts to define whānau, both from the outside and the inside, some contemporary scholars have been able to retain what is invincible and inviolate, to reject what is ethnocentric and incomplete, and to assert a broader definition and understanding that is based on internal views, lived experience and phenomenological consideration.

Arriving at Meanings of Whānau

In the new urban environment, Māori began to reorganise themselves along different lines in order to get the support they required. Smith, in his article *Whakaoho Whānau* (1995, p. 23), refers to the emergence of kaupapa whānau and discusses the changes in Māori society from an agrarian to industrialised society post-World War Two. Due to the “enormous acculturative pressure” put on Māori in urban living, the concept of whānau has altered somewhat. Smith (1995, p. 28) claims that “many Māori have been successfully converted to the Pākehā notion of family”, while some have retained more traditional whānau values.

Cultures change as they evolve over time, and according to different circumstances. For example, 80 per cent of Māori now live in urban centres rather than rural areas. Pihama and Penehira (2005, p. 17) note that “definitions of whanau have also tended to entrench western notions of gender relations”. They report that “new developments culturally, socially and politically have meant that whānau is now viewed differently from how our tupuna viewed whānau. New formations of whānau have taken place to provide for the needs of Maori people within the social, political and economic contexts they find themselves in” (2005, p. 19).

In Hall and Metge (2002, p. 50), whose discussions were updated in Metge and Ruru (2007, p. 49), the authors describe how older Māori, when discussing whānau membership, adhere to the descent line or whakapapa. This approach excludes spouses and whāngai not of those whakapapa lines. Anthropologists call this a ‘descent group’. Younger Māori include spouses and whāngai, and to anthropologists this is known as an ‘extended family’. The authors conclude that “to understand the whānau as it functions in Māori social life, it is necessary to hold these two views in tension, recognising that they assume primacy for

different purposes”. It is important that whānau is understood in terms of the worldview from which it emerges.

Taiapa (1994, pp. 6–7), in the Intra Family Income Study (a large research project on family/whānau income, conducted by Massey University), writes that “the term ‘whānau’ has gained currency in recent years and is now used in a range of contexts, not only by Māori, but also by others”. She goes on to say that “the wide use of whānau by Māori and Pākehā suggests that whānau is associated with a set of values which are currently highly prized”. She reports (1994, p. 54) that “Māori couples in the study live in two dimensions. They are part of nuclear family units in terms of day to day living ... and they are part of the whānau for occasional events.” Taiapa (1994, p. 54) gives an example of one of the differences between the nuclear family and whānau: “As part of the nuclear family unit they manage their money individually or as a couple, as whānau members they share a more collective attitude to money” (1994, p. 54). Taiapa also notes that describing whānau as ‘extended family’ does not “procure the complexity of whānau or of whānaungatanga” (1994, p. 4).

How Relationships Define Whānau

Several authors have discussed particular features of whānau that throw light on some of the values and inner meaning of whānau as it is lived and upheld as an ideal: the relationship that adults have with children and mokopuna, the idea that children do not belong solely to their parents, and the breadth and depth of relationships within whānau that anchor whānau not only in the past through whakapapa but also in the present through connectedness.

In examining Family Law policy over many years, Durie-Hall and Metge (1992, p. 60), and in a more recent edition, Hall and Metge (2002, p. 49), conclude that “Māori ... recognize two kinds of family, the nuclear family and the whānau. Their understanding and experience of the nuclear family is affected by their understanding and experience of the whānau.” They note “that whānau are not exclusive groups”, and that belonging to one whānau through one parent does not exclude individuals from belonging to the whānau of the other ‘in-married’ Māori parent. If individuals marry, they can become a member of their spouse’s whānau. If a whānau is functioning well, its members are bound by ‘aroha’, provide financial and moral

support to each other, are able to manaaki visitors, accept responsibility for each other's behaviour by checking another member who steps out of line, and enjoy each other's achievements and successes. Durie-Hall and Metge (1992, p. 62) state that "actual whānau depart to a greater or lesser extent from this model". Māori nuclear families, on the other hand, may or may not belong to a functioning whānau. There is scope for nuclear families to be independent of whānau.

Walker (1990, p. 63) argues that "the main function of the whanau was the procreation and nurture of children Children were used to receiving care and affection from many people besides their parents." He notes that, in this secure environment, "mokopuna ... were probably more influenced by their grandparents, the kaumatua and kuia", and that the impact of the loss of a parent through death or separation is minimised. Another role of the whānau is that "it looked after its own aged or debilitated members". Children are not the exclusive possession of their parents. Grandchildren can and do have a special relationship with their grandparents that is, according to Durie-Hall and Metge (1992, p. 64), "characterised by warmth and intimacy Far from being jealous of the part that grandparents and other relatives play in their children's lives, Māori parents are grateful for and capitalize on it."

Expanding on the previous comments, Metge and Ruru (2007, p. 52) make the point that the idea that children are the exclusive property of their parents outrages Māori sensibilities: "Children belong not only to their parents but also to the whānau, and beyond that to hapū and iwi." Mikaere agrees, emphasising that children are not the sole property of their parents, but belong to the whānau, hapu and iwi (Mikaere, 2002). Metge and Ruru continue, "they are 'ā tātou tamariki' (the children of us many) as well as 'a taua tamariki' (the children of us two)".

Selby (1994, p. 144) raises some important issues in her chapter on whānau. She notes that she belongs "to several whanau" but limits her discussion to the "extended family type" whose members include parents, brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, nieces, nephews, cousins and grandparents. Another point she makes in relation to the role of whānau members (1994, pp. 145–46) is that "I am the parent of my sisters' and brothers' children, just as they are parents to my children. Those whanau members are all parents, and will love and discipline

and care for the children in a special way in their role as parents.” Selby (1994, p. 146) states that “there are no first and second and third cousins in Maori whanau, and there are no cousins ‘once removed’ or by marriage. Whanau are whanau and responsibilities to one another are clear.” One of the responsibilities of whānau is the care and maintenance of the marae. Another is recognising the importance of the elderly and the stories they are able to share as well as “the art of storytelling”. Finally, Selby (1994, p. 151) asserts that “the whanau is not only a historical family unit. It is a living, vibrant, demanding, supportive, active unit, which plays an important role in the lives of tangata whenua To be ignorant of our whanau makes us poorer.”

The Social Structure of Whānau: Whānau, Hapu, Iwi

The significance of discussing hapu and iwi in relation to whānau is that they exist on a continuum, which expands and contracts according to the occasion. Whānau cannot be separated from hapu and iwi. Most of the early writers on hapu and iwi, with the exception of Buck, were Western academics who used their particular disciplines to help define and explain the evolution of hapu. More recently, Māori academics such as Mead have begun to explain hapu from their own experience.

Mead (2003, p. 215) explores the complexity of a tribe’s makeup, using Ngati Awa as an example. He discusses the size of hapu, which can vary in number from several hundred to over two thousand people, all of whom are related, with the exception of married-ins from other tribes or ethnicities. He then differentiates between home-based and urban hapu, who still belong to Ngati Awa. Some groupings can be either hapu or iwi dependent on the context, “in other words, there is a degree of flexibility in how the terms whānau, hapū and iwi are used” (2003, p. 215) within this tribal context. It is up to Ngati Awa to decide when a hapu becomes an iwi, and the circumstances in which this occurs. It is not for outsiders to define these terms and the application of them.

In describing the evolution from whānau and hapu to iwi in Ngati Porou, Ngata (Sorrenson, 1986, p. 137) refers to genealogical charts and states that:

One chart illustrated the evolution of the ‘tribe’ – the first stage being the evolution of ‘whānaus’ & ‘hapus’ (Hauti, Rongowhakaata, Ruataupere, Iretekura, Uepohatu, &c) and their gradual coalescing into the N’ Porou.

What he describes is whānau becoming hapu, and the various hapu joining together in a gradual internal movement to form a tribe. The significance of Ngata’s observation is that he has described a process that has resulted in the formation of the tribe of Ngati Porou. The movement towards becoming a tribe comes from within the hapu themselves, and is not externally imposed by any other agent. As a Ngati Porou person, I was born into this social structure, and accepted it as part and parcel of my life. Within Ngati Porou, there is no higher authority than Ngata, and his observations are accepted without question.

Ballara (1998, pp. 273–4) analyses ‘whānau’ and ‘aitanga’ when exploring Te Whānau-a-Apanui and Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki in her discussion of the various prefixes used by hapu and iwi, and notes that “these different designations did not signify different structural levels of tribal organisation” (1998, pp. 273–4). She also describes the notion of multiple identities (p. 335): “In the mid-1940s, to be a Māori was to share in a complex and sometimes unconscious, shifting or balancing act of identity, or so it might seem to outsiders.” She uses the example of Eruera Stirling, who “At Poho-o-Rawiri meeting-house in Gisborne, was Te-Whānau-a-Apanui. In the South Island he was Ngai Tahu. At Raukokore he was Te Whānau-a-Maru. Sometimes he was Te Whānau-a-Ruataupare of Ngati Porou.” In acting thus, Stirling purposefully chose to speak from one of his lines of descent. The point of this example is that it shows how Stirling belonged to all of these tribes (1998, p. 335) and acted flexibly within and from each one depending on context – both in terms of people and occasion.

Metge (1967, p. 6) discusses the historical formation of new hapu, in which a group sometimes split from a larger group under the leadership of a relative of the chief, and later took a name of its own, but would sometimes merge with the original group for “large-scale undertakings”.

After challenging other anthropologists such as Peddington, Firth, Metge and Hohepa, and their constructs of hapu, Webster (1997, p. 313) states that:

Hapuu had to be seen simultaneously as (i) far-flung and overlapping kin categories, (ii) interacting but non-local groups, and (iii) localised core members, grading into one another but nevertheless empirically distinguishable in specific situations.

Webster (1997, p. 314) disputes claims by Kawharu et al. that “bilateral ‘kindred’ or ‘whaamere’” replaced “declining or defunct hapuu”. Instead, he argues that bilateral kindred groups replacing declining hapu was a normal process of functioning hapu in that part of the country, which favoured neither the maternal nor paternal sides.

Complexions of Whānau

Cross-cultural relationships and whāngai add to the complex fabric of whānau. The authors below tend to focus more on the incidence of Māori/Pākehā relationships, which were not always positively received. Whāngai has not been recognised in legislation, but is still occurring within Māori society today.

Cross-Cultural Relationships

The term ‘cross-cultural relationship’ refers to a marriage between a Māori and a non-Māori person, a phenomenon that has been occurring since first contact with Europeans. These relationships have posed challenges for both the Māori and Pākehā partner, as for periods of time it was not socially acceptable for intermarriage to take place.

Butterworth (1988, n.p.), in a series of lectures on the Concert Programme, traces the early history of Māori–Pākehā liaisons that eventually led to marriage. The women were often the daughters of chiefs and it was through the intervention of Samuel Marsden, and later of Bishop Pompallier, that these marriages were formalised.

Belich (1996, p. 251) describes “two related but conceptually distinct phenomena, intermarriage and gene mixing”, during the period 1820–50. He states that

... this was also the heyday of marriage alliance: the period in which marriage linked the highest proportion of Pakeha to Maori communities.

Research on early South Island mixed marriages shows that while they themselves may not have been very prolific, those of their half-caste offspring were.

He states that “marriage alliance continued to be important in bonding its Maori and Pakeha partners in the residues of Old New Zealand throughout the later nineteenth century” (1996, p. 252).

Ausubel (1965, pp. 182–84) discusses the tensions, prejudices and open hostility that existed when young Māori and Pākehā began to get involved with each other pre-1965. Both the female and male were often insulted by Pākehā parents and community members.

Harre (1968, pp. 130–31), using demographic data and some interviews, discusses Māori–Pākehā intermarriage. Like subsequent authors, Harre focuses on race and ethnicity and its impact on the development and maintenance of these Māori–Pākehā relationships and the difficulties faced by the couples.

Using the 1996 census data, Callister shows that the phenomenon of cross-cultural marriage has continued, as “around half of partnered Māori men and women have non-Māori partners” (2003, p. 89).

In a study of her own iwi, Wanhalla (2009, p. 159) discusses how cross-cultural marriages resulted in changes for Ngai Tahu. She describes the emergence of “new identities and cultural affiliations [being] forged out of intimate encounters”, and “physical transformations [that] took place as interracial families emerged out of the contact era” (2009, p. 159). Inter-racial marriages were regarded as a “tool of assimilation”, which was tracked by the census data.

Cross-cultural relationships have thus been a constant phenomenon since first contact, and their prevalence throws up issues such as race relations, racism, identity and assimilation.

Whāngai

Whāngai is a Māori form of adoption by which a child is taken into a whānau to be cared for. Sometimes the child is legally adopted, sometimes not. The term ‘whāngai’ applies both to the child who is adopted, who may be a newborn, an older child or a teenager; and to the process of adoption itself.

Hall and Metge (2002, p. 61) and Metge and Ruru (2007, p. 60) discuss the Adoption Act 1955, and the way in which it does not accommodate Māori views. They highlight the differences between Māori and Western ideas of adoption. While the Adoption Act makes a distinction between adoption, which is the legal transference of guardianship from one set of parents to another, and fostering, where children are placed temporarily with another family, it ignores Māori notions of whāngai, which could be, but are not necessarily, either of these. Metge and Ruru (2007, pp. 59–62) remain highly critical of the Adoption Act and its unresponsiveness to whānau.

Mead (1997, pp. 205–6) discusses three models of whāngai that include the historical figures of Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga and Tutanekai. Mead uses an analytical framework derived from the Maui story, which consists of seven key points: the reason for the whāngai, the relationship with the whānau of the child, the ability to care for the child, the search for whakapapa, the mana of the birth family, the mana of the foster family and the deeds of the whāngai child.

McRae and Nikora (2006, p. 10) conducted research highlighting current changes in whāngai arrangements. The six participants in their study discussed various aspects of whāngai within whānau, with one person stating that (2006, p. 10): “You may lose the whakapapa link but the cultural link is still there”. Another says he was “deeply embedded in a unique tribal environment ... that experience rooted me to a uniquely tribal environment and its values”. The participant noted that it was no longer the same today. When asked to discuss the differences between adoption/foster care and whāngai, one person said “Whangai compared to the adoption process is different; there are no restrictions, no barriers. Whangai know who they are and that is what is special. I had one set of parents. It is different for my whangai son; he has two sets of parents. I knew my birth parents, but my

adopted parents were my only mum and dad” (2006, p. 11). Another said: “Foster child care is an imposition, forced upon people; whāngai is much more caring. Foster care is intrinsically Pākehā, very clinical, and it is the opposite of whāngai.” Looking forward, participants were clear that there was:

... a desire to retain and continue the customary institution and practice of whāngai as opposed to adoption or foster care. Whāngai, as a concept, practice and institution, was something that was seen to be uniquely Māori and therefore intrinsically valuable. (2006, p. 14)

In 1999, in a discussion paper, the New Zealand Law Commission identified issues raised by Māori in relation to the adoption of Māori children. These issues include the fact that adopted children are treated as the children of the adopted parents, and their relationship with their birth parents ceases. The Adoption Act was also seen as an imposition on customary law and lines of descent. There was concern that the child would lose his or her identity. Māori did not like the secrecy surrounding European adoption, and that there was no consultation around the development of the Adoption Act (New Zealand Law Commission, 1999, pp. 85–86). The issues relating to whāngai have been addressed by the same commissioners in the report below.

The New Zealand Law Commission (2000, p. 78), in an extensive report entitled *Adoption and Its Alternatives*, detailed the history of the legal status of whāngai in New Zealand. It shows an ‘on–off’ or ‘hot and cold’ relationship with whāngai: from 1899–1902 whāngai arrangements were recognised; from 1902 to 1909 they were not, but could be registered as adoptions with the Native Land Court; from 1909 to 1927 they were not recognised; from 1927–31 they were, but whāngai arrangements were equated with adoption; and from 1932 whāngai children were no longer treated as legal adoptions. The report states that “Section 19(1) of the Adoption Act 1955 reiterates that no customary adoption made after the introduction of the Native Land Act 1909 will have any legal effect” (New Zealand Law Commission, 2000, p. 27). This report describes “the principles that underpin whāngai” as “openness; placement within the family; and whakapapa and whanaungatanga” (2000, p. 75).

The issues raised by Hall and Metge (2002) and Metge and Ruru (2007) regarding the status of whāngai are highlighted in the 2004 Report from the Ministry of Social Development (2004, p. 109), which looks at:

... how best to take account of whānau under present policies and legislation. Examples include the legal status of whangai under the Adoption Act 1955, for the purposes of paid parental leave, and the ability of the extended family to take part in legal processes and decisions.

Maatua Whangai was implemented by the Department of Māori Affairs, Department of Social Welfare and Department of Justice (Reedy, Grant, and Oughton, 1986, p. 1) at around the same time as kohanga reo. The phrase Maatua Whangai means an ‘adoptive parent’. The programme was designed to place children from the city with their rural whānau, in the hope that this would bring about a change in their behaviour, but it was not very successful. Its stated aims, according to Bradley (1994, p. 185), were to provide “the main mechanism for the devolution of government funding directly to iwi for the purposes of Maori community development. The main thrust of Maatua Whangai was ... to compile a register of Maori foster parents ... to provide the Department of Social Welfare with Maori consultancy services, [and] to encourage the development or strengthening of tribal infrastructures to ebb the flow of Maori children and young people to institutions.”

While whāngai was recognised within legislation in the early 1900s, this recognition was discontinued shortly after, and although Maatua Whangai attempted to normalise and apply whāngai practices through government legislation in the 1980s, the uptake and application were never very successful. Whāngai arrangements continue to occur, as illustrated by McRae and Nikora’s 2006 study, but the social and legal implications of the practice have not yet been accommodated in New Zealand legislation.

Functions, Roles, Responsibility, Leadership

This section discusses two very important aspects of the lived experience of whānau. They are the roles of elders and leadership, which sometimes overlap and converge.

The Role of Elders or Kaumātua

The responsibilities that go hand in hand with elders in Māori society increase rather than decrease with age. Expectations on a small pool of elders can be high. Maaka (1993, p. 213) states that:

The situation of Māori aged differs from that of Pākehā aged because in Māori society roles for the aged expand in range and importance, whereas in Pākehā society those roles contract. ... This [Māori representation] has expanded the traditional roles of kaumātua within their own communities by adding new responsibilities in mainstream society.

Maaka is referring specifically to the role of Māori elders in relation to local bodies, national organisations and government, which utilise the services of kaumātua when receiving visitors and new staff. For example, kaumātua are required to sit on the Waitangi Tribunal and on many other national and local bodies, while also being required to play a role within their own hapu and iwi.

Durie (2003, pp. 76–77) discusses roles that can be fulfilled by a kaumātua. These roles include speaking on behalf of the tribe, when visitors arrive or when the tribe is in another tribal area; in relation to the family, when the kaumātua is required to speak at a tangi, or when the partner of the deceased is from another tribal area and the kaumātua is expected to travel to pay their respects. Durie describes kaumātua as “carrying the status, tradition and integrity”, by which he means that kaumātua have knowledge of tikanga. They also have a role with youth, to nurture, support and guide, both culturally and as a whānau member. Sometimes conflict resolution is required within families. Kaumātua provide wisdom and balance at whānau, hapu and tribal gatherings.

In addition to noting some of the cultural functions mentioned by Durie above, Cunningham et al. (2002, p. 23) add “maintenance of protocol, reception and care of visitors ... and performance of ceremonial duties” to the role. They go on to note that (2002, p. 23) kaumātua are not a homogeneous group, and their ability to meet the ever-increasing

demands of both Māori and Pākehā society is dependent upon “knowledge, experience, confidence (Maaka, 1993) or perhaps motivation”.

Leadership

Most of the theorists below discuss traditional forms of leadership. Leadership is very important in maintaining the cohesion of whānau, and younger people will always look towards the elderly for guidance on marae and at iwi events. This guidance is physical, emotional and spiritual.

One of the earliest Māori scholars to discuss the issue of leadership was Winiata (1967, p. 26, pp. 31–36). He defines different types of leader – ariki, rangatira, kaumātua and tohunga – and describes the roles assigned to each. In village life, the kaumātua represented the family or whānau and this leadership was further reinforced by the kaumātua’s role within the whānau group. The kaumātua was a mentor and advisor, and also gave guidance.

With the arrival of the European and the introduction of education, traditional roles began to change. However, the kaumātua, as head of the whānau, remained. Skills required by the kaumātua (1967, p. 87) were “the Maori skills of formal oratory, genealogical ability, knowledge of *waiata* and *patere* (traditional songs), and memory for history, tradition and lore”. Financial contribution at tangi and other hapu events was also required. Winiata (1967, p. 178) concludes by stating that:

The coming of the European has introduced new interests, values and institutions into Maori communities, and as a result, these communities have become more differentiated. New associational formations, arising from specialised interests, provide a background for Maori leadership. Further, Maori communities are now merging with the wider New Zealand society. With this intimate relationship it is inevitable that they should continue to draw upon European institutions, value systems and resources, and this affects the basic structure of Maori leadership.

Mahuika, in his chapter on leadership, discusses leadership that is achieved and ascribed. After analysing leadership within Ngati Porou, and in particular the significant role played by women leaders such as Hinetaora and Ruataupare, he then examines post-European models of leadership, which have emerged from the church schools and through education. Education now plays an increasingly important role with Māori leaders, as their people look to them “for guidance and advice in coping with the modern world” (Mahuika 1981, p. 81). These leaders are also required by economic necessity to live outside the tribal area, returning for tangihanga and hui, and “to their marae when needed” (Mahuika 1981, p. 82).

Mead (1997, p. 195), like Winiata and Mahuika, discusses traditional leaders, who were chosen because of “genealogy and personal qualities”. Mead discusses ariki, rangatira and tohunga, and, like Winiata, he briefly discusses the role of kaumātua and the whānau as a work unit with the kaumātua at its head. Mead states that “The whanau provided the leaders for positions higher up and provided the basic workforce for the leader” (1997, p.194).

Mead (1994, pp. 4–5) launches a strong challenge to contemporary Māori leaders to consider and accommodate the emerging leadership of rangatahi, women, and the kohanga reo generation. She also makes a point that Māori are no longer bound by living in Aotearoa/New Zealand, but have become global, and therefore should be preparing to take their place on the international stage. Mead also questions the unilateral decision-making made by a generation of traditional leaders that will impact upon the rangatahi of tomorrow, and notes how they are not included in any discussions, or involved in marae or tribal affairs. A consequence of this behaviour is loss of respect. She concludes by stating that “marginalising the participation of Rangatahi and Maori women is dehumanization” (Mead 1994, p. 5).

In his overview of leadership, Katene (2010, p. 1) describes the types of “transformational leadership models”, which could be “charismatic, religious, military or socio-political”. He then describes the nature of traditional and contemporary Māori leadership as “characterised by leaders who share a vision, a sense of mission and an agreed course of action”. Like Winiata, Mahuika and Mead, above, he refers to “rangatira, tohunga and whānau leadership” (2010, pp. 4–5). He describes traditional leadership as “not one-dimensional” (2010, p. 5),

but a role in which leaders had more than one task or obligation. He reflects on the skills of people like Tohu, Te Whiti and Te Kooti, and the leadership provided by Ngata, Buck, Pomare, Wi Repa, Ellison, Wiremu Ratana and Te Puea Herangi, describing them as exemplars, hard-working, innovative and possessing a deep belief in the ability of Māori to deliver. They were also strongly supported by their own tribes (2010, pp. 6–7).

Katene (2010, p. 9) discusses the complexities of contemporary Māori leadership, the role of Māori women as leaders, and issues related to tribal leadership as a result of urbanisation. Because of the socio-economic, political and commercial impacts upon Māori, he raises the idea that one leader alone is no longer adequate: “No one leader can now be expected to harness all the necessary knowledge and expert skills required, nor should they”. In addition to the Western skills they require, traditional values and skills are still necessary. This model of sharing various roles he describes as “dispersed leadership”. Like Mead (1994), Katene raises the notion of woman leaders. In his view, there are not enough women in senior leadership positions. He also raises the point that as most Māori now live in urban areas, leadership could come from someone living in an urban area rather than remaining within the domain of the tribal boundaries.

Katene (2010, p. 10) suggests that whānau is “weakening when ... whānau leadership ... is in need of strengthening”. As the foundation of Māori society, whānau can be a “stable influence and ... haven for ... solidarity” (2010, p. 10) if it has strong leaders, teaching healthy and supportive values. Katene also adds that if whānau is strong, hapu will also be strong. While traditional leaders exist within tribal organisations, there has been a call for women and youth to take their place in Māori society.

When Whānau is Whānau: Resilience and Challenges

The Challenges of Urbanisation

Assimilation is the product of policy decisions by government. Various scholars trace the history of what was a very rapid shift, which changed Māori society from an agrarian to an industrialised society. However, in making this change Māori had to live as Pākehā, which altered their lives forever.

Whānau migrated out of a Māori environment in the country, and went to live in the suburbs of Auckland amongst Pākehā, whom they did not know. Their neighbours did not speak their language or understand their culture. The children were displaced in schools that were totally alien to them. The nearest whānau member might be some distance away. At the same time, gatherings were discouraged, further alienating whānau from other whānau and iwi. These were major challenges. The Department of Māori Affairs set up welfare offices to help Māori adjust to their new environment. Such intense social change inevitably had enormous effects on Māori culture and society, and it is partially through an examination of this radical cultural upheaval that the strengths and weaknesses of Māori society are revealed.

Pool (1991, p. 123), a demographer, notes that “in 1945, three-quarters of the Maori population was still rural”. He adds that “nevertheless, the urban population’s rate of growth was rapid, particularly in the decade 1963–75”, and that this growth was (1991, p. 133) “arguably the most accelerated shift for a national population anywhere”. Hill (2004, p. 182), on the other hand, notes that with a shrinking land base and increased population, Māori were beginning to move to the cities as early as 1930; it was “noted at the 1939 Young Maori Leaders Conference that this trend was already being reflected in greater rates of offending and imprisonment”.

Hill (2009, p. 2), like Pool above, discusses the rapid urbanisation of Māori post-World War Two, commenting on how “Maori were expected to become quickly detribalised in the big towns and cities, far from their traditional rural environment”. Hill notes that “by some definitions, more than 80% of Maori eventually ended up living in urban environments”. The hope of the government was that, with isolation from their tribal territories, “Maori would give up their distinctive and collective outlook and ‘settle down’ to become brown-skinned pakeha. Even their ‘brownness’ would be modified by intermarriage.” The policy of urbanisation was assisted by the Department of Māori Affairs, which “provided incentives for Maori to move to the cities in orderly fashion, thereby procuring labour for industry and encouraging Maori ‘integration’ into mainstream society”. Despite these efforts to assimilate Māori, they “‘stubbornly’ (as it was often put) refused to abandon their culture, identity and aspirations”. Hill claims that Māori in the city became bicultural, moving between two

worlds, also commenting (2004, p. 183) that “Urbanisation did, in the event, lead to a weakening of tribally based rangatiratanga.” This caused tribal leaders to re-examine and re-evaluate how they would reach the now urban-based tribal population.

Urbanisation has inevitably had profound effects on Māori society. Smith (1995, p. 27) states that, as a result of urban drift and coming into contact with Pākehā post-Second World War, the “cultural shock was felt very much within the Māori whānau structure”. He describes how Māori found the city lifestyle completely different from their rural roots. With the shift to the city, the changes were subtle, but the implications were huge. Whānau were expected to behave in accordance with the “nuclear family model”; sections were smaller, with manicured lawns and tidy gardens; there was an absence of grandparents and other close relatives and an expectation that Māori would have smaller families; and they were surrounded by Pākehā households. Smith also discusses the advent of technologies such as the refrigerator and freezer, which meant that food could be stored and not necessarily shared, and the telephone, which “cut across the Māori value associated with ‘kanohi kitea’ (the value of personal contact)”.

Meredith (2011, n.p.) expands upon the comments made by Hill (2004, p. 182) regarding the changes in the rural Māori economy:

Rural growth, on the other hand, had slowed and employment prospects for young Māori in the countryside were limited. Despite efforts to develop Māori land holdings, family farmlets were too few to support a rapidly growing Māori population.

This was seen as the catalyst for Māori to move to the city, where there were more job opportunities. Meredith (2011, n.p.) states that “after the Hunn Report of 1961, which made recommendations on social reforms for Māori, the ‘relocation’ of Māori became official policy”.

The Impact of Urbanisation

Many whānau assimilated into the urban lifestyle as a coping mechanism. This resulted in the weakening of whakapapa ties. Distance from their tribal areas would also have contributed to this weakening.

Commenting on the reality for many urban Māori, McIntosh (2005, p. 45) notes that there is a weakening or loss of whakapapa ties back to their hapu and iwi:

A significant number of Maori struggle to identify their tribal links and are ignorant of their whakapapa. Even more have been unable, for a variety of reasons, to keep these associations alive ... for some Maori whakapapa and tribal ties are indeed lost or at some distance.

Walker (1975, pp. 167–68) states that “Migration to the city leads to dispersal of kin. Some are left behind in the rural hinterland while others are scattered in different towns, or ... across the suburbs of metropolitan Auckland.” He comments that kinship is being replaced by pan-tribal organisations such as “Maori welfare committees, Maori Women’s Welfare League branches and church groups”.

Several Māori scholars, including Walker (1975, pp. 167–68), Durie (1989, p. 289) and Bradley (1995, p. 27) comment on different aspects of the process of urbanisation. Durie (1989, p. 289), for example, claims that “Urbanisation ... has meanings other than simply living in a town or city.” He notes the loss of tribal control, and that the population had become multicultural. In contemporary urban life, rights are derived from residency, for example, eligibility to vote in a council election is based on where you live, and land rights are derived from the ability to purchase: this is in contrast with the whakapapa system of tribal societies. Durie (1989, p. 290) concedes, however, that although urbanisation has resulted in “rapid loss of cultural and social values and ... limited integration ... it has not been a uniformly bad experience”.

Walker (1990, pp. 199–200) sees the change in whānau as “one of the most important cultural transplantations into the urban situation”, which has signalled not “the death of the

whānau” but the arrival of whānau that is “transplanted, but in modified form”. Walker argues that the reason for whānau change is that “the nuclear family fits the demands of the industrial system more easily than the extended family”. In another work he comments (2007, pp. 229–30) on the impact of urbanisation on hapu and iwi, through which the numbers of those left behind to look after marae and tribal activities are depleted, so relatively small numbers attend local hui. Because of this, tribal decisions are being made by a much smaller number of people. He claims that while urban relatives still have the ties of whakapapa, they do not always actively practice these ties as many relatives live too far away. Being whānau in today’s society requires money, as travel is often necessary in order to be together.

Keiha and Moon (2008, pp. 6–7) argue that “The urban world is ostensibly a ‘created’ environment” and is a direct result of capitalism and the societies that are forged out of capitalism. Since urbanisation, Māori have set up Urban Māori Authorities to meet “the development needs” (2008, p. 10) of the urban population. Keiha and Moon add that “as a result of the opportunities available to deliver services on behalf of the Government, these organisations have developed a portfolio of business activities that include the delivery of social, health, and training and employment services to the community”. These organisations are service providers to whānau living within their geographic areas. They have become very influential within urban settings, and have challenged the traditional basis of tribes.

One of the consequences of urbanisation, as already noted, is the loss of tribal identity. Meredith states (2011, n.p.) that “Many continue to associate with their tribes ‘back home’”. However, in 2001, one in five Māori did not know their tribal affiliation, and many have come to regard themselves as ‘urban Māori’.”

Baker (2010, p. 68) raises the important issue of meeting whakapapa obligations when living outside the tribal area, and the sacrifices involved in meeting those obligations, “which can mean constant travelling all hours of the day or night. This may be for tangi and other important events, to support he ahi kaa in their obligations, and, most importantly, to

ensure the face of their whānau is seen, he kanohi kitea. Often significant financial and social sacrifices are entailed.”

At the launch of *Wellbeing and Disparities in Tamaki-Makaurau*, the Hon. John Tamihere, at the time Minister of Youth Affairs, Small Business, Land Information and Statistics, and Associate Minister of Māori Affairs and Commerce in the Labour Government, commends this report “for looking not only at the failures”, at those for whom urban life has been “disappointing, tragic, or crippling to the spirit”, but also at the successes (9 December 2003, p. 1). Tamihere (2003, p. 2) asserts that “the report’s principle finding is that whanau remains the predominant kin group among urban Maori”. He goes on to discuss sole parent families and the fact that the ideal of caring and nurturing plus the presence of aunts, uncles and grandparents is not a reality for urban Māori. Tamihere asks the question, “is the whanau mantra a myth?”, and answers (2003, p. 3) that dysfunctional whānau mean that “for a lot of Maori whanau is a myth. It doesn’t exist.” In this, he emphasises the need to work with “the current reality” in order to make whānau real again. Tamihere concludes that “whānau is at the heart of our success. But it is also at the heart of our failure”, and urges (2003, p. 2) “strengthening the whānau and harnessing its potential for social and economic development [as] a major focus of social policy”.

Whakapapa in an Urban Setting: Resilience and Values

In the late 1970s, there was a counter-hegemonic movement against the urban drift, which resulted in a reassertion of whakapapa ties. The authors below describe and assert the importance of their tribal heritages, where the term ‘urban Māori’ is not a part of their vocabulary. In doing so they emphasise the importance of whānau and the identity and sense of worth upheld by whakapapa.

Keenan (2009, pp. 3–5), in her oral history study of urban Māori in Wellington, which was later used as the basis for her PhD thesis at Victoria University of Wellington, found that whakapapa links to tribal areas are still very strong, and that participants refute the notion of urban Māori and choose to be identified by their iwi. Keenan questions what was involved in becoming an urban Māori in the 1960s. She used this as a basis for a research question, which led her to state that “in the Māori language, the word ‘people’ can be synonymous

with the word 'iwi' (tribe). The implication that Māori could become a predominantly urban people or iwi, therefore, does not conform to Māori notions of 'people', especially considering historical connections of people through descent to the land." Keenan is asserting the primacy of her tribal society in relation to their lands.

Keenan (2009, pp. 4–5) points out that "One participant who moved to Wellington because of whānau told me that the idea of an 'urban Māori' meant little if anything to her, especially for her identity. She said 'It's only a title, it's only a name. I still prefer to be called Māori rather than urban Māori. That title doesn't really concern me. To me, it has no meaning. It has nothing.'" Another participant said "I think more than ever today, that those that are living in an urban situation are seeking their own iwi, bringing their own iwi together." In her analysis, Keenan concludes that, for this participant, where you belong is more relevant than where you live. The relationships to the wa kainga or home area were more significant than the relationships in the city.

Reedy, a Māori from a rural setting with a very strong whānau and tribal identity, who moved to the city, wrote of the values she brought with her. This was in response to what was happening to Māori living in urban areas. In 1979, the New Zealand Planning Council published *He Mātāpuna*, which contains stories written by Māori on the topic of being Māori. She described her experiences of growing up in traditional whānau where the values, beliefs and support she gained stood her in good stead throughout her life. Reedy (1979, p. 43) stresses the importance of the links with the past and notes "I know my roots, my identity They link me with my tribe – with those who have passed on and those that are to come. They highlight the extended family ties that support me, my eight children, and our grandchildren."

Rangihau (1981, p. 166) states that "kinship is the warmth of being together as a family group: what you can draw from being together and the strength of using all the resources of family. And a strong feeling of kinship or whanaungatanga reaches out to others in hospitality." Although Māori have experienced ongoing urbanisation, undergoing the impacts of assimilation and developing a pan-Māori identity, Rangihau claims that they have never lost the primacy of tribal identity (1981, p. 174). He notes that each tribe has its

own history, which is not a shared history. In the end, whakapapa and whānau are more resilient to social change and even an apparent dilution of identity. Scholars who have specifically examined whānau within the context of urbanisation testify to this.

Whānau Constructs: An Outsider Version of Whānau

This section discusses the various whānau types, from kaupapa whānau through to whānau ora, where the metaphor of whānau has been developed by researchers, public servants and policy-makers to serve various policy needs.

Kaupapa Whānau

Metge (1995, pp. 305–6) introduces the notion of kaupapa-based whānau, stating that “an increasing number of Māori programmes and groups have been established in recent years with a special purpose (kaupapa) as focus and rallying cry”. These purposes include, but are not limited to, kohanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori and women writers. Since the 1970s, there has been a growth in groups such as kapa haka, maurakau and sports teams. Metge claims that kaupapa whānau “have a higher turnover of members”, as they lack the cohesion afforded by ties of descent. Kaupapa whānau, Metge (1995, p. 305) notes, are modelled on whakapapa whānau but “differ ... in one crucial respect: the main criterion for recruitment is not descent but commitment to the kaupapa”.

This definition or application of the concept of whānau has gained traction over time, and is beginning to find its way into policy. This is problematic, as the fundamental basis of Māori society is whakapapa, but this construct inevitably downplays the whakapapa links and thus distorts what is true about whānau.

Durie makes the same points as Metge in relation to kaupapa whānau groups (Durie, 2003a, pp. 15–16) when he points to the lack of descent as a unifier in this context. However, he identifies similarities between kaupapa whānau and whakapapa whānau in the ways in which members may behave towards each other and thus throws light on some of the values implicit in the notion of whānau. Durie describes how kaupapa whānau evolved, stating that “Kaupapa whānau were initially a product of urbanisation, when many Māori became

physically distant from whakapapa whānau and, in their new environment, re-created the sense of whānau by providing each other with support, companionship, and advice about the urban environment.” He also expands on the nature of some kaupapa whānau groups, explaining that they “have more flexible rules for engagement and disengagement and do not necessarily expect a life-long relationship”, whereas whakapapa whānau is everlasting.

Cunningham, Stevenson and Tassell (2005, pp. 15–16), referring to the *Te Hoe Nuku Roa* study, describe how “contemporary definitions of whānau extend beyond the descent group. In this context the model of whānau, that is the values and obligations which underlie whakapapa-based groups, are transported into non-whakapapa-based groups. The term whānau is used to express group members’ commitment to one another and perhaps to a shared purpose.” The authors also extrapolate that it is likely for kaupapa whānau to be more important in urban than in rural areas. Their qualitative data are supported by the above definitions outlined by Metge and Durie. The Taskforce on Whānau-Centred Initiatives (n.d. [2010], pp. 12–13) uses a similar definition, incorporating work colleagues, sporting activities and other pan-tribal groups.

In a small study for the Families Commission for which she interviewed nine Māori participants working within government departments, Walker (2006, pp. 19–21) found that there was an awareness that a kaupapa whānau did not take the place of their whānau of origin, but that like whakapapa whānau they also provided support when required, reinforced the collectivity of Māori and strengthened the group. The deeper elements of whakapapa whānau were not necessarily available within the kaupapa whānau. The term kaupapa whānau was not used – instead, there was a preference for ‘whānau a kaupapa’. The difference is subtle but significant, because the focus is on the purpose rather than on the word ‘whānau’.

Many pan-tribal groups have been established, such as the New Zealand Māori Council, the Māori Women’s Welfare League and the 28th Māori Battalion, that did not and do not describe themselves as kaupapa whānau. A reason for this could be their grounding in who they are and where they come from: they were products of strong whānau, hapu and iwi.

Kaupapa whānau creates a metaphorical whānau, which may or may not have some of the characteristics of whānau, but seems to lack a depth of the lived experience.

Whaamere

Hohepa, like other scholars such as Metge (1995), Best (1952) and Firth (1959), defines whānau as extended family, whereas the transliteration whaamere (1970, pp. 93–94) “consists of all the living” who are blood-related. According to Hohepa, the characteristics of whaamere are “descent from a progenitor deceased within living memory”; bilateral descent; and the fact that it “resembles the English ‘family’ in its widest sense”, i.e. the Pākehā notion of extended family. For Hohepa, whaamere reside within communities, rather than hapu and iwi. Hohepa’s definition, while strongly resembling the notion of family, is nevertheless Māori. He appears to have been the first to use the term in print, and the distinction he was trying to make may have been between Māori who descend from hapu and iwi and see themselves primarily as living within a whānau, and those who live as and have the appearance of family.

In *An Analysis of the Characteristics of Whānau* (2005, p. 14), Cunningham, Stevenson and Tassell note that “while promoted as a means of distinguishing a Māori nuclear family from a customary, extended Māori family, this term [whaamere] has failed to gain any significant usage”. Like Cunningham et al., Walker’s (2006, pp. 22–23) study found diverse views as to the meaning of whaamere, which had not gained much traction with participants in this thesis. Whaamere is another attempt at an acculturation of whānau, because terms such as ‘nuclear’ and ‘extended’ are not Māori. It is also a term that illustrates the fact that transliteration does not necessarily carry with it cultural meaning.

Family

This section highlights the differences between the New Zealand family and whānau.

Statistics New Zealand (1999, p. 1) uses membership and co-residence as a way of defining family. ‘Family nucleus’ is defined in their glossary of classifications as “a couple, with or without child(ren), or one parent and their child(ren), all of whom have usual residence

together in the same household. The children do not have partners or children of their own living in the same household.” Statistics New Zealand also provides a definition of extended family (1995, p. 2):

A group of related persons who usually reside together and consisting of a family nucleus and one or more other related persons; [or] two or more related family nuclei, with or without other related persons.

These definitions are used by Statistics New Zealand for the collection of census data.

On the other hand, Hall and Metge (2002, p. 49) highlight the common definition of family, as used by the legal fraternity, as that of *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* (1999, p. 512) where the primary meaning refers to “a set of parents and their children”.

Pool (2007, p. 34), a leading demographer in New Zealand, takes a completely different approach and stresses family formation as a critical factor in determining family dynamics and structures. He also questions the usefulness of kinship relationships in providing family support.

Cunningham, Stevenson and Tassell (2005, pp. 13–17) suggest a range of descriptors, which might best describe family within policy settings. They discuss various familial arrangements. One is “families”, which “can be described by their structure [such as a] single-parent family ... their socio-economic status [such as a] high/middle/low income family ... their age distribution [such as a] young family ... ethnic group [such as a] Māori family ... or by the way in which the family interacts with society”. Cunningham et al. (2005, p. 13) highlight the difficulties of defining a dynamic and mobile social unit such as family.

Attempts at creating an absolute definition for the term ‘family’ are burdened with problems. The influence of continuing social change and the general flexibility of the family structure makes an acknowledged global meaning for family a difficult if not impossible task. Legal and policy definitions of family have tended to focus on nuclear or core family, with the exception of

the Family Group Conference process within the youth justice area where ‘family group’ is used in an extended family sense.

In Walker (2006, p. 23), participants who were products of one Māori and one Pākehā parent compared the differences between family and whānau. Family was seen as “narrow”; “insular”; “formal”; lacking the “connectedness and strength of genealogy”; and “immediacy ... it’s the here and now”.

Baker (2010, p. 64) discusses the concept of resilience for whānau, and notes the differences between whānau and family: “whānau are larger and usually more complex than family as understood by Western culture the ‘glue’ that holds whānau processes and relationships together is distinctive, emerging from the Māori worldview and its related cultural constructs.”

The difference between whānau and family is that they come from two different worldviews: one from a Māori worldview, with a strong sense of collective and intergenerational identity, and the other from a Pākehā worldview. The New Zealand family is derived from the British and European family, but is becoming uniquely New Zealand in nature. Like the family, which has evolved into a New Zealand family, whānau have also evolved over time, with different representations.

