

# **He Marae Ora, He Marae Manawaroa:**

*Exploring the resilience in a Marae which has survived  
without gaming machine proceeds funding*

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## Abstract

Quality funding that is clear of repercussion and ethical questioning is fundamental to marae development and whaanau wellbeing. With more and more communities becoming reliant on Gaming machine funding with little regard to the communities from which the funds were first generated.

Gaming machines situated outside of casino are predominately located within low socio-economic, deprived and vulnerable neighbourhoods. Although the people within these neighbourhoods are least economically resourced, they are more than likely to be the greatest financial contributors to the gaming machine pool of funds. Problem gambling is a growing concern for such neighbourhoods and communities. Furthermore and quite often it is Maaori who make up a large portion of these communities and are again likely to suffer great harm from problem gambling, alongside their whaanau. To date studies have not yet considered in great depth the implications of receiving gambling funds from gaming machines.

This eclectic kaupapa Maaori research study explored the resilience in marae who survived without the need for gambling funds from gaming machines. In-depth semi-structured interviewed were conducted with eight marae committee members of Te Iti o Hauaa marae in the Waikato region.

The findings indicated that traditions of tikanga, tapu and mauri were the greatest factors that enabled and maintained a decision-making process by which gambling and the taking of gambling funds especially those from pokie machines has been disallowed on the marae for over one hundred years. The marae funding model in the form of four pou draws on whanaungatanga and relationship linkages the marae has established within the marae itself, the wider iwi and its kinship ties and also the relationship linkages to the

community and government. Ethical issues relating to harms to whaanau also arose as a significant theme to not accepting gaming machine funding. Participants discussed their use of succession planning through building the capacity of their generations towards self-determinations has enabled the marae to sustain their operations and development with no funding sought outside their model.

This study concludes that utilising such a model of funding based on tikanga values and ensuring succession planning to build social capital, community cohesion and participation may very well enable more marae to reduce and eliminate their reliance on gaming machine funding.

## Preface

E wehi ana ki te atua, ka whakahonoretia te Kiingi Maaori a Tuheitia e noho mai raa i runga i te toroona tapu o toona whaea o ngoona maatua tuupuna.

Kua tau iho ai ngaa manaakitanga i runga i aa ia, toona hoa wahine aa Te Atawhai, aa raaua tamariki me te whare kaahui ariki nui tonu.

Paimarire ki a raatou, paimarire ki a taatou e tau nei

E maringi ana ngaa roimata moo koutou kua whetuuringitia,

Haere, haere, haere atu raa.

Ko te waka tapu o ngooku tuupuna ko Tainui

Ko te awa rangatira o tooku pou rohe ko Waikato

Ko ngaa maunga whakahiihii e tuu ake ana ko Maungatautari raaua ko Maungakawa

Ko ngaa uri whakatupu e tiaki ana i te mana whenua ko Ngaati Hauaa

Noo ngaa hapuu katoa i maramara te tootoo o tooku tuupuna rangatira, Wiremu Tamihana

Ko Te Pora Tamihana ahau.

Ko teenei tooku tuu, ko teenei taaku koohaa, koorero, tuhituihi maatauranga ki ngoku whaanau, ngoku iwi, ngoku maaoritanga, ngaku tamariki

## Table of Contents

<b>Abstract</b> .....	3
<b>Preface</b> .....	5
<b>Table of Contents</b> .....	6
List of Figures .....	8
<b>Attestation of Authorship</b> .....	10
<b>Acknowledgements</b> .....	11
<b>Dedication</b> .....	12
<b>Ethics Approval</b> .....	13
<b>Chapter 1: Introduction</b> .....	14
Background .....	14
Research Questions .....	17
Positioning of Researcher .....	18
Contribution of Literature including where situated in Public Health .....	22
Structure of Thesis .....	23
Language style .....	25
<b>Chapter 2: Background</b> .....	26
The marae.....	28
The marae committee.....	29
<b>Chapter 3: Literature Review</b> .....	31
New Zealand Historical Context of Gambling for Maaori .....	31
Treaty of Waitangi .....	32
Origins of regulated gambling in New Zealand.....	32
The distribution of gambling funds from pokies.....	34
Moral and Ethical Considerations .....	35
Community Good.....	37
Funding that erodes cultural identity and normalises gambling .....	39

Resilience .....	40
Maaori Resiliency .....	41
Summary .....	45
<b>Chapter 4: Methodology</b> .....	48
<b>Aims and Objectives</b> .....	48
<b>Methodology</b> .....	48
Grounded Theory .....	49
Kaupapa Maaori approach .....	49
Descriptive Case Study .....	53
Recruitment .....	54
Interview Procedures.....	55
Data Analysis .....	57
Ethics.....	58
Limitation reflection.....	59
Summary .....	60
<b>Chapter 5: Tradition, Tikanga and Tapu</b> .....	61
Introduction of Findings.....	61
Traditions .....	62
Tikanga.....	68
Tapu.....	73
<b>Chapter 6: Ngaa Pou Tuaraa oo te marae</b> .....	76
Introduction .....	76
Part One: Tangihanga.....	76
Part Two: Ngaa Pou Tuaraa oo te Marae .....	80
Pokie Trusts as a form of funding .....	86
Summary .....	92
<b>Chapter 7: Funding versus Fundraising</b> .....	94

Introduction .....	94
The women's committee .....	95
Rangatahi.....	99
Marae as the last bastion .....	101
Summary .....	103
<b>Chapter 8: Conclusion .....</b>	<b>105</b>
Introduction .....	105
Tapu and tikanga as holders of wellbeing.....	105
Health promotion tikanga.....	106
Land confiscation .....	107
Succession Planning.....	110
Resilience at the marae.....	111
Study Limitations .....	111
Future Research.....	112
Conclusion .....	113
<b>References .....</b>	<b>115</b>
<b>Glossary.....</b>	<b>121</b>
<b>Appendix A: Letter of support from marae Chairperson.....</b>	<b>123</b>
<b>Appendix B: Study paanui to marae committee .....</b>	<b>124</b>
<b>Appendix C: Participant information sheet .....</b>	<b>125</b>
<b>Appendix D: Consent form .....</b>	<b>128</b>
<b>Appendix E: Interview schedule .....</b>	<b>129</b>
<b>Appendix F: Ethics approval letter .....</b>	<b>130</b>

## List of Figures

Figure 1: Ngaati Hauaa Boundary - E. Stokes 1996 .....	26
Figure 2: Whakapapa of Ngaati Hauaa .....	27
Figure 3: Te Iti o Hauaa funding model: Ngaa Pou Tuara o te marae .....	81





## Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Signed

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Te Pora Evans', with a large, stylized loop at the end.

Te Pora Evans

## Acknowledgements

To my mother, Te Urikore who laid the educational foundations down by going against the odds and facing the many challenges to provide an example for her children to achieve. I miss you mummy. Everyday.

Thank you to my brothers and sisters. Especially my little Ngahiti, I hope this and my learning adventure inspires you to go forth and fill the truly awesome potential that you have. Thank you Hani for being my big sister, sometimes my mum and always my friend.

This study was possible because of the Te Iti o Hauaa marae committee and my whanau from the Paa. I am grateful that I was able to again, bring my mahi home. Thank you for allowing me to do my study and supporting this kaupapa. I particularly thank the Chairman Lance Rapana for your unfailing energy to always be moving forward and locating opportunities for development at the Paa and Ngaati Hauaa overall.

Aku mihi aroha to my Ngaati Ranginui ally Te Hao Apaapa-Timu.

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I acknowledge the Evelyn Stokes (1996) as the source of the Map of Ngaati Hauaa Territory.

## Dedication

I dedicate this thesis firstly, to the Te Iti o Hauaa marae Women's Committee. To my nanny Taumoana Rapana, Te Whiunara Puru, Parematarangi Fawcett and my aunties Mihiaroa Puru and Tainuirangikamangu Patena. This thesis uncovered the magnificent mahi that you all put into the marae. Looking after the pillows and the linen led to a legacy of mana wahine commitment, dedication, resilience and resolve.

I am grateful for the inheritance that you have all left behind.

I also dedicate this thesis to the memory of my uncle Phillip Rau. It doesn't seem that long ago that you piled us all into vans and buses and off we would go on adventure that was above all about Whanaungatanga. All your nieces, all your nephews, moko and all.

Uncle, you were the first person I thought of when I considered this study and asked myself "How was it possible that Uncle Phil could take us everywhere and do so many things?" I believe, aside from what was revealed in this study that it was you and your commitment to see us Rangatahi grow, succeed, learn, and develop.

The lord blessed you, to help us. Thank you lord.

I have never forgotten the time you gave.

I have never forgotten the acknowledgement you gave, whether home or away.

I have never forgotten the things I learnt.

I have not forgotten you.

## Ethics Approval

Ethics approval for this study was granted by the Auckland University of Technology  
Ethics Committee, on November 2013 reference number 13/309

## Chapter 1: Introduction

He ika kai ake i raro, he raapaki ake i raro

*As a fish begins to nibble from below, so the ascent of a hill begins from the bottom.*

### Background

There is a need to bring out of the dark corners the ethics of funding communities and marae<sup>1</sup> (communal Maaori gathering place) with class 4 gaming machine (pokie) grants. Gaming Trust grants in communities are being justified as an altruistic form of community and marae development despite the background harm and negative impacts to individuals, families and whole communities that is caused by the very machines that the funds are generated from. Community services and their infrastructure are fast becoming dependent on this funding which erodes community and marae ability to be self-sufficient, enterprising and truly able to generate income of their own, making dependency a norm. Conversely and more increasingly opportunities for gambling on pokie machines, especially in vulnerable and low socio-economic communities (typically of which Maaori make a large section of) are more and more becoming readily available. As a result of the proliferation of these machines in these susceptible areas for adopting poor health behaviours, problem gambling has become matter of concern to public health and in particular Maaori wellbeing. In Aotearoa, New Zealand problem gambling is formally identified as a public health issue. The social, health and economic impacts of gambling problems largely affects all New Zealanders, especially Maaori whaanau (family).

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<sup>1</sup> A marae is a Maaori communal area that usually includes a meeting house, dining hall and cooking area. It is a symbol of tribal identity (the area in front of the meeting house is sacred and called a marae aatea).

### *Impacts of gambling*

The impacts for Maaori further state that they are three and a half times more likely to suffer problem gambling than non- Maaori (Ministry of Health, 2010). According to research conducted by Wheeler, Rigby and Huriwai (2006) the pokie machines located in easy to access pubs and clubs were documented as the most harmful form of gambling.

### *Harm to whaanau*

Research by Thorne, Bellringer, Abbot & Landon (2012) speaks to the effects of gambling on whaanau by explaining the isolating disconnection Maaori problem gamblers experience from their whaanau and shared Maaori values. Watene, Thompson, Balzer & Turinui (2007) also highlighted in their study that non-casino machines were cited by participants as being the gambling product that produced the most devastation to Maaori and their whaanau. Crime has also been considered a negative impact of problem gambling for Maaori (Ibid).

### *Harm to Tamariki (Children)*

The suffering from gambling quite often stems beyond the individual and has grave impacts for Maaori children. Gambling harm experts have noted that families that involve children are most likely to experience the negative effects of problem gambling (Dyall, 2007; Abbot, 1991; Raeburn & Herd, 2003). Maaori children were also equally described by Dyall, Tse & Kingi (2009) and Watene et al (2007) as bearing the burden of problem gambling through not having their basic need met and furthermore inattentive parents. Children, with parents who have serious gambling problems have been described as more likely than those whose parents do not have serious gambling problems to adopt similar normative gambling behaviours and reveal them exhibit them in later life (Dyall, Thomas & Thomas, 2009).

### *Help-seeking*

Māori experience harm and adverse effects of problem gambling from pokie machines overall more than non-Māori. Intervention data states that Māori are over-represented in counselling services for problem gambling with more than one in four new clients being Māori (Ministry of Health, 2010). Additionally, at least 30% of clients who received problem gambling treatment during 2009 to 2011 were Māori.

### *Pokie machine grants*

A recent report commissioned by the Auckland City Council (2012) found that 76% of their respondents who were community organisations had applied for pokie machine grants. At least one-third of their respondents considered pokie funding to be a major source of their funding and half of the recipients declared that to not receive the funding would place their organisation in high to extreme risk. Although, more than a quarter of who participated in this report said that they were not comfortable with Gaming Trusts as a funding source and outlined concerns with about the ethics of taking money from those who could least afford it and were worried about the harm caused by gambling to their community members.

### *Attempts at policy*

Efforts to call for policy changes to reduce the number of machines in vulnerable communities have been met with responses that justify the stay of machines based on the fact that communities rely on grants generated by pokie machines (Adams, 2004; Dyall, 2007; Dyall, Thomas & Thomas, 2009).

### *Māori value approaches to harm prevention*

Plausible evidence exists to support that cultural approaches to gambling harm, policy and community action support more positive outcomes and development in communities (Tipene & Poa, 2006; Watene et al, 2007; Dyall et al, 2009). Māori



calls to action in problem gambling have resulted in small successes for Maaori communities (Ibid). Maaori theories & models of positive community and marae development through cultural and kaupapa (subject) Maaori practises and understanding provide guidance to uplifting the wellbeing of Maaori whaanau, hapuu and iwi and communities also. Such models are fundamentally key to ensuring positive outcomes and reducing the disparities experienced both directly and indirectly by communities through gambling and problem gambling.

### Research Questions

Taking into account the contribution this research sets out to make to Public Health Problem Gambling and Marae Development, the primary research question asks: What is the resilience in marae who survive without gambling proceeds (pokie machine) funding?

Problem Gambling within Maaori communities is a growing issue and in the sense of public health, the causes and solutions to reducing the ensuing harm on individuals their whaanau, hapuu and iwi is multifaceted. Pokie machines have a significant undeniable negative impact on Maaori. The application to receive and acceptance of such funds generated from these machines creates concerns of whether or not the taking of funding built by vulnerable communities who least can afford it is ethical. In order to effectively reduce harm from such gambling and address the issues of resultant funding it is essential to locate successful models of funding utilised by Maaori communities in the place of pokie funding.

The objectives of this study were to:

1. Explore marae perceptions of funding derived from gambling activities

2. Identify how marae see gambling harm and the possible role they play in preventing and minimising gambling harm
3. Investigate how marae activities are presently funded and how did this funding occur in the past

### Positioning of Researcher

With the exception of the last two years, I have never really given much thought to how my marae funded our activities that we conducted. I distinctly remember like it was yesterday the amount of waananga (learning gatherings) I attended as a child and well into my adulthood, the three to five day tangi, birthdays and even our buildings. During these years of “growing up”, I never gave much thought to it as it was just something that happened or so I believed.

In May 2011 after graduating with my degree in Health Science of which I specialised in Maaori Public Health I successfully applied to a Maaori Public Health organisation in Auckland to work as a Kaiwhiriwhiri (Coordinator) in the Problem Gambling team which was essentially as a Health Promoter. My close friend had just spent the summer working there as an intern. To my benefit she was offered a job in this team but declined due to family commitments and felt that I might be better suited to the job. I remember asking her if gambling was really that much of a problem as I had had no prior experience with gambling, let alone gamblers.

During my orientation I was introduced to the Te Ngira team which is a collective of problem gambling public health workers in the Auckland region. This collective is made up of Health Promoters from the Salvation Army, Problem Gambling Foundation, Raukura Hauora o Tainui, Hapai te Hauora Tapui and Mapu Maia. All member organisations held Ministry of Health Public Health Problem Gambling

contracts that focused on preventing and minimising problem gambling for their communities. A key focus of this collective as also was with the organisation that I worked for was to advocate for a Sinking Lid Policy for Class 4 Gaming Machines located within the Auckland Region. The rationale in advocating for such a policy was that these machines caused a great deal of harm to their communities. The harm we believed stemmed from the fact that quite often the negative impacts of problem gambling is bore by those can least afford to gamble such as Maaori and those without economic means.