New Whānau

Mead (2003, p. 214) writes that “As the whānau continues to grow and generational depth increases, a time comes when the whānau has become so large in number that it will either have to divide into several whānau or be regarded as a hapū.” These smaller groups Mead terms “new whānau”, stating (2003, p. 210) that “new whānau need to be recognised”. The concept of ‘new whānau’, in Walker (2006, p. 23), raised philosophical questions for some participants in this thesis, because they felt very strongly that whānau cannot be described as new or old, or limited or curtailed in the way Mead describes.

Virtual and Statistical Whānau

Durie (2001, p. 194) argues that “new technologies and electronic forms of communication have ... enabled relatives separated by distance to keep in touch”. He calls whānau who utilise these technologies “virtual whānau”. Bearing in mind that physical proximity and intermittent or regular meetings are characteristic of whānau values and behaviour, and the challenges posed by modern lifestyles to these values and behaviour, it is understandable that a construct such as virtual whānau should be created to describe the sort of whānau or whānau-like entity that may exist through new technological devices.

At the *Hui Whakapūmau Whānau*, Durie (2003, p. 16) also introduced the notion of “statistical whānau” where, particularly in statistical reports, as “there is no specific Māori word to describe family, the tendency has been to use whānau and family as if they were synonymous”; he points out that “whānau is also used as an equivalent for household”. Durie urges that “In interpreting statistics, some care needs to be taken to first determine how the word whānau is being used and to then decide whether the use of the word whānau actually confers any helpful purpose.”

Walker (2006, p. 23) found that neither concept has much meaning. Language here is becoming imprecise and loose, and the constructs are largely regarded as artificial and unhelpful.

Whānau Ora

Whānau Ora is focused on service delivery to whānau, and is both a health and social model. While it claims to be based within a Māori worldview and tikanga, as a strategy it is currently being delivered by a Crown agency and has a strong social policy focus. It was introduced in 2002 and is still being evaluated.

In 2001, the Ministry of Health published the draft discussion document *He Korowai Oranga* (Māori Health Strategy), with the final strategy released in 2002. King and Turia (2002, p. II) claim that the strategy puts whānau at the centre of public policy. District Health Boards are also required to measure whānau ora, but it is unclear whether this means

an individual or a collective, as health funding is generally allocated on the basis of populations and disease states. A key informant in the Health Reforms 2001 Research Project (Cumming et al., 2003, p. 70) states that whānau ora will be difficult to measure because “there are different measures for the individual and different measures for the collective”.

One of the tasks of the Taskforce on Whānau-Centred Initiatives was to develop underpinning principles for the delivery of Whānau Ora services through Te Puni Kōkiri. The taskforce has identified a contemporary and important definition of the modern whānau, which is (n.d. [2010], pp. 12–13) “a multi-generational collective made up of many households that are supported and strengthened by a wider network of relatives”. The report identifies that

... the links between whānau members do not depend on specific tasks, but on ongoing relationships based around shared lines of descent and conjugal associations. They are built around cultural values such as generosity, hospitality, sharing and mutual respect.

A key point about whānau for the taskforce was its continuity over generations and the importance of the relationships developed, which “generate bonds that cannot be dissolved even when alienation occurs”. The taskforce was made up of Māori, and the perspective they used took into account and summarised where whānau have come from in the past hundred or so years.

More recently, the Taskforce on Whānau-Centred Initiatives, established by the Minister of the Community and Voluntary Sector (n.d. [2010], pp. 12–13), reported that the characteristics of living in close proximity to each other, as well as close bonds, “have been eroded” by urban living arrangements. The report also notes that “whānau households may exist in different parts of the country or even across different countries”.

In Walker (2006, pp. 24–25), there are very divergent views from the participants on what Whānau Ora means. In relation to placing Whānau Ora within a government framework, there are many tensions: “what we are trying to do is get a fundamental concept of whānau

and put that into a funding formula that will fund specific things”. Another tension is the conceptualisation of whānau as a social model for service delivery. The measurement of Whānau Ora is seen as challenging and was described by participants as a ‘myth’. Measures would need to be developed for the words ‘whānau’ and ‘ora’, which would then quantify them, which is an impossibility with dynamic concepts such as these.

The Families Commission (2009, p. 8), which had a role in the development of Whānau Ora, is of the view that whānau is a key site for intervention and change: “The emphasis on whānau in social policies assumes that changes in the wellbeing of individual Māori can be brought about by focusing on the collective of whānau and vice versa.” The Families Commission published a booklet (Irwin et al., 2011) which built on the strengths of whānau and Māori potential, concentrating on the positive gains made in Māoridom as the way forward rather than focusing on the negatives. This is contrary to Tamihere’s view (2003).

Policy and the Whānau Worldview

One of the real challenges to, and failures of, government policy is its inability to adequately encapsulate the wholeness of whānau. There is a constant battle to fit the round peg of whānau into the square hole of policy. As Rangihau notes (1981, p. 174), “I am constantly reminded of the number of Pakeha people who know better than I do what is good for me.” This reflects the widespread view among Māori that policy has been negative for them, and therefore for whānau. Social policy is about well-being for the population, whether it is in education, the labour market, housing, social welfare, health or the criminal justice system. Social policy in New Zealand does not recognise or take account of the environment, including land and other natural resources, in terms of their significance to whānau.

Policies were and are based on a Eurocentric perspective and are therefore unable to meet Māori needs. With the evolution of the welfare state, Cheyne, O’Brien and Belgrave (2008, p. 19) argue that in the redistribution of resources, “policies aimed at sustaining the Pākehā family have undermined Māori whānau”. Cheyne et al. also claim that Māori have contested and challenged decisions of the state. These authors cite land settlement and welfare housing as pre-eminent policies of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries respectively.

Cheyne et al. (2008, p. 20) are very clear in their description of how the state has consistently undermined Māori by shifting resources “from Māori to Pākehā control, or at least from tribal to individual control”. The policy of integration was intended to make Māori like Pākehā. Smith (1995, p. 27) supports these comments by Cheyne, and details how the shift from a collective identity to individual identities is detrimental to the understanding and practice of whānau.

The *Report on Department of Maori Affairs with Statistical Supplement*, known widely as the Hunn Report, had a profound effect on Māori, as it explicitly promoted the urbanisation of Māori (Department of Maori Affairs and J. K. Hunn, 1961, p. 14):

Urbanisation of the Maori is inevitable, critics notwithstanding. Farming will never support more than a handful; the rest must enter the towns in search of work.

The government saw this as a means of integrating Māori into Pākehā society, and breaking down notions of a separate social order. As the Report states (1961, p. 15) “Evolution is clearly integrating Maori and Pakeha. Consequently ‘integration’ is said to be the official policy whenever the question is asked.” This integration was very detrimental to whānau, as it displaced them and left them without the skills to cope. The recommendations of the Hunn Report are highly significant because they initiated these major changes for Māori and whānau, which were accepted by government.

Whānau first appeared in public policy in 1989, in the Children, Young Persons and their Families (CYPF) Act (Pākura, 2003, p. 3). In this Act, whānau is linked to hapu and iwi, thus recognising the wider social context of a Māori child. This Act set up the structure for family group conferences and encouraged involvement of the wider whānau, hapu and iwi in the care of a child. The development of this Act came from *Puao-o-te-Ata-Tu* (Ministerial Committee on a Maori Perspective, 1986) and the concerns raised about Māori children in institutions or non-familial foster care.

Hall and Metge (2002, pp. 43–44) outline Māori social policy from two significant documents, the contents of which were gathered from Māori around the country. The first

was the aforementioned *Puao-o-te-Ata-Tu* (1986), and the second *Nga Kohikohinga Mai No Nga Putea i Whakairia ki Nga Tāhuhu o Nga Whare Tupuna: An Analysis of Views Expressed on Marae*, in the Royal Commission on Social Policy 1988. The significance of these two documents is that they were Māori-specific views on social policy. For the first time, Māori were given the opportunity to have input into policies for whānau.

In their summation of *Nga Kohikohinga*, Hall and Metge identify key themes consistent with Cheyne's later themes (above), for example, alienation from land and culture. The loss of language was seen as a major obstacle, and alienation also extended to the alienation of the individual from their whānau, and the whānau from the hapu and tribe. At decision-making levels, there was little evidence of Māori involvement, resulting in another form of alienation. There was (Hall and Metge, 2002, p. 44) "scepticism about methods used in obtaining Māori advice". The report highlights frustration, unmet expectations and long delays in resolving land issues through the Waitangi Tribunal.

In terms of achieving the social policy objective of well-being, policy for Māori needs to be based on a Māori worldview which includes the spiritual and physical. This worldview is holistic, interdependent, and includes "past, present and future" (Hall and Metge, 2002, p. 44). Based on this worldview, whānau are not separate from the land and environment. The loss of land has had a negative impact on many whānau.

Hall and Metge (2002, pp. 44–45) recommend that

If they wished to be effective, policy-makers were advised to recognise the importance of te ao turoa (environment), turangawaewae (a place of security), whanaungatanga (bonds of kinship) and taonga-tuku-iho (treasures handed down) as foundations of Māori society, and to set about enhancing them in a holistic manner.

These authors note the fundamental difference between Māori and Western approaches to policy. In Western approaches, the emphasis is on the individual, and with Māori, the focus is on the collective.

Māori Attempts at Policy

Hill (2009, p. 192) discusses the implementation of the *Tu Tangata* policy in 1977 by the Department of Māori Affairs. *Tu Tangata* aimed to “generate activity at the most grounded of community levels, and particularly recognised the value of whanau ‘for reorganising the administrative basis of government-Maori interaction’. Whanau were to be encouraged to become involved in the planning and implementation of solutions to existing problems, and to suggest and promote new development initiatives.” Fleras and Spoonley (1999, p. 116) note that “Tu Tangata sought to wean Māori away from government dependence by encouraging Māori to ‘stand tall’ and take responsibility for their actions.” The *Tu Tangata* policy remained in effect until 1984, when it was abandoned.

In response to the lack of implementation of *Puao-o-te-Ata-Tu*, O’Regan and Mahuika (1991, p. 31) state that this document was intended to “meet the needs of Māori in policy, planning and service delivery in the Department of Social Welfare”. There were various reactions to the document, and in its entirety it was never implemented. As O’Regan and Mahuika (1991, p. 38) conclude, “we had great hopes for *Puao-o-te-Ata-Tu*. *Puao-o-te-Ata-Tu* was not adopted by DSW [Department of Social Welfare] except for hiring a few brown faces.”

The Cultural Bias of the State

Commenting on policy for the Royal Commission on Social Policy, Gilling (1988, p. 601) makes the point that “modern social policies are predicated on the supposition that they are in the best interests of the child and family”. She suggests, however, that closer examination reveals cultural bias “and the pursuit of sectional political interests”. Gilling also points out the contradiction that exists in policy where there is whanaungatanga on the one hand and the use of age cohorts for the allocation of resources on the other hand. This directly cuts across and limits Māori cultural norms, and does not encourage the cohesion of whānau. In terms of equality she states (1988, p. 617) that

Maori sense little equality in terms of the partnership guaranteed by the Treaty of Waitangi. Family law is Pakeha law Non-understanding – of

different values, underlying principles; misunderstanding of spirituality, of whakapapa, of whanau, of things Maori – prevails.

Endorsing *Nga Kohikohinga*, from the Royal Commission on Social Policy, Hall and Metge (2002, pp. 46–47) argue for

- the recognition of Māori family forms (nuclear and whānau) as an integral part of hapū and iwi
- the replacement of policies that undermine Māori family forms with policies designed to enhance them
- Māori participation in legal management of family matters
- maintenance and enhancement of the links between Māori, te ao tūroa and their tūrangawaewae, and recognition and protection of the status of taonga-tuku-iho.

Like Gilling above, Hall and Metge state that despite the substantial reports of the Royal Commission and the Ministerial Taskforce, social policy still ignores all the recommendations made. The exception is the Children, Young Persons and Their Families Act 1989. On the other hand (Hall and Metge, 2002, p. 47), “the Adoption Act 1955 openly rejects Māori beliefs and practices”. Hall and Metge (2002, pp. 47–48) go on to critique family legislation and its impact on Māori. They state, “In 2001 many of New Zealand’s family laws serve a policy that is basically assimilationist, ignoring the social objectives articulated by Māori.”

Hall and Metge (2002, p. 48) have identified other pieces of legislation that are not particularly supportive of Māori values and beliefs. They are “the Marriage Act 1955, the Guardianship Act 1968, the Family Proceedings Act 1980 and the Child Support Act 1991”. While these pieces of legislation do not attack Māori beliefs and values, they ignore them. The Domestic Violence Act 1995 and the Property Relationships Act 2001 “take a step toward recognition of Māori cultural differences by using a Māori word to refer to a Māori concept in a subclause”.

The Ministry of Social Development, in a briefing for the Families Commission (2004, p. 107), tracks the policy direction for Māori from 1900, in which collectivism was discouraged and policy supported assimilation and integration. However, *Puao-o-te-Ata-Tu*'s acceptance of the group identity in the form of whānau, hapu and iwi signified a shift from the Hunn Report's active encouragement of assimilation, as noted earlier. By the 1990s it had become best practice across the government sector to consider explicitly how to deliver policies and services to Māori. Government agencies were encouraged to develop Māori-specific policies. These strategies "explicitly promote whānau-focused services or whānau involvement in decision-making and service delivery". The report (Ministry of Social Development, 2004, p. 108) raises the issue that whānau could be defined in ways that would be uncomfortable for Māori, such as

... the requirements that succession rights to Māori land and the benefits of Treaty settlements must be available to those who are adopted into a whānau even though they may not have a whakapapa link to the land or the grievance. Or they may be restricting, such as the requirement that Māori traditional adoption (whāngai) cannot provide legal rights and obligations.

The state is here attempting, once more, to alter Māori customary values, and apply its own value system.

Despite the intent of the Ministry of Social Development to consider whānau, the evidence shows that the take-up rate has been slow. The Social Reports of 2001 and 2003 (Ministry of Social Policy, 2001: 94–95; Ministry of Social Development, 2003, pp. 114–15) make no distinction between family and whānau, instead citing them as "family/whānau". Later publications of the Social Report by the Ministry of Social Development for the years 2006 (pp. 116–17), 2007 (pp. 112–13) and 2008 (pp. 114–15) remove the word whānau completely from their discussions.

The Families Commission (2009, p. 7), while not defining whānau, nevertheless has been developing strategies for policies that support whānau and the policy objectives of whānau ora. Despite not defining whānau, the Families Commission is required (2009, p. 4) to have regard to "the needs, values, and beliefs of Māori as tangata whenua", and "factors that help

to maintain or enhance whānau resilience and strength. ... The overarching goal of the Whānau Strategy is to support whānau to achieve a state of whānau ora or total wellbeing, utilising the mechanisms of advocacy, engagement, social policy and research.”

The Families Commission (2009, p. 9) has identified that the way forward for the development of policy for whānau is by the use of kaupapa Māori philosophy. An example of this philosophy is the Kohanga Reo movement. “At its core, Kaupapa Māori Theory is the philosophy and practice of being Māori wherein things Māori are accepted in their own right successful Māori policy and programme development in recent years has been dependent upon three factors: Māori control of the initiative, policy or programme; sound Māori advocacy to secure buy-in by the group and by the general community; [and] academic underpinning – Māori policy development has invariably been accompanied by legitimising literatures.” This approach has worked very well within the Kohanga Reo movement, but has been untried in relation to Whānau Ora, which at the present time is still based within a government agency. The Families Commission has laudable goals, but where is whānau in the pursuit and achievement of these goals?

Smith (1995, pp. 18–19) is critical of educational policy and the attempts to improve Māori student underachievement. “Policy attempts designed to alleviate this situation have generally not worked”. This he attributes to the fact that these policies have been developed by Pākehā policy-makers. He also sees the unequal power relationship between government and Māori communities as a contributing factor to these unsuccessful policies.

Underachieving is often blamed on the Māori student and their whānau rather than the structures that have caused this (1995, p. 19). Since the Hunn Report of 1961, policy initiatives, primarily developed “by mostly Pākehā policy makers and therefore reflecting Pākehā ‘solutions’”, continue to “emphasise the negative features of ‘culture’ of the Māori child, the Māori family, the Māori home and the Māori community as the locus of the ‘problem’” (1995, p. 20). Smith (1995, p. 28) also notes that in order to fully assimilate Māori, “a fundamental prerequisite” was the undermining of whānau. “Much of this attack on the whānau was carried out through paternalistic policies ostensibly aimed at elevating Māori social conditions to the ‘taken for granted’ benchmarks set by the dominant Pākehā

culture.” Durie (2003a, p. 20), likewise, urges a strengths-based approach, rather than the deficit model, which is currently used.

Redressing the State’s Cultural Bias

Metge, in a paper delivered to the Social Policy Forum (2001, p. 23), identifies some of the problems of policy in relation to family and whānau, and suggests steps for redress. For instance, social policy does not adequately recognise or reflect “the complexity and variation within the field of family relations”. One of the challenges for policy is that it is not subtle, not nuanced, and nor has it the ability to respond quickly to change. Neither does policy “provide for adjustments and modifications to be made according to the context”. Metge then suggests that the first step in developing social policy is to be more realistic about whānau and family, without romantic idealism.

Whānau has been used in models developed for education and health. Pere uses whānau in her publication *Te Wheke* (2003, p. 3). Durie uses whānau as one of the concepts in his Whare Tapa Wha model (2001, pp. 69–74). This is widely used within the health sector.

In 2011, Irwin et al. published a document that highlighted the strengths of whānau rather than the negative aspects. It looked at the past, present and the future. This report included interviews with Māori women, two case studies and an economic report. This economic report highlights the uniquely Māori brands that have emerged such as Kia Kaha and the recent film *Boy*, and the contributions Māori can make to Aotearoa New Zealand.

In 2012, Baker, Williams and Tuuta, for the Families Commission, conducted two case studies comparing the experiences of South Auckland whānau and Tūhoe whānau living in the tribal area. She found that the Tūhoe whānau had access to cultural resources that acted as protective mechanisms, and when in financial difficulty, there was a system to support them. The issues in South Auckland that led to financial difficulty were quite different, such as dealing with hire purchase arrangements and loan sharks. The report draws attention the need to maximise the knowledge systems of both Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Pākehā.

Conclusion

Whānau is more than the sum of its parts, and discussions of components of whānau do not adequately convey the lived meaning of it. The literature, which has come primarily from books, spans a period of nearly one hundred years. The representation of whānau has been largely one-sided, and there have been few attempts to accommodate any other view of whānau than that from the mainstream Western perspective. Māori scholars came along in the 1950s and did little to challenge these views – they appeared to acquiesce to the academic status quo. In doing so, they allowed whānau to be the ‘other’. Māori explanations of whakapapa, whanaungatanga and turangawaewae are close to their original meaning, and contain the nuances and subtleties.

From the literature on policy, it is apparent that efforts from the time of the arrival of the Pākehā and the establishment of the settler government were designed with the intent of assimilating Māori into Pākehā society. These policies of assimilation continued well into the post-war period, and their effects are still being felt today. The most prominent and egregious of these effects was to move Māori from rural agrarian societies into an industrialised society, dependent on a cash economy. Whānau, whāngai and other important Māori institutions are not recognised by policy, for example, where a whāngai child has to be adopted under the Western legal system in order to acquire rights. Māori are still challenging the inadequacies of the state. The biggest difficulty in making these challenges is the state’s completely different worldview. The literature that has been covered in this chapter will be compared with the data from the lived experience of participants in the ensuing chapters.

Chapter Three

Methodology

This chapter describes the methodology used throughout all the processes involved in this thesis. The particular methodology was chosen to allow an exploration and understanding of contemporary realities of whānau and is based around conversations with members of three age cohorts: those 65 and over; a second group aged 35–64; and a third cohort aged 21–34. The methodology involves the use of qualitative research as the principal analytical and data-gathering tool; and a mix of Māori and Western methods, including insider perspective. It recognises the challenges posed by other indigenous and minority researchers to the ways in which indigenous and minority peoples have been represented elsewhere. The methodology presupposes a tribal worldview and recognises the subjective nature of worldviews: they are value laden. This chapter summarises the specifics of the support received, as well as the whakapapa and whānau sampling method. There is a detailed description of the three participant groups, of what took place in the kōrero and the analysis that was used, and a brief discussion of the applied ethics.

This qualitative and inductive thesis (Crotty, 1998; Sarantakos, 2005; Denzin and Lincoln, 2011; Patton, 2001) uses a mix of Māori and Western methods to produce a study from within a Māori/tribal worldview. Creswell (1998, p. 13) is poetic in his description of qualitative research, stating that he thinks of it as “an intricate fabric of minute threads, many colors, different textures and various blends of material. This fabric is not explained easily or simply. Like the loom on which fabric is woven, general frameworks hold qualitative research together.” Denzin and Lincoln (2011, p. 3) take a more pragmatic approach when describing qualitative research as

... a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices ... turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic

approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.

Denzin and Lincoln also assert: “qualitative research is a field of inquiry in its own right. It crosscuts disciplines, fields and subject matter. A complex, interconnected family of terms, concepts and assumptions surrounds the term” (2011, p. 3). This thesis fits this category.

Qualitative research has the ability to capture the dynamic of the topic in a way that quantitative research does not. It articulates the inner and deeper meanings of whānau as expressed by participants. At the same time, however, it is a specifically Western tool, and indigenous researchers tend to regard Western research methods with some suspicion and challenge their usage, because they are seen as a tool of the coloniser. Smith’s (1999) writings on decolonising methodologies have gained traction amongst indigenous researchers internationally. Smith (1999, p. 1) states that for an indigenous person whose peoples have been colonised, “the term ‘research’ is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism”. On the other hand, Turia (2003) argues that “we need to identify the indigenous tools, adapt them to a changing world, and use them”. She also suggests the need to “identify the Master’s tools, and adapt them ... to suit our indigenous realities”. In other words, indigenous researchers, mindful of the history of research, need to use the tools that are available to them in order to represent indigenous realities more accurately.

Māori, like other indigenous peoples, were colonised by a Western society. One of the effects of colonisation is the creation of the ‘other’. Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin write that “the colonized subject is characterized as ‘other’ ... as a means of establishing the binary separation of the colonizer and colonized and asserting the naturalness and primacy of the colonizing culture and world view” (1998, p. 169). Indigenous academics such as Deloria (1997), Smith (1999), Moreton-Robinson (2004), Rigney (2006, p. 32) and Chivaura (2006, p. 213), along with African-American scholars such as hooks (1989, p. 112) and Ladson-Billings (2000, p. 257), have challenged the supposed primacy of Western research, and the assumption that it can accurately reflect the realities of other cultures. In Aotearoa/New

Zealand since the 1970s, there has been resistance to the characterisation of Māori as ‘other’, with a strong counter-hegemonic movement by urban Māori. For example, Nga Tamatoa became the face of rising political consciousness in that decade (Walker 1990, p. 210), and since then there has been the establishment of kohanga reo, kapa haka, kura kaupapa Māori, iwi radio, Māori television, Māori sports awards, waka ama, Māori health providers and iwi social services, as well as recognition of Māori artists and writers, to name but a few of the positive initiatives. Various tribes also hold annual tribal events, such as Pa Wars⁷ in Ngati Porou, and Hui Ahurei⁸ in Tuhoe. All these counter-hegemonic movements have contributed to the reclaiming of a Māori/tribal worldview. This thesis continues in this relatively recent tradition.

Te Tāhuhu o te Ao Māori

Whānau emerges from a specific cultural context and worldview. Several indigenous scholars challenge the academic frameworks that have been used to explore the ‘truth’ of various indigenous phenomena and instead assert positions that support and more accurately reflect indigenous realities. This process begins with the worldview of the researcher. In another context, Crotty (1998, p. 174) notes that “men and women have different ways of perceiving the world and relating to it. Their concept of the self is different.” Similarly, indigenous peoples and tribal societies have their own view of the world. Ka’ai and Higgins (2004, p. 13) note that this worldview is “layered” and that “defining individual customary concepts [is] extremely difficult, as each concept is defined by its relationship with other concepts and not in isolation”. The Māori cultural context is defined by the link between “*te taha wairua and te taha kikokiko*”, the spiritual and physical aspects of life. Another indigenous academic, Sefa Dei (2000, p. 71) states that “Local peoples experience and interpret the contemporary world in ways that are continuous and consistent with their indigenous worldviews.” This thesis is an attempt to interpret the knowledge given through the eyes of the givers.

⁷ A Ngati Porou sporting event held in January each year, where members of marae compete against each other in a range of sporting and cultural events.

⁸ The annual gathering of Ngai Tuhoe, where they gather to celebrate their tribal identity.

Because this is tribal research, it uses a tribal/Māori worldview called Te Tāhuhu o te Ao Māori, based on knowledge passed down by Amster Reedy (Walker, 2001, pp. 53–59). This worldview is integrated, layered, holistic, flexible and paradoxical. It is profoundly spiritual, where the spiritual realm permeates the physical realm of the land, skies and seas. The principle that joins the various elements of this worldview is whakapapa or ngā hononga. Deloria, when critiquing the impact of Western scholarship on his own peoples, noted that as a result of the dominance of Western thought, “the natural world ... was divided into sacred and secular” (1997, p. 4). The spiritual world became the domain of Christian missionaries, while understanding of the physical world was relegated to Western scientists. Higgins (2004, p. 20) notes that “often scholars (both Māori and non-Māori) focus on a particular area of Māori culture without locating it in relationship to other cultural factors. This has resulted in a narrow analysis of research in to areas of the Māori world.”

The genesis of Te Tāhuhu o te Ao Māori begins in Te Kore or the Void, which in turn permeates all that is seen and unseen. This includes Te Po (the Dark), Te Ao Mārama (the Light), Io (Supreme Being), Ranginui (the Sky Father), Papatuanuku (the Earth Mother) and the gods. These include Tanemahuta (God of the Forest), Tangaroa (God of the Sea), Ruamoko (God of Earthquakes) and many others. The gods are the children of Rangi and Papa, and the human form is said to have been created by the gods. The factor that joins all these dimensions is whakapapa. Tikanga and culture are derived from this view of the world. The reason the term Māori has been included as a descriptor of this worldview is because deities are the domain of all Māori and not the prerogative of one tribe. However, the way in which this worldview is used and applied is localised (Marsden, 1981, p. 143; Tawhai, 1990, p. 11). Rangihau stresses the importance of his tribal identity, which informs how he sees the world around him:

My being Maori is absolutely dependent on my history as a Tuhoe person as against being a Maori person. It seems to me there is no such thing as Maoritanga because Maoritanga is an all inclusive term which embraces all Maoris. And there are so many different aspects about every tribal person. Each tribe has its own history. And it's not a history that can be shared among others. (1981, p. 174)

Tribal approaches to research, based on tribal worldviews, are growing. Irwin (Irwin et al., 2011, p. 71) discusses how more and more Māori scholars are moving toward what she describes as “mātauranga-a-iwi” or “iwi epistemology”. She also highlights how Apirana Mahuika of Ngati Porou has written of the importance of tribally based worldviews, which are essential to a tribal identity. Mahuika (*NatiLink*,⁹ 2010–2011, p.3) states that “The education system needs to be locked into ‘what it means to be Nati’ and with it what ‘mana motuhake o Porourangi’ really means. It does not mean giving our inherited ancestral mana under another iwi, because if this is done then we are an iwi without mana.” The term ‘Nati’ is often used to describe Ngati Porou. The two important points that are being made here are the understanding of what being a descendant of the eponymous ancestor Porourangi means, and the mana associated with that descendancy. A Ngati Porou elder, Pewhairangi (*NatiLink*, 2010–2011, p. 7), notes that “wherever you go in the world, you can always spot a Nati, if they don’t spot you first! We have certain characteristics – our body language, facial expressions, our Reo and the way we express ourselves; our sayings ... what we eat and the way we eat makes us stand out too.”

One’s worldview is a product of one’s socialisation. As already explained, the phrase ‘Māori worldview’ is used to acknowledge the fact that the genesis of Māori spirituality is shared by all tribes, but their interpretations vary. Therefore, this worldview becomes a tribal worldview. The real importance of using this Māori/tribal worldview is because of the way that “all ideas, thoughts and methods of investigation have their own assumptions about the nature of knowledge (epistemology) and the nature of being (ontology)” (Walker, 2004, p. 123). Ladson-Billings (2000, p. 257) claims that “it is important to reinforce that the concept of epistemology is more than a “way of knowing”. An epistemology is a “system of knowing” that has both an internal logic and external validity. How a project is designed, implemented, analysed, written up and presented is dependent on the researcher’s view of the world. I have not used a kaupapa Māori research approach to this study, because as a Ngati Porou person my view has been informed by my socialisation, and my epistemology is based on a Ngati Porou worldview rather than a Māori worldview.

⁹ *NatiLink* is the online publication of Te Runanganui o Ngati Porou

Insider Research

This is an insider project (Naples, 1996; Smith, 1999, p. 137; Kanuha, 2000, p. 440; Corbin Dwyer and Buckle, 2009), as the researcher is a member of the same tribe as the participants. Corbin-Dwyer and Buckle (2009, p. 58) state that insider research is when “the researcher shares an identity, language and experiential base with the study participants ... the insider role status frequently allows researchers more rapid and more complete acceptance by their participants.” It was a very comfortable and enriching experience working with my own. There are, however, traps that exist about which the insider researcher needs to be aware.

Smith (1999, p. 137) raises the necessity for “reflexivity” and for the indigenous researcher to critique his/her practice continually when conducting insider research. She also points out that insider researchers “have to live with the consequences of their processes”, as will their whānau, hapu and iwi. Soutar, in his PhD thesis (2000, p. vii), acknowledges that a charge of subjectivity could be made against him, as he too was a member of the group being researched. Like Smith, he also makes the point (2000, p. 11) that for the tribal researcher, the relationship with participants does not end when the research does. I have borrowed the phrase ‘tribal researcher’ from Soutar, as it fits this particular study. In the 1970s, Marsden and Dansey unapologetically highlighted their ‘subjective’ approaches to things Māori. Marsden (1981, p. 143) states:

As a person brought up within the culture, who has absorbed the values and attitudes of the Maori, my approach to Maori things is largely subjective. The charge of lacking objectivity does not concern me: the so-called objectivity some insist on is simply a form of arid abstraction, a model or a map. It is not the same thing as the taste of reality.

Dansey (1981, p. 129) also describes his approach to things Māori:

My approach is quite subjective. While others can be impersonal I am emotional. While others can observe and record and have no call unless they choose to pass judgement, I am involved and I take part, praise, blame, use

and sometimes even endeavour to change the customs of our people. This is part of me and part of my life and I can no more opt out of it than I could have chosen not to have been born into it.

The positions expressed by these two men over a quarter of a century ago are still valid today and inform my practice and analysis in this thesis.

Whānau Support

I have called the support I received whānau support. The whānau support came from two sources. This study was done in consultation with pakeke from Te Reo o te Iwi Kokiri in Gisborne. The Kokiri, during its early days, was instrumental in developing many Māori by providing support such as teaching aspiring Māori how to speak in public. It also assisted with fundraising for local causes, charities, health initiatives and kohanga reo, as well as acting as a neutral forum for community involvement. It was responsible for the purchase of the land on which the Kokiri stood, which was then transferred to Te Runanga o Ngati Porou.

I met with the Kokiri at the beginning of my study to explain my topic. Its members supported a funding application I made and gave me other and varied support. On one of my visits to conduct interviews on the East Coast, one of the nannies from the Kokiri was my driver. She packed a lovely lunch which we ate along the road.

I also have a Ngati Porou Advisory Group consisting of Maaka Tibble, Amster Reedy, Terry Ehau and Dame Iritana Tawhiwhirangi. The reason for having an advisory group was because they lived in, or close to, the tribal area. Three are native speakers of te reo Māori, and three are university graduates. Two are involved with local organisations, another is a consultant, while another has had a long association with government policy and the Kohanga Reo Trust. From time to time I rang and discussed various points of my thesis with them, and they have given excellent feedback.

Whakapapa Selection of Whānau Members as Participants

Being born into a culture is called whakapapa. In the context of this thesis the use of whakapapa is both literal and metaphoric. Following the advice of Tawhai above, I began with my own whakapapa. In my use of whakapapa I began by identifying five of the hapu to which I belong from which to select my informants. These hapu are Ngati Uepohatu, Whānau a Ruataupare, Te Aitanga a Materoa, Ngati Rangi and Whānau a Umuariki. These hapu are located in and around Ruatoria, and members descend from different ancestors who all connect back to the eponymous ancestor Porourangi. Whereas I had previously viewed these hapu as separate entities and had focused on the vertical relationship from Porourangi without giving too much thought to the horizontal relationships, upon looking more closely at the whakapapa I found that these hapu all connect to each other. While the participants were selected because of their strong connection to one hapu, they had connections to at least one other hapu. Whakapapa has layers upon layers.¹⁰

My intended approach was to interview a whānau across at least four generations, but this proved difficult because where four generations existed the youngest generation was comprised of young children. I did not plan to recruit and interview anyone younger than 20 years of age because the topic required a degree of reflection and consideration based on life experience. I had also planned to analyse the data according to individual whānau groupings, for example, the Greys and the Browns. I was unable to do this as it soon became apparent that other whānau members would be able to identify where the data came from. Whānau have insider knowledge and understanding about other whānau members, and they have ways of identifying them because of the way they speak as well as what they say. I realised this would have breached confidentiality, and I arranged the data by age. Whānau members knew that their brother, mother or sister was in the sample but they did not know what was discussed. Pseudonyms have been used for each participant, in order to maintain confidentiality.

¹⁰ The use of whakapapa as a method of organisation is not new. During World War II Ngata used whakapapa with the establishment of the 28th Māori Battalion (Soutar, 2008), where in the main, men from related tribes were placed in the same company – for example, men from the north formed ‘A’ Company.

I first approached a whānau member who then spoke to her mother, brother and children to see if they might be interested in participating in the study: this is a snowball sample (Patton, 2001, p. 194). This worked well, and both the recruitment and subsequent interviews took place in what was a ‘natural’ way for us all. In one case an interview with one of the nannies was arranged by her daughter. When I arrived, the nanny was surrounded by her granddaughters and piles of flax. She was teaching them how to weave. She arranged to see me later that day. The message I got was that I needed to negotiate with her and not her daughter. After the interview and later that evening, the nanny talked for hours about her life growing up in a small community. I left in the early hours of the morning. Smith (2011, p. 11) notes that the skills required to interview Māori cannot be found in textbooks. An interesting feature of interviewing the eldest age group was the fact that as elders, and my elders, they were free to give me instructions or tohutohu. When Mihi stated that “whānau started at home”, inherent was the challenge to me as to why I didn’t start with my own whānau. The Māori researcher needs to be aware of their role within the hapu and tribe, and to be comfortable when challenged by the elders. With another nanny, the interview was arranged by her daughter, which went as planned. On that occasion I was accompanied by someone who had driven me to the farm and then absented herself. The nanny went out and brought her inside and she was part of the interview, which included asking questions and getting responses.

Participants were divided into three groups: those aged 65 and over, those aged 35–64, and the youngest age group, from 21 to 34. These groups consisted of participants from the same whānau where possible. The purpose was to identify whether there were any differences in their lived experience of whānau across three age cohorts, and any differences between whānau. Diagrams have been used to illustrate the number of participants, their gender, and their relationships to each other.

In the oldest age group there were five participants, comprising three women and two men. This is an important group, despite its small size. Cunningham et al. (2002, p. 21), state that only “4% of the total population of people aged 65 years and over in New Zealand” are Māori. They continue:

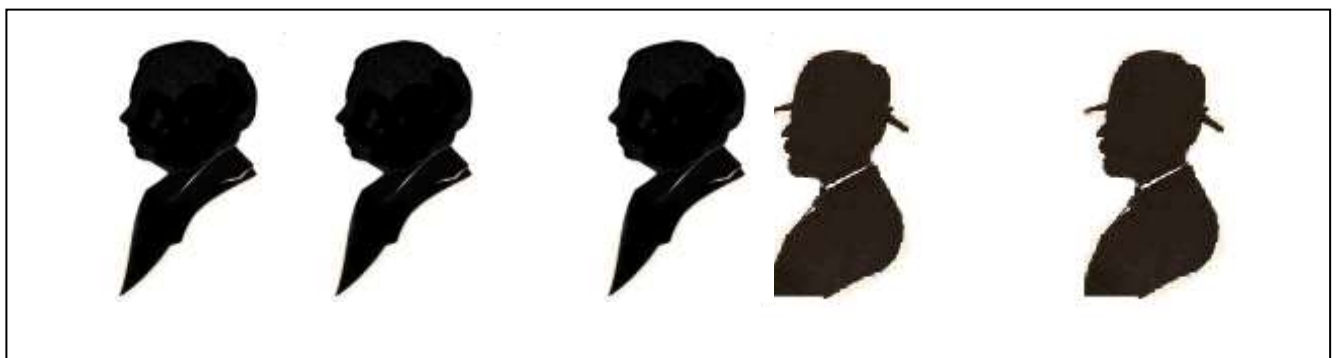
The proportion of Maori in the older population decreases with increased age, with people of Maori ethnicity making up only 2% of people aged 80 years and over. A major contributor to the small proportion of Maori in the older age ranges is the historical pattern of higher mortality in earlier age groups resulting in lower life expectancy for Maori.

Maaka (1993, p. 216) raises the important issue of the differences in life expectancy, where the life expectancy for Māori is 7–8 years below that of Pākehā. Retirement ages and pension eligibility are set by the Pākehā demographic, and do not necessarily apply to Māori aged. Women tend to live longer than men, and both the nannies in my informant group had been widows for some time.

Four of this cohort lived within the tribal area and the fifth person lived in Gisborne. One of the nannies had never lived in an urban area and had spent the majority of her life within the tribe. There was one husband and wife. One member of this group was self-employed while the rest were retired. The two men had university degrees. They talked more than the three women. It is unclear whether this is related to gender or the fact that they had studied at tertiary level. A feature of this age group was that they were surrounded by whānau or whanaunga and participated in marae and hapu affairs where health permitted. This reflects Maaka's assertion that "the situation of Māori aged differs markedly from that of Pākehā aged because in Māori society roles for the elderly expand in range and importance, whereas in Pākehā society those roles contract" (1993, p. 213).

The importance of this cohort lies in the fact that they are grounded in a hapu/tribal worldview with a strong sense of who they are and where they come from. They are also native speakers of the language or reo, which gives them unique insights and understandings of various concepts. Since this study began, one of the nannies has passed away, moe mai e te koka (sleep Aunt).

Figure 3.1. The 65 and over age group



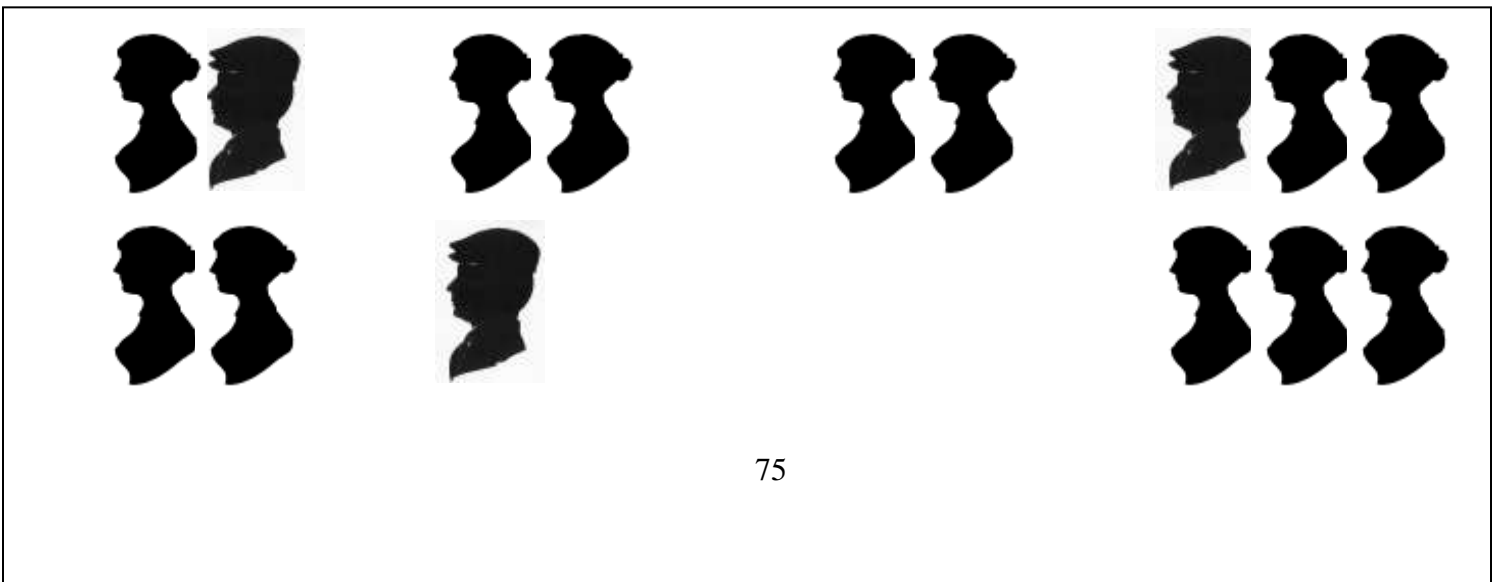
The Two Nannies

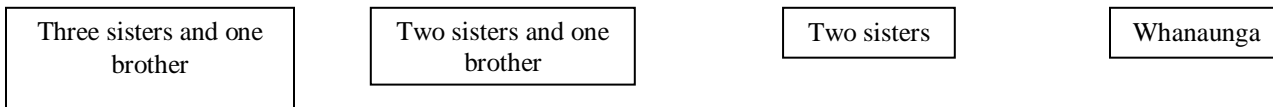
Husband and Wife

He Tane

The age group 35–64 was the largest, consisting of fifteen participants. The majority were women, twelve in number, and three men. Several of these whānau had more daughters than sons, and the sons tended to live in other parts of the country. While it would have been possible to recruit more men into the study, the resources available to me did not stretch that far. Two participants were the daughters of two of the nannies in the oldest cohort and two were nieces of one of the nannies. There were three sisters and one brother, and in another whānau there were two sisters and one brother. This latter group had a brother in the oldest cohort. There were also two sisters, one of whom lived in Australia. Several members of this cohort were also cousins. The majority of the participants were employed, and their occupations varied: one was in administration within a government department, another was a social worker, yet another a chef; several were schoolteachers and two were nurses; one was ex-army and a Vietnam veteran, another worked in a retirement home and one was a home maker. All participants lived in urban areas. One group of four siblings cared for an ageing mother and another participant provided live-in support to her mother. The majority of this cohort had been raised within the tribal area and gone to school there at some stage. Eleven had grandchildren who were of immense importance to them. One whānau of three individuals strongly identified with their tribal identity.