One of my first tasks was to write a submission to the newly formed Auckland Super City Council highlighting gambling harm for Maaori and calling for a Sinking Lid Policy. Excitedly, I set out using my academic and community experience to research and consequently write a submission to their newly released Auckland Plan that spoke to every chapter, section and paragraph by correlating every proposal in the document to being a potential exacerbating factor for gambling harm in Maaori. I especially called for a Sinking Lid Policy on Class 4 gaming machines to protect the wellbeing of Maaori and prevent and minimise gambling harm. The submission noted the amount of machines in every council ward, gave well defined statistics on the funds generated by the machines in each council ward. I also highlighted prevalence and incidence rates of problem gamblers that sought help for their addiction and furthermore that a large number of help seekers that cited pokie machines as their main form of gambling. After verbal submissions and appearances at each local board meetings, our team gained a momentum of support from local boards to support the Sinking Lid Policy.

One of the key conflicting statements for opposing submitters and what I found out during my work as a Health Promoter in this team was that both communities and

Gaming Machine Trusts said that without Pokie machines, communities stood to lose out on much needed funding that the machines provided<sup>2</sup>.

A big part of our promotional activities to communities was providing ideas for alternatives to gambling funds and promoting cultural activities as an alternative to gambling. Our first push of this kaupapa was on Gamble Free Day September the 1<sup>st</sup> 2011 at the Orakei Water Sports Club. Alongside the Te Ngira collective we held a day full of cultural activities and invited various schools from the Auckland region to participate. The activities provided on the day included weaving, poi (cultural performance resource)<sup>3</sup> making, Ki o Rahi (traditional ball game), painting and Waka Ama (outrigger canoe rowing). In addition we also talked about different ways communities could survive without gambling funding. The day was a huge success and following events each year were since moved to Papakura marae to really enhance the cultural responsiveness, involve more organisations outside of the Te Ngira collective and cater to the growing numbers who attend the event each year.

It was the move of the Gamblefree Day initiative to Papakura marae that forced me to reflect on my own marae and self-enquire if my marae Te Iti o Hauaa had ever taken Gaming Trust grants to fund our activities. Prior to this time as I mentioned I was clueless if this had ever occurred. But then at the same time it dawned on me “How was it so much that I used to do so much as a child?”

It is here that I introduce my affiliation to Te Iti o Hauaa marae which is also known as Tauwhare Paa (village). From my infancy, a substantial amount of my growing up was done at my Paa, Tauwhare. As with most Paa, Tauwhare Paa is a small village

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<sup>2</sup> Under the Gambling Act 2003, Gaming machine trusts are required to redistribute part of their funds in the form of community grants.

<sup>3</sup> The poi is contemporarily used in Maaori cultural performances. Traditionally made of a flax ball at the end of a string it was used by warriors to ready their hands for battle weapons. It is now mostly used by women for cultural performance.

that is inhabited by whaanau who live in kainga which is closely located geographically to a Marae, in this case Tauwhare marae, or formally Te Iti o Hauaa Marae. All of those that live at the Paa are my whaanau. As a child we would attend Sunday school each Sunday with small denominations of coins to contribute to the offering box. As a teenager, we would attend waananga every school holidays,<sup>4</sup> all holidays. The purpose of these waananga was to teach us about our kawa and tikanga (protocols and procedures) associated with our marae, hapuu (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribe). At the completion of the first week then we would travel to other closely related marae within Waikato area to learn there also the same concepts and values. At most we were asked to give a small koohaa (donation, gift) to the fully catered, travel and accommodated inclusive programme.

My marae also ran youth nights, we furthermore attended sports and concerts every other weekend. I remember that some weekends we would spend mowing lawns and gardening around the Paa and in town (Hamilton) to fundraise for small outings. Before I started high school, I recall what seemed like then the entire Paa, packing into at least five buses and going to Rainbows end<sup>5</sup> for the day. The trip cost each school attending youth \$5.00 for transport and entry. About 100 of whaanau of all ages from the Paa went on this trip.

It was my recollection of these events, trips and waananga that ignited my enquiry into how our activities were funded and if (given the amount of activities the marae conducted) we had even applied for gaming machine funding given that a fast following of marae now apply and rely on this type funding in some proportion to fund not only their activities, but also their infrastructure.

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<sup>4</sup> Two weeks each during May and August.

<sup>5</sup> Rainbows end is a theme park in Auckland

In early 2012, I spoke with the Chairman of the marae about funding opportunities that the marae had ever sought, the availability of gaming machine trust funds and problem gambling rates within predominately Maaori communities. It was following his response that to his knowledge the marae had never engaged with gaming machine trusts for the purpose of funding activities of any kind or the infrastructure of the marae, which I believed an exploration into marae and gaming machine trusts was required. My key question at that time was “If we don’t get those sorts of grants, then how have we survived for so long and managed to do so much”. The previous year I had successfully applied to the Te Rau Matatini Hoe Wha Scholarship<sup>6</sup> based on another Problem Gambling research area. With these thoughts of funding in mind, I changed my topic and applied to undertake this degree in the form of a thesis.

### Contribution of Literature including where situated in Public Health

It is my intent that this literature will contribute in the first instance to a broad range of Public Health efforts that seek to prevent and minimise problem gambling harm. Secondly, that this thesis will add to the small but growing body of evidence that imparts Maaori defined solutions to Maaori Public Health in Maaori communities.

Acheson (1998) defines Public Health as the “science and art of promoting health, preventing disease and prolonging life through the organised efforts of society” (Marmot & Wilkinson, 2006). Public Health therefore in simple terms means to approach health and wellbeing through a broad disciplinary and whole community wide effort.

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<sup>6</sup> Te Rau Matatini provide Maori health postgraduate scholarships. The Hoe Wha Scholarship is for Postgraduate students with an interest in research or undertaking a programme of study at this level with papers in Problem Gambling.

Taking this definition of Public Health, with a Problem gambling lens, it is hopeful that this body of work will make is a broader inter-sector, inter-disciplinary approach and moreover perhaps a more culturally appropriate viewpoint to how in some proportion communities and particularly marae can be resilient to the need for and reliance on gaming machine funding. Secondly, Marae development and sustainability will benefit from this research through the discussion of alternative funding modes and avenues available. Thirdly, as a result of any effort toward public health and problem gambling ensures that the health and wellbeing of Maaori is positively impacted and that this research will contribute to raising the awareness of Maaori Public Health dynamics by bringing it out of the dark corners of the box. Finally, this research hopes to add to the growing validity of kaupapa Maaori Methodology as a preferred and legitimate research approach when research involves Maaori, Maaori topics and to an extent indigenous peoples and issues.

## Structure of Thesis

Chapter One: Introduces the case study and positions the research in a public health setting.

Chapter Two: This chapter will provide the background for this case study. It introduces the history of Te Iti o Hauaa marae as the oldest marae in the Ngaati Hauaa iwi. Origins of Public Health given the history are discussed as the impetus for Tino Rangatiratanga (self-determination) through the strong desire to remain self-sustainable.

Chapter Three describes the eclectic and kaupapa Maaori based methodology and the supporting methods employed to undertake this research. The chapter makes a

supportive case for the use of kaupapa Maaori methods in Maaori public health research.

Chapter Four contextualises the place of Tikanga and Tapu (sacred) in the Public Health environment. It explains in detail the use of Tikanga and Tapu at Te Iti o Hauaa marae and how as such these features of Maaori life remain contemporary tools for health and wellbeing decision-making in such a traditional setting.

Chapter Five presents the Te Iti o Hauaa marae four Pou (post, palisade) funding model: Ngaa Pou Tuaraa o te Marae. Each pou is discussed in detail on their origins and how they financially sustain the marae. Overall the model is explored for its socio-political and cultural contributions toward ensuring the viability of Te Iti o Hauaa marae does not succumb to assimilative funding outcomes.