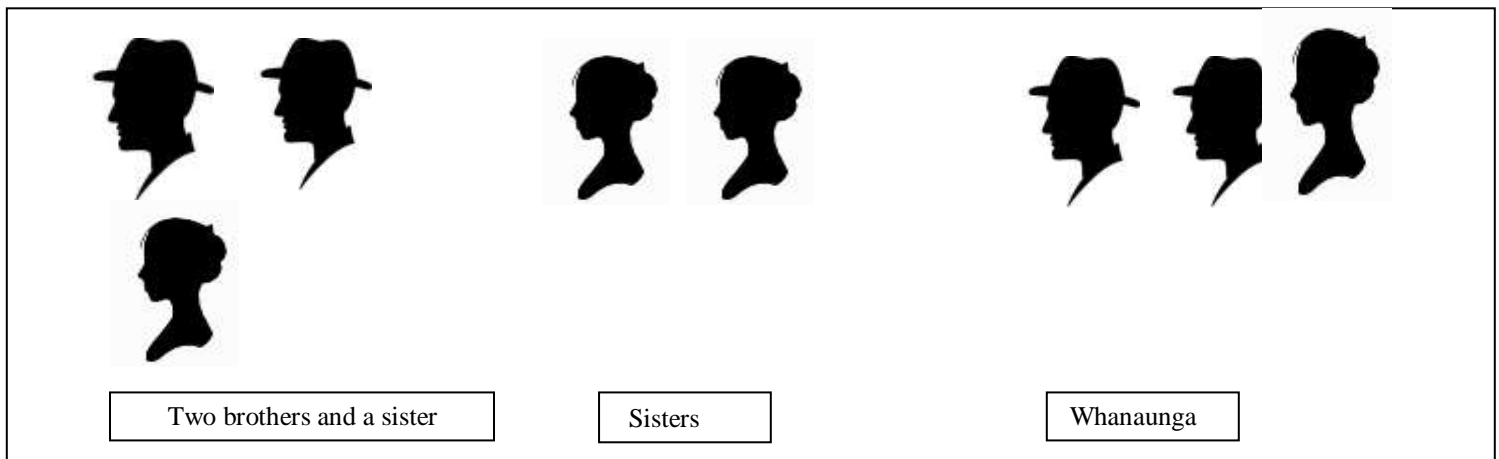
Figure 3.2. The 35–64 year cohort





There were eight participants in the 21–35 year age group, four men and four women. There were two brothers and their sister in this cohort, and the other two were sisters. For all eight participants, their mothers were in the 35–64 cohort. One had a grandmother in the oldest cohort. All participants in this group lived in urban areas. One participant was a social worker, one was a nurse, another a technician, one an administrator, another a personal trainer, another a lawyer, one was a university student and the final participant was in the army. Four had children. One had attended school within the tribal area for a period of three years. One lived in Australia.

Figure 3.3. The 21–35 year cohort



There were relationships within these groupings and between the various age cohorts. Despite the youngest cohort being highly urbanised, this was also the most politicised group, with a definite sense of who they were and where they came from, and how the connection to the whānau, hapu and iwi works.

Interviews

The term ‘interview’ does not sit comfortably as the so-called interviews were more along the lines of *kōrero tahi* or talking together. Fontana and Frey (2003, p. 62) note that “increasingly, qualitative researchers are realizing that interviews are not neutral tools of data gathering but active interactions between two (or more) people leading to negotiated, contextually based results”. Interviews in my study were not neutral, as participants made the decision to talk to me based upon my *whakapapa*, who my parents were and any pre-existing relationships they had with my *whānau*. Despite this prior knowledge, in most cases I either emailed or posted the information sheet, consent form and question guide in advance, so as to give participants time to read and consider the questions. One couple invited me to have dinner with them before the interviews. Prior to the meal I went along for a ride in a four-wheel drive utility farm vehicle called a Rhino over bumpy farmland while the wife attended to sick cattle. Later I was driven back to the local hotel where I was staying. On arrival the doors were locked and I was unable to gain entry. The proprietor could not be roused despite my ringing the hotel number and calling out. I was taken back to the participants’ home where I stayed the night.

Establishing rapport with participants was easy. At the same time as these interviews, I was also conducting interviews with Māori participants from other *iwi* in another study and I noticed the difference between the two groups. The ease of the interviews with Ngati Porou I attributed to the fact that we were ‘peas out of the same pod’.

In this study, I used an interview guide (see Appendix 3) to ensure consistency in the questions. Patton (2001, p. 343) discusses the use of interview guides in the following way:

The interview guide provides topics or subject areas within which the interviewer is free to explore, probe and ask questions that will elucidate and illuminate that particular subject. Thus, the interviewer remains free to build a conversation within a particular subject area, to word questions spontaneously, and to establish a conversational style but with the focus on a particular subject that has been predetermined.

I used a 'semi-structured' approach, which Sarantakos describes as the most common approach in qualitative research (2005, p. 270).

It is important to allow the participants to explore, ignore or modify the questions according to how they see them. In doing so, they answer only those questions which they feel comfortable with, or which are of relevance to them. Participants living in Australia, for instance, could not be expected to know the whānau types or questions about policy. Nevertheless, they gave important insights in their understandings of whānau.

All the pakeke, six of the participants in the middle cohort, and one in the youngest cohort were fluent in te reo Māori, and the other participants had a good understanding of it. When speaking about whānau, they would switch between Māori and English with ease, frequently using the words 'family' and 'extended family' as well as 'whānau'. When I queried this, they informed me that they meant 'whānau'. In linguistic terms this is referred to as 'code-switching' (Eliasson, 1989) and is a very common practice. One of the challenges of interviewing Māori is unbundling precisely what they mean. This is part of the emic understanding of a speech community, where the community alone understands what is meant.

The interviews or kōrero were recorded on analogue tape-recording equipment. Copies were made of each original tape and the second copy was given to a transcriber for verbatim transcripts (Silverman, 2003, p. 356). This supplies a rich source of data. Each transcript was checked for accuracy of spelling. The use of Māori words often caused problems for the transcriber. For example, the word 'kaupapa' was often spelt 'kaukapa'. The checked transcripts were returned to participants. Very few came back with corrections.

Analysis

This study uses thematic analysis, which is sometimes called content thematic analysis (Patton, 2001, p. 453): "Content analysis is used to refer to any qualitative data reduction and sense-making effort that takes a volume of qualitative material and attempts to identify core consistencies and meanings ... the core meanings found through content analysis are often called patterns or themes." The data were analysed both deductively and inductively.

The questionnaire guide set the framework for the analysis, while other themes emerged from the data (Patton, 2001, p. 453). Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 80) argue that ‘themes emerging’ is not a feature of thematic analysis alone. They also argue that “an account of themes ‘emerging’ or being ‘discovered’ is a passive account of the process of analysis, and it denies the active role the researcher plays in identifying patterns/themes, selecting which are of interest, and reporting them to the readers”. The questionnaire guide had themes in each of the questions, for example, ‘leadership’. In the analysis I sought responses to these specific questions.

The data were coded by themes using the data management tool NVivo 8. Using this tool allows data to be organised under a theme selected by the researcher, such as ‘leadership’. According to Braun and Clarke, “A theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of *patterned* response or meaning within the data set” (2006, p. 82). Further reduction is required, as NVivo 8 includes all comments made by a participant, whether they are relevant to the theme or not.

Thematic analysis supplied one level of analysis, followed by the application of the whakatauaiki *E Tipu E Rea*, and *Whakahokia mai te mana o te Iwi ki te Iwi*, which are explained in the introduction. These whakatauaiki maintain the cultural integrity of the data. Key questions include: What is whānau? What is the shape and form of the contemporary whānau? What are their primary connections? Do they have knowledge of their whakapapa? And how important are these whānau, hapu and iwi connections? Does this whānau type have whakapapa?

A feedback hui was held in Gisborne as a large number of the participants lived there. It was not possible to go to other sites as resources did not permit this. A suitable venue was arranged along with kai. Unfortunately only three attended as this was the day of the Christchurch earthquake on 22 February 2011, which sent ripples around the country. Several had given apologies because they were on ‘granny duty’, working or out of town. Despite this, the discussions were vigorous and informative. The feedback was factored into the analysis and write-up of the findings. Within Ngati Porou, once someone has given

information, there is no expectation of any further accountability. From the point of view of participants, there was no imperative to attend this feedback hui.

Working Between Two Worlds

A major challenge has been writing on a Māori topic within a Western institution. I use the metaphor of Two Houses, developed by Jackson and Poananga (Walker, 2001; Walker, 2004, p. 123) to illustrate the two different worldviews, one being Māori and the other Western. Within the Western academic house, there is an assumption that all knowledge can be known ‘if you can explain it to me or show me’. However, it is not always possible to explain emic understandings or the inner workings of a culture to an etic audience, as the nuances and cultural insights may be missed. The converse was true too, when I had difficulty understanding what sort of clarifications were being required of me academically, as I felt my explanations were clear.

The Use of the Macron

It is the policy of Victoria University of Wellington to use macrons on Māori words. As a Ngati Porou person, I am following the conventions of Kaa and Kaa (1996) and our tribal authority Te Runanga, now Te Runanganui o Ngati Porou. The macron is used very lightly and does not appear on words such as ‘Ngati’ within these conventions. The literature chapter has a mix of macrons, the double vowel and no macrons. The protocol has been to use quotations exactly as they appear in the published items. Early publications do not use a macron, but all government publications today do use one. Whether a macron is used or not is dependent on the preferences of the publishing house. There are anomalies, however, for example, Hill (2004) and Ballara (1998) are both published by Victoria University Press. In Hill, there are no macrons, while in Ballara, the macron is used. The word ‘whaamere’, coined by Hohepa (1970), uses the double vowel. This convention has been used in relation to the whānau types; however, where other authors such as Cunningham et al. (2005) have used it, it appears with the macron.

Ethics

Ethical approval was obtained from the Multi-Region Ethics Committee in 2005. Separate applications had been sent to the ethics committees in Auckland, Gisborne, Hamilton Wellington, and to two in Canterbury. Because this was a multi-regional study, the various committees sent their feedback to the Multi-Regional Committee based in Wellington. The committee wanted letters of recommendation from the hapu that I wished to interview. To ask these hapu groups for written support would be farcical because of the kinship nature of tribal societies. The committees of these various hapu and marae were my relatives. In addition, it is not for the hapu to give approval to whānau. To do so would be to usurp the mana of whānau, and these hapu would not have done that. Considerable restraint was required as the temptation to tell the ethics committee what I really thought was strong. It raised the issue of the knowledge base of the Māori members on the various committees. The Multi-Regional Ethics committee was satisfied, however, by my explanation of my connections to the various hapu.

Another issue for the ethics committees was the use of koha or whakaaro: they wanted to inform participants that they would receive koha. However, this is an inappropriate use of koha because participation in the study is not dependent on receiving something in return. To offer it in advance would be like a bribe. Koha is something given at the end of an interview, and the participants neither knew that they may be entitled to nor expected to receive anything. Each participant was given a \$25 food voucher from a local supermarket at the end of the interview. Two participants did not accept the whakaaro. Ethical approval was also obtained from the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee (131/2005).

In the information sheet (see Appendix 1) participants were given an outline of the study, the host institution, and the name and contact details of the researcher and supervisors. They could choose whether the kōrero was tape-recorded or not and they could request a copy of the tape. A copy of the transcript was also promised and participants were entitled to withdraw their information at any time. All these points were included in a consent form with a tick box (see Appendix 2), where the participants could tick in agreement. The

majority signed without ticking the boxes. They were also assured that their information would be kept safe and destroyed after five years.

Conclusion

The complexities of the methodological approach used have been outlined above. Qualitative research allows the researcher a degree of freedom in which to explore the topic. It also allows for participants to contribute their own views, which are not necessarily part of the research questions. This inductive approach is disputed, as some would say that it is not truly inductive and that the frame for gathering this data has already been established by the questions.

Indigenous and post-colonial authors have challenged the representation and misrepresentation of indigenous realities. These misrepresentations have had the effect of positioning indigenous peoples as the ‘other’, to be observed and documented by outsiders to their culture. Insider research, therefore, is what this thesis uses. Kaupapa Māori research has played a significant part in reclaiming indigenous epistemologies and ontologies, both nationally and internationally. Te Tāhuhu o te Ao Māori is the basis on which this thesis is built. Because the genesis of this worldview draws on the Māori deities, these deities cannot be claimed by one tribe, hence the use of the term Māori. It is the interpretations of these deities that are tribal, as each tribe has its own histories. This thesis is thus grounded principally and primarily in a Ngati Porou worldview that sits comfortably within a Māori worldview.

Chapter Four

Ngati Porou, 65 Years and Older: The Pakeke

Introduction

In this age group, 65 years and over, there were five participants: three women and two men. This is a small cohort, and the reason is the high mortality rate experienced by older Māori. According to the 2006 census data, Māori in this age group make up 4.1 per cent of the total Māori population (Callister, 2012). This is an important group because, as Durie (2003, p. 76) states, “cultural strength and enrichment will continue to depend on the active participation of its relatively small older population. The standing of a tribe, its mana, as distinct from its size, relates more to the visible strength and authority of its elders ... it is the older generation who carry the status, tradition and integrity of their people.”

Four members of this cohort lived within the tribal area and the fifth person lived in Gisborne. One of the nannies had never lived in an urban area and had spent the majority of her life within the tribe. There was one husband and wife. One member of this group was self-employed while the rest were retired. All were grandparents and two were great-grandparents. The two men had university degrees. They were more talkative than the three women. It is unclear whether this is related to gender or the fact that they had studied at tertiary level; it is also possible that it is related to the fact that men have a speaking role on the marae, so they are more used to formulating responses. A feature of this age group was that they were surrounded by whānau or whanaunga and participated in marae and hapu affairs where health permitted.

The importance of this cohort lies in the fact that they are grounded in a hapu/tribal worldview with a strong sense of who they are and where they come from. The whakatauaiki *E Tipu E Rea* is embodied in and nurtured by this cohort as they look to the mokopuna as the future, while being deeply immersed in the treasures of their ancestors through their understanding of te reo, tikanga and the lived experience of whānau. They were also a deeply spiritual group.

The Core of Whānau: Whakapapa

“Whakapapa is the heart.” (Mahuika, 1998, p. 219)

Whānau was described by one pakeke, Arapeta, as “a very strong and deep concept”, with the strength and depth of whānau coming from whakapapa. Both Arapeta and Wiki asserted that whakapapa was very important, the backbone of te ao Māori (the Māori world) as well as the entity that connects whānau to hapu and iwi. Arapeta described whakapapa “as a wholesome unit of whānau, hapu and iwi”, as “the glue which holds whānau, hapu and iwi together in a seamless fashion”.

Arapeta felt that knowledge of whakapapa was the foundation of te ao Māori. He said that:

... if one cannot understand his whakapapa, or [the] genealogical line, he is left wanting. Without the knowledge he is not really armed for the future to make his associations with extended whānau. So to fit into the pattern and scroll work of whakaairo, whakapapa, whanaungatanga [and] whakawhanaungatanga, everyone has this framework – the structure of whānau, hapu and iwi. You owe it to your whānau your very being here, giving you an identity, embracing you into a culture. ... It is a very deep concept.

Arapeta used the term ‘extended whānau’ to describe the relationships between whanaunga or relatives, thus refining his concept of whānau so that the stress is placed on whakapapa. One of his roles was to speak on marae within the tribal area, and what gave him the right to do this was his knowledge of his whakapapa and its connection with the different areas from which he descended. Tibble (2001, p. 65) stresses the importance of understanding whakapapa before standing up to speak as it is the ‘papa’ or base from which the speaker gains legitimacy and authority. Knowledge of whakapapa, histories and stories, or “ngā whakapapa, ngā hitore, ngā kōrero katoa o te maunga ra”, referring to Mount Hikurangi and its associated stories, gave Arapeta the authority to speak about these aspects of knowledge and lore. In this way, whakapapa links Māori to the land, rivers and mountains. Wiki

described whakapapa as “a beautiful thing, to know how you are connected up to this one and that one, very important and beautiful”.

When whakapapa and its significance and relevance to whānau is discussed in the literature, it is in accord with the views of the participants – see, for example, Mahuika (1998), Jackson (2001) and Tibble (2001). Mead (2003, pp. 42–43) notes that:

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.

Whānau is the expression of whakapapa and has many meanings. Our ancestors are enlivened through our knowledge of whakapapa, and the lived relationships or ‘hononga’ and the connections ensuing from these. For the pakeke, these connections were very strong.

The Meaning and Typology of Whānau

“Whānau has been proved and lived. You live it”. Loose groupings of people who call themselves whānau are “artificial”.

Nehe was the only pakeke who commented on and analysed the various meanings of whānau. First and foremost whānau literally means “to give birth to the next generation”. At a conceptual level whānau also means to “give birth to ideas”: as Nehe explained, “ka whānau mai he whakaaro (an idea is born)”. Nehe was referring to part of the creative process, such as the inspiration behind a carving, a book or a work of art: it is the idea behind a work of art rather than the piece of art itself. Whānau does not apply to the mundane activities of daily life: used in this context whānau refers to a generative and renewing force.

Williams (1985) and Metge (1995) agree that one of the meanings of whānau is to give birth, but these authors make no reference to the birth of ideas or to the generative and conceptual meanings of whānau. Instead, the most common meaning of the term ‘whānau’ among scholars is the family group (for example, Metge, 1995, p. 35). The Williams Dictionary (1985, p. 487) describes whānau as to “be born; be in childbed; offspring; family

group; family – questionable whether the Māori had any real conceptualisation of the family as a unit; and a familiar term of address to a number of people”. While Williams’ comment about Māori not having a concept of family is inaccurate, his other definitions are in accord with the lived experiences of the pakeke. The main difference is, however, that Williams does not apply the abstract and spiritual meaning of the word to the entity that is whānau. He has an outsider view of whānau arrangements; the pakeke have an insider view.

Academics, particularly anthropologists, have generally categorised whānau as the extended family within their disciplinary frameworks (Winiata, 1967, p. 27; Kawharu, 1975, pp. 50–52; Hohepa, 1970, pp. 93–94; Walker, 1990, pp. 200–1; Metge, 1995, p. 60; Hall and Metge in Ministry of Social Development, 2004, p. 109). The concept of ‘extended family’ tends to emphasise an external grouping of people whose connections can be mapped and who are thus ‘related’. It is an outsider’s view. The concept of whānau, on the other hand, emphasises connections through time and space that are more abstract and amorphous as well as deep. It is an insider’s view.

From the discussions with pakeke, a typology of whānau and all its component parts began to emerge (see Figure 4.1 below). Whānau begins with the individual or whānau kotahi. Most literature describes whānau as the smallest social unit of Māori, and ignores the individual. The relationship between the individual and whānau is subtle and complex. The individual, while having rights of his or her own, exists because of whānau. The individual is expected to express his or her own individuality within the whānau framework. As Nehe stated, the role of the individual was “to be themselves and once you get that you get the individuality. The last thing you want is a whole lot of clones.” Nehe felt the role of the parents was important in “managing [and allowing children] to be themselves and hope that they will do something with their lives”.

A highly respected elder of Ngāti Porou, the late Mrs Merekaraka Ngarimu, explained the significance of the individual in the following way, using the Ngati Porou haka Ruamoko to illustrate what she meant. The individuals in the haka party each perform the haka differently according to their own natures and style. In doing so they contribute to, support and strengthen the whole. The purpose of the teacher is not to standardise the performance

but rather to allow the uniqueness of each individual to come through. The individual is both sustained by and accountable to the collective, as expressed in the whakatauāki below:

Ehara taku toa i te toa taki tahi, he toa taki tini taku toa
My strength does not come from my individuality, it comes from many.
(Mead and Grove, 1989, p. 15)

While the individual is the starting point, next comes the ‘whānau ake’ or what is usually perceived as being immediate whānau. Whānau ake is not described in the literature or in policy documents, but was mentioned by the pakeke in their analysis of whānau. It can be both narrow and wide, and it can include kin and on occasions non-kin. Wiki’s whānau ake was large and included “eight brothers and sisters, six children, nineteen grandchildren and twenty-four great grandchildren”. Her whānau consisted of those who came from her own whakapapa. She did not include that of her husband, or her sisters-in-law and brothers-in-law, or her children’s spouses: in other words, descent was the deciding factor in who she included.

In Figure 4.1 below whānau ake is shown as both narrow and wide. Two Māori entering a relationship will bring their own whānau ake with them. In time, like Wiki above, with the arrival of children, grandchildren and great grandchildren, the whānau becomes wide but can still be called whānau ake. Whānau ake means different things to different people. Māori also refer to whānau whānui, which is sometimes translated as ‘extended family’, but the term actually emphasises connectedness across generations, space and time rather than extendedness. Neither whānau ake nor whānau whānui is a prescriptive term; instead they are inclusive.

Nehe noted that a single whānau can be an entity within a collective of whānau, standing alone and operating independently (see Figure 4.2 below), and it can consist of at least three generations. For example, the Greys may be part of a wider collective such as the Blacks, Greens, Browns, Whites and others. They may descend from sisters and be closely related. From time to time members from each whānau may come together to discuss matters of common interest such as land or to provide support in the event of a celebration or a tangihanga.

Figure 4.1. A typology of whānau

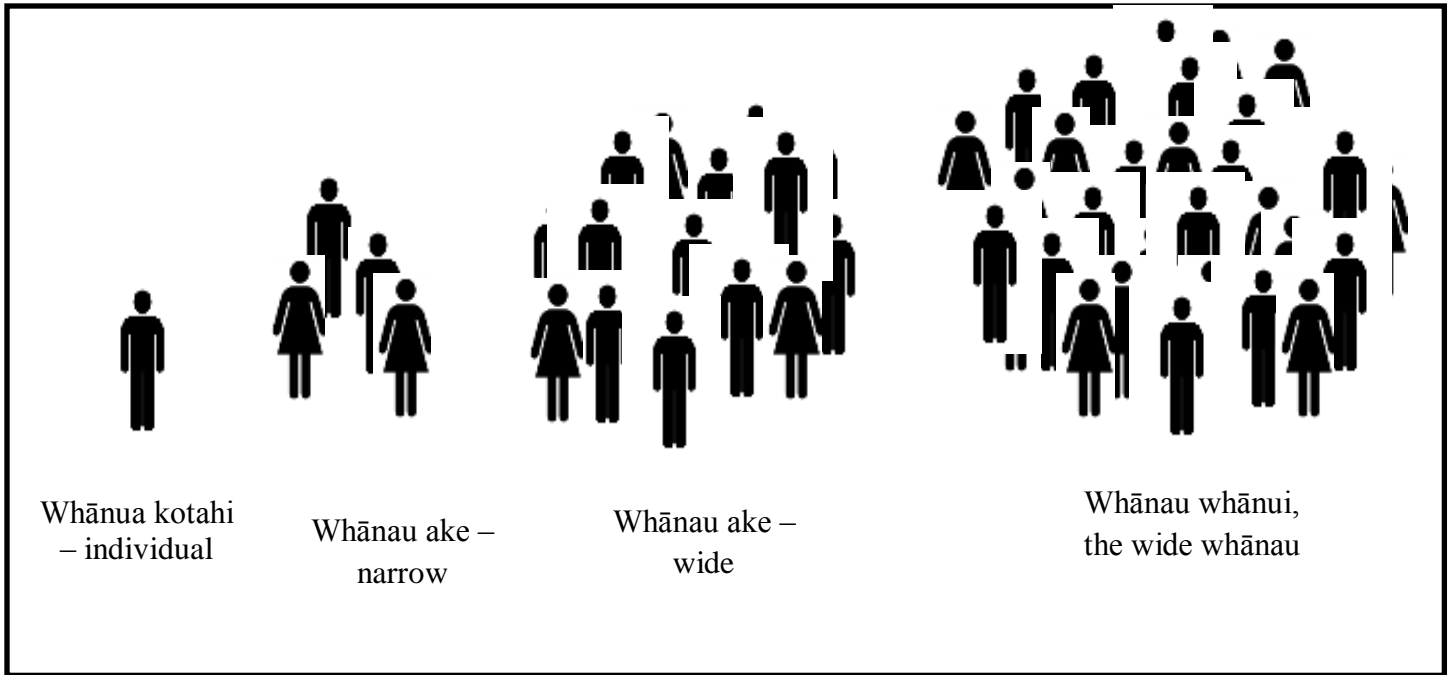
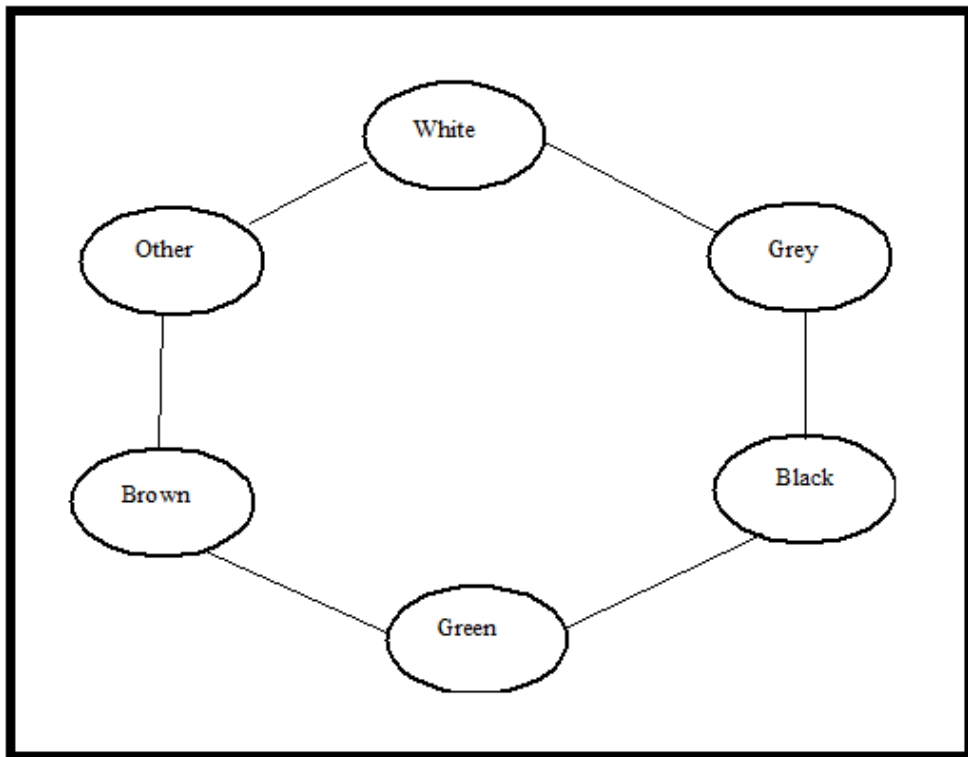


Figure 4.2. Whānau, an entity within a collective



The Social Structure of Whānau: Whānau, Hapu, Iwi

The social structure of Ngati Porou, with its system of co-equal hapu, has been explained in the introduction. According to Nehe, whānau “can be broadened out to the widest possible definition”. The evolution from whānau to hapu is unclear. Ngata, when describing a genealogical chart (in Sorrenson, 1986, p. 137) commented on how it showed “the evolution of ‘whanaus’ and ‘hapus’ (Hauiti, Rongowhakaata, Ruataupare, Iretekura, Uepohatu, &c) and their gradual coalescing into the N’ Porou”. For Nehe and Arapeta, whānau did not stand alone and was “not separate from hapu and iwi”. On its own, whānau “is incomplete”, because the “make-up or profile of a person consisted of whānau, hapu and iwi”. Arapeta used the analogy of parts of the body – “the head, body and feet” – to illustrate the connectedness and interdependence of the different parts.

A whānau member of Māori descent automatically belongs to one or more hapu and one or more iwi. Whakapapa automatically gives them that right. The separation of whānau, hapu and iwi was strongly criticised by Nehe as a “colonial approach and whānau should always be qualified with hapu and iwi”. This is because it is based on whakapapa and exists on a continuum. According to Nehe the separation of whānau, hapu and iwi has resulted in the creation of a “hierarchical” structure “with iwi at the top. This approach made things easier for them [the coloniser].” Whānau can also be a hapu, such as Te Whānau a Ruataupare and Te Whānau a Umuariki, both subtribes within Ngati Porou. These hapu, prefixed by whānau and followed by the name of a tribal ancestor, are made up of a range of whānau who descend from the ancestors Ruataupare and Umuariki. These whānau are all related to each other. In the Eastern Bay of Plenty the Whānau a Apanui is a tribe whose name is prefixed by the word whānau. At this level Nehe claimed that “it defies definition” because the transition from whānau to hapu and iwi is not known.

The points made by the pakeke stress the continuous nature of whānau, hapu and iwi and assert that the re-ordering of these structures to create a hierarchy is problematic. The key point of the comments by Arapeta and Nehe is that whānau, hapu and iwi exist on a continuum. This continues despite the establishment of a body corporate, or the Runanganui. Metge (1995, p. 37) states that “the phrase ‘whānau–hapu–iwi’ is often used as a short-hand

reference but Maori experts prefer the reverse formulation ‘iwi–hapu–whānau’, because it respects the metaphor implicit in the terms used, iwi (people, tribe) being logically prior to hapu (pregnancy) and hapu logically prior to whānau (birth)”. Nehe was very critical of this reordering as it usurps the mana of whānau and is at odds with Ngata’s definition.

The inclusiveness and fluidity of whānau extends to those members who have passed on. Although the connection is spiritual, the emotional attachments remain. Ancestral knowledge was very important to the pakeke and those who had passed on were still important to the whānau (Reedy, 1979). Wiki stated that she owed her existence to her ancestors. For Arapeta “for us to go forward we must always go back into the past to consult our ancestors”. Often, as part of their preparation for speaking on the marae or before the karanga or calling people on to the marae, the pakeke inwardly asked for guidance from an ancestor.

Ngā tīpuna ki mua, ko tātau ki muri
The ancestors in front, we are behind
(Ihimaera, 1998, n.p.)

The whakatauaiki succinctly gives the perspective and significance of the ancestors and the ancestral knowledge base, and serves as a reminder that the rights and knowledge are inherited rights. It is also about the fact that traditional knowledge exists on a continuum from the ancestors to the living.

Complexions of Whānau

Cross-cultural relationships, step-parenting and whāngai are part of the lived experience of whānau and reveal yet more of the complexity and depth of whānau through space and time.

Cross-cultural Relationships

There are various studies of cross-cultural relations based on statistical data, such as those by Butterworth (1988), Belich (1996), Ausubel (1965), Harre (1968) and Wanhalla (2009). But while they are able to comment on the incidents or numbers of Māori–Pākehā marriages, they are unable to provide insights into the dynamics of these relationships or the

nuances of what happened within them. They do, however, comment on the prejudice and challenges faced by both partners within these relationships.

Wiki was the only pakeke who had a cross-cultural marriage. She had been married twice, the second time to a Pākehā. She noted that there were “limits” with her husband. To illustrate the point, she gave an example of a time when one of her daughters was having difficulties, and Wiki brought her grandchild to live with her. Wiki said “my husband accepted that, helping them out eh, but not for keeps, you know what I mean. He Pākehā hoki (because he was a Pākehā), you’re only there for a certain time. Well, you’ve got to stand on your feet.” Wiki had little choice but to accept her husband’s view that, while whānau members could come and live with them for short periods, ultimately they would have to move on. She saw this attitude as being a consequence of her husband’s being Pākehā. In giving her account of her cross-cultural marriage, Wiki revealed important aspects of whānau as a lived experience as well as its meaning, values and flexibility.

Step-parenting

Wiki also revealed something of the dynamics of step-parenting within the lived experience of whānau. When she was a child her mother died and a local whānau asked for her. Her father took her to “an aunt and uncle” from her own whakapapa. Being placed with a whānau from her own whakapapa was very important to her: she said “they were very good” to her. Wiki did not identify as a whāngai during this period. After her father remarried, however, she lived with him and her new stepmother whom she described as “hard”. She and her brothers were made to work endlessly, gathering wood and making bread. They were never allowed to play. Wiki went on to say:

There was no love from her, nothing. Then I thought she was a horrible lady making me work and work and work. I am not sorry for it now, it made me the person I am today. I know how to knit, sew, crochet and bake.

Thus, emotionally and in retrospect Wiki was able to see how her childhood experiences shaped her, all within the context of whānau.

Whāngai

Whāngai as it is used here refers to the Māori form of fostering, which is a continuum from informal arrangements to legal adoption. Part of the lived experience of whānau is the notion of whāngai. The length of time a child is with a whānau other than the one it has been born into varies from a few months to several years to a lifetime. How long a child stays is dependent upon the ability of the whāngai whānau to support the child, and also the understandings reached between the birth parent and the whāngai parent. Mead (1997, p. 206) discusses whāngai arrangements between the birth and whāngai whānau. For the participants, the whāngai experience was the consequence of parental separation or the death of a parent. Arapeta, when growing up, “could not understand why they gave one child away and yet went and got someone else’s child”. He eventually concluded that “these deals [were] done purposefully to retain the relationships between families and to develop their knowledge of whakapapa”. In other words, whāngai was a social response to divisive events such as death and the fracturing of family as well as a strategy to strengthen inter- and intra-whānau relationships.

When the adoptive parents are keen to have a child the experience is positive, but pakeke also described unhappy experiences of whāngai, for example, when they were placed with whānau who already had several children of their own, or when they were ill-treated.

Despite the difficulties of the whāngai experience, however, participants were generally grateful for it, just as Wiki was for her stepmother’s hard discipline and passing on of skills. Arapeta explained, “the execution of that service may not have been as good as we expected, but those were the experiences no matter how good or bad they were”. Nehe described whāngai “as the most complex of all” relationships, as “a wonderful system” in its flexibility, in its response to difficulties and to connectedness between people, but at the same time he regarded it as having been stretched and challenged by the effects of colonisation. In Nehe’s view, the economic system had placed undue stress on Māori whānau, and he blamed colonisation for the breakup of his parents’ marriage, which resulted in him and his nine brothers and sisters becoming whāngai and being widely dispersed. Pihama (1998, p. 183) states that “Instrumental in the imposition of colonial structures and

ideologies was the idea that a crucial part of the civilising agenda was the replacement of Māori structures, in particular the knowledge of whakapapa, whānau, hapu and iwi”. Mead (1997, p. 206) describes Nehe’s form of whāngai placement as “*He whare ngaro*” or ‘lost house’, where “the children of a couple might be distributed widely in order to give the house a fighting chance of survival”. Placement with the wider whānau is no guarantee that the child will settle in: Nehe felt “unsafe”, “unwanted”, “unloved” and “lonely” as a whāngai. The separation from his nine brothers and sisters was another form of loss.

Mihi had a positive experience of being a whāngai because she was totally “enculturated” (Mead, 1997, p. 208) into her whāngai whānau and was indulged and loved by her whāngai parents. Mead (1997, p. 206) classifies this placement as “*He whakamahana i nga here whanaungatanga*” or ‘keeping the bonds of kinship warm’. Mihi described “being spoilt by my tīpuna”. She said “I was four days old” when her tīpuna (grandparents) took her. These ‘grandparents’ were not her parents’ parents, but were related to them. They approached her birth parents and asked for her because their only child had died prematurely.

As a whāngai Mihi was the responsibility of her whāngai parents, but her birth mother tried to assert her authority when it came to sending Mihi to school. Her tīpuna studiously ignored her mother’s directive. “My papa said ‘No, she’s clever.’ He wouldn’t let me go to school. At the age of seven my [birth] mother said ‘Bring her back to school or I’ll put the police onto to you’.” And that is why she did not start school until she was seven.

For Mihi her two different experiences of childhood were in marked contrast to each other. With her whāngai whānau she enjoyed “Māori kai” such as “kanga kopiro” and “kanga waru” (fermented corn and corn bread) – for Mihi these foods were luxuries. When she returned to live with her birth whānau they “ate Pākehā kai”. Her reference to the different forms of kai symbolises the differences between her tīpuna and her birth parents: her whāngai whānau were inclusive and loving, her birth family was formal and unsatisfying. She described life with her birth family as a “drag”, and said, “I didn’t fit in”. Mead (1997, p. 208) discusses how Maui “did not fit the family of his brothers”. The love and closeness of Mihi’s whāngai whānau was enduring and remained with her: “even today, they are still my whānau and I would do anything for them”. On her deathbed her grandmother asked her

to “look after papa and the kids and see that they get educated”. Mihi returned the love she had received and carried out the promise to her grandmother.

Mihi also gave up one daughter to a cousin and was able to comment on this experience of whāngai with the wisdom of hindsight: the knowledge that it was not always easy for the child but that it had to be accepted, and the salience of the relationship in the context of whakapapa. About her own daughter she said, “I see her very rarely, but I am still her mother. She didn’t feel comfortable and I know the feeling. So long as her kids know that I am their grandmother.” Mihi was somewhat wistful that the daughter she had given to another whānau did not keep in touch with her, but at the same time she knew she had acted similarly when she was younger, and that her ties with her tīpuna were stronger than those with her own mother.

Three other pakeke who were whāngai did not have positive experiences, although their whāngai whānau were relatives. They became whāngai when they were older and therefore the bonding that had occurred between Mihi and her whāngai parents did not take place. Nevertheless, they expressed an understanding of the whānau who had taken them in and shaped them, instilling a strong work ethic. All these participants were placed with whānau from their own whakapapa so the connections to whānau, hapu, iwi and culture were maintained, unlike the experiences of McRae and Nikora’s participants (2006).

Ngarangi lost her mother at a very early age. Ngarangi was brought up by an aunt she described as “hard, very strict especially to me”. Mead (1997, p. 207) calls this form of whānau arrangement “*He waka pakaru*” (broken canoe), where the mother has died and, due to kinship obligations, other whānau members “must try to share the children”. Ngarangi’s father lived in the same home and she described him “as one of the best”. On the other hand, she regarded being a whāngai as “second best”. Despite feeling “second best”, Ngarangi had the presence of her father to mitigate some of the more difficult moments. On reflection, the participant conceded that her aunt “brought me up to be who I am today”. Whether the whāngai whānau with whom Nehe and Ngarangi were placed had the resources to be able to accommodate another child is unclear. There was no discussion of any social service agencies acting as advocates for the children, their birth parents or whāngai household.

Clearly, European systems did not recognise whāngai and the real need for support for these children and whānau.

Wiki's father and stepmother had a whāngai daughter, a relationship and arrangement that came about in order to strengthen the whakapapa ties with this daughter's birth whānau. A great sorrow for Wiki was the loss of her family home and section to this whāngai daughter, who had convinced the Māori Land Court that she had a right of inheritance. Her application to the Courts was successful, but in doing so the effect was to marginalise the rightful owners (the whānau ake). The policies of the Māori Land Court assisted this stepsister, and the consequences of land loss and the hurts generated by it continue from one generation to the next, causing divisions within and between whānau. This is another example of how social policy has a negative impact on whānau.

Functions, Roles, Responsibility, Leadership

The way in which the whānau functions and builds its cohesion and closeness is an important aspect of its lived expression. For Wiki and Nehe the whānau as a collective supported them so they did not stand alone. As Nehe said, "If you didn't have whānau, where would you be?" Whānau visits "provide an opportunity to eat together, sleep together and learn tikanga from the tīpuna". Eating and sleeping together are very important in Ngati Porou society, as well as sharing food and hospitality (manaaki). Arapeta described some of the functions of whānau as "sharing, caring, embracing and loving one another". For Mihi, "my whānau are important to me today", although she noted that "they are all over the place, some in Australia and all that".

The pakeke were also asked if the 'whānau mantra' was a myth. While one person was unsure about the question, the other four adamantly said "no", whānau was not a myth. Nehe said, "No way, not since the beginning of time. It was whānau that brought us here today, who implemented our survival." Nehe continued by saying, "There is a reality there that this country could benefit from." Nehe claimed that "whānau came from the gods to the people". This spiritual dimension of whānau can be understood within the whakapapa framework and its link to the gods of the Māori/tribal worldview (Walker, 2004, pp. 117–18; Ka'ai and

Higgins, 2004, p. 14). This spiritual and whakapapa framework provides the links from the past into the present and the future, as whānau exists on a continuum that is both horizontal and vertical.

Part of this link operates in the relationship between grandparents and mokopuna.

Mokopuna are important within the whānau because they are the potential repositories of the kōrero and whakapapa that grandparents can transmit to them; they are a part of the generation in whom this knowledge may live on. The grandparents hoped that they would be able to pass on their knowledge to their grandchildren. One of Arapeta's mokopuna was showing interest in learning the kōrero of the hapu and iwi, which made Arapeta very proud as he had nurtured this mokopuna from the time he was a baby. Mihi also described the importance of her mokopuna and retaining a closeness with them. But close relationships between grandparents and mokopuna did not always guarantee this level of continuity. Generally, grandparents found 'letting go' of mokopuna very difficult and painful. Nehe and his wife had brought up a mokopuna and he said, "I went overboard with her. I don't know why I didn't get it into my head that mokopuna want to be their own person." When she was a teenager, she returned to live with her birth mother.

Clearly, one of the functions of whānau is to maintain bonds between people, another is to emphasise the spiritual links through time and space that are present in whakapapa, and another is the explicit transmission of traditional and cultural knowledge from one generation to another.

Role of the Pakeke

Roles for this age group are both traditional and contemporary and they are at least in part an expression of the complex of functions that is embodied in whānau. Maaka (1993, p. 213) writes that "roles for the elderly expand in range and importance" with age. Nehe's view of roles related to responsibilities on the marae and within the hapu. For him much depended on the ability of the person to perform those roles. In addition he stressed the importance of links and relationships, explaining that if "you understand the relationships, the roles are easy": those roles were for people "who are capable of fulfilling that role". Roles are not limited to whānau alone, because whānau is one aspect of the triad of whānau, hapu and iwi,

and whānau members are often called upon to carry out functions at a marae/hapu level. The following example was given to illustrate the point: “if one marae or hapu can’t fulfil the role, someone from another hapu would”. Nehe pointed out the pragmatic nature of marae and hapu: “it’s not about whose job it is, it’s about getting the job done”. This was in reference to the fact that if there is no suitable speaker available on a marae for a particular event, a speaker from another marae will step in. Arapeta performed the whaikōrero on his own marae as well as for other marae that did not have speakers. This was possible because of the whakapapa links of his whānau or hapu to that particular marae and hapu. Connections and relationships are invoked and form the basis of the whaikōrero.

Maaka explains (1993, p. 215), “As the culture becomes less secure and the language is increasingly threatened, the status of the kaumātua as the repository of Māori values has greatly increased”; one of the roles of being a pakeke is the ability and willingness to pass on knowledge to members of whānau and others who are seeking knowledge. The pakeke and their knowledge-base are extremely important, and fluency in te reo is essential for them to be able to carry out their roles fully. It is part of the cement that actualises whānau.

Ngarangi placed a lot of emphasis on being a grandmother and “helping with the mokopuna”. Wiki had a role in “providing leadership for the whānau, and passing on knowledge of weaving and answering questions” for the younger generation. Mihi saw her role as “keeping the family together, making sure the cousins know one another” and acting as an advisor. Part of the advice she gave was to encourage her children to be faithful to their partners. For Arapeta this function extended beyond his children, and he also had a role as an advisor to youth in the local community. For Mihi, another role was “helping one another out of difficulties”.

Mihi and Arapeta felt there was a role for everybody and “everybody should play a role in whatever capacity they can”.

Te Reo

“Maori language ... is the most essential feature of Maori Culture.” (Dewes, 1981, p. 47)

Te reo Māori is an official language of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Indigenous languages are important because they are the vehicle to understanding the culture and consequently the identity of people who through colonisation had become the 'other'. According to Ka'ai and Higgins (2004, p. 13), "the language of Māori ancestors is woven into the landscape and expresses the whakapapa link to the people's origins from the atua".

Mihi spoke at length about the importance of te reo Māori: "Te reo Māori is very, very steep and deep and frightening. Ngā kōrero has been coming over almost mo te reo Māori, but if we are not careful in fifty years time ... ka memeha noa iho (the knowledge will weaken), for the simple reason that in fifty years time people like us, and – well – a few behind me, will not be here ki te pupuri te reo ake (to hold and maintain traditional language), tūturu (genuine) reo Māori." Mihi's concern was profound. She also noted that "new words are being developed" and as a pakeke she questioned the validity of these words. Neologisms are being used by Māori media without reference to their source, and fluent speakers are unable to understand, for instance, the weather forecast. It is not just the words but the inner meaning of the words that is important. Distortions and re-interpretations will result in the undermining of important terms such as 'whānau'.

Wiki felt it was important to feed te reo to the younger generation when they were ready to receive it. She knew some were receptive but others were not. Nehe thought it was important not to get too precious about who taught the children Māori and whether they learnt a different dialect, because dialects were "mutually intelligible": it was more important for the children to learn than to have no knowledge of te reo at all.

Being a native speaker was a source of pride for Arapeta, and clearly this knowledge had implications for his sense of himself as an individual, and as a member of at least one whānau and being part of this whakapapa.

Leadership

There is no one model of leadership. The literature on Māori leadership (by Winiata, 1967; Mahuika, 1981; Mead, 2003) notes that kaumātua, or elders, play a crucial leadership role within the whānau. Nehe spoke briefly of the traditional leadership model that was

dependent on the leader being a good leader: “Māori society had their own real hierarchy” with a chief and “a chief is a chief as long as they get the job done”. In other words, the chiefly rank was retained only by appropriate fulfilment of roles and correct demeanour in relation to kaupapa. Nehe made it clear that the key qualities in leaders involved not inherent status but earned status, which was dependent on how leaders behaved towards others. The primary quality, therefore, was “relationships, they’re very important in our society. They are the key thing to look at rather than the hierarchy, like tuakana/taina.” Tuakana, taina, tungane, tuahine, papa and koka are all familial terms of address that apply to cousins, aunts and uncles. The use of Western terminology such as ‘aunt’, ‘uncle’ and ‘cousin’ has crept into Māori vernacular.

Leadership within a whānau does not automatically go to the eldest (mātaamua) or to a male. All the pakeke considered leadership to be important within whānau: as Wiki put it, “you need someone to steer the ship” and the whānau looked to her for “answers”. Within another whānau Mihi’s youngest brother was given the role of leader of the whole whānau by his oldest brother after their father had died. As Mihi said, “he was born it” (to be leader). For Ngarangi her husband was the leader, whereas Nehe explained that in his whānau his wife provided leadership.

Just as leadership as a role does not necessarily fall to the eldest son, the function of speaking on the marae can be delegated to a younger sibling. Traditionally, it is the tuakana (eldest) who assumes the role of leader and who is also expected to speak on the marae. However, this tradition is not immutable, and what is most important is the tuakana/taina concept, which is reciprocal and inclusive rather than hierarchical and exclusive.

Tuakana are older brothers of a male and older sisters of a female, and taina are younger brothers of a male and younger sisters of a female. There are roles associated with each. Tuakana/taina are interdependent roles where the existence of one is dependent on the existence of the other. If it were not for the taina there would be no tuakana and vice versa. While the taina may whakanui or elevate the tuakana, the tuakana may not put down or whakaiti the taina. An example of the interplay of roles at an iwi level is provided to illustrate the point. Mahuika, as a tribal leader, when speaking for Ngati Porou at an event

where Te Whānau a Apanui are present, will acknowledge them as the tuakana as they descend from an older whakapapa line.

For Nehe the ability to meet the challenges of the rights associated with the tuakana/taina roles is important. “To be the tuakana is okay if you measure up to the mark. If you overrule the roost you become dictatorial, if you become dictatorial that’s the end of you.” As the mātaamua or eldest in the whānau, Nehe often felt the weight of responsibility.

Rights and Responsibilities

The participants were aware of their rights and responsibilities as part of their lived experience of whānau. This included their responsibilities as parents and grandparents and towards their wider whakapapa when they were involved in events on the marae. As a pakeke, and therefore a koka, Mihi began to tohutohu (instruct) the interviewer on the roles and responsibilities of whānau. For her, the lived experience of whānau began at home, and then moved out to include the marae. She stated, “whānau starts in your home ... how you bring up your children because they would be the seeds for tomorrow. If you teach them well at home they’ll carry on with doing what you teach them.” For Mihi caring for people or “mau tangata” (hospitality) was important. This was expressed by “taking something to the marae” to share with others: “They never go to a marae empty-handed.” She was thus inferring the foundational concept of manaaki. Mihi felt that it was important for young people to learn to work on the marae guided by their parents: “he tawheta haere koe i ngā waewae o o mātua”, meaning “you might be in the way but learn at your father’s feet”. This included the basics of “washing dishes”, “helping to get wood for the fire”, and “helping in little ways and maybe peel potatoes and maybe help their father”.

The issue of rights was described by Nehe as “complex but at the same time simple”. Traditional rights are assigned in terms of first-born or last-born and older or younger, but these are not rigidly enforced. For Nehe, understanding the tuakana/taina roles was necessary to understanding traditional rights assigned to members of a whānau: “If you are mātaamua (eldest) or pōtiki (youngest), you have your rights but they are not set in concrete.” At the whānau level, Nehe felt that “being a good parent and grandparent” was essential: “it’s as simple as that”. Being kind to each other was important for Wiki.

Ngarangi felt her children had a responsibility to come home and get in touch with their marae and culture so that in the future they would “know how to behave” in a marae environment. For Arapeta there were consequences for those who did not take responsibility and chose not to engage in whānau, hapu and iwi activities: “The consequences are on their children. There is no guarantee that by separating yourself that one day your children will feel the pull, pulling them back” to their culture. It was stressed that the responsibility lay with parents to ensure their children understood and contributed to “my marae”. The point Arapeta is making is that while in contemporary society one is born into a whānau, it does not automatically follow that the children will have the same connection to the marae, hapu and iwi. The marae needs resources and support, and is not merely there when a whānau member needs it for an event, such as a tangi.

When Whānau is Whānau: Resilience and Challenges

Maintaining Links to Whakapapa

It is a fact that in the modern world people move away from where they grew up to continue their education, to work, to form new relationships and to explore the world that has become much more accessible to them because of information technology and processes of globalisation. It is also a fact that many Māori have left their rural homes and moved to cities. The question then is whether and how whānau exist despite such lack of physical proximity. While physical proximity makes the strengthening of bonds easier, there are other ways to maintain and strengthen such bonds, and an understanding of the quality of these bonds is likely to reveal something of the qualities and meaning of whānau.

Traditionally, links were physical and face to face, and were maintained for the cohesion of whānau, and for ngā hononga, or connections to marae, hapu and iwi. These links were upheld and nurtured in different ways, from spiritual practices and keeping the whānau in mind, to fulfilling obligations on the marae, to hospitality and food-sharing. As the world has changed, so have the ways in which whānau links can be maintained. People no longer have to have face-to-face contact to feel connected; and Māori, like people everywhere, use all the methods of modern communication that are available to keep in touch. One of the pakeke, Wiki, who had several mokopuna living in Australia, would send “paraoa rewana

(yeast bread) and home-made plum jam” when their parents went to visit. This was a gift made by her own hands and the reward was the enjoyment of the mokopuna when they said things like “Oh, Nan makes the best bread, better than any one else.” The baking was in addition to letter writing and telephone calls. What remains the same is the value of the connection, but not the methods.

Mihi’s ways of keeping in touch with her grandchildren were both spiritual and pragmatic, and she kept her close bonds by sending good thoughts to them – a common practice for this age group – by praying for them, and by phone calls and visits. She was delighted her children and grandchildren kept in touch: “they keep in touch with me. Now and again they ring from Australia and they all get on the phone to talk to you.” The contact between them was extremely important to her: “if your thoughts go out to them they feel it”; “[My] mokopuna are close to me because I don’t let go of them.” Mihi also travelled to see her mokopuna, being there on their first day at school to ensure they would have whānau support.

The frequency of contact was sometimes governed by economic factors. Weatherall and Ramsay (2006, p. 4) state that “In New Zealand, like elsewhere in the world, there is widespread concern about lower-income, [and] rural ... families being marginalised in an increasingly digitally mediated society where more and more everyday life is conducted electronically.” While modern technology and social networking have made contact much more affordable when there is physical distance between whānau, some whānau are on fixed incomes. Arapeta said, “We would like to ring one of them [the children] every day but because we are beneficiaries we are not able to do that. Our lifestyle is [governed] by our income.”

Nehe pointed out that “technology has got a lot to do with the ability to communicate” and maintaining links with other whānau members, and he used “email, phone and visits” to keep in touch. For participants, these forms of communication did not reduce the value of the contact but instead facilitated the maintenance of bonds. In *E Tipu E Rea*, Ngata encourages the use of modern technology (“your hand reaching for the tools of the Pākehā”) while retaining the treasures of the ancestors such as the whakapapa (“Your heart centred on

the treasures of your ancestors”). In February 2009, at the funeral of Dr Paratene Ngata in Tolaga Bay, his instructions that the ceremonies were to be streamed live on the World Wide Web, so that nieces, nephews and other whanaunga living overseas could watch and be involved were followed to the letter.

Associated with the notion of maintaining links is the effect of physical distance on whānau members. While distance need not make a difference to membership of whānau and connections between individuals, proximity was important to Nehe, who felt that it helped strengthen the bonds between people, that “the support of whānau members has a lot to do with the bond”. Having a son living close by helped affirm these bonds. Strengthening the bond between whānau was about “sticking together, working together and getting the odd project going”. Arapeta felt that caring and sharing were ways of strengthening whānau.

Clearly, maintaining the links helped strengthen the bonds, reinforced a sense of support, built up notions of identity and belonging, and generally underlined not only the existence of whānau but also its meaning within the wider realm of whakapapa.

Urban Māori

One of the ways to define something amorphous or invisible is to say what it is not. It is useful therefore to examine what the participants thought about urban Māori and whether differences wrought by geography could be contained within traditional concepts such as whānau.

The way Māori living in urban centres were often labelled ‘urban Māori’ brought a very strong reaction from Nehe. He said, “There’s a real divisional thing on the part of Pākehā – you know, urban this, urban that. I am bloody Māori whether I am in Greece [or not]. Next thing they’ll be calling us international Māori. But urban, you’re Māori. Urban Māori is just a characterising thing for the benefit of tauwiwi. I don’t know what an urban Māori is; I only know what iwi is. The Māori revival was an urban revival.” Nehe’s view and the fact that his primary identity was with his tribe and being Māori differ from Sisson’s concept of “relocated indigenous identities” (2004, p. 19), which hypothesises that when indigenous people move out of their tribal areas their identities are eroded and changed. The division

referred to by Nehe is the creation of another category of Māori who are separate from their iwi origins. He made it clear that being Māori has nothing to do with geography, and by implication also that whānau is whānau wherever individuals happen to be because they are tied by the immutable bonds of whakapapa.

Traditionally, whānau members lived in close proximity to each other (Best, 1952; Buck, 1949; Metge, 1995) and were able to engage with one another on a regular basis. With the shift to urban centres, whānau members do not interact as much as they once did, and so the pakeke were asked if whānau members living away were still members of whānau. All pakeke said categorically that where whānau members lived made no difference to whānau membership, as whānau is based on whakapapa and not on living arrangements. As Wiki averred, “According to me they are still whānau whether we have close contact or not. There are reasons why they are living elsewhere, like work or marrying someone from elsewhere.” Nehe firmly stated that “distance has got nothing to with that urban Māori crap”.

Initially, Arapeta described an urban Māori as “a Māori living in the city”, but despite having lived in the city for many years, he did not consider himself to be an urban Māori. Keenan (2009, n.p.), in her study of Māori living in Wellington, found that their primary identity and relationship was with their iwi. Their translocation to an urban setting did not alter this.

The establishment of Urban Māori Authorities threw up some strong reactions among the participants that brought into focus the central values and meanings of whānau. Nehe thought their establishment created a tension. Urban Māori Authorities were set up in Auckland, Hamilton, Wellington and Christchurch by Māori to service the needs of Māori living in those centres. Later, Te Whanau o Waipereira sought iwi status but, in 1998, the High Court ruled “that ‘iwi’ refers to traditional tribes only” (Rangiheuea, 2010, p. 196). The key point of this case was that Te Whanau o Waipereira failed to alter the whakapapa basis of Māori society and in doing so clarified the basic tenets of whānau and Māori social structure. Neither did Māori living in urban centres lose their entitlement to resources from their respective iwi. As Rangiheuea notes, “the stamp of iwi primacy over urban Māori authorities had ... been cast” (pp. 193–4).

In chapter one, the whakatauāki quoted by Tibble refers to the notion of rau kotahi, meaning the multiple identities shared by Ngati Porou. This plurality applies to both the individual and the group. Irrespective of where they reside and work, they still belong. They are still mokopuna of the whānau, hapu, iwi, mountains and rivers. The primary value is connectedness, the primary sense is belonging. Where and how these values are realised is far less important than the fact of their existence.

Whānau Constructs: An Outsider Version of Whānau

One of the objectives of the study was to compare whānau types identified in the literature, i.e. whānau constructs, with the understandings of whānau discussed by the pakeke. The purpose of this was to examine how the concept of whānau may have been stretched by government and other agencies, and in so doing to locate the core meanings of the concept in the lived experience of the participants.

The following whānau types have been developed and described by academics and policy-makers: kaupapa whānau (Metge, 1995, pp. 305–6; Durie, 2003, pp. 15–16; Cunningham et al., 2002, pp. 15–16, and 2005, p. 16); whaamere (Hohepa, 1970, p. 93; Webster, 1997, p. 314; Cunningham et al., 2005, pp. 13–17); family (Statistics New Zealand, 1999, p.1, and 1995, p. 2; Hall and Metge, 2002, p. 49; Pool, 2007, p. 34); new whānau (Mead, 2003, p. 210); virtual whānau (Durie, 2001, pp. 191–5); statistical whānau (Durie, 2001, pp. 191–5, and 2003, p. 16); and whānau ora (Gifford, 1999, pp. 53–57; King and Turia, 2002, p. 1; Families Commission, 2009, p. 8; Taskforce on Whānau-Centred Initiatives, n.d. [2010], p. 22).

Kaupapa Whānau

Kaupapa whānau, as described by Metge (1995, pp. 305–6), refers to Māori who work or spend time together for a purpose, for example, a church group, a sports group or work friends who go out socially. Metge uses the term to make a distinction between whakapapa whānau and kaupapa whānau, but in fact it can be argued that no such distinction exists: kaupapa whānau are often pan-tribal in nature and the lived whānau can also engage in kaupapa whānau activities, for example, in the church. The term ‘kaupapa whānau’ uses the

metaphor of whānau: while it builds on the whānau concept and reflects some of its values such as whanaungatanga (relationships) and manaakitanga (hospitality), it does not include the notion of continuity. For example, when children leave kohanga reo for school, the involvement of their parents can also end (Walker, 2006, pp. 19–21). In recent policy documents on whānau ora, kaupapa whānau is cited as a valid iteration of whānau (see Lawson-Te Aho, (n.d. [2010], p. 24). However, the construct can be seen as shallow and imprecise.

The concept of kaupapa whānau had little meaning for the pakeke. It did not exist as an entity, as a valid construct of aspects of Māori social structure, or as an attempt to give concrete meaning to something essentially abstract and affective. They grappled with the words but found them wanting in this conjunction and in this usage.

Whaamere

Whaamere is a transliteration of the English word ‘family’. ‘Whaamere’ was coined by Hohepa (1970, p. 93) in a work in which he describes three generations of Māori living in Waima. He calls whaamere “the most effective socio-economic group”:

This group is the whaamere (the coined word for ‘family’) which consists of all the living affinal [links between kin groups established by marriage] and consanguineous [of the same blood] kin of an individual. The whaamere or “family” traces its descent from a progenitor deceased within living memory, usually the father of the oldest living member of the group.

Hohepa (1970, p. 94) also states “the whaamere resembles the English ‘family’ in its widest sense, especially when the word ‘family’ denotes a family gathering, and not the individual nuclear family”. According to Hohepa’s definition, whaamere is a Māori family; it is not the same as whānau. He used the term contextually within a specific time and place, i.e., Waima in the 1960s, and it does not appear to be widely used today.

When asked what whaamere meant, Arapeta, Mihi and Nehe all understood that it was a transliteration (or literal translation) of ‘family’. Arapeta also thought whaamere was “a

derogatory concept because I am not a learner of the language; whaamere doesn't come into my picture". As a native speaker this term did not appear in his vocabulary – as such he felt the word was a put down. For Wiki, whaamere meant “your immediate whānau, koina taku mohio (that is what I know)”. Ngarangi exclaimed, “Hika ma, it must be a family – whaamere”. Mihi said that “whaamere is family” and commented on the use of transliterations, saying “a lot of words have been translated literally”. Nehe thought that whaamere was “a Pākehā concept”.

Throughout the interviews participants often used the word ‘family’ and, when asked whether this meant family or whānau, they stated that they were talking about whānau. There was clearly a distinction for them between family and whānau, and also between whaamere and whānau. Like Hohepa, Arapeta, Mihi and Nehe regarded whaamere as a synonym for family, but therefore not as a synonym for whānau. Arriving at the essence of this difference was more difficult, but for the participants it was lodged in the complex of relationships across time and place that constitute whakapapa and whānau.

Family

The word ‘family’ has different referents than the word whānau. When it is cited in government documents it usually refers to a Pākehā family. Statistics New Zealand uses the term in the context of the “family nucleus” and the “extended family” (1995, 1999), both of which are associated with people living in a household.

As stated earlier, participants used the word ‘family’ interchangeably with ‘whānau’ and it is common practice for Māori to switch from the Māori language to English, but in fact they did not regard the two words as synonyms. Nehe defined family as “those you are familiar with”, and added that family was a word used by “Pākehā”. Ngarangi said “I guess it is the same as whānau, your own immediate whānau”, again refining meaning. Mihi used the metaphor of family to describe the component parts of and relationships between parts of her body. She said she needed to care for her hands and feet and how “every part is important like your whānau, they all have a job to do to keep the family name going”. Thus, it appears that for the pakeke, family was a part of and sometimes less than whānau. The distinction is both quantitative and qualitative.

New Whānau

Mead (2003, p. 210) put forward the idea that when a whānau gets too big it splits and a new whānau is created and needs to be recognised. Then, when whānau increase in number and widen, they in turn can become hapu and iwi.

When asked about the concept of new whānau, Arapeta felt it was a way of acknowledging the inclusion of “residents who came into the community” who needed to be “embraced” by the local marae. Wiki did not know what a new whānau was but did question how a whānau could be new when it was based on whakapapa. Like Wiki, Ngarangi asked what the concept could mean. Mihi commented on the “hononga” or a person who marries into the whānau, as well as a “new mokopuna”: she was adamant that they cannot be separated from the rest of the whānau. Nehe changed the phrase new whānau to “whānau hou”, which means ‘born again’. For Nehe, once you marry in to the whānau it is said “you marry one, you marry the whānau”.

The idea of a new whānau was seen to be a contradiction in terms, because of the whakapapa basis of whānau. Participants were open to and inclusive of new birth, new partners and new whānau members arriving in the community. For them the concept and entity of whānau was elastic and all-accommodating. It is not finite: there is no numerical cut-off point. Mead’s concept and its attempts to add to meaning were therefore rejected as redundant and also meaningless.

Virtual Whānau

Through national and international migration, Durie (2001, p. 194) states that:

... whānau bonds have become attenuated and for many urban dwellers large scale family reunions have been one of the few ways in which the meaning of whānau can be perpetuated. But new technologies and electronic forms of communication have also enabled relatives separated by distance to keep in touch. Through the internet an exchange of information and an update of whānau activities can bring even those living in Australia into close contact.

Whether the virtual whānau can remain viable in terms of meaningful relationships will depend to a large extent on the adaptability of whānau and wide access to the web. It could be an increasingly important avenue for whānau bonding.

The concept of virtual whānau relates to the ways in which technology, such as cellphones and computers, and specifically web-based software such as email and internet, and more recently social networking sites, such as Facebook and Twitter, are used to help people keep in touch with whānau members and friends. Initially, it applied to the use of particular technologies and internet facilities, and in the last five years it has been extended to include various social networking applications.

For the pakeke the term ‘virtual whānau’ had no clear meaning. For them there is nothing virtual about whānau and whānau relationships. They did not therefore guess how this term may have come to be coined and its use in analytical and academic documents. For Wiki the women in her weaving group who came to her home were her “virtual whānau” and “ka awhi atu au” (she would awhi them). She found an interpretation from within her own experience that seemed to fit the concept: she was referring to women who were not whānau but with whom she felt an affinity so that they were almost like whānau. Mihi spoke of the development of new words and how the essence and depth of te reo is being lost. Virtual whānau “became whānau by fluke”. She was therefore critical of the loose usage of the word ‘whānau’ in this conjunction. Nehe described this construct as “bloody laptop lingo”; and Ngarangi dismissed the concept: “Oh I don’t know about that [virtual whānau] either”. Arapeta grappled with the word ‘virtual’, and saw how its looseness undermined the solidity of whānau. As he grappled, he articulated clearly the essence of whānau, its concreteness and its placing of people on a continuum with the past: “I link right back to the past without which you have no stairway to build upon.” For Arapeta identity and self-worth were possible only if you knew what was beyond the stairway.

Statistical Whānau

Durie (2003, p. 16) states that “in interpreting statistics some care needs to be taken to first determine how the word whānau is being used and then to decide whether the use of the

word whānau actually confers any helpful purpose”. He claims that family and whānau have been used “as if they were synonymous” and sometimes household and whānau are “used to convey the same meaning”. Despite his rationale, Durie still coins the phrase ‘statistical whānau’. The term ‘statistical whānau’ was developed to express the ‘paper’ or ‘numerical’ entity that could be constructed from government surveys of Māori living in a household. It relates to individual statistical data that are akin to data collected from the rest of the population, and suggests that the links provided by census and other data are similar to those provided by lineage and location. As well as supplying information on the demographics of a population, such data are also used to determine the allocation of resources. Durie was highlighting the inadequacy of the very Western methods of collecting whānau data.

None of the participants understood what statistical whānau might mean. For Arapeta statistical whānau was a “government term and doesn’t apply in our tikanga”. Nehe dismissed statistical whānau as “another bloody fashion”. Wiki said the word ‘statistical’ was “uaua (difficult)” and she did not know what it meant. Ngarangi also had no idea what this term meant, and Mihi did not comment.

For the pakeke the construct was in fact meaningless and had no relevance to the lived experience of whānau. Like the other constructs, statistical whānau has no whakapapa, and therefore no mana.

Whānau Ora

Whānau ora was first promoted in the Maori Health Strategy 2002 (King and Turia) and began as a goal for District Health Boards and health providers to achieve. It is now a funding stream administered by Te Puni Kōkiri and has its own minister. The funds are available to Māori, Pacific and non-Māori if they meet the criteria. Whānau ora utilises a strengths-based approach that builds on whānau capabilities. The intention is to achieve better outcomes for Māori. The construct of whānau ora includes whānau of origin, kaupapa whānau and Māori households as well as Pacific peoples, and includes both traditional and urban understandings of whānau and places them within a government framework.

Although whānau ora was still in the conceptual stage when the questions were asked, participants rightly identified health as a key element of the construct: the word ‘ora’ (‘well-being’ or ‘to be alive’) was the clue. Arapeta supported the idea of health promotion in terms of non-smoking, healthy eating and exercise. His knowledge of whānau ora was derived from consultations with the local District Health Board. Wiki stated that whānau ora was “the well-being of our whānau”. Mihi said that “whanaungatanga, ka ora ngā tikanga ... me te reo me te ... tinana (relationships, the culture, language and the body) constituted whānau ora”. Ngarangi thought it referred to “hauora (health)”. However, Nehe reacted, “again that’s some of that bloody flash corporate speak”.

While appreciating that health and well-being are essential and laudable goals of government policy, the pakeke did not embrace the construct but regarded it as a bit of a mystery and as something outside their lived experience. The use of the word ‘whānau’ in its name made it no more acceptable to them and no more their own experience than any other government policy. In other words, the pakeke were not bought off by the creation and use of this construct.

Policy and the Whānau Worldview

When Meaning is Lost

The whānau constructs discussed above – kaupapa whānau, whaamere, family, new whānau, virtual whānau, statistical whānau and whānau ora – are problematic. They are externally derived conceptual tools that, in the eyes of the pakeke, do not actually exist. The tension arises from the use of the word whānau in each phrase. Whānau implies that these whānau types share the same characteristics as the lived experience of whānau. While some of the characteristics may be present, they operate only at a superficial level, in a one-dimensional fashion or for a limited time and are therefore imprecise, incorrect or inappropriate. Some of these whānau types are also based on the individual as opposed to the group framework, and others on the household. None is based on whakapapa.

There are calls for the inclusion and recognition of Māori households in government policy documents and in social science research generally (Mead, 2003, p. 210). There is also a

view that “people will describe whānau in ways that suit their purpose” (Walker, 2006, p. 21), which suggests that there could be another agenda when introducing these constructs. Generally, there is a sense that use of the word ‘whānau’ is often cynical and pragmatic – an attempt to buy Māori acquiescence to policy and research directions.

Kaupapa whānau or the metaphorical whānau contains some of the features of the lived experience of whānau such as whanaungatanga and manaakitanga, but by its very nature it is short term. And the question is: can there be such a thing as a short-term whānau? Kaupapa whānau has a beginning and an end: individuals become part of a kaupapa whānau for a particular reason and for a period of time. For example, tertiary students become part of a kaupapa whānau while they are studying and then when their studies are completed they leave the institution and the kaupapa whānau. Kaupapa whānau groups are usually pan-tribal in nature and members belong to their whānau of origin at the same time. The relatively short-term nature of the relationship raises issues for the kaupapa whānau: does it exist, is it any type of whānau, has it any conceptual or actual validity? The lack of commitment to the kaupapa can be also problematic, as many of the activities required to keep the kaupapa whānau viable are left to a few people (Walker, 2006, p. 22).

A group of people who engage in similar activities could be called a roopu (group). Using the word ‘whānau’ cuts the word off from its true meaning and broadens it until it loses that meaning. A group is not a whānau. The construct ‘kaupapa whānau’ is conceptually confusing and a distortion of the Māori language. The 28th Māori Battalion did not call themselves kaupapa whānau. This is possibly because of the depth and strength of their ties to whānau, hapu and iwi.

Whaamere and family are very similar in meaning except that whaamere relates to Māori families and family is generally identified with Pākehā families. ‘Family’ is also ambiguous, as Māori sometimes use the term loosely when speaking of whānau. When family is used to refer to whānau, it has all the characteristics of whānau. However, it is an imprecise usage and runs the risk of causing more linguistic degradation.

New whānau is a contradiction in terms as a whānau cannot be new because it is based on whakapapa. Whānau, hapu and iwi are a whakapapa-based system. New whānau as defined have all the characteristics of whānau but are constructed in a Pākehā way. Whānau is always inclusive and this is an essential element that the construct 'new whānau' misses. Even if a whānau were to split off, it would still be part of the original whānau. The decision as to whether a whānau is too big must rest with the whānau itself. It is difficult to know what is meant by 'recognising' these whānau as it is unclear who is meant to give recognition to a new whānau and under what circumstances. 'New whānau' is a contradiction in terms.

Virtual and statistical whānau are not whānau. To create a whānau type based on means of communication is false and meaningless. Māori have always used modern technology without creating new terminology. For example, when putting down hangi only certain types of wood were used to heat the stones. Nowadays, gas is used to heat the stones before the food is placed in the hangi. Tin foil has taken the place of cabbage leaves for lining the hangi. Despite these innovations the name and meaning of hangi has not changed. The question here is, at what point does an in-ground or outdoor cooking technique cease to be a hangi? Does it ever cease to be a hangi? At what point does a whānau cease to be a whānau? Virtual whānau refers only to a means of communication; it is not a whānau. Statistical whānau is only a numerically and individually derived construct that has no reality in time and space; it is not a whānau either.

Whānau ora, whilst being whānau-centred, is a government construct that encapsulates three other whānau constructs. It could just as easily be called Māori ora or Pacific ora or the well-being of all Māori and Pacific peoples.

The constructs outlined above provide no evidence of links to hapu and iwi and therefore have no mana for the pakeke interviewed. Whakapapa is an important spiritual, emotional and physical concept to the pakeke. Without reference to these elements, and to the true meanings of whānau, the constructs are empty and meaningless.

Meaninglessness and Policy-making

All policies, public and social, have impacted on Māori and whānau from the time of colonisation, through the eras of assimilation and integration and into the present. First of all, the loss of land through confiscations, which includes the Foreshore and Seabed, has had a huge impact on whānau. Other impacts are more subtle and culturally undermining. The most recent attempt to redress such impacts is the claim by Te Kohanga Reo Trust to the Waitangi Tribunal, seeking recognition for its cultural approach to the education of the mokopuna. In a letter of support (24 April 2012), the chairman of Te Runanganui o Ngati Porou put forward his view that government policy regarding kohanga reo had downgraded its importance and function from a whānau- and iwi-based education system to one merely of childcare:

Iwi Maori have paid to be citizens (equal to others) by blood. Ngata was disappointed towards the latter part of his life, when the sacrifices of Maori were not given equal status with non-Maori. This inequality has persisted since Ngata's time of the creation of policies to subjugate Tikanga and rights of iwi. This is epitomised in the treatment of Kohanga as a Childcare Centre etc.

The creation of constructs based on aspects of whānau has arguably been part of a similar process. In taking particular features of whānau and making whānau-like entities, researchers and policy-makers can be regarded as both reducing the complexity and true meaning of Māori kaupapa and knowledge, and of eroding that complexity and true meaning. Such processes affect not only the transparency of policy processes and their uptake but also the integrity of te reo Māori and the continuation of that language.

Nehe had strong views about the role of policy stating that:

We are the beneficiaries of policies that are just going nowhere. The policies have been ignorant, calling them whānau development, whānau this, whānau that. I just can't relate to anything that's coming out of government departments, [whether] it is Corrections, Ministry of Social Development [or]

Te Puni Kōkiri. The core business of being Māori is whānau and if we don't have that discussion with policy-makers, how the hell are we going to get policy that is effective and sustainable? We have experts in that field but they don't come to us.

Nehe also felt that policy would not actually take account of whānau because, as stated by Smith, "the bias of the system is against Māori" (1995, p. 18). Policy comes from a Western worldview, and whānau is from a Māori worldview, and they are antithetical.

Mihi thought that the coining of Māori constructs in order to sell policy was misleading and wrong: "some of them have got what whānau means all wrong. They think whānau is something that has been coined, it's not. Whānau has been proved and lived. You live it." Loose groupings of people who are referred to as whānau are "artificial because they try and interpret the words to what they think it means and not go through the trials and tribulations of living it up and down, because not all whānau are serene. There are always ups and downs and that's where you really learn that it's not a word just to be bandied around." She thought that the various whānau types outlined in the previous section are removed from the lived experience and reality of whānau: they are blunt instruments, lacking in all the nuances that make up whānau.

Conclusion

Fundamental to the lived experience of whānau is the continuity provided by whakapapa. Not only does it reach back in time and forward into the future to the mokopuna and those yet to be born, it also expands outward on the horizontal plane. Within this expansive, dynamic, evolving, layered reality is a typology beginning with the individual and expanding to whānau's widest possible definition, which includes hapu and iwi.

Whānau can also be an entity within an entity, an expression of the indissoluble bonds of whakapapa. Knowledge of whakapapa affords rights but also responsibilities. Rights are associated with age and whether one is the tuakana or taina within the whānau. But the interplay between tuakana and taina is subtle, and is also an indication of the flexibility of whānau. Pakeke felt strongly that individuals should honour their responsibilities toward

whānau because if they did not do so, their children's generation would lose their sense of identity and the ascriptions of roles and responsibilities that go hand in hand with identity. Of importance to the lived experience of whānau are te reo and mokopuna, as these factors are the conduit to the future survival of whānau, loss of which would weaken the ties of whānau and its very salience.

Within whānau, various dynamics exist – the lived experience described by the pakeke involved cross-cultural marriage, step-parenting and whāngai. These dynamics may occur as a result of a shock to the whānau, such as the premature loss of a parent in the case of whāngai – although whāngai can be motivated by many things in addition to adoption or fostering, such as a wish to strengthen inter-whānau relationships. Leadership within the whānau is necessary, as in time this translates into the responsibilities to the marae, hapu and iwi. In this way whānau are naturally part of hapu but also interact at another level. Maintaining this horizontal relationship – as opposed to the hierarchy proposed by Metge (1995) – is absolutely essential in ensuring that the mana of whānau and hapu is not usurped. The relocation of Māori to urban centres, also known as urbanisation, has created challenges and tensions, through the labelling of 'urban Māori'. This label undermines one's primary identity, which is tribal. Urbanisation is just one of the many shocks whānau have experienced since colonisation began, along with several wars, assimilation and economic challenges. Because of this, all attempts to reinterpret our most basic entity need to be resisted.

For the pakeke, whānau was a living thing, a complex and organic entity existing through time and space and because of relationships. Their exposition of whānau was clear and precise, based on personal and cultural experience and understandings. They were also able to explicate the meaning of whānau through analysis of entities that they did not regard as whānau. They believed that the whānau types described by the literature, both academic and governmental, fall short of the real thing. These constructs neither extend the meaning of whānau nor reveal new attributes and qualities of it. Instead, it is argued here that they curtail, distort and misrepresent the concept of whānau by using incomplete or incorrect notional aspects of whānau, or they broaden meaning to the extent that the centre does not

hold and whānau disappears. The pakeke understood how policies could threaten and undermine the meaning and practice of whānau.

Chapter Five

Ngati Porou Aged 35–64: “The Middle Ages”

Introduction

This chapter reports on the findings from the Ngati Porou 35–64 year old cohort. There were fifteen participants in this cohort, including twelve women and three men. Several of them were brothers, sisters and cousins, and they were also related to the pakeke. The participants in this cohort were the engine room of marae and hapu. Durie (2003, p. 76) states that “executive and industrial leadership may well rest with the ... middle aged”. The middle-aged group, to which these participants belong, represents 29 per cent of the total Māori population (Callister, 2012, p. 1).

Ruihi, a social worker; Te Pania, a former school teacher; and Pera, an ex-army Māori health worker, were siblings. Their older brother, Arapeta, was one of the pakeke. Another set of siblings included Taina and Heni, who were both nurses; Ria, who was a chef; and their brother Eru, who worked in the Māori land court. Te Rina, an aged care worker, and Maraea, a homemaker, were sisters. Hera was a farmer, and her husband was in the older cohort. Miriama was a special education services worker, and her mother was one of the pakeke, Wiki. Puti was a school principal and her mother, Mihi, was in the pakeke cohort. Kiri and Kahu were both school teachers. They were also cousins to other members of this cohort. Hopa was a retired farm worker.

Two participants had returned to live in the tribal area after many years living in the city. The other thirteen participants lived in urban areas, although the majority had been raised within the tribal area and had gone to school there at some stage in their lives. Members of this cohort were of an age where their roles included caring for mokopuna and aging parents, as well as supporting their own children in various ways. Eleven had grandchildren who were of immense importance to them. There were various levels of involvement, from having a mokopuna live with them to providing after-school and weekend care.

This cohort is most noticeably different from the pakeke because in at least two ways they straddle two worlds. In the whakatauaiki *E Tipu E Rea*, Ngata encouraged Māori to seek the tools of the Pākehā for their physical well-being, but such admonitions are not without their costs. In taking up Ngata’s advice, members of this cohort were removed from their tribal areas, and although they still retained their passion for whānau, hapu and iwi, they have faced challenges in being further far away from their ancestral marae. This cohort also represents the ‘sandwich generation’, which cares for the generations both above and below their own. As such, they live in two worlds – Pākehā and Māori – and are caught up in inter-generational relationships that span a long period of time. Because they have tended to move out of tribal areas and to follow career paths that placed them in the Pākehā world, their view of whānau is also more expansive than that of the pakeke, but while they have moved beyond seeing whakapapa as the principle or sole criterion that informs notions of whānau, they did not diminish the fundamental importance of whakapapa to whānau.

One Umbilical Cord – Whakapapa

“Going out as far as my hundredth cousin ...”

Whakapapa and Beyond Whakapapa: Kin and Non-kin

While whakapapa was of the utmost importance to this cohort, and was particularly visibly so in the naming of children, the participants also regarded certain non-kin as whānau, such as those who marry into whānau, including Pākehā spouses, and in some cases other people such as friends with whom they were in close association. Members of this cohort placed value on behaviour that may be whānau-like, such as support and respect, but that may be expressed by people with whom they were in a relationship rather than only those to whom they were related.

Nevertheless, whakapapa was of central importance to their understanding and experience of whānau. For example, several participants mentioned the importance of name-giving. Names which come from the whakapapa help keep that whakapapa line alive. For Hopa, this was important because each line has a different story or “kōrero ke” – these names shape how and what we see. Our names link to the history of the whānau, hapu and iwi. For Kahu,

whakapapa and the involvement of kaumātua in giving ancestral names to the children was important. A tīpuna or ancestral name connected the child to land interests and there was a sense of mana associated with ancestral names.

For Ruihi, whānau was important for several other reasons, one being the sense of security she felt in the existence of iwi and in being part of iwi. Whānau is the basis of marae, hapu and iwi. The link to each of these institutions is through whānau and whakapapa and that knowledge was important to her. Whānau and, by implication, whakapapa, therefore contributed to her sense not only of identity but also of self-worth.

While it was apparent that the core of whānau was whakapapa, these participants were more liberal than the previous cohort in their understanding of the concept of whānau and their lived experience of it. Because of their particular life experiences and their position inter-territorially as well as intergenerationally, they included non-kin as whānau, both those who married in and those who had no familial ties. Pera, in his definition of whānau, was inclusive, going beyond whakapapa, and including “my wife, my children, my mokopunas, my siblings and their mokopuna and the extended whānau”. Whānau also included “lots of cross-overs” and extended out to “cousins, uncles, aunties, in-laws or people who lived with our whānau”. According to Cram and Pitama (1998, p. 132), when “addressing people other than one’s siblings, one would use the same term to refer to all those along the same generation line”, which has the effect of bringing aunts and uncles, for example, closer to the participant. Uncles and aunties are referred to as ‘koka’ (mother), ‘papa’ (father) or ‘mātua’ (parents).

Pera’s schooling and sporting activities involved notions of whānau. The hockey team was comprised of cousins and aunts, and he said that “while you didn’t say this is our hockey whānau, you knew it in your mind”. Going to school in a rural area was also about whānau because he was related to many of the other children at school. Like Pera, for Heni “whānau is family and blood related whether it’s immediate or cousins, aunts and uncles, grandparents and great grandparents”. Like members of Wiki’s weaving group, Heni included friends and colleagues and people she saw on special occasions, such as Christmas, as whānau.

For Taina, who had a Pākehā husband, whānau went beyond “my individual whānau of my husband and my two kids”, and reached from “my siblings to my parents and grandparents”. She acknowledged that while most Māori whānau include aunts, uncles and cousins, “I have to say that’s not the situation with us”. Taina questioned “whether I am less of a Māori” because of this perception, but concluded, “I do include (second and third cousins) but I don’t have a strong link”. For Taina, whānau was a “link, a far more spiritual link – [and] a way of living and a part of me. You know I don’t know if I can be me without the whānau. It’s that sense of belonging which gives me fulfilment. It’s just being an important part of a group, it’s good, and it’s nice.”

For Maraea whakapapa was important as the basis of her identity. However, she had developed networks to support her through life, and she therefore included non-kin as part of her whānau arrangements. This inclusion was based on a long and close association. Besides her children, her children’s partners, brothers and sisters, uncles, aunts and cousins, Maraea also included “two very good friends, I class them as whānau”. She also included a former daughter-in-law as a member of the whānau. Physical separation does not end the whānau connection. As part of Maraea’s lived experience of whānau, she allowed her children to be “brought up on the Pākehā side although the Māori side is still there. They will awahi (embrace) [whānau] in any way they can.”

The lived experience of whānau takes different shapes and forms. In contrast with the previous cohort, two members of this group came to their understandings of whānau later in their lives. For Hera, it was only after marriage that she had experience of whānau, which for her included “sisters, their husbands, their children, grandmother, cousins”, and whānau also meant the “extended family”. On reflection, Hera felt that the word ‘whānau’ “was all-encompassing and everybody was included”. Miriama and her two brothers had been brought up by her grandfather and step-grandmother. She described this as “a tough life, there was no love shown in growing up and I’ve tried with my kids to show love so when I’ve gone off this earth they will remember some good things”. She saw herself as having “three whānau, my mother’s, my father’s, and my partner’s” – she had become very close to her partner’s whānau. Both her parents had married twice, with children from both

relationships. For Miriama, whānau was based on “whakapapa, marriage and long-standing partners”.

The role of the stepmother in a whānau is important in terms of integrating the children from different relationships. Miriama was close to her father’s second whānau and “it was made easy by our stepmother”. Miriama had wanted her own children to grow up with a mother and father, but after “one beating too much and one affair too many” she left the marriage, stating that “you’ve got to go, I’d been a fool long enough”. Three of Miriama’s own children had been whāngai of their grandparents and aunt with varying degrees of success.

In the previous chapter, when describing her whānau, Wiki referred only to those descending from her own whakapapa line. The 35–64 cohort has taken a much wider view of whānau, and included those who married in as well as Pākehā spouses and some friends and associates. At the same time the cohort excluded some kin with whom there appeared to have been no active relationship.

Whakapapa and Beyond Whakapapa: Those Who Have Passed On

As part of the lived experience of whānau, those who had passed on were still relevant and important, as they represented and reaffirmed participants’ links to their whakapapa.

Whakapapa is thus oriented around time, space and people, both those related and those not kin, and those alive and those who have passed on. The relationship and connection was of the utmost importance, as emphasised by Maraetai: “we’ve still got a connection, we’re still part of them, we’re still their flesh and blood but we are still carrying on for them regardless”. Dansey (1981, p. 133) writes that

The death of a relation, even one whom I know little, if at all, affects me deeply, just because of relationship ... My relation and I are part of the same tree, we share the same ancestry and the claims of that ancestry are very real. The origins of this feeling for relationship are ancient.

One of the pakeke in the previous chapter, Nehe, discussed the importance of the relationship, which is reinforced by Dansey.

All participants had lost a parent with whom they still felt profoundly connected. Although the parent had died, the relationship with them was still very much alive. Ruihi acknowledged the continuous, intergenerational nature of whakapapa. She brought up an important aspect of whānau, which illustrates the spiritual dimension of whakapapa relationships: that in times of need, a whānau member who had passed on would appear to provide support to the living – “ka hoki mai te whānau ki te awahi i te whānau”. She explained that at times when there are issues within a whānau and all other methods have been tried, guidance will come from the deceased.

“Everything we do is based on what they believed in and their principles are alive within every one of us”, stated Kahu. The messages and presence of those who have passed on are “the wairua that drive us, they are the hidden force within you”. Another two participants, Taina and Eru, acknowledged the importance of those who had died. Taina said “they’re living in us, the things we say might be things that we’ve heard them say”.

Those who had passed on, for Hopa, Heni and Kiri, were the genesis of the current (living) generation – they had “sown their seeds and laid the foundations” for the whānau, according to Hopa. Heni stated that “in our culture we have always acknowledged those who have gone before us, who have been partly responsible, directly or indirectly, for who we are today”. Kiri stated that “they’re more important when they’re dead [because] they’re the link to their kids and their whānau”.

Those who had passed on were still included as whānau members, according to Pera, Hera and Te Pania. Te Pania said “oh yes, of course, we are descended from them so our whanaungatanga is when we are claiming our relations. We know we are related, it’s just a reaffirmation of how we are related to each other.”

The deceased were remembered and brought into the present by being talked about and being celebrated. Puti gave an example of when it was her late father’s birthday. The whānau baked a cake and went out together to have a cup of tea in remembrance of him. Her mother made comments such as “your dad would have loved this, mokopuna. Just imagine him riding behind the farm bike with his papa.”