Chapter Six discusses the established tools of succession planning and how these are utilised at Te Iti o Hauaa marae to ensure the sustainability of the marae overall. How succession planning at marae level contributes to community health development is a key focus of this chapter.

Chapter Seven discusses the differences between funding and fundraising. It looks at how fundraising can be a vital tool for self-sufficient and sustainable communities. This chapter provides examples of fundraising initiatives and makes a case to the need for financial succession planning to occur early in Maaori development.

Chapter Eight will amalgamate all chapters and summarise the broad level influences of Tapu and Noa on Te Iti o Hauaa marae funding, as well as their dynamic and organic way in which Tino Rangatiratanga has developed and maintained the community.



### Language style

The Tainui dialect is utilised for all Maaori words contained in this thesis. This means that in place of the macron for double vowed kupu (words), the kupu appear just as that double vowed and without macrons.

## Chapter 2: Background

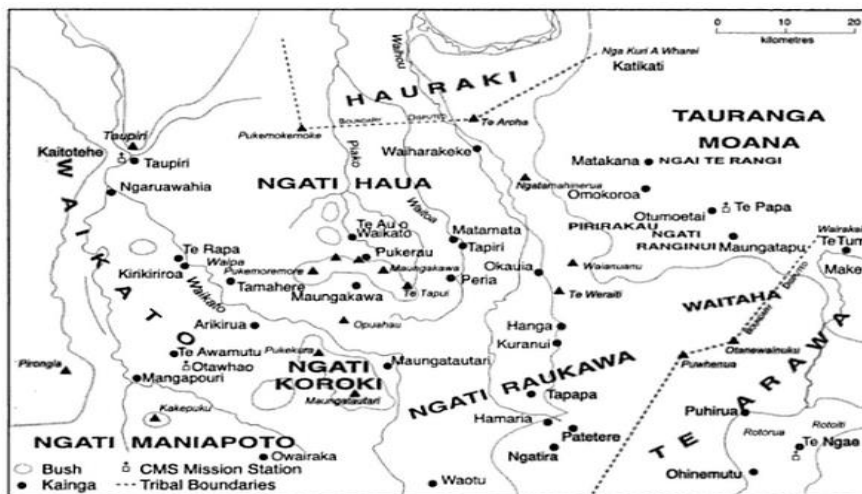
*Maranga Hauaa e, Hauaa e. Mihi atu ngaa iwi e tau nei*

Rise Hauaa, Let us greet the people that are before us now

### *Ngaati Hauaa Iwi*

Ngaati Hauaa iwi and hapuu are predominately located within the central Waikato demographic area of Aotearoa New Zealand. It is a part of the Tainui confederation and affiliates to Tainui waka (traditional canoe of the Waikato region). The traditional area includes Matamata, Cambridge, Maungakawa, the Horotiu district along the Waikato River and the Maungatautari district, with its eastern boundary that lays beneath the Kaimai Range and is captured in Figure1.

Figure 1: Ngaati Hauaa Boundary - E. Stokes 1996



Hauaa is the eponymous ancestor of Ngaati Hauaa iwi and all hapuu and whaanau who whakapapa (line of descent) directly to Hauaa. Born in the 1600s, his father Koroki married Tumataura and had two sons Hape and Hauaa. Ngaati Koroki are descended through Hape; and Ngaati Hauaa through Hauaa. Figure 2. Shows the schematic of the whakapapa of all descendants from Ngaati Hauaa that begins with Hauaa and on

to the respected statesman and leader of Ngaati Hauaa, Tarapipipi Te Waharoa - Wiremu Tamehana.

Encapsulating the iwi and hapuu of Ngaati Hauaa are five marae. These five marae are Rukumoana, Kai aa te Mata, Raungaiti, Waimakariri and Tauwhare. According to the Waikato Tainui Beneficiary Roll, the combined population of Ngaati Hauaa is approximately 5,000 people. With the establishment of the Ngaati Hauaa tribal register established to register the iwi population for the purpose of large natural grouping for the iwi Treaty of Waitangi claims this number rose to well over 10, 000 people.

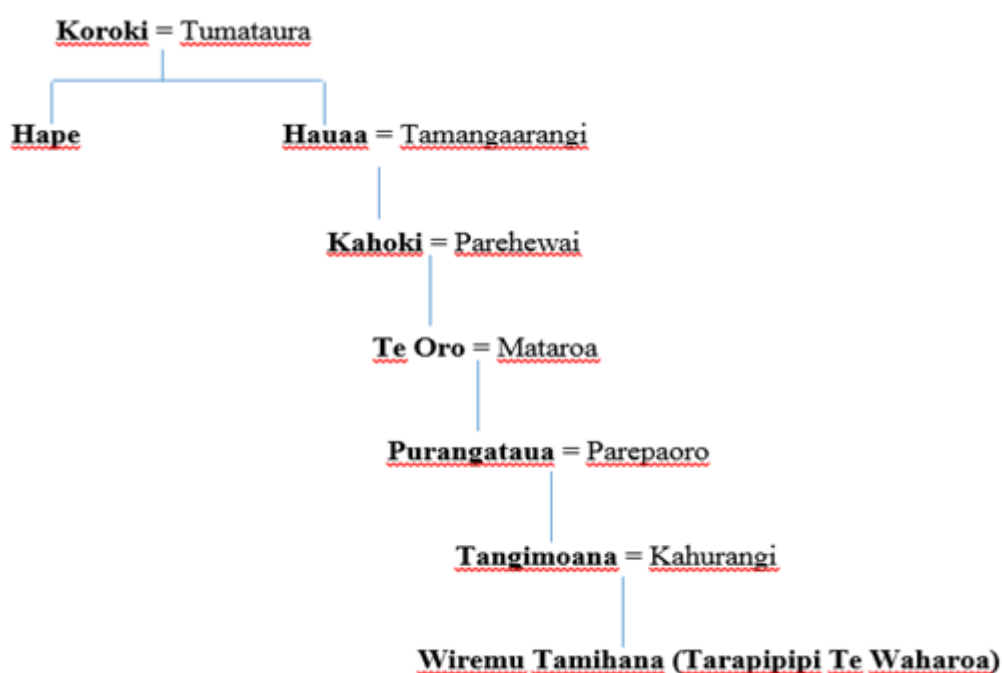


Figure 2: Whakapapa of Ngaati Hauaa

On May 27, 2013 Ngaati Hauaa initialled a Deed of Settlement with the Crown to settle the Ngaati Hauaa non-Raupatu historical Treaty claims against the Crown. In July 2013, after years of research and negotiations with Crown, the Ngaati Hauaa Trust Board and the people of Ngaati Hauaa ratified their Deed of Settlement based on the injustices that the people, their leader - Wiremu Tamehana and his father Te Waharoa experienced.

### *Te Iti o Hauaa marae*

Te Iti o Hauaa marae, the marae of interest in this study is geographically situated between Hamilton, Morrinsville and Cambridge. In 2010, registration data from Waikato Tainui beneficiary roll stated that the population affiliated to this marae was 812 people. This amount since the Tribal Registration set up has since fluctuated.

Te Iti o Hauaa marae is positioned within a Paa settlement. Traditionally Paa were built by Maaori as fortified refuges for times of war but were also secure communal living places and centres for learning, craft-like dexterities and horticulture. Defensive earthworks often included steepened slopes, ditches and banks and wooden palisades. In contemporary times, Paa are a collection of whaanau kaainga (homes) located very near to a communal marae. This is such the case of Te Iti o Hauaa marae more commonly known to locals as Tauwhare Pa. Tauwhare Pa is made up of roughly 42 dwellings that house whaanau who whakapapa to the hapuu Te Iti o Hauaa of which Te Iti o Hauaa is also the marae.

The running and upkeep of the marae is a combined effort between the people who live within the Pa settlement, affiliates and the Te Iti o Hauaa marae committee.