Like the previous cohort, participants were unanimous in stressing the importance and significance of those who had passed away. The whakapapa connection does not end with death, and recalling and remembering those who had gone was an important part of passing on whānau messages to the younger generations, as described by Walker (2006).

The Meaning and Typology of Whānau

In addition to the whakapapa connection, these participants described other attributes which were of importance to their lived experience of whānau. This lived experience required an emotional and spiritual connection for whānau to be actualised, which is embodied in the notion of whanaungatanga and played out in the experience and nurturing of relationships, with the pakeke and others throughout the whānau. Some of the qualities the participants identified as being necessary included closeness, trust, security and support. In addition, there were actual events that aided in creating whānau connections, such as hui, sharing food and meeting face to face.

Whanaungatanga

Whanaungatanga means the practice of relationships, and participants described whanaungatanga amongst their kin group or whānau. Mead (2003, p. 28) states that whanaungatanga “embraces whakapapa and focuses on relationships. Individuals expect to be supported by their relatives ... but the collective group also expects the support and help of its individuals. This is a fundamental principle.” Durie (1997, p. 2) defines whanaungatanga as “the process by which whānau ties and responsibilities are strengthened”. Whanaungatanga within the wider whānau is based on aroha or love. If one part of a whānau is struggling and another can help out, they do.

Te Pania discussed the practice of whanaungatanga and how it enabled her parents to cope with a large whānau. She came from a whānau of 16 children and “various members of the family would come and claim one of us for the holidays or would support us in other ways. For example, when I went to secondary school Aunty M bought my school uniform because she could see my parents were having difficulty because of too many kids and not enough work. Whenever I went on trips – for example, the Hui Toopu – it was always my aunts

who got outfits ready for [these] activities.” Later, when she had children, she felt that “I should really pay back my aunty for all her loving kindness and financial support when I was growing up, so I named my second child after my very dear aunty this is the way it is in whānau, different relationships are pulled in.” Te Pania took her children to these aunts so that they would know each other. She gave another example of whanaungatanga in action: when her sister got married, an uncle bought the wedding cake and material for the wedding dress, an aunt provided the meat, and various relations supplied the vegetables and potatoes. Her mother and father were left with buying the tinned food. “So everybody pooled in.” The donation of food and goods is known as whakaaro and it is reciprocal.

After having her own children Te Pania needed to re-train for a job, so members of her whānau as well as her husband’s whānau helped with caring for the children. Te Pania stressed that “people came to the fore to support, and it was always for the benefit of the family. It wasn’t because I was going to make myself wealthy or buy a big flash house.” Whanaungatanga for her meant relations, and she said “I don’t have friends who are not related to me.” Whanaungatanga also extended to other activities such as supporting whānau members who needed to travel from country areas to receive medical treatment in the city. There is sometimes a need for a conduit between whānau from the country and city institutions, such as hospitals, and whānau living in the city may play an important role, visiting sick relatives in hospital and being there for the whānau if a member died. Such connections occur frequently between members of the wider whānau, not just those who are close and habitually in contact. Te Pania gave two examples: one involved visiting sick relatives, and the other was supporting the whānau of a relative who died in Auckland. The tangi was arranged at a local marae before the body was returned to the Coast.

For Kahu, whanaungatanga often involved taking a day off work without pay to go to the marae to support whānau. Ruihi also described her experience of whanaungatanga: “I was brought up with lots of aunties and uncles and they’re all different people. When I got tired of one I would worm my way around until I got with one I liked.” Exposure to different people and characters was considered to be “healthy”. Being brought up and connecting with other whānau members was a common practice when whānau lived close to each other and the children bonded with many aunts and uncles.

The older cohort did not discuss whanaungatanga, but there was evidence from their discussions of ‘sharing and caring’ and taking food to the marae that they practised whanaungatanga. Two pakeke discussed their involvement in marae and community activities. This they did because of whanaungatanga and their role. It is an important concept that has sustained many Ngati Porou whānau over time. For the pakeke it was implicit rather than explicit. For the 35–64 cohort, there is arguably greater awareness of whanaungatanga because of issues such as dispersal, urbanisation and the political environment.

The Warmth of Connectedness

A particular expression of whanaungatanga is in the appreciation of relationships with whānau members, both those who are younger and those who are older. The young link to the future and the old to whakapapa and the expression of whānau.

After becoming disappointed with her own brothers and sisters, Kiri developed a relationship with her older cousins, who took the place of her siblings in providing whānau warmth. Kiri talked of the fun of going out with them: “I just love going out to the movies, it’s just so lovely just to sit with them. They are a generation older and we giggle a lot, it’s just fun, warm. I didn’t realise I needed to connect with these kuia.” Their lightheartedness lifted Kiri’s spirits. Like Kiri, for Hera whānau provided warmth: “without whānau this place [the farm] would be icy. When the mokopuna go away to work it will be just me, him [husband] and the cows.” There was sense of isolation for Hera when the mokopuna left.

Two participants discussed the importance of pakeke in their lives, and the warmth, peace and joy that this brings. These older people enriched their experience of whānau, and as a small population they need to be nurtured. Hera’s mother had lived with her and her husband for many years until just before her death, and Hera spoke of her influence on the whānau: “the kids used to go in her bedroom and talk for hours. It was a good experience.” The presence of Hera’s mother enriched the lives of her children. Maraea, who lived in Australia, was strongly aware of the lack of older people in the lives of herself and her children. This was a keenly felt lack: “I do miss the old people because I am so far away from them.” Not having the old people around made her feel “lonely, mokemoke”. On occasions such as “birthdays and weddings”, Maraea felt that it was nice to have the old

people around. She thought that the presence of the old people brought “peace” to the occasion. She also experienced koingo or a longing, which prompted phone calls to cousins to have a chat and catch up; she concluded by saying “that is whānau to me”.

Whānau needs the balance of all the various age groups, particularly the presence of pakeke.

The Attributes of Whānau

While whakapapa was important, participants placed special value on qualities such as closeness, involvement, mutual help and support, acceptance and respect, and kanohi kitea in order to give full expression to their understanding of whānau.

For Kiri, whānau was not just about whakapapa, but also about the closeness you feel to whānau members. She thought the word whānau meant “a sense of belonging, sharing, caring, looking out for one another, the whole bit”. Membership of whānau, for Kiri, included “basically all your relations immediate and extended; the works”. Kiri then went on to look at the strength of the connection to her mother’s and father’s sides of the whānau, saying that she felt that “we’re closer to our mum’s side”. The bond with some of her father’s whānau was also strong, “and when we see each other we go back to when we were growing up”. For Kiri’s cousin Te Rina, whānau “is my whole existence, how I exist”, because her life revolved around her children and mokopuna. This involvement gave her a sense of purpose. The closeness of parents and the flow-on effect from this closeness to the children was also important. Ria included “mother, father, grandparents, aunts, uncles, sisters, brothers, nieces, nephews and cousins”. She did not know a lot of the second cousins because the bond was with the ones “we grew up with”. There was an awareness of who the second cousins were. For Kiri, Te Rina and Ria, growing up together, and the closeness that generated, figured largely in their sense of whānau.

For Te Rina, whānau was “my children and what I wake up to every day”. Miriama (one of Te Rina’s cousins) also expressed the centrality of whānau to her existence: “whānau means everything to me, they are more important than work, they are my life if I am to be honest. I like to know [what is happening within the whānau], and if there is anything untoward happening, then maybe I could offer some sort of help.” Trust and help were important

qualities for Eru. He included those whom he could trust such as “my sisters, my brothers and my mother ... they’re people that you look up to for help and are able to give help to”.

A factor Ruihi mentioned was the comfort and support provided by aunts and uncles and other whānau members. “Knowing the connections, the supports, the comforters; when there was some danger I was comforted by the fact that I could rely on any of my uncles, cousins, aunties and nieces.” Another important factor for Ruihi was knowing “that everyone was looking out for my welfare as a child growing up”. At the time Ruihi grew up, the community kept young people safe by informing their parents if they saw something untoward, such as a child crying as he or she walked along the road. She also described whānau as a “natural order”, and went on to discuss the importance of “fellowship” as the most “natural way to get your needs met”. Ruihi described sustenance as “the need to be loved, hugged, caring”. Ruihi’s sister Te Pania said “without a whānau it’s like having a boat without a rudder. The whānau is a very important part of everyone’s life; just being there to support whānau and having whānau around when you need whānau.” For Heni, too, the importance of whānau was the “unquestionable [and] unconditional support”. Puti stated that “coming from a big family I just enjoyed whānau”. Puti’s son always reminded his sisters that “whānau came first, before friends”. Puti had taught her son that the priority was the whānau. Often it is necessary to remind each other what is involved in maintaining the special bond that is whānau – “Whānau is a big support system” – and for Puti, this support extended to marae activities. Maraea said “so much of my time revolves around whānau”; “they are the people that awahi you when things go wrong, in sickness and in daily life”. The big picture was of whānau as being all-encompassing, although it is made up of many component parts.

Acceptance and having people to talk to were important for Ria and her brother Eru. For Ria, whānau was important because they were “a whole group who were on the same wave length”, and Ria felt accepted by the whole group. For Eru, whānau was important because he had people to “converse with”. Christmas and holidays were special times, and he noted that “I’d rather be with whānau than out drinking with my mates”. It was also important for his son to get to know his grandmother “so that he knows who she is”. Their sister Taina felt she had “moved away” from whānau and that phone calls weren’t enough. It was the “actual

physical contact, being with them”. Taina had not realised how much she had “missed” the close contact of brothers and sisters until she returned home.

For Kahu, giving voice to whānau meant arranging whānau hui and the sharing of kai. “Ko te kai ke ra te mea whakatau i te wairua o te whānau”, or the sharing of food, would settle the spirits of whānau members. The significance of the food is that it is a sign of manaaki or hospitality. It was also an expression of “whanaungatanga” or relationships with uncles, aunts and cousins living in different areas. Hui not only allowed the sharing of food but also enabled face-to-face talk on a particular topic, “kia kōrero tahi mātau”. All these aspects – hui, kai and kanohi kitea (face-to-face contact) – are very important in Ngati Porou society.

The Social Structure of Whānau: Individual, Whānau, Hapu, Iwi, Turangawaewae

The whānau that participants described appeared to be like an elastic band, which can be very narrow, focusing on the individual and the whānau ake, or can expand out to include hapu and iwi. The interactions were also complex, as Cram and Pitama emphasise (1998, p. 131). The role of the individual exists within this group framework, and was emphasised by this cohort, whereas the pakeke paid less attention to the role of the individual within the context of whānau. Firth (1959, p. 135), quoting Best, states that “In Maori society the individual could scarcely be termed a social unit, he was lost in the whanau or family group.” Participants’ views on the role of the individual were in opposition to the observations of Best.

Miriama considered that the “whānau framework allows” individuality to be expressed: “I think that within a collective framework the individuality comes out in that framework.” The individual exists because of the whānau which surrounds, embraces and supports them. Puti, like the pakeke, said that the role of the individual was about “knowing the connections”, i.e. whakapapa. She also felt that the individual owed “allegiance to the whole collective of the whānau framework”. While they were free to express their individuality, these participants also emphasised the need to remember the whānau.

Some participants felt that individuals needed to take responsibility. These responsibilities, as expressed by Kahu and Kiri, included participating, contributing and supporting. Kahu mentioned how whānau members could contribute, stating that “there is a need for all whānau members to take responsibility for the maintenance and upkeep” of whānau graves and the cemetery. These contributions could be spiritual, or in the form of a donation.

Maintaining workable relationships with other whānau members was implied by Taina, who saw the role of an individual “as a connecting role to keep the whānau concept alive and functional”. Being there for other whānau members was important to Eru, as it is part of keeping the connection alive.

Three participants spoke of the necessity of expressing their individuality. Hera believed that “you need to have individuality so your personality comes through”, while Ria felt that the whānau did not pose any limitations upon her as an individual – that you could be “whatever you want to be”. Like her sister Ria, Heni felt that whānau strengthened her, as they allowed her to be who she was. Despite having lived overseas, she saw herself as an “extension of whānau”.

While there was a celebration of the role of the individual, there was also a reminder of the responsibilities associated with individuality. Maintaining workable relationships was a responsibility of the individual as well as the maintenance of the unity of the group. Individual identity was discussed in the previous chapter where the haka *Ruamoko* is used as an example of how the individual functions within the collective framework. While the previous cohort did not refer specifically to the responsibilities of each individual to the group, they would have understood it: it was there by implication rather than overtly. The 35–64 year old cohort, on the other hand, was much more at ease articulating the role of the individual than the pakeke were.

Whānau ake is each individual’s whānau of origin, but it is a phrase that can be used metaphorically as well. Hopa made specific reference to “taku whānau ake”, meaning his whānau ake or whānau of origin, consisting of brothers and sisters. He was the eldest, and there were responsibilities associated with this position. He then went on to explain that “to

maua whānau ake”, or he and his wife’s whānau ake, consisted of their children, grandchildren and great grandchildren. Hopa chose to distinguish between his whānau ake and his wife’s. This provided clarity around who he was talking about and that he was not claiming to be part of his wife’s whānau. In his usage of whānau ake, Hopa was referring exclusively to his descent line. While other participants did not use the phrase ‘whānau ake’, they described the same thing, their whānau of origin.

The concept of whānau is completely embedded in a Māori worldview, as expressed by Ruihi: “whānau was Māori, therefore its definition comes from Māori”. She described whānau “as a kind of corporate body contributing to the whole” with “no cut off point – it can go as wide as you like on several sides”. This was similar to the understanding of Nehe in the previous chapter. Ruihi saw it as having all the attendant values and beliefs that the term ‘Māori’ implies. Likewise, Te Pania, who is Ruihi’s sister, had an expansive view of how whānau works, that it went “out as far as my hundredth cousin”. Ruihi also described the corporate nature of whānau, where each whānau is an entity within a corporate body with “one umbilical cord with everyone attached to it” (see Figure 4.2 in chapter four). The one umbilical cord she referred to is whakapapa, the core of whānau.

In many respects these participants had the same lived experience of whānau as the previous cohort, but articulated it in their own way. Puti described whānau as “the big picture of whakapapa and a continuation of it”. She reinforced the connection to hapu and iwi by stating that “I always see iwi, hapu and then whānau”. This is the same view as that presented by Metge (1995), but is at odds with the view of one of the pakeke, Nehe, who rejected the idea that iwi came before hapu and whānau. He was strongly opposed to the hierarchical nature of Metge’s model, as it works in opposition to whakapapa. It is also at odds with Ngata’s (in Sorrenson, 1986, p. 137) description of the evolution of whānau, hapu and iwi, where he gave an account of whānau and hapu coalescing into Ngati Porou.

Turangawaewae is described by Mead (2003, p. 43) as a birthright derived from whakapapa, literally meaning ‘a place for feet to stand’. Ka’ai and Higgins (2004, p. 18) expand further upon the notion of turangawaewae, defining it as “a term used to locate the very source and origins of a person’s *whakapapa*, sometimes referred to as one’s ‘roots’ or place of

belonging, for example one's *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* ...". All the participants knew where their *turangawaewae* was but because they lived in urban areas they did not get the opportunity to go back often. *Turangawaewae* is not a term used widely within Ngati Porou. It can refer to a marae or a block of *whānau* land; at another level *turangawaewae* means knowing where you are from, but at a deeper level it also means contributing to the well-being of the area. Thus, those with a strong sense of where they came from were comfortable on several marae.

Ruihi said that "turangawaewae is the same as *mana whenua* [and] *turangawaewae* will always be at home". She also felt it important to go back, "for my children and *mokopuna* so they know where they belong, whatever else they do in the world, this is home". Ultimately, for Ruihi *whānau* was "where my *ūkaipō* is and I will go back and be buried there". *Ūkaipō* is a reference to where she was breast fed, a place that will be her final resting place because that was where the *tīpuna* and all the aunts and uncles were buried. Ruihi was keeping the links and connections warm and alive for the benefit of her children and grandchildren.

For Ruihi's sister Te Pania, *turangawaewae*, in addition to referring to growing up in a specific area with close *whakapapa* links, was about *whanaungatanga* and relationships: "turangawaewae, it's not just one marae or one place, it's where you are when you're needed. It's always about how you fit in and how you can contribute to the wealth, health and well-being of the *iwi*, whoever they are." When Te Pania heard that *whanaunga* were coming to Auckland for medical treatment, she would provide assistance in any way she could. For her, the concept was not bound by geographical area: she expanded *turangawaewae* to include all those relatives who needed support. Pera, who is Ruihi and Te Pania's brother, besides identifying with the area in which he was brought up, said that *turangawaewae* was about "whakapapa" – this is a 'classical' definition. He listed the various marae to which he had *whakapapa* links and said that "no matter where I stand at home, I'm at home in any of those marae".

Unlike Ruihi, Te Pania and Pera, who had a 'hands on' understanding of *turangawaewae*, other participants' understanding was more academic, because of *whānau* disagreements that had occurred many years earlier. While these disagreements had nothing to do with the

participants, they had, through no fault of their own, resulted in the link to marae growing cooler. Taina knew her turangawaewae but did not go back to the marae because of the “dynamics between and within the whānau”. She was conscious she was not actively involved, and felt she had lost the emotional and physical links because she had been away for so long. Taina’s brother Eru identified with two marae. Their sister Ria, although knowing her marae, said that “now that our father has passed away and our mother is here [in Gisborne] it is less important for me now”. Another sister, Heni, identified with both her mother’s and father’s marae in two different tribal areas. Maraea identified with two marae she considered her turangawaewae. Puti also said that “with whānau goes the territory, land”. It is through whānau that the connection to the land is made.

Turangawaewae, as described above, refers to marae, hapu, iwi and whakapapa. While there is the knowledge of the whakapapa link, Arapeta, in the previous chapter, made strong statements about taking responsibility and contributing to the well-being of marae – that it did not merely exist for when whānau needed it. Most members of this cohort lived away from their marae and hapu, although they had knowledge about te wa kainga or the home, meaning their marae. Practising that knowledge is difficult when you do not live close. This is one of the challenges of contemporary society. Members of the previous cohort were not asked this question, as turangawaewae was their everyday experience. They represent the cohort that provides support to marae and hapu.

Complexions of Whānau

An examination of what may be regarded as disruptions to the traditional formation, maintenance and expression of whānau may help determine exactly how this cohort saw and understood whānau. That understanding also derived from their lived experience of it.

Cross-cultural Whānau

Cross-cultural marriages and relationships add another dimension to whānau and have posed challenges for children and partners alike. Exogamous marriages do not have the same rights associated with them as endogamous marriages.

Three of the participants spoke of their experience of cross-cultural relationships. Hera had a Pākehā father and her Māori mother had allowed the children to be brought up as ‘family’. She described it as “horrible” because “we weren’t allowed to stay at the marae, we weren’t allowed to see the cuzzies at the woolshed – it was restrictive, you know. You weren’t allowed to do a lot of things.” Knowledge of their whānau was also kept from Hera and her sisters: “When our grandparents died, we didn’t know [our] family Our Nanny was living at Te Kaha. We didn’t know her family and that ... was a bit of a wrench, [not] like what my kids know with their Nanny now. She was never a Nanny to us.” The lack of contact with close relatives extended to the Pākehā family as well. There was no knowledge of them “until they died, we went to the tangi and that was it, we never saw them again.”

For Maraea, “my kids were brought up on the Pākehā side of things although the Māori side is still there. They enjoy it, they awhi it in any way they can in little things.” Maraea’s husband is Pākehā and the family live overseas. She described her mother-in-law’s funeral in an attempt to illustrate the difference between whānau and family. “There was only us”, meaning her husband and their children, although other family members were around. This example highlights the different value systems between family and whānau, where whānau members stay with the body until burial. Maraea noted that “we felt there was something missing”. It was not until she attended her brother-in-law’s funeral and saw the pakeke who came, that she realised what had been missing at her mother-in-law’s funeral: “It was lovely to have them around, there’s a warmth.”

Taina, who also had a Pākehā husband, noted that “I don’t think I like the concept of a Pākehā whānau, you know just the kids and the husband. They don’t have the same links as us and I don’t believe he has the same sort of connections with his family as I do with my whānau.” She felt that whānau “had connotations of warmth, feeling whanaungatanga, that aroha, something that is unique to Māori and I don’t believe Pākehā have. I think the word whānau in itself is a lovely word, it’s got a nice resonance.” She went on to say that whānau had more to do “with the spirituality rather than the physical and emotional ties”, and noted that “the hinengaro or mind is different”. Taina also felt that her husband’s relationships with his family were “colder, they don’t seem to have that aroha, that whanaungatanga”. In terms of her children she stated that “I have tried to bring them up as whānau but also

mindful of the fact that one side of them is Pākehā. We came home as much as I could to tangi, to birthdays, to spend time with my parents and grandparents. They have also got to know what it feels like to be an important part of whānau.” Taina also wanted to lend money to one of the whānau and said “that’s probably going to cause a few problems” with her husband. Within the whānau there was a level of generosity and giving that was acceptable.

Cross-cultural and pan-tribal marriages are of increasing importance, because of the loyalties and allegiances associated with them. When someone from another culture or tribe marries in, it is expected that there will be a degree of enculturation, but that is not always the case. Ruihi and Te Pania saw that those who married in had a role in and responsibility to the whānau. Ruihi said that “their role was to contribute to whatever was going on. They took on the natural role like, if it required fathering a child like mātua whāngai, working on the marae, and working on the land.” Another issue raised was the status of someone from one tribe who marries into another. An example was given of a Ngati Porou person marrying in to another tribe: “They would provide a link into that iwi.” While a person marrying in became part of the whānau, it was with some qualifications: “We can never become part of the iwi or hapu. I could never become, say, Tuwharetoa because I have no genealogical connection, no whakapapa.” To Te Pania, married-ins “ought to fit into the family by filling in the roles that they gain by being in that family”. Of importance to Te Pania was her son-in-law’s inability or unwillingness to accept his wife’s iwi. Te Pania and her whānau were very strongly identified with Ngati Porou.

According to participants, whānau and family have different values. Family, as described by participants, is immediate, and therefore fairly narrow, whereas whānau is a much wider concept. These differing whānau and family values can come into conflict with each other. These participants did not have the same experience of cross-cultural relationships as Wiki in the previous chapter. They did, however, note the differences between the two different value systems. Those marrying in to the tribe had status within the whānau, but not within the tribe.

Whāngai

Like the pakeke in the previous chapter, some experiences of whāngai were positive and others less so. Hopa, Te Rina and Ruihi were brought up in caring homes with grandparents. From his grandparents, Hopa learnt te reo Māori and tikanga, which are important to him. Later Hopa and his wife brought up two of their own grandchildren as whāngai and then adopted two of the great-grandchildren. This was done to help out first their daughter and later their granddaughter. Te Rina went to another tīpuna at age six after the premature death of her mother at age 29. Like Ngarangi in the previous chapter, this placement is what Mead describes as “*he waka pakaru*” (Mead, 1997, p. 207). For Te Rina the whāngai whānau “means everything to me” because “my mum is there for me whenever, whatever”. Te Rina felt a sense of pride when her whāngai mother introduced her “as her daughter” and the other children “as their sister”. She felt closer to her whāngai whānau than her whānau of origin “because we were never brought up together”: their father placed them with different whānau members and she had been enculturated into the whāngai whānau, as Mihi in the previous chapter had been with hers. It was only in the last 20 years that the natural brothers and sisters found each other. While whakapapa is the basis of whānau, being brought up together is what creates bonds, shared experiences and develops closeness. Te Rina, rather than identifying with her hapu of origin, felt closer to that of her whāngai parents. The sense of pride Te Rina felt when her mother claimed her came from the sense of belonging she found.

Te Rina had also given up her second daughter to her whāngai parents. At the time she had four children under four years old to cope with and her parents arrived and took the new baby. In traditional Ngati Porou society where an older couple arrived to claim a child, this was seen as manaaki and the parents of the child did not protest. In this case, the child resented being given up and Te Rina indicated that this daughter had “issues” with her and kept asking “why me?” The daughter was “struggling to try and understand” why she had been the one who was given up. She was also “trying to get close to her brothers and sisters but she doesn’t know how”, although she was beginning to understand why she was a whāngai.

Ruihi was brought up by a tīpuna and when he died he left instructions or ohaki to his children that they were to care for Ruihi and “they all became my maatua whāngai” or whāngai parents. She said that “five or six of them all brought me up. They handled me, I lived with them, ate with them, fought with them.” This created closeness between Ruihi and her whāngai whānau. Selby (1994, pp. 145–6) and Cram and Pitama (1998, p. 132) describe how, traditionally, a child had many parents who took care of them and to whom they in turn related.

As with Te Rina, for Taina, Heni and Eru, while whakapapa denoted a connection between brothers and sisters, growing up together strengthened and deepened the relationship. Taina, Heni and Eru had two sisters who had been given up as whāngai, and so they had grown up not knowing them. Heni said, “when we were young we were physically separated from them, so I didn’t really think of them as whānau so much, but now we’ve spent a lot more time together as adults and get together at Christmases as their parents have passed away, and we are really their whānau. We’ve just gotten to know each other a lot better.” Eru also commented on the bond that existed between siblings brought up together: “I am not as close as I am to my other sisters but that’s only because they weren’t brought up with us. You know, seeing each other regularly helps make the relationship stronger.” His sister Taina stated that with their whāngai sisters “the thread is thin, while with the others it’s very strong”. The regular contact and interaction these participants referred to made the whakapapa connection real.

The diversity of the whāngai experience is part of the living reality of whānau. Two other participants had a parent who had been a whāngai. For Hera and her sisters this meant that they did not know their grandmother. This, Hera attributed to the fact that her mother had been “a whāngai and didn’t know what the whānau thing was”. Kiri’s father had been taken and raised from birth by an elderly relative. He did not know what a mother meant: “It was not until he was ten that he met his mother and realised he had a mother and she was a lady and that you are meant to have a mother.” His whāngai father was “really committed to doing the best he could for him”. When Kiri’s father grew up, he and his birth siblings made contact with each other and they became close.

Te Pania had a global view of whāngai, stating that “everybody has whāngai, if you think whāngai, all our children are whāngai to each other. For example, my brother’s children – they come to my house, they are my tamariki and when they are with me they are also my whāngai because I am feeding them while they’re with me.” This is an example of what Selby discusses, with everyone’s children being ours (Selby, 1994). Similarly, Cram and Pitama (1998, p. 132) describe how the children of brothers and sisters become “tamaiti”. Te Pania is describing the traditional whānau where she becomes mother to all the nephews, nieces and her own children. She and her husband had also kept one of their mokopuna in order to help out the parents.

Pera said that “whāngai has the same rights as every other member in the family and the whāngai is expected to maintain the whānau”. Mead (1997, p. 209) notes that as a consequence of being raised as a whāngai, “obligations have been established in the process of growing up and a bond is established for one’s lifetime”.

The diversity of the whāngai experience for this cohort included five participants who had been whāngai themselves. Other participants had parents and siblings who had been whāngai, which informed their understanding of the whāngai experience. One participant had a whāngai sister who came into her whānau, while two adopted their mokopuna as whāngai and another gave up a daughter to her whāngai parents. The variety of the experiences of whāngai is indicative of the complexity within the lived experience of whānau.

Inheritance of Land by Whāngai: Two Bites of the Cherry?

Inheritance of land is important in Ngati Porou. As Durie notes (1998, p. 115), land

... has abiding qualities which go well beyond utilitarian considerations to encompass existential dimensions and to give solidarity to the often abstract state of belonging. A Māori identity is secured by land; land binds human relationships and in turn people learn to bond with the land. Loss of land is loss of life, or at least that part of life which depends on the connections between the past and the present and the present with the future.

Durie raises points about the importance of Māori land to the continuation and perpetuation of whakapapa. These points become very important when considering the rights of whāngai to inherit land.

Kahu had two daughters, whom she gave as whāngai to two different whānau. The whāngai father of one of the girls left her shares in his land although Kahu's daughter was not from his whakapapa. Kahu had asked him not to do this, but he had done it anyway. This is referred to as whakaaro rangatira, where the whāngai father elevated the status of his whāngai by leaving her shares in his land.

Kahu and her husband decided to leave their land shares to all five of their children, including the two they had given up as whāngai. This caused tension and friction with the three whom they had brought up. As parents, Kahu and her husband could not disassociate themselves from these two daughters. It took some time and a lot of discussion for the other three children to accept their parents' wishes. They were not bonded with these two whāngai sisters and they were also aware that these sisters had been left land shares by their whāngai whānau. Eventually the three children assented, saying that "they are our sisters, no matter what". Cram and Pitama (1998, p. 137) note that "land is a source of identity for Māori". Kahu and her husband were ensuring that these whāngai daughters were not disenfranchised from their whakapapa rights.

Ruihi's whāngai father died when she was very young, and while it was traditional practice to leave the whāngai shares in land, she said "I was not left any" by the whāngai whānau. Ruihi was of the view that whāngai should inherit in the same way as any other member of the whānau.

Taina, Eru, Ria and Heni had two sisters who had been whāngai to two other whānau. These participants had very different opinions on whether these two had entitlements to whānau land. Taina felt these sisters should inherit whānau land, while Eru disagreed, stating that "they're going to get their whāngai parents' [interests], so it's a little bit like getting two bites of the cherry". While Ria thought that it was up to the whāngai to decide, Heni felt that the decision should be left to her parents. However, she went on to say, "it's important

actually, that whatever land we do own, that it stays in the family”. The decision to include or exclude a whāngai is made by the shareholder in the land, whether that is the mother or the father. Inheritance in land by whāngai is disputed because it is not just a legal issue, it is an issue of the continuation of the whakapapa.

Functions, Roles, Responsibility, Leadership

In order to maintain the meaning of whānau and to keep it alive, there are several aspects that require attention. These aspects include roles, rights and responsibilities, and leadership. While rights may be constant, responsibilities and leadership evolve according to the availability of whānau members to fulfil them.

Whānau Roles

Responding to the needs of the whānau and the culture requires skills, knowledge, time and application. There were roles for aunties, older brothers and sisters, and grandparents: these roles extended to educating the younger ones on the marae. For those participants engaged in large hui and on marae, they saw their role as flexible: sometimes it was necessary to step up, and other times it was necessary to sit back. For one whānau, caring for a sick mother was the priority. Participants clearly identified roles within whānau as well as roles the whānau play at marae or other social events.

One participant discussed the important role played by older aunts in maintaining the wairua of the whānau. Kiri said this role set “the mood, the wairua, it’s a natural thing that they do, it’s wonderful”. Kiri stated that this was “a special role, but they also have the tools”. The tools included the ability “to read the wairua of the individuals there, they know how to pacify or build up those who need the encouragement, they’ll make a fuss of the ones feeling down and neglected [and] to tease and be jovial”.

As the eldest in their whānau, three participants saw their role as providing advice to their siblings when required. Hopa noted that as the eldest or tuakana within the whānau, whenever there was an issue the younger siblings or taina came to see him. Within his whānau, Pera saw himself as an advisor – he was also a father, grandfather and uncle to the

younger generations: “If the parents are not available I take over. They understand that and respect it.” Miriama, as the eldest in the whānau or the tuakana, had a type of counselling role where her siblings came “for just kōrero” or talk. She saw her role in relation to the children as one of “just being there for them, no matter what”. In the previous chapter, Nehe discussed the roles of tuakana and taina.

As several participants were grandparents, providing support to the younger generations was important. Ruihi was aware of the need to ensure that her children and mokopuna were bonded to the whānau, hapu and iwi, and that they understood what this meant in terms of their identity and everyday lives. Ruihi saw her role as a grandmother as “helping or assisting with [mokopuna] development”; another role was for the grandchildren “to know their Ngati Poroutanga, it’s building them up in their knowledge, their connections”. For Ruihi, “land is important” as a factor in this, and was captured in “mana tangata, mana whenua, mana Atua”. It was important for the grandchildren to understand the meaning of this phrase. She felt that “we should treat the land the same way we treat ourselves, bar the abuse”. In terms of her own whānau, Hera saw her role as one of “guiding” the kids. The role of her children was to “keep their own whānau intact” and to provide “a healthy environment to bring their whānau up in”. Kiri described how her role as an aunt was to “support basically; encouragement, making them feel good” and letting them know how proud she was of them. She said that the aunties had an important role within whānau as “they are actually knitting everybody together”. Maraea saw her role as being around “for the kids and moko who need it”. Being available for nieces and nephews who went to Australia was another role.

For Taina, Ria, and Heni the role of the carer was the highest priority. One sibling was described as the “nurturer”, while another was the “organiser” and another the “supporter”. Taina explained that if someone was unable to fulfil the role, “someone else would step in” and do it. Ria was not only a “carer” for their mother but also cared for her younger nieces and nephews. Ria felt the responsibility for their mother “was shared” by the whole whānau. Heni stated that her role as a daughter “was to support and stimulate her [mother]. So I am happy to read stories and things like that.” Heni found the reversal of roles where her mother was now dependent on her children “difficult initially, because she’s always been so

independent and she would always do what's right". Another challenge for Heni was not being in her "own home and not doing my own thing".

Puti felt that the mother was the one "who called us back when she thought we should all be together". The father was not only the "provider" but the "disciplinarian" as well. The role of the father was seen as very important, as was the need for role models. An uncle was the educationalist and "checked out how well we were doing at school". For Hera her mother had been the "matriarch, when anything untoward happened in the family she was the first one that everybody went to".

In terms of roles on a marae, Pera and Ruihi's younger sister Te Pania said that "everyone plays a role, but the roles are not static, [but] they stay". She gave an example of attending a function where she was the pakeke or elder. This would require her to do all the things a pakeke would do such as "I am the one the rangatahi come to, give advice, karanga, moteatea or whatever is expected of a pakeke." On the other hand, if there were pakeke at the hui, she would be the rangatahi and play that role. A person may be required to play different roles on different occasions. Te Pania described how, depending on the context, she could be pakeke to younger people and delegate tasks to them, and yet at another event, the older people who were present would send her to do various tasks: flexibility and a willingness to accommodate the needs on the day are necessary. Kahu explained that the role within the whānau was defined by knowledge and whenever there was a tangi she and her husband would manaaki whānau returning home. In doing so she and her husband played the role of "pakeke". On the marae, Miriama "was always in the kitchen". She felt that "the women's roles are well defined". She said that "the men I work with within my whānau, they just know anyway, you don't have to tell them peel the potatoes da da da. The men do the meat and vegetables, they actually do the cooking and the women's roles are preparing other things."

In terms of cultural roles Kiri saw herself as "in-between". Kiri's children have played significant roles on their father's marae, although they are of the younger generation, only because their cousins have no knowledge of what to do. For example, her daughter closed her grandmother's coffin and gathered up the blankets and mats after the casket had been

lifted. This she had learnt by observation at tangi in the Tairāwhiti area. Kiri's daughter stepped into this task when she saw it needed performing, although usually this is a role for older people. Kiri's sons went around the back and just started preparing the food. For the young mokopuna their role on the marae was to "learn by listening and by what is going on in the front and out the back and when their time comes they slot in. As parents and grandparents we tell the young ones what to do." Kiri said she explained to the mokopuna what the occasion was, who it was for and relevant details so the mokopuna could understand.

Tuakana and taina (older and younger) can determine the roles in both the whānau and hapu but these are not necessarily fixed. Within Ngati Porou, roles can be determined by who is there on the day and who is able to perform the tasks required.

Rights and Responsibilities

Rights and responsibilities are closely linked to each other, although they were perceived as being different entities. Maintaining the balance within the whānau is important for the cohesion of that whānau, and the relationship between rights and responsibilities is interlinked: each exists only in conjunction with the other. The traditional rights associated with the tuakana/taina roles are being challenged. It is important to remember that the tuakana/taina roles are interdependent and come into play at different times. Tied in with this traditional concept is the significance of whānau land. In order to be tangata whenua, or people of the land, or to have turangawaewae, one needs land for the feet to stand on. For four of the women, the right to be included, accepted and dealt with honestly were of importance for maintaining the balance within the whānau. Caring, sharing and nurturing were seen as key responsibilities. Those in the whānau who had more means than other members would provide financial and material support where required. It was the responsibility of those who had the ability to give help to do so for those who did not. Responsibility is taught by parents in the first instance when they ask their older children to mind the younger ones.

Puti discussed the limited rights of the younger generation, saying that "the younger generation have not got the total rights of the older ones, and we have to be careful that we

don't just allow them [the taina] to take over". Puti talked about the roles of the tuakana and taina and the breakdown in tikanga. She felt there should be respect for the tuakana even if the tuakana did not exercise those rights: "respect, I think, that is what has been lost". The role of the tuakana was seen as a "birthright". Traditionally, the tuakana has the right to speak on behalf of the whānau, although in the previous chapter, Mihi spoke of her youngest brother being given the speaking rights for the whānau. Puti's statements suggest that there needs to be care before handing these rights over to younger generations. The younger generations need to be taught to have respect for the older.

Inclusion in the affairs of the whānau at all levels was a fundamental right. Pera felt that while the taina did not have speaking rights in the presence of the tuakana, the taina often came into his own within the whānau: that was when you "see the power of the pōtiki or taina when we are discussing issues amongst ourselves". As for the tuakana, "the expectation is that he will give good advice and is able to pinpoint the problems surrounding the issue".

Metge (1967, p. 107) states that "inherited rights in land are bound up with rights of precedence in Maori community life and on the marae. The older generation, in particular, recognize an almost mystical connection between land and personal standing." For Kahu the only right was land rights, "kare he ko atu, kare he ko mai", or no more or no less. Kahu had a strong sense of her whakapapa rights to land. Taina had no interest in inheriting her mother's land, although giving up her right to this land would mean that her children would not inherit. She preferred it to go to her brothers and sisters because she was financially able to buy land in that tribal area rather than inherit it. She then said, "that's the Pākehā side of me thinking, oh I don't need it, give it to my siblings". Taina saw the land only in terms of its economic value, rather than its whakapapa value. Ruihi associated rights with "resources, maybe land, marae, and to each other". In terms of rights to land, Puti said that "it's not so much a right anymore, it's about sharing rather than thinking in terms of ownership". Te Pania felt that inheritance of land should be along "direct bloodlines, because the land comes through your tīpuna".

The rights of the individual within the whānau and the right to be safe were restated. For Taina, the whānau needed “to acknowledge our own different uniqueness, our own different personalities” and for whānau to accept those individual differences. Heni said that “if you have a whānau it needs to be a safe environment, that you know that if your actions are wrong they will be curbed by your family, but not with violence and destructive words”. Heni went on to say the whānau has to be “a learning environment where care was exercised so as not to hurt others”. Kiri stated that “every whānau member has a right to be informed about anything and everything relating to that whānau”. She elaborated by saying, “if I am a member of a whānau, I have a right to know what the hell is going on with that whānau. If the whānau is deciding to do something on a piece of land and I am part of that land I have a right to know.” For her, this sharing of information within the whānau was a responsibility as well as a right. Another right was “to put your ideas forward so that you feel part of that whānau. It’s also about actively making some contribution, being a participant in the whole vehicle, where it travels, how it travels, how fast, how slow.” Hera said that “to be truthful to one another with our kids, partner [and] everybody, [and] make sure you are doing things properly within the whānau” was important.

Most participants had a strong sense of responsibility towards the whānau, particularly the tuakana or older members to the taina or younger members. Ruihi said that “caring, sharing, common goals, aspirations, celebrations and concerns” were key responsibilities. Her brother Pera felt that there was a responsibility to “your children, immediate family, and parents”. The older siblings were responsible for the younger ones. This concept was reinforced by Eru and his sister Ria. Eru thought that the older ones should “try and nurture the younger ones into the whānau, and in return they show respect for their elders, aunties and uncles”. This reflects the points made by Puti above. Ria felt there is a “responsibility for each other, but it comes naturally”. Ria gave the example of providing things for her nephew if he needed them: “I’m not going to say to his mother, he needs something. I’ll go and get it for him”. Te Rina felt that the responsibility was “to keep the kids together”. Being a mother was of the utmost importance to her.

Taina felt that there was a responsibility to support one another and to share. Taina was conscious that she had a home of her own while other members of her whānau didn’t. This

enabled her to contribute more financially: “when we are having a get-together as a whānau I will often put in more money than others because I am quite happy to share in that way”. Hera felt responsible for assisting two older sisters who did not have the resources she did. One sister lived in impoverished circumstances, so Hera “bought towels, and she didn’t have a TV so we gave her our spare one”. Because this sister didn’t have a heater one year, or wood another, Hera purchased those items for her. Hera also acted as an advocate for her eldest sister and was happy to push for her to ensure she got the health services she needed. Heni said that the responsibility of whānau was to “provide a safe environment financially. If you are renting make sure you pay the rent, get a garden going if you can’t afford vegetables, get up early and go to the market for your vegetables. They are a third of the price than at the supermarket so you have to get out of your skin a bit and make things work.” Heni also stressed that “whānau should respect each other”.

Leadership

“I think the fact that the women in Ngati Porou have the right to speak on the marae indicates they were leaders in the fullest sense.” (Mahuika, 1981, p. 70)

Leadership was considered to be very important for keeping the whānau together, providing cohesion and safety, and maintaining order and harmony. For this cohort, though, leadership had a more fluid structure than it did for the pakeke. The pakeke were the matriarchs and patriarchs of the whānau, and therefore their voices and advice were privileged and unquestioned. Models of leadership change over time, and for this cohort, leadership needed to be shared. Ruihi said that leadership “exists at different levels, is wide and has many aspects”. The eldest son in her whānau always attended hui “because it is his responsibility to be there. My sister displays leadership in the area of knowledge about whakapapa.” Ruihi said, that “leadership is very important because without leadership the families perish”. Te Pania explained, “it depends on what sort of leadership you want, we’ve got all sorts of leaders in our family, in our hapu and in our iwi. When people need to fill the role they just do it without thinking. It’s about who can take the role, maintain, sustain and complete it.” Leadership was considered to be “very important because it makes whatever kaupapa you’ve got, following it through to its conclusion and doing it well”.

Leadership takes many forms; sometimes it is assumed by the tuakana or eldest simply because they are the eldest. Hopa was the eldest, or mātaamua, and as such it was a given and a lifelong responsibility that he provided leadership to his younger brothers and sisters. This is a traditional model of leadership. In other whānau, leadership changes where a different person is the leader in certain areas, depending on the circumstances. In one case it was the eldest daughter who took the leadership role although her parents were still alive. Te Rina said her eldest daughter was the one who “cracks the whip” and will keep the whānau together when “I move on [die].” The parents delegated the leadership responsibilities within the whānau to the taina.

Within Ngati Porou, there is a strong tradition of women as leaders, such as Materoa, Hinepare, Iritekura and many others. Taina said that the females in the whānau were the leaders and wondered whether this was because, as “Ngati Porou, there are women as leaders or potential leaders, or whether it is just our whānau”. When thinking of the cousins, Taina said that there were a lot of women who were leaders. She also said that leadership within the whānau “was fluid. Whatever the situation or context, everyone is the leader, and we all have it within us to take on that role within our whānau.” Heni explained that within her whānau “it’s pretty tough because we’re all leaders pretty much”. She expressed respect for her older sister Taina because “she’s very capable, a good listener, she has the ability to see the bigger picture and she respects our differences”.