### *The marae*

The marae area consists of a Wharenui (meeting house), Wharekai (dining hall), a Wharekarakia (church), Urupaa (graveyard), an office and two buildings used for extra sleeping areas and when required larger meeting spaces.

Various activities are held at the marae from cultural events such as Tangihanga (bereavements), Hura Koowhatu (unveilings) to Huritau (Birthdays) and weddings. The marae with its vast facilities are also hired out to organisations both affiliated to

and external to the marae and iwi. A range of waananga are presently held also at the marae ranging from Horticulture classes to Reo (language) and Tikanga/Kawa Classes. The marae is very often used by Paa members also as a focal meeting point for Kapa Haka (cultural performance group) and youth entertainment.

### The marae committee

Te Iti o Hauaa marae is registered as a reserve under the 1993 Te Ture Whenua Maaori Act (The Maaori land Act). As with most marae, Te Iti o Hauaa marae operates under a Charitable Trust. There are three Trustees responsible for the operations of the marae. Each Trustee have lived the largest portion of their lives at the Pa.

The marae committee is made up of an elected Chairman, secretary and a treasurer as its core leadership team. The Chairman's role is to, in conjunction with the people of the marae, set the strategic direction each year. The Chairman is also responsible for setting the budget for the year, which is done in consultation with the Treasurer. The Secretary records minutes at each marae meeting and distributes these to the marae whaanau. The Treasurer looks after the main finances of the marae and provides a report of income and expenditure at each marae meeting.

Marae hui (meetings) are generally held bi-monthly at the marae. Most hui are well attended and are conducted formally in the sense that an agenda is set and followed. Here the marae whaanau have the opportunity to speak, raise concerns and offer panui (notices).

Several special memberships are mandated at marae level to feed into the wider iwi initiatives. These positions are also required to report back to the main committee and the people at the marae hui.

Under the main marae committee exist several other marae committee such as the Sports body, the Social committee and the Kapa Haka Committee of which each follows the same leadership structure as the main committee. Other special interest committees are constructed as required. Most of the supplementary committee members have too lived the majority of their lives at Te Iti o Hauaa marae.

The income of the marae, which is the primary subject of this thesis is reported in later chapters.

## Chapter 3: Literature Review

*Kua tae mai te waa, e whakapuru ai taatou i ngaa kowhao oo te waka.*

The time has come when we must plug the holes in the canoe.

This literature review incorporates both published and unpublished material from a range of sources. The review begins with a brief historical background to gambling in New Zealand and the rise of pokie machines. In particular the review considers Maaori in the context of their relationship with gaming machines in order to provide a platform for Maaori involvement in gambling.

In relation to this study, two main capacities are covered, to lay a foundation for the findings. These areas are (i) The implications with funding community organised activities and (ii) Maaori expressions of resiliency.

### New Zealand Historical Context of Gambling for Maaori

In pre-colonised times, Maaori lived without forms of gambling. It was neither a way of life, nor a practise for these people who lived in a constant state of pure Maaori world views. Maaori life was governed by what was considered tapu and noa (free from sacredness). Maaori communities were established on the basis of familial kin linkages and platform accordingly as whaanau, hapuu and iwi. Each whaanau, hapuu and iwi on the basis of tapu and noa were guided by practices of tikanga and kawa, relevant to their specific kinfolk and region of belonging.

First interactions and successive waves of migration by Paakehaa (European settlers) whalers, traders and missionaries to the shores of Aotearoa relied heavily on trade with

Maaori. It was these first whalers and traders who brought with them their passion for horse bets and card games that first introduced gambling to Maaori.

### [Treaty of Waitangi](#)

Attempts to acquire land for the purpose of permanent settlement and the impending influx of European migrants alienated and dispossessed many Maaori from their lands. With large scale land transactions occurring mostly without Maaori consent and therefore mounting a growing concern and discontent amongst Maaori to the settlers. The Treaty of Waitangi was brokered as a protective document that would secure Maaori chiefly authority and grant the British the right to govern was signed at Waitangi in 1840. The English version of the document which on the outlay was said to give provision of protection of Maaori under British Law and granted rights of citizenship is said to be the founding document of New Zealand. Discrepancies in both the Maaori text and English version over the misinterpretation of Maaori ceding their rights to the Crown and the Crown assuming sovereignty as opposed to governorship saw the assertion of British governance over Maaori. The adherence by the British to only the English version and ignorance toward what Maaori believed they had signed led to the colonisation of Aotearoa and tangata whenua (people of the land), Maaori.

### [Origins of regulated gambling in New Zealand](#)

Following the Treaty signing the Government set about organising themselves in an effort to order society in Aotearoa. This led to the regulation of gambling and the redistribution of derived funds to ensure their share in the generated revenue. The regulation and revenue share of gambling products has been supported by successive governments since the very first government was formed (Dyall & Morrison, 2002).

In 1932 the national “art union” lottery began operation. Prizes here in New Zealand were considered small, however a large amount of people took part illegally in



overseas lotteries which paid larger prize amounts. In 1951, the Totalisator Agency Board (TAB) was established as the sole betting operator in New Zealand to promote and support horse racing and regulate associated betting. Ten years later the family friendly and community appealing “Golden Kiwi” national raffle was introduced in 1961. The reason for the Golden Kiwi ticket has been speculated as a way to curb the constant requests for community funding, given the popularity of the lotteries during the 1930s. The Golden Kiwi raffle paid significantly more than its predecessor and led to the set-up of Lottery grants to dispense funds. While these forms were popular, they were contained, defined and regulated and were limited to specific locations and times (O’Sullivan & Christoffel, 1992).

During the 1980s, economic reforms known as the New Zealand experiment swept through the country (Kelsey, 1995). The reforms aimed to promote economy growth, expand markets and loosen government controls. These neo-liberal moves to allow consumers greater choice also saw liberalisation in gambling and gambling products, which provided potential for government to recoup and supplement revenue lost as a result of control changes. Rapid growth in gambling participation and consumer expenditure on gambling products came about as a results of the changes in gambling regulation, constraints in the availability and the location of products.

In 1991, pokie machines were legally introduced to Aotearoa as a result of the restructuring and liberal movements. These quickly became a main per capita contributor to gambling expenditure. Pokie machines are now common fixtures within liquor outlets and venues. Aside from the increase in expenditure, pokies have additionally led to the diversification and availability of products available overall for gambling.

### The distribution of gambling funds from pokies

Subject to government regulation, pokie machines are a form of gambling that is required to contribute to the financial needs of the community. In New Zealand, the Department of Internal Affairs is the government body responsible for monitoring and regulating gambling legislation. The Gambling Act which was introduced in 2003 provided the legislative drive for the operation of pokie machines. The purpose of the Act is to control the growth of gambling; prevent and minimise harm caused by gambling; facilitate responsible gambling; limit the opportunities for crime and dishonesty associated with gambling; facilitate community involvement in decision making about the provision of gambling; ensure gaming is fair and most importantly ensure that money from gambling benefits the community.

Class 4 gambling is defined by the Department of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Health as any activity that involves the use of gaming machines outside casino's and may only be run by a corporate society (Gaming Trusts) or club to raise funds for an authorised purpose. Territorial Authorities, through the Gambling Act control the growth of gambling and have the power to place limits on the amount and placement of machines in their district. It is in this way that community can provide input into these decision making processes.

Gaming Trusts accumulate their funds through individuals who essentially "play" their machines. According to data from the Department of Internal Affairs (2014) expenditure on gambling has decreased by almost \$63 million dollars over the past five years (2009 – 2013). However, pokie machine profits continue to be huge for instance for the first quarter of 2014 was reported to be just over \$192 million (Department of Internal Affairs, 2014).