Leadership was necessary “when decisions have to be made”. Eru felt that “leadership is important if you have a lot of outspoken members”. At whānau hui, roles included ensuring there were sufficient resources such as meat, wood and parking arrangements. The maintenance of “order and harmony” was an important aspect of leadership. Pera associated leadership with knowledge, and discussed how leadership within the whānau changed depending on the circumstances and who had that knowledge. Hera said “you have to have somebody to take the reins” when required. Leadership provided safety for the children within the whānau: “if the children don’t know what’s happening there’s no direction and consistency”. Kiri provided the leadership within her immediate whānau. She said that, “leadership was a key factor in keeping the whānau together. If you haven’t got leadership you haven’t got cohesion.”

Leadership provides direction, and the previous cohort of pakeke, as the eldest, provided the leadership for their whānau. There was no single model of leadership for this younger cohort. Leadership was regarded as something that was flexible, with circumstances at the time determining what model or models were used.

When Whānau is Whānau: Resilience and Challenges

There are many factors that strengthen and divide whānau. Aroha, support and respect for one another, no matter what, were seen as key to strengthening whānau, as described earlier in relation to whanaungatanga. But these were not the only factors: in addition, the availability of opportunities to meet and connect were considered important, as well as regular meetings and times to be together. Factors that divide whānau include greed, violence, land issues, miscommunication, individualism, lack of respect for another tribe, whānau who had all been whāngai but never brought together, and strong personalities. Participants felt that there are core essentials that determine what is whānau, and that the factors that weaken whānau, while being destructive in their own right, also make it clearer what the values are that uphold whānau.

Well-functioning Whānau and Whānau Divisions

For the participants, whānau function best when connectedness and harmony hold sway. Te Pania said that “aroha” strengthened whānau, but it also required “being in a good space yourself”. She felt that it was always possible to “give support” to someone else. Ria, Hopa, Te Rina and Taina also said “aroha” was a key to strengthening whānau. For Taina her upbringing had given her a sense of “togetherness or whanaungatanga”, which prevented divisions within the whānau. For Heni, having a “stable upbringing, secure and safe, [and] wealthy in terms of experiences” strengthened her ties to whānau.

Regular meetings and reinforcing whakapapa as well as joint projects helped strengthen whānau. Kahu and Eru felt that meeting face to face regularly with whānau members consolidated whānau ties. Heni discussed the importance of tangi for the “reinforcement of yourself, keeping the links, the history [and the] whakapapa alive”. Kiri felt that “whānau should be safe”. She also supported the idea of joint projects such as developing a property,

which would require whānau to work together to develop a plan, from which – despite any ups and downs – a lot could be learnt. Kiri felt that there were not enough joint activities within her whānau.

While aroha, respect, support and opportunities to get together face to face were identified as primary factors that strengthened whānau, qualities such as openness, honesty, good listening and communication were also appreciated. If a whānau was functioning well, those within it would be happy and get on with each other. While Miriama said that her whānau was “not well-functioning”, she identified factors that she thought a well-functioning whānau possessed: “happy, healthy, getting on with each other, supporting each other through good and bad and just being there for each other”. She said you “have to work together or it gets too stressful”; “you have to want to be there”.

Hera felt that “with our whānau we all have something to contribute. When we’ve got problems, when it’s something to do with whānau, we brainstorm what we’re going to do. It’s a sort of feeding one another.” Kiri said that a well-functioning whānau needed “good listeners and kaumātua who have life experience” behind them. Leaders were also considered important: “leading with everybody on board, not bullying them”. Within the group, “there has to be that flexibility if somebody is thinking differently, being able to tolerate difference”. Kiri felt that “keeping everybody in the loop, sharing what’s happening [and] allowing people to be part of the decision-making; being inclusive basically, no matter what the kaupapa” was important. Openness, honesty and having clear parameters were also desirable qualities.

Lack of connection could also be remedied and gaps closed through the qualities and values of connectedness inherent in whānau. Te Rina, whose birth whānau had all been separated as children, said “we were never brought together in order for us to get to know each other”. Subsequently, she and her birth whānau met at whānau events such as tangi and the opening of meeting houses, and were able to strengthen the ties of whānau in later life.

Participants were aware of the wider implications of loss of connectedness with whakapapa and with hapu and iwi when remedies and solutions were not found.

For Hopa divisions could be created when a member was not prepared to accept advice or direction. Pera and Hera both identified land competition as a cause of divisions within the whānau. Maraea said that abuse within a whānau can create long-term havoc. Several participants had strong opinions on how personality factors could contribute to divisions within whānau. Kiri considered that “individualistic goals, greed and people taking power without consulting with the rest of the whānau” could be divisive. Miriama felt that “a whānau could fall off the rails because you have the ‘fors’ and ‘againsts’ fighting against each other within the whānau”. As the youngest sister in her whānau, Ria often felt that stubbornness, strong opinions and not being “ready to accept someone else’s point of view [and] always wanting to be right” created divisions. Another factor was “kōrerorero” or gossip, which Te Pania saw as a cause of division, as well as a lack of support. Heni also mentioned matters such as “lack of communication or breakdown. Communication is one of the most important things and of course respect.”

Ruihi summed up the quality of divisiveness as being contrary to the notion of mana, that in this context is an expression of whanaungatanga:

... to put it into one word it’s power or mana. We have got an intrusion into our definition of mana and it comes with certain connotations. Power is often misused. The connotation is that there are those who deserve to get whatever and those who don’t. There in itself lies the division. Mana is only earned through what you do with others, the caring, the sharing of resources. It’s a two-edged sword. If it’s a one-way thing you are accumulating resources unto yourself at the exclusion of others, and then mana is a negative.

Maintaining the Whakapapa Links

For parents and grandparents, the relationships with their children and mokopuna remained the same irrespective of where they lived. They were bound by aroha and whakapapa. Miriama, Ria and Hopa said that no matter where whānau members lived they were still whānau, and Kiri felt that there was no difference in the relationship between her children living away and the child living at home. Kahu stated that her children “are terrible, they won’t live away, they are too close to us”.

Modern technology such as cellphones and email have made it possible for whānau members to communicate cheaply with those living away from home. Telephone calls and visits were also popular. Taina, Eru, Hera, Ria, Heni, Te Pania, Ruihi, Hopa, Maraea, Miriama and Te Rina all used texts, the landline and face-to-face visits as ways of maintaining contact with their children and mokopuna. Maraea maintained contact with the children living overseas with “phone calls, we ring them up, never mind the text”. She also telephoned her sister “once a month, we have about an hour and a half on the phone and that tides us over till the next time”. The sisters “catch up on everything and have a good laugh and I feel good when I get off”. Participants found texts were inexpensive, and they were also able to access cheap landline calls.

Te Pania thought that maintaining links was “a two-way process” and sometimes necessitated “tell[ing] them off when they are doing dumb things”. Te Pania also said “aroha makes you move, whether it is you go to see a whanaunga to maintain the links or whether you are going to see them because they are sick”. For Kiri maintaining links was something “I enjoy, it means a lot to me”, but stressed that maintaining links is “a two-way thing”. In one case Kiri was the one who made the effort and often wished it was a two-way relationship. Kiri expressed a sense of sadness that her own children did not have aunts such as hers, and her children were now looking to other people for that connection.

Ngati Porou have taurahere groups in the main urban centres of New Zealand, and this network has now been extended to include Ngati Porou living in Australia. It is important to keep the links to the tribe warm irrespective of where Ngati Porou live. Ruihi discussed attending a celebration held by Ngati Porou in Sydney in 1989, and the interest it had generated amongst all Māori living in Sydney. This demonstrates the need for Māori to have contact with each other.

The majority of this cohort was in full-time employment, so had access to email and cellphones, and made regular visits as well as landline calls. By comparison, the older cohort used the phone, visits and making food for mokopuna as ways of maintaining links with whānau rather than utilising new technologies, which was due both to income differences and lack of familiarity with new technology. The previous cohort also had a

spiritual approach to maintaining links with whānau, which this cohort did not talk about. Keeping in touch with whānau was very important for both groups.

Whānau in Contemporary New Zealand

In order to maintain whānau in contemporary New Zealand, participants had re-formed and revised their approach to whānau, in order to accommodate contemporary realities and to ensure that the whakapapa links were kept alive.

In 2003, John Tamihere, who is also of Ngati Porou descent, suggested that the whānau mantra is a myth. The participants in this cohort firmly rejected that notion. Te Pania was scathing of the idea, stating that “you have to be an idiot to think whānau is a myth. Those people who think that are obviously those who have never lived as Māori, they live as Pākehā.” She thought people “should stop commenting and giving their opinion on a Māori concept and practice if they are not practising themselves”. Many of the participants – Hopa, Te Rina, Ria, Kahu, Hera, Maraea, Miriama, Eru, Puti, Kiri, Pera, Taina and Heni – disagreed with the idea that whānau was a myth. This was backed up by statements such as it’s a “real thing”; “I’m living it, experiencing it, it can’t be a myth”; “it’s the one real thing in my life”; and “it’s up to each one of us to pick it up”. In response to the notion of whānau as myth, Ruihi noted that “tangi is one of our most important institutions. Have you ever seen tangi with nobody there? That’s a great display of whānau.”

The twenty-first century, with all the social, political, economic and demographic changes that have occurred, has impacted on whānau. More effort and resources are required to keep the connections and relationships warm. Approximately 80 per cent of Ngati Porou live in urban areas, and the question was asked whether whānau still had a place within contemporary society. Taina stated that whānau “is still critical for us as Māori. If we didn’t have whānau I think we’d have a very dysfunctional culture. So the role nowadays in contemporary society is just as important as it was last century. Māori whānau is definitely part of today’s society, it’s also what shapes a lot of where we are going, if you look at health education. So the role [of whānau] is high, it’s impacted in a big way.”

Te Pania highlighted the importance of having all the component parts of the whānau, tīpuna to mokopuna, working together, in order for whānau to be whole and to contribute to the iwi. This would be the exemplary framework for a contemporary whānau. She considered that whānau is “very, very important, because without the whānau you’ve got nobody. You need the support of whānau for whatever reason, for example, you need the parental role [which is] supporting, the tīpuna role with the experience and practice behind them, the children’s role [and] the muscle that can do the work.” The pakeke also had “the wisdom to give to young people. Of course young people today, in this changing role have a lot of new experiences, Pākehā experiences – such as computers.” Te Pania went on to say, “if you are talking about harmony within a whānau, in an iwi, then you need everybody pitching in, fitting in”.

Kiri had a similar view to Taina’s above. She thought that the role of whānau “was the same as in traditional society”, although she acknowledged that changes had occurred. The way she grew up, surrounded by aunts, uncles and cousins, no longer exists, so she was seeking connections with other whānau members to provide that warmth and awahi. She continued, “you’re on your own buzz today, you’re planted somewhere in the big city, most of us, you’ve got your act together and you go for it – in comparison to your mother and father living in little Tin Town, with all the cuzzies around you, many over the road and stuff, [where] the support was around you.” Kiri observed that whānau cannot go back, because “the rural utopia doesn’t sustain them”.

Ruihi had lived in the city most of her life, and thought that there were “interpretations and reinterpretations” of whānau. She had lived in an urban area “maybe forty or fifty years, and it hasn’t been easy to keep the connections back home, and feeling the comfort of whānau”.

In order to “create your own sustenance you tend to create other whānau, whether they be real whānau from your own iwi or another type of whānau that many (besides myself) have developed. So there are people I am really really close to. In fact they have become closer to me than my own whānau. I know I can call on them when I am at risk or when I am sad.” Ruihi, while supporting whānau from other iwi, said that “we need to keep it in balance – it is important to keep in touch with my real whānau back home”. Ruihi raised an important

point – the constant need to keep the relationship with the whānau of origin strong. Hera said that “sticking together [and] moving as one” were important. Puti stated that “absolutely” there was a role for whānau. With whānau breaking up, there was a need to “bring it all together”. Miriama saw the need to provide ongoing support to whānau members as a priority.

Pera discussed the importance of young people knowing all their whakapapa, citing an instance when a third-former (first year at secondary school) knew only his mother’s and not his father’s whakapapa. Pera felt “disturbed” by this and said that “lots and lots of kids living in the city” were in a similar situation. This is because they are disconnected from that whakapapa.

An example was given by Heni to illustrate how the concept of whānau is adapted for use in contemporary society: Ngati Porou East Coast is a local rugby team that has used whānau very successfully to rally support for the team and to generate interest in football. Team members are drawn from within the tribe and others who live in the local catchment area.

These participants raised important issues in relation to making whānau a reality, rather than a myth. Their responses also highlighted the fact that there are differences between traditional and contemporary society, and revealed their belief that there is a greater need to work on the connections and relationships of whānau, and to teach the young ones the whakapapa from which they descend.

Urban Māori

One of the major issues associated with urban Māori is the underlying assumption that Māori living in urban centres automatically become ‘urban’. In the previous chapter, Nehe spoke out strongly against being labelled as ‘urban Māori’ because his knowledge was of being iwi and Māori rather than urban. Rangiheuea (2010, p. 198) and McIntosh (2005, p. 46) argue that many Māori living in urban centres tend to identify with the ethnic group ‘Māori’, rather than their tribal identity.

Despite living in cities most participants did not consider themselves to be urban Māori. This is in accord with Keenan's view (2009, n.p.), but at odds with Rangiheuea's (2010, p. 189). Urban Māori was associated with being city-born and bred, not knowing their iwi, and having little or no tikanga. Urban Māori Authorities were seen as trying to usurp the status of iwi, and for those living outside their tribal area they would always be rawaho or outsiders. Ruihi referred to the Privy Council case where Te Whanau o Waipereira were seeking iwi status (Rangiheuea, 2012, p. 196). The case rested on the word 'iwi', and in the evidence given by Mahuika, he talked about "rawaho" – those living outside their tribal areas: "No matter how long we live on other people's land we will always be rawaho." For Ruihi, "urban Māori is a myth". She added that, despite living in the city, "I get my sustenance from my iwi, hapu [and] whānau." Marae were also a source of strength, "support, nurturing, caring [and] comfort". Ruihi raised the issue of Urban Māori Authorities and how "we've got nothing in common except living in one city". She also stated that the concept of urban Māori has been "over-defined and given the same status as whānau". The participant made the point that "we live in the cities out of necessity rather than by choice".

For Pera, an urban Māori was "one that was brought up in the city who does not know their marae or where they come from". In response to a question about most Māori being urban Māori, he replied that "we are more fortunate [in] that we had grounding, we were brought up in a rural area. It's a lot different; one can slip in and out of the rural and urban Māori." When one comes from a sound tribal base, there is a sense of fluidity between rural and city living. Another characteristic of urban Māori is that "they don't know the tikanga". Pera felt that those Māori grounded in their tikanga "are expecting [urban Māori] to know things when in actual fact they haven't even been offered it or taught it". Miriama described urban Māori as "a Māori that has grown up in the city, has no connection or contact with their papakainga". Miriama did not consider her children urban Māori because they returned home to tangi. She stated that "what I have tried to do with my kids is to expose them to the wider whānau [and] all their marae as much as possible, so they grow up knowing their aunties and koka. Whether that's enough I don't know."

Te Pania said, “I’m an urban Māori, I live in the city.” She then went on to explain that despite living away from home for 43 years, “my whole being is about my roots, everything I do is about home”. Keenan argues that Māori living in urban centres do know, and still identify strongly, with where they come from (2009, n.p.) For Te Pania, living in the city was about “supporting the iwi” in whatever way one could. Going home for Te Pania was “rejuvenating. Living in the city burns your energies, physically, mentally, emotionally [and] spiritually, it burns you.” This realisation came after she returned home and was rejuvenated. Ngati Porou is a rural tribe, which is why the participants identified so strongly with a rural area.

Nehe and Arapeta, from the previous cohort, were in agreement with the views expressed by these participants. The participants in the 35–64 cohort, and even more so in the older cohort, made the key point that identity, which involves whakapapa and whānau, is grounded in tribal roots. With that grounding it matters less where someone lives than how they are able to move freely between where they are from and where they live. It is this tribal identity which enables that freedom of movement.

Whānau Constructs: An Outsider Version of Whānau

This section explores the understandings of the various whānau types that have been put forward by researchers, policy-makers and other from outside the whānau construct. These types are kaupapa whānau, whaamere, family, new whānau, virtual whānau, statistical whānau and whānau ora.

Kaupapa Whānau

The majority of participants (Te Pania, Hopa, Te Rina, Taina, Eru, Pera, Ria, Heni, Ruihi, Puti, Hera, Kiri, Maraea and Miriama) had no idea what a kaupapa whānau was. Responses included “no” or “never heard of it” or “I don’t know what a kaupapa whānau is”.

Participants did not enlarge upon their responses. Kahu thought it was about “binding everyone together” – like Arapeta in the previous chapter, Kahu focused on the word ‘kaupapa’ (purpose), and its implied meaning of bringing of whānau members together. A kaupapa could work to unify whānau. As stated earlier, kaupapa whānau refers to the use of

the metaphor of whānau to engender a sense of whānau into pan-Māori groups such as kohanga reo, sports teams and church groups.

This cohort had no understanding of this term, as this superficial approach was not part of their frame and had no recognisable application to the real lived experience of whānau. In stating that they did not know what a kaupapa whānau was they were like the previous cohort. The difference lay in the brevity of their replies.

Whaamere

In the previous chapter, the meaning of ‘whaamere’ as coined by Hohepa was outlined. The majority of participants in the 35–64 cohort (Pera, Kahu, Ruihi, Miriama, Te Pania, Heni, Puti and Kiri) said that whaamere was a “transliteration” of family, but they did not associate the word with whānau. In the previous chapter, Arapeta, Mihi and Nehe agreed that the term was a transliteration. Ruihi was clear that as a transliteration, whaamere was “not Māori”. Hopa, Te Rina, Taina, Eru, Ria, Hera and Maraea all wanted to know “what does that mean?” Clearly, they had not heard this phrase before and the term aroused their curiosity. Whaamere, therefore, is very far removed from the everyday lives of these Ngati Porou participants. It is a meaningless construct.

Family

Ruihi felt that family was the “same as whāmere, best described as nuclear. It’s mother, father the kids and maybe the grandparents. With whānau it goes back to the never never and goes forward into those yet to be born.”

Pera grew up as a member of whānau, but having married a Pākehā understood family to mean “mum, dad and the kids, that’s it, end of story”. Pera stated that he was “hurt when there was a cut-off point according to [his wife]”. The ‘cut-off point’ means that family only included certain people, and for a limited period of time, whereas with whānau, it includes all members, for an indefinite period of time. He described family as being “narrower. I am not saying it is a bad thing, just so vastly different. The link among whānau never dies, you

maintain that link no matter what.” For Taina, who was also married to a Pākehā, “it doesn’t have quite the same meaning for me as whānau”.

Puti and Kiri saw family in a narrower sense as well, referring to “the Pākehā sense of mum, dad and the kids, that’s it”. Some participants (Kahu, Te Rina, Eru, Miriama, and Maraea) used the word ‘family’ when talking about whānau. Nearly all participants used family to describe whānau at some point in the interview. This synonymous usage is described as ‘code switching’ (Eliasson, 1989). This interchange is, however, reflexive and not straight forward. Heni made the point that “whānau and family are used interchangeably” but that whānau included “those who have gone before”.

These participants were clear that whānau and family were quite different concepts. This is irrespective of the way in which they would use the terms ‘family’ and ‘whānau’ interchangeably. At the core of their beings, they were whānau.

New Whānau

Pera and Ruihi had not heard of the concept ‘new whānau’ but thought it might mean a newborn child, while Kahu, Miriama and Te Rina thought the concept meant a new member coming into the whānau. In the previous chapter, Mihi also thought that a ‘new whānau’ meant the birth of a child. Heni wondered if it referred to a step-family, and Maraea thought it meant a new family – none of the pakeke considered these two options. Hopa, Eru and Ria did not know what a new whānau was, while Taina saw it as “how we as Māori have adapted to the changing world”. Kiri decided to have some fun with the concept, describing “Mr and Mrs Cornflakes with their two children, one boy one girl. Then you have Mr and Mrs Nutrigrain and their two children. I don’t know what that means actually.”

Mead’s definition of ‘new whānau’ refers to what happens when a whānau becomes too large and part of the whānau splits off. While this may have been applicable many hundreds of years ago, it does not occur within Ngati Porou. Because of the whakapapa ties, a whānau can never be new.

Virtual Whānau

As stated in the previous chapter, the concept of virtual whānau was coined by Durie (2003, p. 16) to describe the connectedness that can be maintained via the internet as a means by which whānau can keep in touch with each other. The majority of participants (Pera, Hopa, Te Rina, Taina, Eru, Ruihi, Puti, Hera and Maraea) had never heard of this construct, using phrases such as “never heard of it” and “don’t know”. Ria thought a virtual whānau could be “people that pretend they are related”.

Kahu described how a school teacher from another area and her family, who were related, kept in touch. She assumed this was a virtual whānau. Miriama thought a virtual whānau was “the whānau I work with outside of my real whānau”. A work whānau is usually associated with the ‘kaupapa whānau’ construct. Kahu and Miriama’s understandings are similar to Wiki’s in the previous chapter, who thought the term might apply to members of her weaving group, as she had an affinity with them and thus saw them as virtually like whānau.

Heni was the one participant who understood Durie’s construct: she described virtual whānau as “whānau who are living overseas and the only time you see them is on the internet and talk to them on the phone and texting”. Kiri’s description of virtual whānau was similar to Heni’s. She said that “on the internet ... you play games, the cyber whānau”, although she was less certain in her answer than Heni was, adding, “I don’t know, I have no idea.”

The majority of participants found virtual whānau to be an alien construct, although many used the internet and email as part of their everyday lives. This cohort was not as dismissive as the pakeke were of this term. The difference between the two cohorts’ attitudes could be attributed to the “digital divide”, which Weatherall and Ramsay (2006, p. 23) define as “social disparities in computer ownership and internet access [and] differences in knowledge of and skills with ICTs”. Only two of the pakeke had computers. With or without computers and digital technologies, whānau is whānau, whether they are in front of you, you talk to them on the phone, on skype, or Facebook. Whakapapa does not change; it is a constant. For these participants, whānau was real and not virtual, so the phrase was meaningless to them.

Statistical Whānau

Ruihi surmised that “it’s what researchers do and put us into statistics”. Puti assumed it was to do with gathering of statistics, likening it to “when I do stats” as a school teacher, keeping data on the students. Heni saw statistical whānau as “extended whānau as far as a government survey”. These three participants all related the term to the government and the gathering of statistics.

However, the majority of the participants had never heard of ‘statistical whānau’. Te Pania said “those are just Pākehā words that have no meaning for me”. Statistics New Zealand gathers data on Māori, for example, through the New Zealand census and any household surveys they may conduct, on the basis of the individual and not the collective. This construct was meaningless for this cohort just as it was for the pakeke: it did not relate to their lived experience in any way.

Whānau Ora

Reactions to questions about whānau ora fell into two categories: those who did not know its meaning and those who linked whānau ora to physical health.

Five participants (Hopa, Eru, Ria, Ruihi and Miriama) did not know what whānau ora meant, with Ruihi saying, “I have no idea what they are talking about.” Other participants, such as Te Rina, Taina, Hera, Maraea, Te Pania, Heni and Kiri, translated the words literally to mean “well-being of family” or “family wellness”. Heni, who is a practising nurse, had seen posters in the local hospital and these posters targeted the physical aspects of the individual, reminding parents to immunise their children, “check their blood pressure and have a diabetes check. It’s all genetic, so it’s about educating families, that there’s this thing called genetics which has a huge part to play in your health.”

While Heni described a medical model of whānau ora, Pera viewed the phrase from a profoundly Māori understanding. He said that ‘ora’ meant “to be alive” and that the concept of ora wasn’t only related to healthy bodies, but the “links are ora as well”. The links referred to are the relationships between whānau, hapu and iwi. These links are connected

and reliant upon each other. Arapeta, Pera's older brother, made the point in the previous chapter that on its own, whānau "is incomplete" because the "makeup or profile of a person consisted of whānau, hapu and iwi". Pera described whānau ora as "healthy whānau in its totality". What makes whānau healthy are the links. This is an extremely important point.

The participants were aware of the government programme entitled Whānau Ora but regarded it as having little impact on them or their whānau.

Policy and the Whānau Worldview

When Meaning is Lost

Like the previous cohort, participants found these constructs, with the exception of family, removed from their lived experience and their understandings of the practice of whānau. This cohort, despite several having lived and worked overseas and outside the tribal area, and being much younger, shared the same view. Also, like the previous cohort, they recognised whaamere as a transliteration and were able to give an informed response to questions about it. From these two cohorts it would appear that the whānau types constructed by academics and policy-makers have no meaning for ordinary people. The concepts also lacked whakapapa, and without whakapapa, they have no mana.

Whakahokia mai te mana o te iwi ki te iwi	Return to mana of the tribe to the tribe
O te hapu ki te hapu	Of the hapu to the hapu
O te whānau ki te whānau	Of the whānau to the whānau

(Tibble, 2001)

As illustrated by this whakatauaiki, whānau has mana, and whānau is also connected to hapu and iwi. While independently they each have mana, it is when they are brought together that there is ihi, wana and wehi (awesomeness and authority).

The problem with these whānau constructs is not with the ideas they relate to – the metaphor of kaupapa, transliteration, statistics, the internet – but the issue of the use of the term 'whānau' and its addition to these construct names. Whānau-like groupings are created with

these terms, but whānau has mana in and of itself: it is not ‘-like’. For example, Heni made an educated guess that virtual whānau meant using the internet to communicate with others. However, this guess raises the issue as to whether these online interactions create, involve or reinforce ‘whānau’ – from the responses of the majority of participants, we can see that it doesn’t, as it has little relevance to their lived experience of whānau.

Meaninglessness and Policy-making

As noted in the previous chapter, policy-making in Aotearoa New Zealand has arguably sought to assimilate, integrate and compress Māori into the ‘New Zealand family’ mould. Policies have, and will continue to have, negative effects for as long as they do not take account of the worldview from which whānau emerges, and as long as they are imposed from the outside. The passion for whānau expressed by this cohort is alive and vital, and in all their careers (with the exception of one person) they have been able to observe the negative effects of government policy. At a recent hui in Wellington (5 August 2011), the Chairman of Te Runanga o Ngati Porou, Mr Apirana Mahuika, stated that “Crown policies are Māori’s worst enemies.” Using Māori words and concepts such as whānau does not disguise the assimilationist or culturally unilateral direction of policy-making.

In commenting on policies, participants took a high-level approach and did not specify particular social policies but commented on ones that impacted on whānau, for example, local body politics. Because of the negative statistics on all social indices such as health, education, employment, housing and criminal justice for Māori, participants felt that policies had not worked in the interests of whānau.

Te Pania was wary of the propensity of the Crown to rigidify Māori concepts. She said “they say this is what [whānau] is for Māori people and by doing that they confine it and it becomes straight-laced and it doesn’t go beyond what it really means”. Te Pania was referring to the quantitative approach that is taken by policy-makers. Puti said, “I’ve got mixed thoughts about policy. I think what the policy-makers have done is watered down the concept of whānau in education. They’ve made it narrow, stilted, fixed. I think they redefine it for a purpose. Maybe they’re redefining it for the allocation of funding depending on criteria. It’s too finely set in place like in concrete. So in the big picture I can’t see how we

fit.” As a school teacher and a school principal respectively, these participants had clear knowledge of the practical effects of policy on whānau.

Taina said, “I think policy-makers have their own definition of whānau that suits them. And I don’t think it always suits us, as those who are actually living whānau.” Policies have “had a huge impact in as far as they’ve dictated or defined what whānau is and then have dictated what policies will be implemented”. Taina felt that while health policies could have a positive effect on whānau, “they could do it better, and I think consultation is probably the biggest thing”. Hera said, “No, I don’t know [about policy] and I don’t really want to know. I don’t think government departments should have any say about what happens in whānau, I don’t think they should interfere with whānau at all.” Ria said, “you see a lot of Māori on the dole and in jail and that’s to do with policy-makers. I think [policy] has split whānau rather than bringing them together. I can’t think of anything positive that policy-makers have [done].”

Ruihi felt that policies were written by people with no lived experience of whānau, and in doing so they were defining whānau as a narrow and rigid concept. Ruihi thought that the approach to whānau by local bodies was “absolutely negative”. She went on to say that policy-makers have “played havoc with the term whānau. I am sick and tired of Pākehā policy-makers defining for us what whānau is and telling us how it should be and so it reflects their policies. They’re using our words but often our words are being used against us. That is our present situation.” Ruihi then said that the “advisers are just as bad”. Smith (1995) also criticises the advisors. Ruihi used the tangihanga for the late Māori Queen as an example of how advisors could completely misread and misinterpret what speakers were saying, because they did not have the knowledge and skills to do otherwise. When Ngati Porou representatives were speaking, Ruihi could clearly hear the translation being given to the Minister, Margaret Wilson, and how incorrect it was. If mistakes and mis-translations can be made as easily as they were in Ruihi’s example of the Queen’s tangi by supposed ‘experts’, then the complexity of a construct such as whānau could just as easily be lost in translation.

Heni spoke about the universality of policy, which is made to suit population-dense areas, while populations on the margins can miss out on resources: “I think some of these policies are made with bigger centres in mind. In the rural areas they are losing their hospitals and schools because they are not financially viable.” Miriama was the only participant who saw policies positively: “in my work the policy-makers are taking more cognisance of Māori and who and what we consider whānau, given the bereavement leave we see in government policy”. Policies “have a huge impact on whānau, they closed a lot of things and they handed out benefits which make people more dependent. I’m from an era where work can be found somewhere.”

Like the previous cohort, these participants viewed Crown policies with suspicion. The Crown’s ability to define and redefine enabled Māori views to be seen as low priority or as having no priority. It was not just central government policies that were questioned, but those of local government as well. A further criticism was that policies were devised by people with no lived experience of what they were writing about, thus raising questions about how relevant they actually were – Mihi in the previous cohort raised the same issue.

Conclusion

The complexity and dynamism of whānau, with all its twists and turns, as well as its strengths and weaknesses and its relevance in the everyday, contemporary lives of participants, was well articulated by this cohort. The lived experience of whānau, with whakapapa at its heart, has already been explored by the pakeke. This cohort, or the “middle ages”, stressed that whānau exists within and is an expression of a Māori worldview. Not only was the vertical relationship explained, but also the horizontal, “going out as far as my hundredth cousin”, according to Te Pania.

Attributes such as closeness, trust, respect and support were highly valued, in addition to support of whakapapa. While whakapapa was described as the “umbilical cord” that permeates all whānau that descend from it, these attributes could be thought of as a placenta that encloses, feeds and sustains the whakapapa connections and relationships. The warmth and peace experienced with pakeke, either older cousins, grandmothers or aunts, was

considered special. The pakeke have the wisdom to understand and the experience to provide appropriate support. Te Pania gave an explicit example of how whanaungatanga worked in practice, and how it sustained her and her whānau.

This cohort had a greater understanding of the role of the individual than the pakeke, and were very comfortable expressing it. Nevertheless, they were aware of the bigger picture of hapu and iwi. Cross-cultural relations had an impact on those with a Pākehā husband or wife, which they found a different experience. Whāngai arrangements are complex, and experiences were both positive and negative. The right of whāngai to inherit land from their birth parents and from their whāngai parents was evidence of how that complexity plays out.

All participants had knowledge of their turangawaewae, which was usually their whānau marae. Some had more contact with these marae than others, but all agreed turangawaewae was an expression of their whakapapa and sense of belonging.

Roles fell into two categories: one was the role within the whānau, and the other was the role on marae. Both these roles were dictated by need. For one whānau, caring for a sick parent was the priority. There were also roles for a grandparent, an aunt or uncle, and pakeke. On the marae, different participants were expected to step up to meet the need on the day – these roles are not static. Rights and responsibilities associated with these roles were also complex and interwoven, as the tuakana/taina role still applies. There was a need to ensure that the younger generation did not usurp the role of the tuakana before the responsibility was delegated to them. There was also a responsibility to provide financial support as required. Rights and responsibilities were discussed in terms of personal rights.

There was no one model of leadership in whānau: it could be one person or it could be a group sharing the leadership role equally, or dividing the tasks between them. Leadership is important for the maintenance and cohesion of whānau, and to provide unity and guidance. Aroha was seen as the most important element for the strengthening of whānau, while greed, land hunger and disputes, violence, and misuse of mana or power were identified as factors that could divide whānau. Good problem-solving skills were seen as a key to well-functioning whānau, as well as openness, honesty and good communication.

This cohort had the means to maintain links via technology and travel. Most of them were computer-literate, and used modern technology to keep in touch with whānau members. As the majority were employed, they made regular visits to their children and mokopuna.

Participants strongly denied that whānau was a myth. Given contemporary living arrangements, work was required to keep whānau ties warm and alive. Urban Māori were generally described as not knowing where they came from, and participants did not see themselves as urban Māori, although all but one live in urban centres.

The whānau constructs were unfamiliar and unrelated to the lived experience of participants. While they were knowledgeable about whānau, these constructs were alien to them and outside the whānau frame. Policies were viewed with a deep degree of suspicion, which extended to the knowledge and skill of advisors to give appropriate advice. Both national and local body policies were regarded as ignoring the rights of Māori, and there was a sense from this cohort that policies did not serve the interests of whānau.

Chapter Six

Ngati Porou 21–34 Age Group

Introduction

This chapter reports on the findings from eight Ngati Porou participants between the ages of 21 and 34, four women and four men. Callister (2012, p. 1) reports on the youthfulness of the Māori population, with 67 per cent being aged under 35 years. Durie (2003, p. 76) states that “the numerical strength of the Māori people will depend on the vitality and healthy development of its large youthful population”.

The majority of these participants grew up in urban centres, but some were able to return regularly to the tribal area with their parents, although others came less frequently. Will, Petra and Rich were siblings, and Jan and Nat were sisters. Their mothers were in the older cohort. All participants were related to the pakeke: Fiona’s grandmother was Wiki, who was also a great-aunt to four other participants in this cohort, and Te Raana was Arapeta’s nephew. Members of this cohort had the following careers: Fiona was a social worker; Te Raana a lawyer; Will a personal trainer; Jan a nurse; Nat an airline administrator; Rich a technician, Petra a teacher trainee; and Tom was in the army. Five participants had young families. As a rule, this cohort was very articulate. In *E Tipu E Rea*, Ngata advises the young people, or reā, to take advantage of the opportunities their youth affords them in contemporary society.

One Umbilical Cord – Whakapapa

Whakapapa: More than Knowing We Are Related

Although members of this cohort were all born and raised in urban centres, and three had a Pākehā parent, they still had a strong sense of whānau, whakapapa and their Ngati Porou identity. As with the two previous cohorts, participants identified whakapapa as the “fundamental grounding of who we are” (Jackson, 2001, p. 68). Besides being the

foundational basis of identity, it shapes, informs and reforms that identity. One participant, Petra, emphasised this: “[knowing where I’m from and who I am] grounds me. Whakapapa determines your status. Roles and responsibilities are decided pretty much before you’re born.” This means that as the beneficiary of her mother, father and grandparents’ whakapapa, Petra’s place within the marae and hapu has been predetermined by the positions they occupied. She also felt that sometimes you were judged on “what your whakapapa is, who your parents are, who your grandparents are”. While whakapapa can enhance your understanding of identity, it can also pose challenges.

Petra thought that whānau was about more than just knowing your whakapapa, and in order to give full expression to the understanding of whānau one needed to experience the reality of it: “going to your papakainga, meeting your great-aunts, sisters, cousins, kids – all those things are important. I think they help mould you to be the person you are, to reflect your whānau values, your hapu values, your iwi.”

The horizontal and vertical framework of whānau was succinctly described by Nat who said that whānau is based on “whakapapa – relations [across the] generations or through ancestry. So it is my extended family, parents, siblings, cousins, aunties, uncles and grandparents, great aunts and uncles.” Petra made a similar distinction. First came her “immediate whānau”, which included “parents, brothers, brother’s children and my children”. After the immediate whānau came “aunties and cousins”. Whānau also included “people with common links in terms of whakapapa ... all of them including tīpuna”. The tīpuna to whom Petra was referring had all passed on, but the link to them was still alive.

For Petra’s brother Rich, the “immediate or main whānau” included “mother, father, brother, sister and then slowly getting along to the first cousins, aunties and uncles. I consider my nieces and nephews as my own children, to look after them.” Nat’s sister Jan described whānau as including extended family: whānau is the “whole lot of them including parents, sister, aunties, uncles, grandmothers”.

Will, the older brother of Petra and Rich, said that whānau was “everyone I’m related to, it’s grandparents and beyond”. He went wider in his description of whānau and included “all of

who I know”. By this Will meant the relatives he knew. Growing up near other whānau members created a bond. On his mother’s side, the whānau was narrow, including only “nanny and papa, we didn’t step much outside that”. Not seeing his cousins often did not allow a bond to develop with them.

Tom, like other members of this cohort, was inclusive in his definition of whānau. He included his “stepfather, and sisters, my ex-wife’s family and my stepson”, describing the latter as “my son”. Now a young man, the stepson called him “dad”. Another aunt was whāngai-ed by whānau on the East Coast, and Tom considered his aunt’s whānau as part of his whānau. Similar definitions of whānau as all inclusive were noted by Selby (1994).

For Te Raana, the lived experience of whānau included knowing and sharing. Membership of whānau included “nannies, papas, aunties, uncles, mother, father, siblings and cousins Although my maternal grandparents had died before I was born, I still had nannies and papas who gave that tīpuna love I probably would have missed out on.” He considered it “wonderful” that the “aunts and uncles still take on that responsibility”. Whānau also included those “I was brought up with, those I know I am related to”, and “we share love, we share tears, we share snot, we share kai. Those are the sorts of connotations, it’s more than knowing we are related, it’s actually making sense of it.” For Te Raana, the totality of whānau was the point, encompassing good times, bad times, and everything in between.

Te Raana explained the beauty of whānau based as it is on whakapapa and whanaungatanga. Knowing the exact nature of a relationship is not a necessary prerequisite for knowing that someone is related to you. Te Raana said that “often I don’t know how I am related exactly and yet I know they’re still brothers and sisters. That’s the wonderful thing about te ao Māori, especially whanaungatanga, it’s more about bringing people towards you. Whakapapa is about bringing people towards you rather than excluding them.” Whakapapa is about the knowledge of common kinship, which often operates at an intuitive level. Once the connections are made, they last for all time.

Whakapapa and Beyond Whakapapa: Those Who Have Passed On

Like the two previous cohorts, these participants considered those who had passed on as important, because of the whakapapa link with them and the continuity they provided to whānau. Emphasis was placed on knowing their grandparents. Whānau exists through and across the generations, and each link is part of what makes us who and what we are. Tom, Rich, Nat and Jan stressed the significance of those who had passed on because, according to Tom, “without them we wouldn’t be us”. Rich, Nat and Jan all mentioned grandfathers who had passed on as being of importance to them. Te Raana also considered that those who had passed on were whānau, stating unequivocally that “we inherit our whakapapa, we inherit our kinship and that kinship continues”.

Petra went into detail about how she kept her grandparents’ memories alive: “My grandparents have both passed away but they will always be my whānau, and for my kids as well.” Those who have died were remembered “by talking about them all the time and telling [the grandchildren] different stories. Because we are living in Papa’s house we see a certain plant or tree he or Nanny might have planted, and just the kōrero, that just comes to mind straight away.”

A key message is that children need to know all members of their whānau in order to feel complete. Fiona felt cheated that she had not known about her maternal grandfather until she was aged eleven, and felt “sorrow, disappointment, resentment” that she had not had a chance to get to know him. She stated that those who had passed on were “hugely” important because “the ones that are here wouldn’t be there without them”.

The Meaning and Typology of Whānau

“It is the jewel in my life.”

These participants discussed various attributes that made whānau a central part of their lived experience. As several participants were young parents, they saw they had a responsibility to ensure that their children were connected to the wider group. Supportiveness was a key

attribute of whānau for nearly all participants. Besides providing support, the relationship with aunts and the socialisation they provided made them feel close.

For Fiona, “whānau is my everything, it is my existence and my baby’s existence because without it you have nothing, you have nothing. It’s what motivates you, it’s what gets you up in the morning, and it’s what gets you to work in the mornings.” Fiona felt her responses to the questions would have been different, had they been asked prior to the birth of her baby. “Everything changed, I have this responsibility and this responsibility has connections. So one of my responsibilities is to maintain Baby within that”, so that the baby has some knowledge of whānau. The participant’s parents were taking the baby back to Ngati Porou so that whānau connections could be maintained.

Will described whānau as being “extremely important” because whānau were always there to “back you up”, and he rated this support “out of ten, twenty”. Tom expressed a similar view, stating that “whānau is everything, nothing else matters really, whānau is first and foremost”.

For Petra, whānau meant “being safe, being loved and knowing that I am accepted by those people”. She described this love as “unconditional”. Whānau was also about “manaakitanga, and aroha, and values”. Petra said that “whānau are the beginning and the end of what is important to me. My life revolves around my whānau; I have to say that whānau is the most important thing in my life.” Rich saw whānau as showing “strength, showing how tight you are and whānau means sticking together”.

For Jan, whānau was “very important”. Spending time with aunts and cousins, “sitting around, talking and eating. That’s all we do. Go to the beach, watch movies and find out all the [gossip], what everyone’s up to. It’s nice going back home and talking and discussing things.” Having a sister to talk to was also important: “I’m lucky I’ve got that support as well. If anything goes wrong and I need to talk to her, she’s there to help.”

For Nat, whānau meant “a lot of support, and having a large group of people where we support one another. It’s still important to me [having] that sense of belonging.” She relished her ability to spend time with the “aunts and get away from the big smoke”. She went on to

say, “I always know I am welcome there.” Nat was pleased when she realised that her whānau was close, unlike other whānau she knew: “it makes me feel special; it’s nice to be part of that”.

Humour and the unwritten rules within whānau were described by Te Raana. For Te Raana the best thing about coming together as whānau were the “laughs, the memories, but especially the laughs at the expense of other whānau members”. While making fun of each other was an important dimension of whānau, there are rules or tikanga within whānau relating to who can and who cannot participate in making fun of other whānau members. “It’s only whānau members who are allowed to laugh and to make fun.” The following example was given: “I’m the only one allowed to make fun of my mum being messy and a bit eccentric. Everyone can have a bit of a laugh but there is a limit, a threshold and I become a protector.” Te Raana also referred to the “sense of whānau with friends, there’s a sort of whanaungatanga that you share, and you have that sort of esoteric feeling”.

For Te Raana, prior to the loss of a stillborn baby, whānau was “all these wonderful things, an upbringing thing”. With the death of his infant “we were devastated, shattered ... and it was then that I really felt the true sense of what whānau is about”. For him it was the experience of “the whānau literally rallying and lifting you and carrying you. Not just for those three days of the tangi but afterwards and even now ... whānau means so much more than a nice little feeling and memories of growing up in Ruatoria. It is the jewel in my life.” For him, whānau meant “they’re there for you in the worst of times and they’re there for you in the best of times. Basically, whānau means we are there for one another to support and love one another.”

Whānau and Place: Turangawaewae

While turangawaewae is a term literally meaning “place for the feet to stand” (Mead, 2003, p. 369), it is not widely used within Ngati Porou. In a broad sense, however, the term has come to mean a marae or place one identifies with. All eight participants identified with a turangawaewae. For six of the eight, this turangawaewae was a marae, while Fiona and Tom identified with the places where they were brought up. Within Ngati Porou, participants can

descend from ancestors from more than one marae, and it is also possible that they can descend from more than one iwi.

As Will put it, turangawaewae meant “getting that whole feel for the place”. There were implications for his children growing up away from one of their marae. There was recognition that they were missing out on something important and did not know how to behave on a marae: “it’s no fault of their own, they just didn’t know”. Will had previously said that there was a need to bring his children back to New Zealand, so they could experience some of the things he had when he was growing up. The connection to his father’s marae and hapu constituted one of those connections.

Will’s sister Petra was familiar with her mother’s marae but raised a point about living away from her father’s marae: “When you grow up outside of your [tribal area] you are not exactly manuhiri but you are not iwi kainga either. When I go up there I am still referred to as Ngati Porou. With the three of us [including two brothers] we are theirs, but we are not part of that core group that make up our hapu, we’re sort of on the outer rim.” Petra felt like an outsider on her father’s marae. While her younger brother Rich identified with both his father’s and mother’s marae, he said “I like to consider my turangawaewae as [my mother’s] marae in Ruatoria. I had a good time there, going there for family events.”

Jan and Nat, although they had been back to their marae for tangi and other whānau activities, were not familiar with it. As the majority of the whānau now live in Gisborne, that is the place they return to. In the previous cohort, their mother Taina referred to the whānau history which had resulted in this branch of the whānau not being closely associated with their marae.

Tom related more to where he was brought up, rather than to the marae to which he had whakapapa links, although he was aware of that marae: “For me as far as turangawaewae goes, it’s about where you were brought up, where the core of your family is.” He expressed a wish to know more about the marae he is descended from: “I say that quite sadly because I wish I had stronger ties with my marae up the coast. It’s one of my missions in life – to strengthen the bonds with my marae.”

Fiona, a cousin to Tom, identified very strongly with the whānau land where she was brought up, surrounded by other whānau members. Through her partner she was able to connect to a marae, to get “a lot of experience from that and to see how [a marae] functioned”.

Te Raana found turangawaewae “a funny term because we don’t hear that back home”. The “wa kainga is Hiruharama, Whareponga and Te Aitanga a Mate, and for me that’s definitely the centre of the universe”. This sentiment was expressed despite Te Raana being brought up in Auckland and Wellington, with just a few months spent at the local school. Travelling to school by bus with cousins – “sitting next to your own kin” – and being taught by nannies was “wonderful, phenomenal, a fantastic experience”. Home for him was “back up the Coast. Living in Mt Eden or Epsom was where you lived, but the sense of responsibility and pride is always back there.”

Turangawaewae is understood to relate to whakapapa and the tribal homeland. The previous cohort, in particular Ruihi, Te Pania and Pera, felt strongly about their connections to where they came from. This younger cohort, because they have lived away from their tribal lands and have been part of a process of urbanisation, has a stronger sense of the need to make and retain their connections to their turangawaewae, not just for themselves but for their children. They aspire to strengthen these bonds; they have not, as may be expected, lost them.

Complexions of Whānau

Those Who Marry In

The lived experience of whānau, in relation to those who marry in, varied from one participant to another. Four participants discussed the role of those who marry in to the whānau. Jan and Nat spoke of their Pākehā father, and how their uncles integrated him into the whānau. For Nat, their father “didn’t have a big role, no responsibilities that I can think of. Yeah, supports mum, and keeps his mouth shut. Got no choice!” The role of her uncles was to keep their brother-in-law engaged by taking him fishing. For Jan, the person coming into the whānau had to find ways to become accepted by and part of the whānau: “they’ve

got to get on. I've got a partner and they all love him." It was important for Jan that her grandmother accepted her partner: "That makes me feel better because it is my grandmother." Jan needed the endorsement of her partner by her grandmother, because the rest of the whānau would follow the grandmother's lead in making her partner welcome.

Te Raana said that while those who marry in are definitely part of the whānau, "there is still a threshold; they don't have quite the full rights of our whānau members". He gave an example of an uncle who had married into the whānau approximately 40 years ago. Whenever there was a whānau gathering this uncle helped with the cooking and other chores, and while this was appreciated "I don't think he'll quite attain or achieve full whānau membership ... you know, for newer in-laws you've got to build up your rights." With his wife's whānau, "when I go up there I still act like an in-law. I am very respectful to her family." In relation to his own whānau, his wife was able to make "a few comments but if she crosses that threshold, she'll get hammered". Rich felt there were a lot of "expectations on the person marrying in" and that these expectations were "unspoken".

Acceptance by whānau, or a move from outside to inside whānau were subtle, unspoken and often involved, as several of these participants stated, a transitional or liminal time. In some cases, whānau status was never conferred, while acceptance might be.

Whāngai

Tom and Te Raana both had mothers who had been whāngai but, unlike in the two previous cohorts, none of the participants was whāngai themselves. Despite this, all of them had clear ideas about how whāngai fitted into whānau structures. Petra said that "when you have a whāngai within your whānau, they're just a part of your whānau". With regard to inheritance she had no doubt about her position: "If someone's brought up as your brother or sister and all of a sudden they're not entitled to what you are ... I wouldn't make the distinction between whānau and whāngai." Similarly, Fiona said that if there were whāngai within her whānau they would be seen as cousins, nieces or nephews – as part of the whānau. Fiona had had half-brothers and sisters who had been given to other whānau as whāngai. Nat described a nephew who was brought up by her grandmother as whāngai. She also had an aunt who had been a whāngai to another relative.

Rich declared that he would not whāngai a child out. He gave an example of an uncle who had been whāngai-ed out: “He’s not as close as the rest of the brothers and sisters. If that was me, the child who was whāngai, I’d be kind of disappointed with that. Feeling disowned.”

Te Raana made a distinction between whāngai from within the whānau and whāngai from outside the whānau. Te Raana’s mother had a younger sister who was Rarotongan, but “she didn’t inherit any rights or land. Once she left home her role in the whānau changed, that was it.” He went on to explain that the whāngai within the whānau were different “because you’ve got the kinship, the common whakapapa, so your responsibilities still remain and the sense of whānau is still there because there is no such thing as extended family”. Whāngai who come from within the whānau can have rights to land because their whakapapa ties will be present, but whāngai from outside the whānau may not be left any assets because the tie is not the same.

Functions, Roles, Responsibility, Leadership

Whānau Roles

This cohort saw roles on two levels. One was to support their parents’ generation and, if necessary, to assume their parents’ roles when their parents were away or unavailable; they also needed to provide financial support to elderly relatives living at home who were keeping the fires warm for the whānau. The second level of support was to nieces and nephews, both in terms of practical assistance and passing on whānau and tribal knowledge.

Roles can be interchangeable, and sometimes younger people are expected to “step up” and deliver when there is no one else to perform a particular task. For Fiona, her grandmother was “like a second mother” but with age the role changed. Fiona’s mother was the cook or “ringawera” and organised the food. Fiona’s job was helping with the dishes or being “behind the apron strings”. However, when there was a death in her “half-European whānau”, it was Fiona who assumed the role as cook, because her mother was overseas. Fiona also anticipated that she would need to care for her parents when they were unable to

care for themselves. Fiona saw one of her roles as making her parents and her children proud of her achievements.

Petra said “basically anyone older than you, tuakana, aunties, uncles, parents, grandparents, I think their role is to guide and lead their whānau”. She felt that these tuakana were the role models for the whānau. Her own role in relation to two nephews was to “look after them, look out for them and remind them of their whakapapa. Because my nephews live in Australia, when I do spend time with them I try to reinforce their culture, their identity.” Other aunts imparted stories, kōrero and whakapapa. To date the parents had been “receptive, so far so good”. For Jan, her role was about providing practical support where and when it was needed: “Oh, just to be there for support or help them if they need me. I take the younger cousins to the beach or something to give the aunties a break, help cook or clean.”

For Te Raana also, the primary role within whānau was about support. As he explained, “it depends. Sometimes if you go back [to Ngati Porou], it might be out the back drying dishes, sometimes it might be digging a grave. It’s just filling in where there’s a need. Supporting and loving one another seems to be the primary role of whānau. It’s a lifelong journey for me in terms of my own role.” Taking responsibility for the children of siblings was another role. The care of the children was not just the parents’ responsibility, but that of all whānau members. As Te Raana explained, “that was my upbringing”.

Tom felt that a key role within whānau was with “mum and dad to keep the whānau tight”. By ‘tight’, Tom meant “keeping the children close to each other”. Because he was brought up with an aunt and cousins, an older female cousin played a mothering role to him. Rich, Tom’s cousin, played the role of the spoilt youngest child. He saw his role as “being spoilt, getting looked after and I’m the one who does hardly anything. I get away with anything being the youngest – mummy’s boy.”

Participants showed an awareness of the danger of whānau connections becoming weaker over time and because of distance and changing lifestyles. Some disappointment was expressed because there was one uncle “back home, stoking the fires, maintaining our

responsibilities to the pa, keeping them alive, keeping them strong, but as a whānau I don't think we support him enough. You know there is an expectation that he will just do it and he is not working. They are all down here working and just now and then we give him a whakaaro [a donation]." Te Raana felt that because of this, there was "good and bad to whānau". This uncle was the ahi kaa, keeping the home fires warm for the whānau, but not all whānau members recognised or acknowledged this fact. As they were working, they were in a position to contribute with a whakaaro. Their lack of support seems to suggest that for some whānau members, the connections have become weaker; and recognition of this lack in participants suggests that for several of this generation there is a strong awareness of the roles and values associated with whānau.

Rights and Responsibilities

Rights were defined in terms of basic human rights, as well as access to cultural knowledge. Petra felt that rights were basic, such as "the right to be loved, respected, to speak freely, to be heard, to be protected, to know your identity, to have that reinforced and have access to resources and taonga". She described taonga as "information, kōrero, whakapapa, knowing where your papakainga is and the kōrero that goes with it". Nat and Jan both felt that the central rights in relation to whānau were about being loved and supported. Nat added that "[whānau] is pretty accepting, you have the right to be accepted for who you are".

Will saw rights as the ability "to voice my opinion on different matters". As the mātaamua or eldest in the whānau, he felt that he had a right to check his brother and sister from time to time. His brother Rich felt differently, that it was less of a verbal matter than a behavioural and even unspoken matter: "I don't think there are any spoken rights; you just know what you can do and what you can't."

Fiona saw rights as reciprocal, and involving expectations, both of one's own behaviour and of whānau too: "all I expect from my whānau is respect and support. In saying that, I also have an expectation on myself that that's what I will give to my whānau members. You can't expect to have those things met but not be available to give them."

For Tom, rights and responsibilities were complex issues that needed to be addressed on a case-by-case basis, and according to tikanga rather than other values systems. He gave an example of discussions within the whānau about reclaiming a piece of whānau land occupied by another branch of the whānau. He felt that “we should forgo those rights” as that branch of the whānau had been living on that land for a long time and therefore could claim the right to it: “we should leave things as they are because it only stirs things up within the whānau”. Te Raana’s conclusion about rights was, “I don’t know if you have any rights but you certainly have a lot of responsibilities.”

Tom felt that “there are responsibilities, but you sort of find them out as they happen. The older ones have a responsibility to look after the younger ones.” He talked about his responsibilities to a younger brother living in Australia, “wanting to connect with the whānau here. He wants to learn about whakapapa, te reo and tikanga.” For Rich, there was a responsibility to “look up to your elders” and to “pull your weight with family outings”. Nat thought that there was a “need to maintain contact; you can’t expect to get that love and support if you’re not going to foster it”. Responsibilities have to be prioritised: Jan discussed members of the whānau who had returned from overseas and around the country to look after her grandmother, and said that “it is important to us, looking after my grandmother, she needs it more than anything right now”.

Participants were aware of responsibilities to parents, children, manaaki and showing respect to each other, and to the land. Fiona did not recognise responsibilities as such, but rather referred to “something you have built into you as values”. She regarded responsibility as going in two directions: back towards her parents and forward to her children. Will stated that a prime responsibility was “to do a good job of bringing up my kids”. For Petra, the responsibility was “manaakitanga. I suppose you reap what you sow. If you want a big strong tree you have to nurture the small plant. So looking after one another, tuakana, taina, kaumātua and mokopuna.” Petra went on to explain the changing role of tuakana and taina where one day you can be the tuakana and the next day the taina depending on the context. This point, which has also been described by the two previous cohorts, is important. In order to fully understand the changing nature of the tuakana/taina roles, they have to be lived. In

essence they embody the balance of reciprocity, flexibility, rights and responsibilities that are part of whanaungatanga.

Responsibilities were also discussed in relation to the land and natural resources. Te Raana raised the issue of responsibility to the land, claiming that “you can’t separate. Turangawaewae, yeah, but it’s more ūkaipō. You can’t separate yourself from the sea because of the relationship with it.” In summary he said that “there are lots of responsibilities from ourselves to ourselves, but it encompasses the land and all the resources we inherited, just like our kinship”.

Generally, then, participants balanced rights and responsibilities in a complex of support, relationship and connectedness both to people and to the land, over time and in the present.

Leadership

A wide range of views was expressed by these participants about leadership within the whānau. Most agreed that leadership was necessary for maintaining whānau cohesion. There were several different models promoted: in one whānau, the leadership was with the men; in another, it was with the women; in yet another, there were too many leaders who could not agree, so the decisions were made by the younger generation. Another participant felt that leadership within the whānau was not necessary at all.

For some participants, leadership came from the generation above them, or in one case from the eldest brother. Will, having lived away for many years, was unsure about leadership within the whānau. As stated earlier, Will was the eldest or mataamua in his whānau, and would therefore normally take a leadership role – however, because he had lived away for many years there was little opportunity for him to exercise that leadership. Petra stated that in the generation above, leadership came from “my mum”. In her own generation, leadership came from her eldest brother Will, and she said that “we [herself and her brother Rich] both listen to him and he doesn’t have to speak twice either”. She felt good leadership was necessary in a whānau, saying that “if you don’t have good leadership people are going to wander off, become disinterested or turn their back. I think good leadership is everything. Good leadership holds your whānau together.” Rich, Petra’s youngest brother, said “when

mum and dad were together, dad pretty much was the leader”. At the level above parents, his grandfather was described as “the tree trunk of the whānau”. On Rich’s paternal line it was the father rather than the grandfather who took the leadership role. Rich assumed this occurred because their grandfather’s health was failing.

For Nat, within her immediate whānau leadership came from “Mum and Dad together”. Within the wider whānau two of the aunts were the decision-makers. Jan said, “it is the females”. For Fiona, the leadership “on both sides of the whānau is with Mum”. She related how, when money went missing from her grandmother’s account, she and an aunt called the whānau together to resolve the issue. Fiona felt that leadership was “hugely” important in maintaining whānau cohesion: “it keeps things ticking over, it keeps the lines of communication open, it’s kind of like a business. I see leadership as the administration of that business.” Fiona felt that one day she would assume her mother’s role within the whānau and therefore needed to learn the tasks involved in leading the whānau.

Te Raana also thought that leadership was important for cohesion, but in the case of his own whānau he felt that “we’ve got too many chiefs. Sometimes the cohesion is lost because there are fights about who should be making the decision. No one listens.” An example was given over the death of an uncle and the five leaders within the whānau being unable to agree on where he was to be buried. Eventually, “in that particular situation, it was more the kids who made the decision on behalf of the whānau. And guess what, the leaders of our whānau agreed on the decision we had made.” With leadership there are “particular roles in particular situations”. Te Raana acknowledged that “the default is always back to Uncle, but he still has to make good decisions or the younger ones will pull him up”.

Tom had a different view from the other participants. In his whānau, leadership moved around: Tom said that “as far as that lot over there [in Australia] go, they take turns. With my whānau over here [New Zealand], Auntie T is the one.” He did not think leadership was necessary for maintaining whānau cohesion: “it’s your whānau, you don’t need leadership. You know, today leadership doesn’t always come in those sorts of forms.”

Tom's view of leadership also differs from that of the two previous cohorts, who saw leadership as a vital element of whānau. As one of the nannies, Wiki, said, "you need someone to steer the ship". According to the literature (Winiata, 1967, p. 86; Mahuika, 1981, p. 68; Katene, 2010, p. 4), leadership within whānau is with the kaumātua. However, this cohort was beginning to demonstrate leadership. Aroha Mead (1994, p. 4) challenges traditional models and argues that space needs to be created for women and the younger generation to demonstrate their leadership skills.

When Whānau is Whānau: Resilience and Challenges

Well-Functioning Whānau and Whānau Divisions

Fulfilling responsibilities towards other whānau members, as well as love and support, contributed to strengthening whānau in the eyes of this cohort. This strengthening is essential for the maintenance of the whakapapa connections within the whānau, as well as hapu and iwi. As with the previous cohort, aroha and support were fundamental to the strengthening process.

For Will, what strengthened whānau was "good communication and a lot of aroha". For Petra it was the "responsibility you have toward each other", and this responsibility was "part of our role". Once one had children and nephews, she argued, "you are suddenly hit with a sense of responsibility, so better step up to the mark. I think that is a role, upholding and practising those responsibilities." She was teaching her young children "to listen to each other and to always look after one another". She had been looked after by an older sibling and in turn had looked after a younger sibling. Tom said it was about "just the fact that we are whānau". Tom assumed that simply because you are whānau, aroha and respect will flow automatically.

Jan regarded the key ingredient for strengthening whānau to be "unconditional love and support". Her sister Nat again raised the example of their sick grandmother, and described how the whānau had returned and rallied to care for her, seeing this "common interest, love and everyone supporting" as ways in which whānau is strengthened.

Te Raana thought that “just being there is the main thing, knowing one another, just being around one another, surrounding one another”. He added that “being honest with one another and trust, are huge factors with whānau. I think that’s something that keeps us close.” Rich saw tangihanga, which is whānau-based, as providing a chance for “everyone to bond together”.

For Fiona, “acknowledgement is a big one for me”. Acknowledgement was “as simple as walking down the road, stopping, acknowledging, mihi-ing, having a catch up and moving on. That’s what strengthens ties.” In terms of hapu and iwi, Fiona noted that “if you don’t have a strong whānau structure then there’s nothing else to build on.”

Colonial values such as individualism and the valuing of possessions contribute to divisions within whānau, according to this cohort. Will, Petra and Rich regarded greed and emphasis on material possessions (in Rich’s case, tangihanga was singled out) as factors that might divide whānau. Petra went on to explain that the “adoption of these colonial values of valuing possessions, the hierarchical structures and desire for power” were factors that could contribute to divisiveness. This approach was compared with the more “traditional Māori society model, where you knew your place and possessions weren’t an issue”.

For Tom, whose younger siblings had been brought up “across the ditch” in Australia, the issue was “they just don’t listen, they are so hard-headed”. This was attributed to their being raised in a country far from the core whānau. “I think a lot of that is that our upbringing here is totally different. We’ve had all our kaumātua and kuia pull you into line. Just teaching you the values of respecting elders, it doesn’t matter whether you are right or wrong.” While the younger siblings did have respect, they did not understand why: their behaviour was without meaning. This lack of understanding was attributed to “just growing up around Mum and Dad” rather than with the rest of the whānau. They had not “received the grounding I had up here [in the East Coast]”.

Nat and Jan had not experienced divisions within their whānau, but Nat had noticed that when there were disagreements the parties kept their distance for a while until the disagreement was sorted out. Jan suggested that alcohol could be a factor. Fiona felt that

different values were a cause of divisions. Her Māori whānau and European family had different “standards and personal values” from each other.

Te Raana suggested that while there are issues that can divide whānau, these issues can also be a catalyst to strengthen whānau. He gave an example of a whānau where the adults were drug users, and he felt passionately that something should be done to protect the children. He explained that the “beauty of that cultural practice, that cultural icon, whanaungatanga, is that we really take responsibility for one another”. Members of the troubled whānau decided that the children should be sent away to be educated. For the members of this whānau, sending the children to boarding school and on to university was a priority, because “when you see success in our kids, you see success in our whānau”. Despite the parents not being good parents, the children were doing well in school. Te Raana added that, through all the differences and disagreements that may occur, whānau remains whānau: “That’s what I love about the whole whānau concept, we do get itty with one another, we do have our fights, but at the end of the day we still have that responsibility to love one another and that still brings us back.”

The lived experience of whānau has both strengths and weaknesses. Managing both these aspects of whānau is often the role of whānau members. Whānau, in a post-colonial period, have been subjected to the policies of colonisation and assimilation. The impact of colonisation on whānau has been a major contributor to the creation of divisions within whānau. With colonisation comes notions of individualism and capitalist values, as opposed to the maintenance of the collective framework which is whānau. Despite these impacts of colonisation, the participants in this cohort showed a determination to keep whānau strong. Knowledge of their whakapapa and cultural heritage assisted in this process.

Maintaining the Whakapapa Links

“It’s about the laughs, not about the truth.”

Despite being part of the ‘computer generation’, this cohort still saw the need for meeting face to face. Participants used modern technology to keep in touch with whānau members, but occasionally some preferred to use a landline. The technological means of keeping in

touch were similar to those used by the previous cohort. Will's mother sent emails but he preferred to use the phone. Petra maintained contact by email, phone and text, and also "harassed [her two brothers] to come home". As their sister, she saw her role as one of keeping them together.

Tom maintained links with his mother via phone, although "I might not ring for weeks on end ... it's not so much that we have to keep in touch all the time, but the links are there". He acknowledged having missed out on a lot of whānau experiences because he was brought up by his mother in Wellington: "that's the thing, you know, I've missed out on both sides, those ones up here [Gisborne] and those ones over there [Australia]. I've pretty much been in places where there's just me, and I've missed out on a lot of things like hui and deaths and what not. I feel quite broken about it because I can't be there with them for whatever reason." Tom was in the army, and his whānau had moved to Australia, so he did not see as much of them as he would have liked.

Rich used email because it was cheaper, but would also text, and from time to time would phone. He had a phone call from his mother twice a week. Nat said she maintained links by email, as "it's the easiest, cheapest way". Jan also used email and got information "through other family members". Te Raana pointed out how easy it was to maintain links with what was happening back in the tribal region through the Radio Ngati Porou website, which has a notice board and news items: "you can go to the notice board and you can keep up with everybody at home because they've got news items or interesting things that are happening back home". Te Raana also had a whānau email operated by one of the cousins that "keeps us up-to-date with birthdays, weddings or any event coming up".

While these means of communication were expedient, they did not reduce the need to meet face to face. Te Raana described how two uncles en route from the East Coast to Auckland travelled via Wellington to visit a sick sister. Fiona, Te Raana and Jan commented on the need to "catch up and gossip". Of this, Te Raana said "I just love all the characters. It is about the laughs, not about the truth." The contact and communication were about "keeping our whānau tight, making sure that our next generation knows one another".

Fiona acknowledged that “technology has hugely changed the way whānau communicate with each other”, stating that technology “can be somewhat troublesome for whānau”, and that it needs “to be managed carefully”. She noted that whereas once the whānau would have met face to face to discuss an issue, with emails, liberties were taken: “[Email] is handy for certain types of things but I think that when you’re getting into something that might have a more emotional connection for people, that nothing beats face to face.”

Fiona also commented on the need for the “big occasions”, whether they were happy occasions (weddings) or sad (death and attending tangi): “As sad or as happy as we are, we are together and we are achieving something as a whānau, and that’s what builds those connections and that’s what strengthens us.” Maintaining whānau links was also important for her because the commercial drivers of capitalism could be a distraction from whānau priorities: “We want to be wealthy and this is fine, but you have got to ensure that you are not giving something up in terms of gaining that – at the expense of whānau.”

Contemporary Understandings of Whānau

None of the participants could imagine their lives without whānau, and they all felt there was a responsibility to instill the sense of whānau in their children. They also believed the government needed to take responsibility for recognising that the individual belonged to a much wider network.

Tamihere (2003, p. 2) suggests that whānau is a myth, because of the number of dysfunctional whānau. Seven of the participants did not agree with this view. Responses included Te Raana and Jan stating emphatically “No”; Tom “absolutely not”; Rich “it’s always been there”; Fiona “no, it’s real”; and Petra “how can it be a myth when it means everything to so many of us?”. Will partially agreed with Tamihere’s point, saying that whānau was a myth “at times, when they’re all bickering at each other”. He described the relationships within one branch of the whānau as “plastic” and that it took very little to trigger the bickering – “a word and off it goes again and won’t stop”. For him whānau was a myth only when it did not function as a supportive and cohesive environment.

Rich couldn't see himself "living in a world without whānau. To me, whānau and friends are first, don't you think?" Will said "I'd have to say yes, because without it, I wouldn't feel so strongly about moving back home [to New Zealand]. It's about getting my boys to experience the things that I did, the things that money can't buy." Tom went as far as to say that "I think you can ask any Māori family, whānau is always important." Te Raana said that whānau definitely still had importance in contemporary society, as did "instilling in our kids the importance of whānau". In terms of iwi, Te Raana felt that "the iwi are only as strong as the whānau. There's been too much focus on the macro and not enough on the micro."

Petra agreed that whānau continues to have a place, "whether it be in the new forms, kaupapa whānau, in the urban centres and things, or whether you're back on your own turf, it still does". Jan and Nat reiterated the importance of support within the whānau.

Urban Māori

All participants lived in large urban centres. In response to the question "what is an urban Māori?", the participants were unsure. Petra suggested that an urban Māori was "someone who has never lived where they're actually from". Nat said "I was sort of thinking maybe a little more cut off from your whānau and not being as actively involved So I guess an urban Māori is someone who lives in the city away from the rural area." She did not consider herself to be an urban Māori. Jan stated that urban Māori were "more Pākehā, more Europeanised than people living in the country". She considered herself to be "urbanised" rather than an urban Māori. Jan had a Pākehā father, and disassociated herself from urban Māori.

Te Raana said, "I'm not sure what an urban Māori is but I am definitely not an urban Māori. There's sort of a new tribe of people who call themselves urban Māori but I am Ngati Porou from head to toe. While I live in the city that's just the place where I live. It's not the place I identify with. I only identify as Ngati Porou, coming from the whānau and hapu that are Ngati Porou."

"I really do feel sorry for our people who don't have what we have had, who haven't experienced what we have experienced with a place like home – putting the romanticism

aside – it really is a beautiful place culturally, socially, spiritually, emotionally and physically.” Despite living in Auckland, there was weekly contact with aunts and uncles who were “instilling in us a sense of pride in who we were and our identity was always Ngati Porou. We were taught all these Ngati Porou songs, and we just do love ourselves so much!”

It is interesting that members of this cohort, despite all living in urban centres, did not regard themselves as ‘urban Māori’. To them, the term is value-laden and implies loss of identity and estrangement from whānau. Their own sense of identity as Ngati Porou and as members of whānau is paramount: they are not the dislocated victims of urbanisation and placelessness.

Te Raana’s comments are in accord with those of Nehe in the pakeke cohort, where he asserts that his primary identity is with his whānau, hapu and iwi, and not the place where he lives. The previous cohort did not identify with the term ‘urban Māori’ either.

Whānau Constructs: An Outsider Version of Whānau

This cohort, like the 35–64 cohort and the 65 years and over cohort, saw their primary identity as being based on whakapapa and the mana that comes from being a member of whānau, hapu and iwi. Three participants had some idea of the formulation of kaupapa whānau, but for the rest, it had no meaning. Likewise, whaamere meant nothing to any of the participants. Because three of them had a Pākehā parent, and one had a Pākehā family, they provided insights into the differences between whānau and family. The concept of new whānau had no meaning for them, and only one of the cohort understood the concept of virtual whānau. They were able to surmise that statistical whānau was related to government policy. Lastly, Whānau Ora was understood as referring to well-being.

Kaupapa Whānau

Petra described kaupapa whānau as like “kapa haka and sporting whānau”, which would “fall under ‘kaupapa whānau’ because you’re all brought together by one kaupapa you have in common”. Petra spoke with some knowledge and understanding of how kaupapa whānau,

in relation to her kapa haka group, worked: “Where you are in the scheme of things is based on your ability. For me, it was a more personal relationship. They judge you based on who you are. With my kapa haka whānau I think in some ways they know me better than some of my whakapapa whānau.”

Nat appeared to have a good understanding of kaupapa whānau, describing it as “a collective group of people with the same common interest or goal, but who are not necessarily related”. Tom likened kaupapa whānau to his army mates. Te Raana, Fiona and Jan did not understand the term. Their responses to the question were “I’m not quite sure what kaupapa whānau means”, “No”, and “I have heard of it, but I don’t really know”. Although some of the participants understood the concept of kaupapa whānau, relating it to some of their relationships beyond whānau, generally the term had little relevance and meaning for them.

Whaamere

Most of the participants did not know what whaamere meant, but Tom asked if it was a transliteration of family. Two participants, Nat and Fiona, suggested that whaamere meant family in the sense of a nuclear family. Te Raana was “not quite sure what [whaamere] means”, and Will, Petra and Jan had no idea, stating “No, no”, “No idea”, and “no, I haven’t heard of that”. Rich had heard the word, when he was younger, and said “I have come across that as a kid but forgotten, totally forgotten”. This cohort was in accord with the previous age group in terms of having little or no understanding of the concept of whaamere, as defined in the literature (Hohepa, 1970). It is clearly not a transliteration that has entered the lived vocabulary.

Family

Nat, who had a Māori mother and a Pākehā father, said she was brought up as “family with dad’s side and whānau with mum’s side”. With her father’s family, Nat felt that the members lived their lives “more separately, they weren’t as involved, and there were no whāngai or anything”. With her mother’s side, there could be “more than two generations all living together in the same household, and also usually they stayed in the same geographical area”. Nat felt able to “swan in and out of” the whānau, but less so with her family. It

depended on what was acceptable. The family had a different feel to it and way of operating. The whānau was more harmonious and together. Nat saw the fact that the whānau did everything together as one of the main differences between whānau and family.

Jan, Nat's sister, said that she was brought up as both family and whānau. While noting slight differences between whānau and family, she said they were not great. She found her Māori relatives would welcome her any time of the day or night. Te Raana also had a Pākehā father and described the differences between whānau and family as “the type of closeness”. Another difference was that with whānau there was no need to explain. “With the Pākehā family there are different protocols” to be observed. He also felt his Pākehā family had different values. “There is a type of closeness within the whānau that you don't quite get in a Pākehā family. In the whānau there can be a big fight and afterwards you just get over it and move on. You know we'll get stuck into one another, but if our backs are up against the wall that's where our whakapapa still binds us. That's what I love about whānau ... at the end of the day we still have the responsibility to love one another and that still brings us back. In the Pākehā family there's a sort of politeness that you can't quite get over.”

Fiona's mother and her mother's two brothers had Māori parents. Her grandmother's second marriage was to a Pākehā and they had three children. Half the whānau identified as Māori and the other half Pākehā. She felt one of the major differences between whānau and family was the lack of support from her Pākehā family. For her, family meant a nuclear family, “mum, dad, brothers and sisters, and that's basically it in their little box”. It was also “a real black and white thing as far as Europeans are concerned, it's blood links and very small. My Pākehā colleagues can have an auntie or uncle that passes away and they don't attend [the funeral] and I just find that hugely bizarre, but when you look at it, they didn't have a connection.” Her Pākehā family “don't support and also don't ask for support”, and Fiona said she “relies on my whānau a lot. As a Māori I think support and everything that comes with that is natural.” Conversely, Fiona felt that when she gave support to her Pākehā family, it was looked upon as having an “ulterior motive. They can't see it for what we as Māori do which is, they just want to be there and do whatever they can to help because that's just how they are.” Fiona remarked that giving support was more important than any

suspicion it may create. She still considered these aunts and uncle as whānau although they did not view her in the same way.

For Petra, the difference between whānau and family was that family was “that European idea of a nuclear family unit, two parents and children”. Rich and Tom used family and whānau interchangeably. Will said he “didn’t know” what a family was.

Te Raana challenged the use of the term ‘extended family’ to define whānau: “I’m not sure what extended family means, because whānau for me has connotations that are specific to Māori.” Extended family was also seen as “cold and impersonal”. He noted that extended family was used as a “Western interpretation of whānau”. He also contested the accuracy of the interpretation and use of the term ‘extended family’ in relation to whānau, stating that “it really is a way of living, a way of life”.

Further examples of the differences between Western conceptualisations and whānau were provided. “Extended family may include distant cousins such as second cousin twice removed and whatever that means. I have no idea what that means but a tuahine is a tuahine, a tungane is a tungane, and tuakana and taina.” These kinship terms Te Raana referred to differ in substance from cousins, second cousins and great-aunts. Firth (1959, p. 117) notes that “the terms for brother and sister apply also to cousins, and those for mother and father to both maternal and paternal aunts and uncles”. Relationships in whānau are horizontal across generations and more flexible. The criteria are connectedness and whakapapa, whereas relationships in families are hard and fast and do not spread fluidly outwards.

Three participants had one Pākehā parent and one Māori parent, and Fiona had what she described as “my Pākehā family”. These participants’ insights into family enabled them to contrast family and whānau. What they described were different values and a different degree of closeness.

New Whānau

While two participants, Will and Te Raana, either had no idea or were not quite sure what new whānau meant, six participants wondered whether this referred to a new member of a

whānau through marriage or birth. Fiona thought in-laws were a new whānau “in a sense”. She saw it as a new group: “and it does sit differently from my own whānau”. Rich and Petra wondered if this was related to marriage, Rich asking “you mean like people getting married into the family?” Petra gave “an example [of] new marriages [and] births”. Tom queried whether this was a newborn, Nat asked “do they mean ... literally new whānau members?”, and Jan had no understanding of what the term meant.

Again, this recently created concept has little meaning or application within the cohort groups.

Virtual Whānau

Rich felt that virtual whānau was related to the use of the internet: “I’m guessing it’s via the internet, staying connected. Yeah, connected via email. I’m not too sure.” For two other participants, there was an element of unreality about it all, Will saying “that sounds like make-believe whānau”. Fiona expanded on the idea to say that “virtual to me means not quite reality, on the borderline of reality, what’s real and what’s not”. The remainder of the cohort did not know, and responded in kind. Te Raana said “not quite sure what those are either”; Jan “No”; and Nat was “not too sure”. Apart from Rich, the rest of this cohort had no idea what a virtual whānau was.

Statistical Whānau

One participant, Rich, made a good guess when asked what statistical whānau was: “I’m hearing numbers from the government about Māori whānau.” Nat also wondered whether this was to do with statistics, but confessed to not knowing, saying “I guess, to do with statistics? No, I don’t know.” The remainder of the participants had no understanding of the meaning of statistical whānau. Tom was adamant: “Statistical whānau, never heard of that one”; Te Raana said “I have no idea what that is”; Will went “Um” (indicating that he did not know); Petra claimed “I don’t know how to describe it”; Fiona asked “Gee, what’s that?”; and Jan replied “Not really, no.” Apart from Rich, members of this age group were in accord with the previous cohort: the concept of statistical whānau had no meaning for them.

Whānau Ora

Several participants identified whānau ora with the well-being of the whānau, and the responsibility they had toward ensuring that whānau members were cared for. Fiona explained “Whānau ora is your health and well-being ... I have a responsibility to ensure my whānau members are well and healthy, as do they.” Fiona saw that the responsibility wasn’t solely hers, that her family also had responsibility for their own health. For example, Fiona was more than willing to assist when her mother was injured: “I have a responsibility to be her arms and legs to enable her to get well again.” Petra saw whānau ora as the “well-being of whānau”, adding “the responsibility of looking after one another. Of maintaining healthy lifestyles, I suppose, of encouraging our whānau members to do the same.” Nat said it was “the overall well-being of the family”, and Rich stated that it was “health and well-being”. Tom had a slightly different view of whānau ora, and did not see it as having much to do with whānau, saying “I wouldn’t class that as whānau, to tell you the truth. I would actually see that as the whānau’s well-being.” Te Raana asked “Do you mean like a healthy whānau? [I’m] not quite sure what that is either.” Will and Jan did not know.

Government policy in relation to whānau ora was not mentioned by any of the participants; it was their understanding of the word ‘ora’ that led them to give their various responses to the question about whānau ora.

Policy and Whānau Worldview

Meaninglessness and Policy-making

While some participants had little or no knowledge of policies, four talked about the impact of policies on whānau. These policies included those embedded in Foreshore and Seabed legislation (2004); the Children, Young Persons and their Families Act 1989; and the Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993.

Nat and Rich knew little about policy, while Jan had studied the Treaty of Waitangi as part of a training course and was aware of “colonisation and having the land taken away and how loss of rights affects people”.

Tom did not know much about policies and their impact on whānau. However, in relation to the Foreshore and Seabed legislation,¹¹ he pointed out that “up the Coast where whānau have been fishing and getting their kaimoana from, no policy is going to stop them. They’ve been going there for generations and generations. Policies come and go.” Te Raana, who was asked about the impact of the Foreshore and Seabed legislation, stated that the policy had a “negative impact, but from a personal point of view it has had no impact. We still have the mana motuhake over our foreshore and seabed Our people are so angry with the government and what they are proposing and the blatant racism [of the foreshore and seabed legislation].” In remote areas, the ability of the Crown to police and enforce these policies is questionable, and a policy made in Wellington cannot change behaviours acquired and engrained over generations on the East Coast.

Fiona commented on the impact of the 1989 Children, Young Persons and their Families Act on whānau that, among other things, set up the Family Group Conferences. “This Act will do whatever you want it to do. It’s who applies the Act which will determine whether or not you will meet the needs of whānau. The Act can allow your needs to be met, it can also not. It depends on the professional who is interpreting that Act and applying that Act to you as a whānau.”

In relation to the impact of policies on whānau, Petra said that the recognition of whāngai within the Te Ture Whenua Act was positive: “that’s a positive step in the right direction, because to me whāngai are whānau”. In response to the question about whether policy defines whānau, Petra replied “policies can give definitions to concepts and the things that we live with and understand, but I don’t think a policy can define what a whānau is. I think that definitions of whānau have to come from the people themselves.”

For Fiona, “contemporary New Zealand society has huge responsibilities to whānau”. She felt that government departments had a responsibility to recognise and acknowledge that a Māori client belonged to “a wider whānau group”, rather than simply dealing with the individual.

¹¹ In 2004, the Labour government enacted the Foreshore and Seabed Act, which claimed ownership of the New Zealand coastline, except for sections that were already in private ownership. Māori saw this as the largest confiscation of their traditional rights and limitation of their access to seafood.

When asked whether whānau should be allowed for in policy, Te Raana said, “No. The problem with policy is that once they include it, they start to define it. From my point of view these definitions can only come from us, not from one person who basically makes a decision as to which pigeonhole you fit into. Effectively, what happens with legislation and policy is that it restricts us. So our whānau and whanaungatanga practices should only be defined and practised by us. Whānau is something that is peculiar to us and can only be experienced by us.”

This youngest age cohort was unanimous that whānau constructs that are created to facilitate the passage of legislation and its implementation are artificial and should not include the word ‘whānau’ as they have nothing to do with it. They are tags on which to hang meaning but do not embody meaning themselves. Government policy that has attempted to address issues of racism and inequality, or to address specific social issues that are relevant to Māori society in contemporary New Zealand, has sometimes tried to colonise Māori conceptual knowledge and practice and therefore to approach the issues from the inside, but it has failed to do so because that inside status cannot be created. There are over a hundred years of history that clearly demonstrate the state’s lack of interest in whānau, and therefore Te Raana’s final comments are a timely reminder to those those who value whānau to be aware and to retain the inner meaning of whānau.

Conclusion

For these participants, whakapapa was comprised of their kinship group, and included those who had passed on. Knowing the exact nature of relationships with others was seen as less relevant than knowing someone was a relative – that was the part that mattered. Whakapapa was about bringing people together.

As young parents, members of this cohort regarded whānau as being of the utmost importance. They saw the need for their children to be connected to other whānau members. Particular values that were appreciated were aroha, manaaki and support. It was noted that the rules governing conduct within a whānau were ‘unwritten’ and were learned through trial and error.

Turangawaewae was associated with marae or where one grew up. One participant noted that Ngati Porou do not use the term 'turangawaewae'; however, each participant had a clear sense of where their turangawaewae was, and the concept is clearly of relevance. Where a participant has more than one iwi, but lives nearer to one rather than the other, the relationship is complex. Living away from one's tribal area means there are limited opportunities for one's children to get to know their turangawaewae.

Those who marry in, although they are accepted as whānau members, do not have the same full rights as the kinship group. One whānau went out of their way to integrate a brother-in-law. For another participant, acceptance of her partner by her grandmother was very important. None of the participants had direct experience of whāngai, but they felt that whāngai should be accepted and treated like any other whānau member.

A key role for this cohort was providing support to their parents, and stepping up when required to fill the roles previously filled by the older generations. There was also a responsibility to the children, to keep them close. As an aunt, one participant saw that it was very important to pass on whānau, hapu and iwi knowledge to nephews living in Australia. This was done to maintain the connections back to the tribe. There was also a need to support relatives who were keeping the home fires burning.

There were personal rights within whānau, such as love, respect and support, which were seen as reciprocal. Another level of rights was access to customary knowledge such as whakapapa. There were responsibilities in whānau to both the generation above and the generation below, to both parents and children. A key point raised was the dynamic nature of the tuakana/taina relationship. Land was seen both as a right and a responsibility: in the big picture, there is a need to care for land and resources.

Mixed views on leadership were expressed: while most felt it was necessary for whānau cohesion, one participant thought it unnecessary. In some whānau the leadership role was with women, in others it was with men; sometimes when uncles and aunts could not come to agreement, direction was provided by the younger generation.

Unconditional love, trust, support, communication, honesty and acknowledgement were seen as necessary for maintaining a well-functioning whānau. Colonial values such as individualism and greed contributed to divisions within whānau. Being geographically separated from the whānau, for example, being in Australia, does not provide the context or opportunities for whānau cohesion. Where a whānau was incapable of parenting their children, the wider whānau had the children put into boarding school, so that they would be away from the negative influences of drugs.

In terms of maintaining their whakapapa connections, this cohort, despite being computer-literate, still valued face-to-face contact. An important aspect of maintaining this contact is sharing gossip, which is more about the “laughs than about the truth”.

Whānau was not seen as a myth, except when there was a lack of harmony. Participants recognised the need for their children to have a good understanding of whānau. Strong whānau were viewed as vital for strong iwi; but too much emphasis has been placed on tribal development rather than whānau development. Participants thought government departments needed to realise that the individual belonged to the larger framework of whānau, hapu and iwi.

Participants had various views of urban Māori: they understood the term to mean those who did not know where they were from, those who were more Pākehā than Māori, and those who were disconnected from their whānau due to geographical distance. Despite having been born and raised in urban areas, these participants did not see themselves as ‘urban Māori’ – one participant made a distinction between ‘urban Māori’ and being ‘urbanised’, which is how she viewed herself. Another participant strongly affirmed his Ngati Porou identity as opposed to his potential identity as urban Māori.

While most participants did not understand the various whānau constructs, some surmised possible meanings. There were insights into the meaning of family, as some participants were members of both whānau and family. Generally speaking, these constructs did not match the lived experience of whānau of these participants.

Strong viewpoints were expressed regarding the racism of policies. With regard to the Foreshore and Seabed, it was felt that while this was passed into legislation, it would not have the power to change the behaviour of locals who had gone and collected seafood for generations. Events turned out to give veracity to this stance, and after many protests, a national hikoi and opposition within Parliament, the Act was repealed on 1 April 2011 and replaced by the Marine and Coastal Area (Takutai Moana) Act. The Children, Young Persons and their Families Act 1989 had the ability to serve the interests of whānau or not, depending on how the Act was interpreted. There was a strong view expressed that policy should not have a role in defining whānau, as whānau came from a Māori worldview. It should be an inside-out concept, not the other way round, and policies that impinge upon whānau should similarly seek to ground themselves within an inside-out view. Policy tends to compartmentalise, and this is not helpful to the maintenance of the continuum that is whānau, hapu and iwi.