## *Moral and Ethical Considerations*

As funding derived from gambling is a key source of financial support for community organisations (Hing, 2001; Abbot & Volberg, 1999) the first section of this review considers the ethical and moral issues associated with accepting gaming machine (pokie) funding. While a significant pool of data can be located on the impacts of problem gambling, gaming machines and financial losses, little exists that specifically looks into gaming machine funding and the implications for any community or Maaori organisations or even marae. The literature reviewed looks at the nature and extent of funding acceptance and deduces relative harm and gaming trust involvement and responsibilities. In connection to this a portion of research that explores the cultural implications is also reviewed.

## *Regressive Taxation*

The taking of pokie funding raises moral and ethical complications as numerous studies have highlighted (Dyall, 2007; Dyall et al, 2009; Breen & Gainsbury, 2008; Barret & Veal, 2013). Research conducted by economists (Pickernell, Brown, Worthington & Crawford, 2004) discussed how gambling could be considered to function as a form of regressive tax. The idea of regressive taxation means that in contrast to revenue collection being lighter on low income people, the reverse occurs and the burden for the collection of revenue (in this case gambling funds) is placed on low income people at a rate that consequently gravely impacts their social, economic and health.

This may simply point to people with lower income as those who engage more in pokie machine gambling. However, there is evidence to suggest that people on low income are more financially vulnerable and are more likely to suffer in numerous of ways from

gambling losses given that they have less income to lose (Lin, Casswell, Easton, Huckle, Asiasiga & You, 2010).

The regressive taxation idea is further supported by Lin, Casswell, Easton, Huckle, You & Asiasiga (2011) whose research across four ethnic groups in New Zealand found Maaori spend on gambling to be higher than non-Maaori despite having significantly less income. The same study also highlighted that 75% of Maaori sampled identified pokies as their main mode of gambling.

The ensuing harm for Maaori who engage with gambling on pokie machines is well documented with most studies citing that Maaori suffer cultural, financial and social harm (Adams, 2004; Rankine & Haigh, 2003; Dyall & Hand, 2003; Ministry of Health 2009). Dyall (2007) provided a broad scale of negative impacts faced by Maaori as a result of gambling which included mental illness, theft, weakened social bonds, domestic and sexual abuse. Dyall (ibid) also highlighted the co-morbidity between gambling and the addiction of smoking and drinking.

Not only is gambling as a source of funding regressive but researchers such as Adams, Rossen, Perese, Townsend, Brown, Brown & Garland (2004) looked at how community benefit from six major gaming trusts and found that more wealthy areas received considerably more funding (per capita) than lower income and less affluent areas. Embedded in legislation is the requirement of Gaming Trusts to ensure that a minimum of 37.12% of the funds generated by the machines are offered back to community organisations by way of grants. Given that legislation does not explicitly state the distribution must go directly back to the community from where the funding was came from a loophole is created here for reverse Robin Hood scenarios to be capitalised on. This double form of regressive taxation cements that not only are funds

primarily from those who can least afford it, but the funds are then redistributed to recipients who are more likely to have higher incomes.

### Community Good

Unpublished data by gaming trusts and viewing on Trust websites<sup>7</sup> appear to position the trusts as philanthropic and altruistic organisations. Altruism by definition means that an essence of selflessness and concern for the wellbeing of others exists. In the concept of altruistic funding of gaming trusts, by definition and supporting literature little can be said to support the application of this term to those that receive gaming funds or the trusts themselves.

Again the literature supports that funding generated by machines come from low income areas. Past and current research consistently reveals over and over again the imbalanced placement of pokie machines in New Zealand within areas of low socio-economic status and relative scarcity (Wheeler et al, 2006; Ministry of Health, 2012).

On the other hand while community organisations claim that the funding received allows them to do public good, the funds nonetheless are more than likely redistributed out of communities where harm from gambling is prevalent and rampant (Rankine & Haigh, 2003).

An example from Adams & Rossen (2005) highlights the inconsistent idea of community organisation altruism. This is said by Adams to occur when groups such as sports bodies have an underlying assumption that they provide physical wellbeing to their users by their income is derived an activity that provides little physical interaction and benefits. Adams uses another example of addiction services that

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<sup>7</sup> <http://www.pubcharity.org.nz>; <http://www.lionfoundation.org.nz/about/>; <http://www.trillian.co.nz/>

provides social care and counselling however their income again is from an activity that is addictive itself.

Similar models of raising funds from gambling exist for Maaori through housie or poker nights for example. In the same sense the events are usually run by community groups to increase their revenue and indeed more than likely the very people that generate these funds through participation are from their own community and probably also have limited funds (Breen & Gainsbury, 2013). The difference here however, although the norm of gambling can be argued to increase should frequent participation in this form occur, is that most of if not all the funds are highly likely to be re-distributed back to the community. Additionally, even though it is a gambling activity harm is less likely to be on par with that experienced by Pokie machines. The activity is social and collective which is different to the individual interaction with a machine that occurs with pokie funding.

#### *Contraindications of reliance & dependency*

A strong culture of reliance and dependency can be said to exist within community organisations that receive pokie funding. In a report commissioned by the Auckland City Council (2012) that surveyed Auckland community organisations that had received gaming trust funding just under three quarters (75%) of the respondents indicated that gaming trust funding was a significant source of their funding. Out of 75% of those that received the funding reported to be totally to moderately reliant on it and believed that their organisation would be at risk without it. Just over half of this amount further believed that their core business would be at risk if they did not receive the funding.

The dependency on gaming trust funding inevitably reduces the capacity of communities to exercise creative and broad ways of being financially independent. An example of the diminished capacity can again be found in the Auckland Council report, where when asked about seeking other funding should the gaming trusts funds not be available, again most community organisations believed that they would not likely find another source. But should they be forced to look for other funding, respondents reported that they would first try other trusts and then maybe raise funds through the community another way such as raffles. If the funding was not available altogether a small percentage (3%) believed that they would close their organisation or make staff reductions (5%).

Northey (2010) contends that organisations should look where the funds have come from and not where they were going to when considering whether or not to apply or accept pokie funding. An example is provided by Northey in the form of a sports club (Orakei Water Sports Club) that does not take pokie funding, who have instead strategically identified the skills within their organisation, build mutually beneficial relationships with a range of funders. The sports club self-identified the need to be community focussed than community reliant in their recognition that many clubs are conditioned to and rely on pokie funding to do good in their community and therefore place their work and community in jeopardy by accepting pokie money.

### [Funding that erodes cultural identity and normalises gambling](#)

Cultural identity and practices can be exploited to promote gambling activity as a result receiving gambling funds (Dyall et al, 2009). This is especially reinforced when Trusts encourage their recipients to place and use their logo's in a way that acknowledges them. Quite often this is on sports or Maaori cultural groups clothing, newsletter

letterheads or banners. Such expressions of gratitude is often temporary. However for marae that choose to accept gaming machine funding their acknowledgement is quite often expressed in the form of a plaque that is permanently fixated to the marae. This more enduring expression of gratitude however potentially reinforces much more harm in the community. Marae are considered by many to be pivotal to their cultural identity and belonging, therefore such encouraged expressions continuously reinforce the acceptance of gambling as a safe activity to engage in given that the marae received funds generated by gambling.

Support for Dyll's literature on the hindrances of giving and receiving of gambling funds is documented by Morrison's doctoral research (1999) where the impacts of gambling on Maaori women was investigated. It was reported in this study that the women perceived that their gambling was benefiting the marae rather than gambling for themselves. That their gambling would then benefit a community appeared to validate their community good versus personal gain justifications for continued gambling. Here participants found it much easier to lose money as the funds went back to the marae thereby emphasising that the attachments of gambling funding to marae or Maaori cultural icons to be hazardous by way of normalising gambling.

## Resilience

The level of dependency found in research and literature on gaming machine funds by communities and also the normalisation of gambling (whether by participation or concentrations of machines), suggest that a level of resiliency is required to survive without gaming machine funds (Dyll, 2004; Dyll, 2007; Rankine & Haigh, 2003) . Resiliency can by definition be considered as experiencing adversity and having the ability to regain form as a result.



Studies that document resiliency and public are still in their early stages of research especially in New Zealand. Very little research looks at resilience and gambling funding, rather literature tends to look at correlations between resilience and machine count or problem gambling.