For this youngest cohort, whānau was precious, value-laden, identity-creating and the core of their existence. It connected them to whakapapa just as much as it did for the older cohorts, and superseded all other forms of self-recognition. If anything, it could be argued that their youthfulness made them more aware of what they had in whanaungatanga than less aware: their striving to pass on this knowledge and cohesiveness to their children was palpable.

The passion of this cohort bodes well for Ngati Porou whānau, as they will pass their values on to their own children and maintain the connections back to the land, rivers, marae, hapu and iwi. The connections are vital in the maintenance of a healthy whānau, hapu and iwi, because a break in any one of the connections results in a loss.

This cohort was proactive in the pursuit of Western skills, as well as learning as much as they could about their Ngati Porou heritage. These young people demonstrated a commitment to self-improvement and their traditional values, while at the same time living in the modern world. The aroha they experienced in whānau drew them back to each other, so that they could exercise and give voice to that all-important concept.

Chapter Seven

Discussion

Introduction

This chapter revisits the aims and objectives of the study as outlined in chapter one and reiterated below. The lived experiences of the three cohorts, their similarities and differences, are then discussed. Explanations are provided as to why these similarities and differences occur.

This study explored, with Ngati Porou whānau, their lived experience and practice of whānau, through which an understanding of whānau as reality, as dynamic and as concept has emerged. Whānau is about living relationships and how members see the world and each other; interact with the world and each other; and agree with, disagree with and love each other. These living relationships and connections are the essence of this thesis.

This study has explored whānau across three age cohorts: participants aged 65 and over; participants aged 35 to 64; and participants 21 to 34. The experiences of each cohort were compared in order to note any changes that have occurred over time. An evaluation of the impact of policy on whānau over time was also discussed.

The two whakatauāki below form part of the analysis of the data. In addition, *E Tipu E Rea* can also be used to help provide a commentary on the understandings of the notion of whānau over time and by different generations.

E tipu e rea, mo nga ra o tou ao

Grow up, o tender youth, in the time of
your generation

To ringa ki nga rakau a te Pākehā

Your hands reaching for the tools of the
Pākehā

Hei ara mo to tinana.

For your physical wellbeing.

To ngākau ki nga taonga a o

Your heart centered on the treasures of

tīpuna Maori	your ancestors
Hei tikitiki mo to māhuna	As a plume upon your head
To Wairua ki te Atua	Your soul dedicated to God
Nāna nei nga mea katoa	The creator of all things.

(Kaa and Kaa, 1996, n.p.)

Whakahokia mai te mana o te iwi ki te iwi	Return to the tribe the mana of the tribe
O te hapu ki te hapu	To the hapu the mana of the hapu
O te whānau ki te whānau	To the whānau the mana of the whānau
O te tangata ki tōna ake rau kotahi	Of the individual to his/her multiple identities

(Tibble, 2001)

E Tipu E Rea urges Māori never to forget who they are or where they come from, while at the same time encouraging them to go out into the world and to take hold of the tools of the Pākehā in order to be able to live successfully in that world. There is a contradiction within this whakatauaiki, in that the acquisition of Pākehā tools sometimes leads to a weakening of ties to the culture.

Whakapapa: The Core of Whānau

When describing their whānau, the pakeke cohort used descent as the only criterion for determining membership. What emerged from these discussions was a clear picture that whakapapa is the defining quality and dimension of whānau, encapsulating its depth, and bringing together the past, present and future. It also links whānau, hapu and iwi, and is the force that joins the individual to the mountains, rivers, valleys, seas and the natural environment. It is deeply spiritual and profound. Whakapapa gives the individual authority to speak, to stand and to participate in whānau and hapu activities.

For the 35–64 cohort, the majority of whom had lived in urban areas for up to forty years, the sense of whakapapa and its importance remained strong. Nevertheless, this participant group held a spectrum of views as to who was included as members of whānau, some

maintaining strong traditional values, whereas others were more liberal and counted non-kin such as spouses, in-laws and close friends: these constitute *whānau-like* arrangements.

Another member of this cohort claimed that the only people she mixed with were *whānau*. Names derived from *whakapapa* were of great importance to this cohort, as *tīpuna* names have *mana*. The spiritual link afforded by *whānau* was commented on by one participant: “[it is] a way of living and a part of me. You know, I don’t know if I can be me without the *whānau*.”

Members of the youngest cohort were perceptive about their understanding of *whakapapa*, indicating a consciousness of values and meaning that may spring from their awareness of the impacts of urbanisation, social change, culture loss and cultural renewal. For example, for several of this cohort, *whakapapa* was seen as dictating an individual’s role in their *whānau* even before they were born. They felt that in order to gain a complete understanding of *whakapapa*, they needed to go back to the places where their parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles lived. Going back and connecting with the land, hearing and understanding the stories, and walking on those surfaces where generations before had walked, worked, fought, made up and moved on were necessary to give full expression to *whānau*, and to bring it alive. For the first two cohorts, knowledge of *whakapapa* was sufficient, whereas for the youngest cohort they needed to see, touch, hear and feel.

Those who had passed on were still considered members of *whānau* by all cohorts. They are important because they are the key to the library of knowledge that transcends all times and planes of existence – spiritual, emotional and physical. The places they are buried anchor their *mokopuna* to that place. Participants referred to rituals associated with remembering *whānau* members, from talking about them from time to time to turning to them for guidance.

The two younger cohorts had less traditional approaches to defining their understanding of *whānau*, possibly because they had moved out into the world in search of the tools of the *Pākehā* and had acquired more liberal and inclusive values. However, the power that is *whakapapa* was evident in each cohort. While only the eldest group used descent as the sole criterion for determining *whānau*, *whakapapa* remained central for all participants: they all

stressed the importance of those who had passed on, regarding the histories of a tribe as being dependent on the deeds of the ancestors of the past, which determined not only their place in their whānau but also their very identity.

The Meaning and Social Structure of Whānau

The eldest cohort understood the multitudinal aspects of whānau, from the individual to whānau ake to whānau whānui, hapu and iwi. There is very little written about the individual within the literature, although the middle cohort was very forthcoming about the place of the individual within the whānau construct. The right to be an individual was accompanied by a responsibility to the whānau. The two aspects co-existed side by side. Firth (1959, p. 135) was incorrect in his assumption that the individual was subsumed by the group. The relation between the individual and the group is more complex and subtle than this, and the individual is able to express himself or herself, rather than being simply a clone of a whānau ‘type’. While individuals have the freedom to be themselves, there is also a connecting role to the remainder of the whānau, so that its unity is maintained and its identity upheld. What gives individuals their strength is the whānau framework; within this they have a great deal of freedom and flexibility.

Like the role of the individual, whānau ake is a complex concept that has several meanings and applications. It can mean one’s whānau of origin, a whānau married into or a wider group. When used as a metaphor and applied to a more loosely connected group of people, it tends to refer to a group with a history of long association. For the pakeke and the middle cohort, the term was used to convey a sense of intimacy and belonging.

As described in chapter four, whānau ake expands out to whānau whānui and eventually these whānau become hapu and iwi. Many whānau make up hapu. They may also belong to other hapu, and choose to engage and participate with perhaps one or two of those hapu. The relationship between whānau and hapu is subtle and complex, although the relationship between hapu and iwi is more explicit. When iwi events are called, several hapu will attend and be acknowledged. However, when the hui is finished, they all return to their whānau homes.

Metge (1995, p. 37) placed iwi at the top of a pyramid with whānau at the bottom. This is incorrect, as whānau expand to become hapu and hapu become iwi. While Metge's model may apply to the tribes of the North, it does not to those in the East. Attempts to redefine the social structure of Ngati Porou, as Metge tried to do, should be resisted, as they undermine the mana of Ngati Porou, as well as of whānau and hapu. Such approaches buy in to the undermining of whānau by the state. Membership of whānau, hapu and iwi is fundamental to a sense of identity, self-worth, security and belonging, as articulated by members of the 35–64 cohort. Such membership is not a badge one receives for correctly fitting into an ethnic box: it is a result of whakapapa and a result of being alive.

The middle and youngest cohorts felt strongly that in order to give full expression to whānau, there needed to be other characteristics in addition to a whakapapa connection. While whakapapa is the basis and foundation stone of whānau, it is possible to build on top of it. Having a supportive network to refer to mattered, because this network was all-embracing. The middle cohort's passion about the significance of whānau in their lives was evident when they said "they are more important than work", "without a whānau it's like having a boat without a rudder" and "[it is] my whole existence". This is an important cohort because they are the conduit to the older age group, and it is through their strength that their children will learn the same passion for whānau. They also possess the networks for whānau hui. Their children are already aware of their parents' roles on the marae and will one day try to emulate these roles.

Each cohort contributed significantly to our understanding of how the individual, whānau ake, whānau whānui, hapu and iwi function. There is a delicate interplay between these concepts which is not always visible, but nevertheless the invisible thread that is whakapapa draws them all together and allows them to return to the base unit of whānau.

In the Tibble whakatauāki, the phrase 'rau kotahi' appears, which is a reference to the multiple identities that an individual has. These multiple identities are derived from whakapapa. The notion of rau kotahi allows for Ngati Porou to be connected wherever they live, and also maintains their connections back to the wa kainga. The notion of rau kotahi does not create a separate identity category such as 'urban Māori', as is so often the fashion

today. 'Urban' is merely a description of where some people live, which is usually in another tribal territory. Whenever we live in another area, we will always be outsiders or rawaho, because the tribe of that area is the mana whenua. For Ngati Porou whānau, hapu and iwi, their mana comes from being Ngati Porou, whether they are in their own tribal area or that of someone else.

The youngest cohort talked about the centrality of whānau to their lives. Integrating their children into the wider whānau was an important role for this age cohort, as the little ones make contact with their wider hapu and iwi through this. They will grow up with these connections. For this youngest cohort, socialising together with aunts, uncles and cousins was a highlight. The activities shared could be as simple as sitting together, watching movies, talking and eating.

Humour and the ability to laugh at each other was described by the youngest cohort. Storytelling did not necessarily involve telling the truth, but was a source of fun and sharing and connecting with each other, exaggerations and all. However, there are rules to this type of fun, albeit unwritten: while particular people can make fun of others, some cannot. Humour is very important to Māori, and the kinship relation allows for certain liberties. There is a sense of security in teasing and making fun of those who are close to you, but this sense does not necessarily extend to those who have joined the whānau recently. The familiarity and ease of these relationships are built up over a lifetime.

These two younger cohorts had slightly different expectations of how their whānau experience could be enhanced and enriched. The 35–64 cohort valued, in addition to whakapapa, qualities such as closeness, trust, security and respect from other whānau members. In contrast, beyond whakapapa, it was important for the youngest cohort to return to papakainga and to maintain whānau, hapu and iwi connections. They also felt responsible for ensuring that their children were integrated into this wider network. It seems likely that these characteristics of the two younger cohorts have arisen because a majority of them have lived outside the tribal area but still feel strongly about being whānau.

Complexions of Whānau

Cross-cultural Relationships

An examination of cross-cultural relations among the three cohorts helped identify aspects of whānau that were core and issues that highlight when that concept was threatened or eroded.

In the oldest cohort, participants involved in cross-cultural relations had all had Pākehā fathers who tended to set the rules for family and whānau behaviour and expectations. These rules often proved very restrictive. In contrast, in the middle cohort, the women were more assertive than those in the older generation, and while one Māori mother allowed her children to be brought up as Pākehā, another worked hard to ensure that her children knew both their whānau and family. A middle cohort participant, who had a Pākehā father, was, along with her sisters, kept isolated from her Māori cousins. Her understanding of whānau came about when she married. Three of the youngest cohort were children of cross-cultural marriages, and were very clear on the differences between whānau and family.

Studies by Butterworth (1988, n.p.) and Belich (1996, p. 251) focus on the phenomenon of cross-cultural marriage from the early 1800s; Ausubel (1965, pp. 182–84) describes social attitudes towards cross-cultural relationships. Taking such research further, the discussions with the participants focused on the dynamics and effects of such relationships on the participants and their lived experience and understanding of whānau. The pakeke discussed the dynamics within these relationships and how the Pākehā parents' values were allowed to dominate the family. In the middle cohort there was a greater sense of the need for equality in these relationships. Members of the youngest cohort flowed seamlessly between whānau and family, but recognised that whānau was more inclusive, elastic and embracing, and that they could drop in on their Māori relatives at any time and be welcome.

There was a strong feeling that Pākehā family did not possess the same warmth, aroha or connectedness that was experienced in whānau. The literature tends to look at cross-cultural relationships and how they work from the outside, while participants provided an insider

view that also throws light on the meaning and values of whānau, and shows the complexity and variety of accommodations and understandings of whānau within cross-cultural settings.

Whāngai

While there were several instances of whāngai in the two oldest cohorts, this was not evident in the youngest cohort. This is possibly related to smaller family size, population dispersal and changed social practices. There were three types of whāngai described. Firstly, *He whakamahana i nga here whanaungatanga*, or “keeping the bonds of kinship warm” (Mead, 1997, p. 206), refers to the placement of a child within a whānau at their request, in order to keep the links between the whānau alive. A second whāngai type described was *He waka pakaru*, or “broken canoe” (Mead, 1997, p. 207), where the mother of the whāngai child has died – in the case of the participants, all the children were young, and the father was unable to care for them all. A third whāngai type was *He whare ngaro*, or “lost house” (Mead, 1997, p. 206), which Mead defines as where “the children of a couple might be distributed widely in order to give the house a fighting chance of survival”. The most common form of whāngai amongst participants was *He waka pakaru*. Accounts of these instances of whāngai raise two important issues: firstly, we can speculate whether there was a lack of health services available for these young mothers; and, secondly, whether there was inadequate state support for these children and their whāngai whānau.

All the whāngai in this study were placed within the tribe and hapu, so none of them experienced cultural separation. McRae and Nikora’s study (2006) is timely, in that it discusses contemporary issues facing the practice of whāngai. In this thesis, there were no whāngai in the youngest cohort. Hall and Metge (2002) and the New Zealand Law Commission (2000, p. 78) rightly point out that the Adoption Act 1955 does not recognise whāngai. This means that if a child were to be legally adopted they would give up their rights to whānau lands, but would be eligible to inherit the interests of the whāngai parents. This raises issues if the child is from outside the hapu or iwi, as there is now a call for land inheritance to be based on descent. Under the Ture Whenua Māori Act 2003 a whānau trust can be created, where the descendants of the owner of the land will automatically be beneficiaries of the trust. This will circumvent the individualisation of succession and

inheritance. Inheritance to land is very important to whānau, and traditionally whāngai were left shares in the land of their whāngai parents. Ideally, once accepted into the whānau, whāngai children would be treated as if they were the adopting parents' own, which includes inheritance.

Functions, Roles, Responsibility, Leadership

Whakapapa has been described as having many twists and turns. The painted kowhaiwhai panels in a meeting house are indicative of the whakapapa of that area. The following concepts of tuakana/taina, whanaungatanga and turangawaewae or wa kainga are all extensions of whakapapa, and, therefore, the lived experience of whānau.

Tuakana/Taina

In every whānau, there is a tuakana and a taina. Tuakana/taina is expounded in detail by Mahuika (1981, p. 65) in relation to leadership in Ngati Porou, which may differ from leadership in other tribes: this was also discussed by one of the pakeke in chapter four. A member of the middle cohort added to the discussion with a challenge, in chapter five. Here the participant was challenging his older brother's rights as the tuakana, something that often occurs in Ngati Porou society. This interplay occurs regularly between whānau, hapu and – on occasions – iwi, and is accepted for what it is; it ensures that the most capable person does the job on the day. In Ngati Porou history, this precedent was set by Hauiti when he challenged his older brothers Apanui and Mahaki. Eventually Hauiti acquired territory of his own and ruled over the people of that area.

Rights associated with tuakana/taina roles were also discussed. The rights of the mātaamua (eldest) and of the pōtiki (youngest) are not fixed, according to one of the pakeke, but they nevertheless need to be understood. A member of the middle cohort suggested that caution should be exercised when discussing the rights allowed to younger people, as changes in traditional practice can be associated with a breakdown in tikanga: the concept of tuakana/taina is sometimes eroded and extended beyond its cultural context, which is a cause for concern among those who understand what it means and how it functions. The flexibility of the roles may have suggested a loss of meaning to some of the younger cohort,

but they should have respect for the tuakana at all times. Clearly, Cram and Pitama (1998, p. 132) and Mead (2003, pp. 42–43) emphasise the seniority of descent. Another element that may have added to the puzzle for the youngest cohort was the way in which someone could be tuakana in one context and taina in another. The reason is not that the roles are fluid and haphazard but that they are based on the whakapapa of the parents: no single whānau ever descends from the tuakana line exclusively. Tuakana/taina is not a concept based on absolute seniority, but is context specific.

In recent times the metaphor of tuakana/taina has been used in educational institutions, where a younger or more inexperienced student is put with an older one; the latter is referred to as the tuakana and the former the taina. In this case the relationship simply becomes one of older/younger, and this is an incorrect usage. The students of that system will grow up believing they understand the metaphor, which distorts the meaning and trivialises something that is quite profound.

Whanaungatanga

Whanaungatanga is the practice of sharing resources within the wider whānau. Participants described how it worked for them during the 1960s. If a whānau was experiencing hardship through coping with too many children and not enough paid work, cousins and aunts were known to step in and fill the gap. This could be through the provision of school uniforms, textbooks, payment of school fees and other helpful gestures. It would ensure that the child had all the necessary clothing and resources to go to school and participate fully in local activities, especially if it was seen that the parents might struggle to do this alone – hence the mana of the whānau was maintained. Similarly, an example was given in the middle cohort of a wedding where different members of the whānau provided the potatoes, meat, fruit and labour for the event. Whanaungatanga is about giving to whānau members who need a helping hand.

This is a relationship based on reciprocity, because at some stage the whānau who receive the help might be in a position to return it. Whanaungatanga as expressed by participants came straight from the heart.

Turangawaewae

For the pakeke, turangawaewae was not a necessary topic for discussion, as it was such an ingrained element of their lived experience. A participant in the middle cohort clearly articulated the reasons for maintaining the link to what was described as ‘mana whenua’. This was for the benefit of her children and grandchildren, so that they would know that one day this would be her resting place amongst those who had cared for, fed and nurtured her. For another participant, turangawaewae meant all the marae with which he had a whakapapa connection.

Whānau disputes amongst a previous generation had left one whānau in the 35–64 cohort knowing where they came from but not having a strong sense of connectedness with that place. Members of the 21–34 cohort were conscious of the need to introduce their children to their marae and whanaunga. When a participant has more than one iwi, there can be a sense of isolation as a result of distance. Another participant did not accept the term turangawaewae, and preferred to use ‘wa kainga’ or ‘home’. Home was represented by the hapu and marae to which he belonged. He made a distinction between where you came from and where you lived. Where you came from carried with it a sense of responsibility and pride.

The participants’ views of turangawaewae are in accord with those of Mead (2003, p. 43) and Ka’ai and Higgins (2004, p. 18), where the latter place turangawaewae back within whānau, hapu and iwi. Because of the whakapapa ties, one always belongs somewhere, whether one knows it or not. Land plays an important part in the understanding of turangawaewae or wa kainga. This land could be either whānau-owned or communal, such as a marae. The challenge for the youngest cohort is getting help to find their way back.

The concepts of tuakana/taina, whanaungatanga and turangawaewae should not be taught in isolation from each other, or the wider social context to which they belong. Such an approach will result in a weakening of the culture, and makes the lived understanding shallow, imprecise and untrue.

Roles

Essentially, roles within whānau were seen to fall into two categories: roles within whānau that were dependent on age, and roles on the marae.

In terms of roles and functions in whānau the pakeke were the speakers on the marae and taught the mokopuna how to behave on the marae, passing on any skills they could. Their central role was to keep the whānau together. This cohort sent spiritual messages to whānau members and valued making things with their own hands, for example, baking bread. For the middle cohort, the pakeke was a very important group, one which provided wisdom, guidance, support and humour. They had an ability to uplift those who were a little bit down, and their lightheartedness buoyed occasions. They brought peace and maintained order just by being who they are.

Two of the men in the pakeke cohort who spoke on marae talked about the pragmatics of finding speakers for marae. If a marae or hapu did not have a speaker, then a speaker would be brought from another marae or hapu. It was felt that with these speaking roles it was not so much an issue of whose job it was, but rather about getting the job done. It is possible to have speakers from one marae or hapu speak on another marae because of the close whakapapa links within Ngati Porou.

The roles for the middle cohort fell into two categories: one was the responsibility to the whānau, providing support to sick elderly parents and caring for mokopuna, while the other involved providing the labour on the marae, taking responsibility for the catering and other tasks. This latter category required a level of responsiveness and willingness to make oneself available. For the tuakana within the whānau, their role involved the provision of good counsel and advice to their younger siblings, nieces and nephews. The middle cohort was key in maintaining whānau connections for their children.

For the youngest cohort, supporting and loving each other was viewed as whānau's primary role. One of the youngest cohort saw aunties, uncles and those older than herself as having the role of providing guidance and leadership for their whānau. This participant saw her own role in relation to whānau living overseas as one of giving maternal advice to her nephews,

as well as reinforcing their culture and whakapapa. This cohort identified the need to keep the whānau connections ‘tight’ by providing support to those at home and acting as the ahi kaa.

On marae, the youngest cohort’s roles were to step in where needed. This could mean washing dishes, being a gravedigger or doing anything else that was required. There may be a necessity to step up and fulfill the role one’s parent occupies if that parent is unavailable. Whanāu roles and roles on the marae have not changed over time. However, because of the higher mortality rate of the pakeke, younger people are having to step up to fill these roles.

Rights and Responsibilities

Rights exist on a continuum from the home to the marae, where the parent acts as the teacher of the children, giving them the necessary skills to fulfill their obligations to their marae and hapu. The oldest cohort emphasised that there is also a responsibility on the children to return and participate in marae activities, so that they will know and understand how a marae functions. While whakapapa guarantees automatic rights of entry, the best way to learn how to behave on a marae is through practice and experience. If parents do not bring their children or mokopuna back, in the fullness of time it will be the mokopuna who miss out.

For the middle cohort, land was raised as an issue. While some felt that inherited land was important, others did not. Participants believed inheritance of land should be by descent. This cohort was practical in their understanding and application of rights and responsibilities. These practicalities encompassed being included in and informed about whānau matters, provision of a safe environment, appropriate behaviour within the whānau, allowances for difference, the maintenance of whānau cohesion and the giving of assistance when required.

Rights and responsibilities were seen as being two way for the youngest cohort. The most basic rights were for love and support. Included in these most basic rights was access to cultural knowledge. One participant regarded it as his right to assert his tuakana status over his siblings from time to time. Rights were not necessarily made explicit, and for another

participant, there were not rights, but many responsibilities. While there are rights associated with the land, waterways and sea, there are also responsibilities. As one of the participants said, there are “lots of responsibilities from ourselves to ourselves, but it encompasses the land and all the resources we inherited, just like our kinship”.

Leadership

All participants agreed that leadership was essential for whānau cohesion, but recognised that each whānau has its own model of leadership. Winiata (1967), Mahuika (1981), Mead (1997) and Katene (2010) discuss leadership of whānau and identify kaumātua – usually male – as the key person in whom leadership resides. The pakeke were leaders but this group included women. Here, the eldest living person was the leader of the whānau, but for the middle cohort there was no single model. The leadership models were mixed: one whānau followed the traditional model where the oldest led, whereas another utilised a combination of people as leader, depending on the circumstances. In yet another whānau, leadership was delegated to the eldest daughter, despite the fact that her parents were still alive.

For the youngest cohort, leadership within their own generational group usually fell on the eldest person. In one whānau, because the parents, uncles and aunts could not agree, decisions were often made by the younger generation. Mead (1994) urges sharing leadership with the younger generations, including women.

When Whānau is Whānau

Maintaining the Whakapapa Links

In addition to using modern technology, the pakeke used traditional methods for maintaining links such as prayer and sending baking. The idea behind the baking is that it was made by Nan’s own hands, and this enhanced the enjoyment of eating it. The middle cohort used all the technological devices available (such as email, cellphones, landlines) as well as personal visits. Because most of them were employed, they were in a position to travel, even overseas. One of the pakeke emphasised the economic implications of maintaining links.

The middle cohort liked ‘kanohi kitea’, or face-to-face meetings, which included the sharing of kai. Like the middle cohort, the youngest cohort used modern technology to keep in touch, but also took cost into consideration. This cohort also enjoyed the whānau “gossip”, and meeting face to face was vital to this as part of maintaining links to each other. As one participant put it, maintaining links was about “keeping the whānau tight” or close. Gatherings, happy or sad, helped build the connections.

Contemporary Understandings of Whānau

When asked if the whānau mantra was a myth, all three cohorts strongly disagreed. For them whānau was something fundamental and real, which enriched their lives. For the middle cohort, there was a real need to teach the children and mokopuna the importance of whakapapa and the connections between generations, people and place over time. One of the youngest cohort noted the importance of going back to places of significance within the whānau whakapapa, so that the whakapapa may become real. For another of the youngest cohort, a contemporary issue was that the focus has been on the tribe, rather than on the development of whānau. The middle cohort recognised that the aunts, uncles and grandparents with whom they grew up are no longer around, and therefore some are cultivating relationships with older cousins or other support networks in order to fill that gap. The contemporary setting, where brothers, sisters, nephews, nieces and cousins can live some distance from each other, requires different strategies in order to keep the whānau close. This can include returning to the wa kainga regularly in order to re-establish connections.

Urbanisation

The label ‘urban Māori’ was very strongly rejected by participants, as being superficial and relating only to where one lives, rather than to who one is. Members of Ngati Porou live in many different parts of the country, or what is commonly known as ngā hāu e whā, or the four winds, meaning we are widely dispersed. The connecting factor, irrespective of residency, is the notion of rau kotahi, or multiple identities. Sissons (2004, p. 19) has developed the concept of “relocated indigenous identities” to describe Māori who have moved to the cities. Rau kotahi, however, is not bound by geography. As stated in chapter

five, when one comes from a strong tribal base, there is a sense of fluidity between rural and city living. This fluidity allows the individual to be who they are, wherever they are. This is a whakapapa- and whānau-based reality, rather than a place-based one.

While some participants identified urban Māori as not knowing where they came from, not knowing their tikanga, not having contact with their papakainga and being more “Europeanised”, they also generally regarded the term as describing a state of being rather than an inevitable consequence of dwelling in a city. One participant said emphatically that she was “urbanised – but I’m not urban”. The youngest cohort took discussion of urban Māori as an opportunity to reinforce their own sense of tribal identity and their love of Ngati Porou.

These responses are at odds with the literature on urbanisation from writers such as Hill (2009, p. 2), Smith (1995, p. 27) and Meredith (2011, n.p.), who track the evolution of the industrialisation of Māori. On the other hand, Rangiheuea (2010) discusses the positive effects of identifying as urban Māori, and the development of services provided by Urban Māori Authorities such as Te Whanau-o-Waipereira. Keenan (2009, pp. 3–5) explores the experiences of Māori who moved to Wellington. She found that they had not given up their tribal identity, and were able to move freely between Wellington and Taranaki with their individual and whānau identity intact.

Whānau Constructs: An Outsider Version of Whānau

As previously discussed in chapters four, five and six, the whānau constructs (kaupapa whānau; whaamere; family; new whānau; virtual whānau; statistical whānau and whānau ora) were not part of the lived experience of Ngati Porou participants. As one pakeke said, loose groupings of people referred to as whānau created an ‘artificial’ grouping, using the term whānau in a laissez-faire and casual manner in order to achieve a particular end. Whānau, on the other hand, is real and lived, with all the ups and downs that temper and build it.

Overwhelmingly, the participants rejected the whānau constructs, either as meaningless or nonsensical, or as cynically made up to standardise policy-making and its applicability to

Māori. None of these constructs added meaning: rather, the result was an inevitable curtailing of meaning or a broadening of it so the term ‘whānau’ no longer applied.

Policy and Whānau Worldview

None of the members of the three cohorts saw policies as having a positive effect for whānau. There was a high degree of cynicism towards the policy-making process, as it did not accurately reflect whānau aspirations. There was concern from the middle cohort that policy could rigidify the term ‘whānau’, and that this policy would be written by people with no lived experience of whānau. This point is also made by Smith (1995, pp. 18–19), who expresses concern that policy affecting Māori has been written by Pākehā. The policy-making process was seen as top-down. One participant was very suspicious of the way in which “our words are being used against us”. Māori advisors were not seen as having sufficient skills to counter this outcome, as often their understanding of Māori concepts was not strong. Nor could it be representative or consultative. The appointment of such advisors was often then regarded as no more than payment of lip-service to notions of biculturalism in policy-making in Aotearoa.

The youngest cohort did not think that policy concerning whānau would have any impact on the way people continued to live, and one commented on the “blatant racism” of policy. One of the problems with the use of the term ‘whānau’ in policy was that it could be open to interpretation, and that definition of whānau needed to be from the bottom up, i.e., from the people living it themselves. This would counter the “assimilationist” (Hall and Metge, 2002, p. 48) perspectives of many policies. Hall and Metge (2002, pp. 46–47) have proposed the development of Māori social policy based on data gathered from Māori in *Nga Kohikohinga* (1988). *Puao-o-te-Ata-Tu* was published in 1986, in order to guide the Department of Social Welfare in relation to Māori children. Neither of these two documents has ever been fully utilised: as Mahuika (1991, p. 38) cynically said, “*Puao-o-te-Ata-Tu* was not adopted by DSW [Department of Social Welfare] except for hiring a few brown faces”.

The literature confirms the participants’ points that policy comes from an outsider, Eurocentric perspective. Gilling (1988, p. 601) supports the notion that the state has a

cultural bias, and is vocal on how the state does not support whānau. Participants strongly felt that the term ‘whānau’ should not be used in constructions of policy as it was generally diluted or extended beyond its meaning and used as a generic term referring to a family group, but in this case a Māori family group, as a way to suggest inclusiveness and a bicultural ideology on the part of the state: as Mahuika states (5 August 2011), “Crown policies are Māori’s worst enemies.”

This thesis provides a snapshot of five hapu within a defined geographical area within Ngati Porou. It was never intended to be generalisable to all Māori, as it may not be possible to take the experiences of Māori from one part of the country and superimpose those experiences on another tribe. Whether it is possible to apply these findings to other parts of Ngati Porou is also unclear. The strength of this thesis is its whānau and whakapapa approach. Not all questions were applicable to all cohorts, in which case they were not asked of all cohorts. For example, the question about turangawaewae applied to the two younger cohorts but did not apply to the pakeke who were already living within the tribal area; consequently, the pakeke were not asked about turangawaewae.

Conclusion

As noted in chapter one, Māori and whānau exist in a post-colonial society. A key finding of this thesis is that the meanings of Māori concepts, particularly whānau in this case, have been subjected to the major shocks of colonisation, warfare, loss of land and urbanisation. Whānau needs to be understood, valued and represented within the context of the culture to which it belongs. The othering of whānau seems to suggest that some individuals do not have a strong and sound connection to whānau, hapu and iwi. There is only one whānau, and that is the one derived from whakapapa.

Erosion of meaning, such as those arising from the outsider constructs discussed in this thesis, is unhelpful as such constructs are shallow and distort a profound and rich concept that has survived for many generations. These distortions of whānau do not appear to exist for the benefit of whānau, but rather for the benefit of government policy-makers and for those who implement these policies. This is an invasion of the culture assisted by cultural

raiders. Tuakana/taina and its narrow metaphorical use is another example of the cultural raiding that is occurring. Such usage is detrimental to the culture and removes the concept of tuakana/taina from its whānau-specific context. Tuakana/taina is so important within whānau that it cannot be allowed to be distorted so as to lose all meaning.

The primacy of whānau is illustrated in the way participants have retained and asserted it as part of their lived experience. They have retained passion for who they are and where they come from, and reject other constructs. In the face of enormous cultural and political hurdles they have stood firm. It is remarkable in this thesis to discover that the youngest cohort is as clear about their identity as members of whānau, as having whakapapa, as needing to maintain their links with turangawaewae, as those of the preceding generations; and in some ways suggest an even greater clarity about identity in its widest whakapapa sense than those who bore the earlier impacts of urbanisation, language loss and socio-economic inequality.

One of the implications of this thesis is the need to ensure that the pakeke, who are a small cohort due to their age, have adequate health services and housing, and that their life expectancy is increased. They are an important group for the maintenance of whānau. Maaka (1993) and Cunningham et al. (2002) have outlined all the reasons why this age group is so important, essentially because they are the transmitters of knowledge, amongst other things.

It is doubtful whether social policy has the ability to adequately reflect whānau as it has been discussed in this thesis. Whānau is a very vibrant, dynamic concept, while policy works in a less flexible, more quantitative fashion.

For Ngati Porou, meaning and practice of whānau is of great importance. The retention of these meanings and the passion associated with identity need to be promoted, and this can only come from within whānau, hapu and iwi. As two of the youngest cohort mentioned, “we need to stay tight”. The connections between whānau, hapu and iwi can easily be severed, due to so many whānau living far and wide. Tribal leaders have sought to establish taurahere groups in major cities in Australia in order to maintain the connections. The formalising of these taurahere groups is important for the sharing of whakapapa, and the

passing on of information about what is occurring within the wa kainga, as well as Te Runanganui o Ngati Porou.

Participants conveyed suspicion with regards to the ability of government, social and public policy to meet the needs of Māori. It was felt that whānau and its meanings would be distorted. The mana of tuakana/taina, as it is currently being used by educational and health institutions, is being eroded and stripped of its cultural meaning. If these institutions cannot employ and understand these concepts correctly, then they should not be used. The use of tuakana/taina and of whānau should be carefully explained, and it should be pointed out that it is merely the metaphorical meaning of these concepts that are being employed, and that other meanings, relevant to actual lived experience, exist.

As this thesis began with Tawhai (1990, p. 14), who suggests that if one must speak then one should speak of one's own, therefore it shall also end with the wisdom of Tawhai, who states that

Written presentation ... tends to rigidify what has been and should remain pliant. Flexibility in our korero tahito enables them to accommodate the capacity of the narrator to render them more relevant to the issues of the day. It is therefore with misgivings and a sense of danger that I must explain that this telling is only for this time, and that tomorrow I would tell it another way.

Glossary

ahi kaa	the burning fires; relates to those living in the tribal territory who keep the home fires burning
aitanga	a prefix for a sub-tribe or tribe
ao	world
ariki	first born male or female in a chiefly family
aroaha	love
Atua	God
awhi	to draw near to; to provide comfort
haka	traditional dance
hangi	earth oven or its contents; process of cooking in an earth oven
hapu	sub-tribe
hauora	the winds of wellness, health
hika ma	oh dear!: an exclamation.
Hīkoi	to march with a purpose
hinengaro	the mind
hitore	history
hononga	linking; joining; connecting
hoki mai	return
hui	a gathering
hui Toopu	Anglican synod in the Waiapu Diocese
Io	the supreme being
ira	life principle

iwi	tribe; people
iwi kainga	the people who live at home
kai	food
kai moana	seafood
kanga kopiro	fermented corn
kanga waru	corn flour
kanohi kitea	the seen face; face-to-face contact
kapa haka	a group that performs traditional dances and songs
karanga	to call
kaumātua	an elder
kaupapa	purpose; reason
kaupapa whānau	Metge (1995:305) notes that more and more, kaupapa has been used as “a rallying cry” for the formation of groups. These groups include kohanga reo, kaupapa Māori, sporting groups and kapa haka.
kikokiko	physical
koha	donation
kohanga reo	language nest
koina taku mohio	‘that is what I know’
koingo	longing
koka	mother; aunt; grandmother
kōrero	to talk
kōrero ke	different talk
kōrerorero	gossip

kōrero tahi	one-to-one talk
kowhaiwhai	painted scroll ornamentation
kuia	old lady
Kura Kaupapa Māori	Māori medium school
maatua whāngai	adoptive parents; a government programme
mana	power, authority, prestige; having influence
manaaki	hospitality
mana Atua	the mana and authority of the Gods
mana motuhake	absolute sovereignty; also the name of a political party
mana tangata	the mana of the human being
mana whenua	mana of the land
manuhiri	visitor
Māori	the indigenous population of Aotearoa/ New Zealand
marae	a designated gathering space with a meeting house
maurakau	performing stick dances
mataamua	eldest
mate	sick; die
mātua	parent(s)
maunga	mountain
mau tangata	caring for people
mihi	greeting
mokemoke	lonely
moko	body art

mokopuna	grandchild/grandchildren
moteatea	traditional chants
<i>NatiLink</i>	Te Runanganui o Ngati Porou online newsletter
Ngai Tahu	a tribe of the South Island of New Zealand
Ngati Porou	a tribe based on the upper East Coast of the North Island of New Zealand
ohākī	dying wish
pa	fortified place
paepae	those who sit in front of the meeting house to welcome visitors and conduct the whaikōrero. There is also a women's paepae who carry out the karanga. They hold the mana of the marae.
pa harakeke	a figure of speech denoting a whānau
pākehā	a person of predominantly European descent
pakeke	elder
papa	father; basis or foundation
papakaiinga	designated area of land for housing local whānau
Papatuanuku	Mother Earth
paraoa rewana	bread made with yeast
patere	a traditional waiata
pepeha	tribal saying
pōtiki	youngest
rangatahi	youth; young person
rangatira	chief; person of rank
rangatiratanga	sovereignty

Ranginui	Sky Father
rau kotahi	individuality
raumati	summer
rawaho	outsider
reo	language
ringawera	the cooks
Ruamoko	the famous Ngati Porou haka; God of earthquakes
runanga, runanganui	tribal body corporates
taha	aspect
taina	younger
tamaiti	child
tamariki	children
Tanemahuta	God of the forest
Tangaroa	God of the sea
Tangata whenua	the people of the land
tangi	to cry; a funeral
tangihanga	the mourning period when someone has died
taonga	treasures
taonga-tuku-iho	treasures passed down from the ancestors
tauwiwi	Pākehā
taurahere	‘the rope that binds you’; groups established in the city with links to the tribal area
taurekareka	servant
Te Aitanga a Mahaki	one of the three tribes which make up the tribes of Gisborne

te ao Māori	the Māori world
te ao marama	the world of light
te ao Pākehā	the Pākehā world
te ao turoa	the environment
te Kore	the Void
te Po	the Night
te Tahuhu o te Ao Māori	a tribal/Māori worldview
te Whānau-a-Apanui	a tribe to the north of Ngati Porou
te Whānau-a-Maru	a hapu of te Whānau-a-Apanui
te Whānau a Ruataupare	a hapu of Ngati Porou, located at Tuparoa
tikanga	custom
tinana	body
tīpuna	ancestor
tohunga	expert
tohutohu	instruct; bossy
tuahine	sister or female cousin of a male
tuakana	elder
tungane	brother or male cousin of a female
tupapaku	the deceased
tupuna	ancestor
tūturu	genuine
uaua	difficult
ūkaipō	‘breastfeeding in the night’; the place where you come from

urupa	cemetery
waewae	feet
waahi tapu	sacred place
waiata	song
wairua	spirit
wa kainga	home
waka ama	outrigger canoe
whaamere	family
whaikorero	speech
whakaairo	to carve
whakaaro	thought; donation
whakaaro rangatira	extreme generosity of thought
whakaiti	put down
whakanui	elevate
whakapapa	genealogy
whakarangatira	to behave in the manner of a chief
whakatauāki	tribal saying
whānau ake	immediate whānau
whānau kotahi	individual
whānau	Māori understandings of family
whanaunga	relatives
whanaungatanga	relationships

whānau ora	policy framework designed to improve the status of Māori whānau
whānau whanui	wide whānau
whāngai	the Māori form of fostering/adoption
whare wananga	a place of learning

Appendix 1

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

Te Whare Wananga o te Upoko o te Ika a Maui



INFORMATION SHEET

An exploration of the evolution and application of the concept of *whānau* Research Project

From: Tai Walker, Ngati Porou
Health Services Research Centre (HSRC), Victoria University of
Wellington

Tēna koe. Ngā mihi o te wa ki a koe me te whānau.

The aim of this research project is to explore with participants from a range of backgrounds, their perceptions and understandings of the concept of *whānau*, *whāmere*, new *whānau*, *kaupapa whānau*, statistical *whānau*, virtual *whānau*, family and *whānau ora*. Data gathered will be used to inform my PhD thesis.

The host organisation for this project is the Health Services Research Centre at Victoria University of Wellington.

Your identity as a participant will be kept confidential. If you agree, interviews will be recorded using a tape recorder and copies of these tapes will be returned to you upon request. Transcripts will be returned to you for correction. Tapes and transcripts will be held for 5 years before being destroyed. You are free to withdraw your information, from the project up to 6 months after it has been given.

The interview will last for about 1-2 hours in length. When the results of the research have been finally written up you will be invited to attend a presentation and a summary of findings sent to you.

I can be contacted by phoning 04 463 6564 or emailing tai.walker@vuw.ac.nz. My postal address is Health Services Research Centre, Victoria University of Wellington, P.O. Box 600, Wellington. Fax 04 463 6568.

Supervisors' contact details:

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Appendix 2

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
Te Whare Wananga o te Upoko o te Ika a Maui



HEALTH SERVICES RESEARCH CENTRE

CONSENT FORM

An exploration of the evolution and application of the concept of *whānau* Research Project

- I agree to be interviewed for this research project.
- I agree to the tape-recording of the interview.
- I understand that transcripts will be coded and identifying information will be removed. I understand that because of the nature of my position, occasionally some of my comments may be identifiable.
- I would like a copy of the tape returned to me *Yes* *No*
- I understand the researcher will send me a transcript of my interview, asking me to check it and return it with any changes within four weeks of receiving it.
I do / do not wish to receive the transcript for me to check.
- I understand that tapes will be heard and transcripts will be read only by the researcher and on request by the supervisors.
- I understand that tapes and transcripts will be destroyed after five years
- I understand that I may withdraw information from the Project up to six months after I have given the information
- I understand I will be invited to feedback *hui* (this could be more than one)

- I understand that the information I give will be used in written reports and presented at seminars and conferences

Signed: _____

Name: _____

Date: _____

Appendix 3

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
Te Whare Wananga o te Upoko o te Ika a Maui



HEALTH SERVICES RESEARCH CENTRE

An exploration of the evolution and application of the concept of *whānau* Research Project – Questions

1. How would you describe whānau?
2. What does whānau mean to you?
3. What are the roles within whānau?
4. Do you identify with a turangawaewae?
Where would this be?
5. How important is whānau in your life?
6. What rights are associated with being a member of a whānau?
7. What responsibilities are associated with being a member of a whānau?
8. How would you describe the following whānau types
 - Kaupapa whānau
 - Whaamere
 - Family
 - New whānau
 - Virtual whānau
 - Statistical whānau
 - Whānau ora
9. What is the role of people who marry into the whānau?
10. If your whānau live overseas or in different parts of the country, how do you maintain links with them?
11. What are the factors that strengthen whānau ties?

12. What are the factors that divide whānau?
13. Is there leadership within your whānau?
14. How important is leadership in maintaining whānau cohesion?
15. What is the role of whānau in contemporary New Zealand society?
16. Do you think whānau is a myth?
17. What are the factors that have led to the development of kaupapa whānau?
18. What place does whāngai play in whānau arrangements?
19. How would you describe an urban Māori?
20. What part, if any, have policy-makers played in defining the concept of whānau?
21. How have policies impacted upon whānau? Is this positive? Or negative??
22. What do policy-makers need to do in order to accommodate the notion of whānau?
23. What models of whānau ora have been developed?
24. How would you describe the concept of ora?
25. Does it mean the same thing as well-being?
26. How can *whānau ora* contribute to Māori well-being?

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