Pearson, Pearce & Kingham's (2013) quantitative study that looked at the characteristics of resilient neighbourhoods despite their markers of deprivation pointed out that the distance of gambling outlets in neighbourhoods was seen as an unhealthy living infrastructure and thereby a hindering characteristic of a neighbourhoods capability of resilience. Resilient neighbourhoods had poorer access to gambling (and alcohol) while those with better access to gambling outlets were more than likely to be a gambler or experience problem gambling.

Others such as the Ministry of Health (2012) note in their Statement of Intent document that they are determined for preventing and minimising gambling harm that people have the life skills and the resilience to make healthy choices that will prevent and minimise gambling harm.

### Maaori Resiliency

While no studies explicitly explore Maaori public health concepts of resiliency and gambling funding, a substantial amount of literature exists that provide living examples of Maaori resilience.

Maaori resilience is described by Durie (2005) as having the tendency and ability for turning adversity into accomplishment. Resilience therefore is Maaori development and endurance can even be extended into Maaori progress. Tides of progress from setbacks are evident throughout the history of Maaori, from the great migration of the

ancient Maaori home Hawaiiki<sup>8</sup> to Aotearoa, the signing of the English version of the Treaty of Waitangi, land wars against non-Maaori and economic reforms. Maaori have progressed and experienced great setbacks. The following section explores Maaori progress, endurance and resilience in the contemporary context.

### *Urbanisation*

Following on from the economic depression of the 1930s and during the post-war period between early 1940s and early 1960s just more than three quarters of the Maaori population relocated from their rural homelands to main urban centres. The move was primarily instigated to seek greater employment opportunities that promised more income (Waitangi Tribunal, 2004). Policy introductions during this time that sought to excel Maaori economic development through equality, only succeeding in government acquiring more Maaori land. For example the gap of Maaori connectedness to their cultural identity was instigated through the delivery of the Hunn report in 1963 that suggested the assimilation of Maaori into European lifestyle and culture (Chapple, 2000; Kukutai, 2004; Williams, 2001).

Arguably, urbanisation was bound to affect Maaori given that they moved from their predominately Maaori settings, they had become the minority group as quickly as they urbanised. For example while Māori participation in employment increased, these roles were unskilled and therefore limited the scope of upward mobility in Maaori (Chapple, 2000). Similarly other impacts of urbanisation became evident in the weakened social bonds that prior were a thriving vehicle for cultural interaction, as new surroundings heralded alternative methods of interaction and norms (Williams, 2001).

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<sup>8</sup> Hawaiiki is considered to be the traditional home of Maaori prior to their migration to Aotearoa, New Zealand.

Williams (2001) reported that the isolation of being without a normal familial network as those found in rural areas was found to have significant impacts on Maaori men who displayed difficulties in navigating acculturation. This, Williams says was in part correlated to a rise in Maaori men who during the time of urbanisation and socio-economic deprivation experienced a high rate of admission to psychiatric institutions. Unsurprisingly rates of Maaori gambling participation during this period increased consequently from urbanisation (Williams, 2001).

### *Organisational success*

Despite the sense of displacement, Maaori responded to urbanisation in the early 1980s with the rise of Maaori Urban Authorities that sought to amalgamate Maaori living in urban areas as an effort to meet the needs of their communities (Keiha & Moon, 2008). Two examples of these by Maaori for Maaori organisations are Te Whaanau o Waipareira Trust and the Manukau Urban Maaori Authority. Both organisations were successful in gaining government funding to deliver a range of social and health services to Maaori in their areas. Today, both organisations thrive and have a remarkable number of government contracts to deliver services and commercial enterprises (Moon, 2010).

The distance from their rural background and marae often resulted in Maaori without their larger whaanau support network as what would have occurred in their traditional homes (Simmons & Voyle, 2003). Missing even more from the landscape was a common place where Maaori could gather to celebrate, mourn and learn. During the 1960s projects began to build marae in Auckland, the first of these kind was Hoani Waititi Marae erected in West Auckland and officially opened in 1978. The marae

was to serve as a home away from home for Maaori, nowadays the marae complex has a Maaori school, koohanga reo (learning nest), delivers waananga and social and health services (Reedy, 2000).

### *Economic Restructure & Progress*

In the 1980s economic reforms affected Maaori and tested their resilience ability. The opening of the markets and government asset sales and furthermore the social policy reforms in the 1980s had significant impacts on Maaori. Caught up in the reforms Maaori health, education and social wellbeing declined which is evident in the rise of child mortality rates, educational participation and the levels of stress experienced (Shaw, Blakely, Atkinson & Crampton, 2005; Smith, 1999; Blakely, Tobias, Robson, Ajwani, Bonne & Woodward, 2005). In addition Brown (1999) reported that the reforms imposed great hardship on Maaori that were reliant on the manual labour industry for employment.

Inevitably the reforms induced Maaori expressions of autonomy through the rise of more Maaori organisations. Such organisation sought to regain control over losses they had already experienced stretching as far back as the Treaty of Waitangi signing. Additionally, the deregulation, privatisation and devolution of markets and central governments played well into Maaori aspirations of autonomy and independence and ultimately Maaori development for some. Initiatives such as the Koohanga Reo Trust began as a response to the waning of the native Maaori tongue. The Koohanga Trust was initially funded by Maaori communities and then later the government (Smith, 2004).

Although an overall government framework existed for workforce readiness of Maaori, another example of Maaori control over their interests was the devolution of

social, training and business initiatives to Maaori tribal and community organisations (Durie, 2004). While effectively government programmes, the ability to run by Maaori for Maaori programmes largely delivered under a Maaori values based system has laid a strong foundation for Maaori development and sustainability ever since.

Again with the ability to run programmes within cultural frameworks, Maaori organisations and tribal entities had to contend with the vast numbers of their populations living in urban centres the motivation for renaissance gained further momentum and resulted in the erection of more and more marae to cater to their population but to also provide therapeutic cultural spaces (Voyle & Simmons, 1999).

Equally so traditional marae also experienced a resurgence in use and while a constant and consistent tide of Maaori migrated out of rural areas, a small number in comparison returned. Programmes conducted on the marae inevitably ended with little government funding available. However Maaori had already savoured the taste of enterprising initiatives and the set many on the path to subsistence (Saunders & Daiziel, 2010; Sullivan & Margaritis, 2000; Zapalska, Dabb & Perry, 2003).

## Summary

This literature review has identified an amount of research that directly and indirectly examines several issues with receiving gambling funding and the repercussions that this has on community organisations, Maaori, gamblers and marae. Through the use of a broad public health approach with a constant Maaori lens it is clear that gambling funds received by community organisations have harmful connotations irrevocably attached to it.

Proclamations of selflessness and intent to care by gaming trusts and community organisations were reported by researchers to not be forms of altruism but the exact opposite given the harm associated with the funds thought to serve public good. Reliance and dependence on gaming trust funding was found to bring about a diminished sense of capacity in organisations who should instead reorganise themselves strategically for funding opportunities.

Regressive taxation was found to occur with the funds from machines being generated by people with lower income, vulnerable and from neighbourhoods where a higher concentration of gaming machines existed. Double regression occurred when adding to the regressive taxation example, the funds are not given back to the communities they came from but are redirected to more affluent areas with higher incomes and significantly lower saturation of gaming machines per capita.

Cultural icons; branding; expressions of appreciation for funding by way of branding highlighted the erosion of cultural identity and normalises gambling.

This review identified that in order to resist the funding a level of resiliency and agency was required. Explicit examples of neighbourhood resilience was noted to be associated with lower machine concentration which was found to have lower levels of problem gambling. While, the reverse of higher concentration of machines and the likelihood of higher rates of problems with gambling was identified. In response to no literature that pointed obviously to Maaori Public health concepts of resiliency toward the receipt of gambling funds, expressions of Maaori resilience in the form of development, endurance and progress was investigated. This review has found that through examples of adverse situations such as urbanisation and economic restructuring, Maaori development progressed underlying Maaori aspirations with

promising results for a long term sustainable future. Marae that in some form used to deliver programmes aimed at raising Maaori wellbeing overall laid foundations for extending marae use and thereby sealing the use of marae as cultural hubs.

## Chapter 4: Methodology

Ma maatau ki nga whetuu, I mua i te kookiri o te haere

- *Before the journey, map the stars*

This chapter will describe the research approach and methods utilised for this study. To open this chapter, the research aims and objectives will be outlined. The Kaupapa Maaori methodology will be described in its suitability and appropriateness for the qualitative approach used. The methods employed for data collection will be described. The chapter concludes with a description of how the data was analysed.

### Aims and Objectives

The aim of this study was to explore the resilience in marae who survive without gaming machine funding. The research had three primary objectives which were to:

1. Explore marae perceptions of funding derived from gambling activities
2. Identify how marae see gambling harm and the possible role they play in preventing and minimising gambling harm
3. Investigate how marae activities are presently funded and how did this funding occur in the past

### Methodology

This study engaged a qualitative research design guided by a kaupapa Maaori framework. Grbich (2003) posits that qualitative methodologies reveal the taken for granted realities of social experiences and allows the revelation of truths according to the researched and the unassuming lay.



## Grounded Theory

Complementary to the employment of kaupapa Maaori to guide this research, a Grounded Theory methodology is utilized. Grounded Theory works in reverse to traditional Social Science research methodology that begins with a theoretical framework and thus collects data to support a hypothesis or theory (Glasser & Strauss, 1967). Grounded Theory is committed to an open-ended inquiry whereby the research collects data and then searches for themes, theoretical constructs that are said to be “grounded” in the data. As the theory is constructed within the data, grounded theory then privileges kaupapa Maaori research as it provides a schedule of approach that is without predefined theoretical constructs that would have in the first instance been defined and confined within a western and colonized framework. Grounded theory in the case of this research therefore holds the theoretical framework safely until as such time a Maaori theoretical position is developed out of the data.

## Kaupapa Maaori approach

Underpinning the overall methodology of the research, a kaupapa Maaori framework was applied. Kaupapa Maaori research privileges Te Reo, tikanga and kawa. Kaupapa Maaori research is not only Maaori-led, but pro-actively seeks to advance Maaori aspirations from a context in which Maaori thinking, values, knowledge, language, cultural protocols and views of the world provide the basis of action for kaupapa Maaori (Mane, 2009).

Five key values of kaupapa Maaori were utilised throughout this project: Tino Rangatiratanga, Tikanga and Kawa; Maatauranga and Whanaungatanga. These values are but a few engaged by kaupapa Maaori philosophers and academics to explore, investigate and describe research with Maaori and indigenous people.

### Tino Rangatiratanga

A key principle of kaupapa Maaori research is that of Tino Rangatiratanga. This principle ensures that the impetus of research comes from Maaori communities, iwi or hapuu and is carried out for the benefit of Maaori by Maaori. In this research the principle of Tino Rangatiratanga informs the research processes through the utility in the first instance of the researcher being Maaori who is undertaking research with Maaori. The connection elevates the research immediately and is further amplified by the familial connections identified between the researcher and the researched. The reclamation of the research study by the marae, hapuu and iwi by their collective agreement to support the research initiated, led and completed by their one of their own solidifies the ownership process and autonomy of this research by way of involvement on their terms.

### Tikanga and Kawa

The necessity of kawa and tikanga in Maaori research ensures that research is conducted in an ethical manner. An important facet that is specific to Kaupapa Maaori is that it asserts Maaori cultural values such as tikanga and kawa as integral to its practice (Smith, 1999; Smith, 2004). Tikanga and kawa are frameworks in themselves that determine the approach in which Maaori utilize naturally, Mane (2009) explains that both are cultural fundamentals by which the Maaori world view is shaped, guided and founded on. Within this research, the attributes of kawa and tikanga also honoured the traditions and sacredness of Maaori protocols such as karakia (prayer), waiata (song) and whakawhanaungatanga (sharing familial connections) (Mead, 2003).

## Maatauranga Maaori

Maatauranga means knowledge and therefore Maatauranga Maaori is Maaori Knowledge. The uniqueness of Maatauranga Maaori is pivotal in extracting ranges of knowledge such as that of Tikanga and Kawa (Hudson, Roberts, Smith, Hemi & Tiakiwai, 2010). Maatauranga Maaori also encompasses ones knowledge of and proficiency in Te Reo, and knowledge that is relevant to the roopuu rangahau (research group) such as geographic knowledge relevant to the roopuu rangahau such as marae location, awa (rivers) and maunga (mountains). However, Maatauranga Maaori is not only about what is tangible but includes that which is intangible such as ways of being, and the ability to locate and rationally apply appropriate responses to ahuatanga (personas); spirituality, mentality and emotions.

In the utility of maatauranga Maaori in this study the scaffolding of participant recruitment acknowledges the value in all that has been shared irrespective of social standings in either Maaori or Tauwi<sup>9</sup> (non-Maaori) worlds. The inclusion of this value within the kaupapa Maaori framework for this study allowed the researcher to enquire, understand and interpret koorero based on physical and oral responses.

## Whanaungatanga

Whanaungatanga (birth connections) as an element of kaupapa Maaori research places the researcher as a Maaori within this study. Whanaungatanga was used as a means to connect participants to the aim of the study, the researchers and each interviewee. The key fundamental of whanaungatanga is whakapapa and relationships. The positioning of the researcher as one who also holds strong whakapapa to Ngaati Hauaa iwi, Te Iti

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<sup>9</sup> Tauwi literally means settler people in reference to the early settlers to Aotearoa post Maaori.

o Hauaa marae and therefore all participants would in most circumstances suggest that challenges would be associated with a strong “insider” advantage to the research.

In Te Ao Maaori (the Maaori world), knowing one’s connection to people and land holds great significance and is evident in the protocols of whaikoorero (formal speech making) on the marae in order for groups and individuals to identify each other and establish a commonality whereby a meaningful exchange can occur mutually. Therefore while the researcher was connected implicitly to this study through whakapapa, constant reflective practice remained throughout recruitment, data collection and analysis to overcome the insider advantage to ensure the mutual exchanges of information was astute and did not impede or compromise the research.

The building and maintaining of relationships is a matter of substantial importance highlighting the required sense of reciprocity, accountability and mutual respect (Smith, 1999). Contained within these relationships are the roles and responsibilities that each whaanau have to each other to fulfil. Whanaungatanga gives support and help and accepts this back in return (ibid). Therefore in regards to this project whanaungatanga in the realm of this project highlights the importance of reciprocity.

#### *Insider/Outsider advantage and disadvantage*

In this study, the researcher had the responsibility to accurately and appropriately gather data from whaanau that shared not only their views in their capacity as committee members for the Te Iti o Hauaa marae whaanau, but to protect them also from having their imparted knowledge taken and claimed by others. In stating this however, the researcher was also whaanau of Te Iti o Hauaa marae and Ngaati Hauaa and therefore was also a member of the whaanau that is being researched. Building and maintaining relationships is a foundation of kaupapa Maaori methodology, as

research that is conducted outside of this framework that involves Maaori is usually by outsiders.

In considering the researcher having an “insider advantage” by way of whanaungatanga, in this study Whanaungatanga owned the bias of familial connections between the participants and the researcher. Whaanau connections ensured the robustness of the research as through these relationships the researcher was privy to koorero that may not have otherwise emerged with an “outsider”.

### Descriptive Case Study

Fused into the methodological approach and supplementary to Kaupapa Maaori and Grounded Theory, a Descriptive Case Study inquiry has been applied as an overall third element. Yin (2009) explains that the distinctive need for Case Study use in research arises when the complex social phenomena requires in depth understanding and that understanding is encompassed by important contextual conditions applicable to the phenomenon. Descriptive Case Studies furthermore enable histories to be heard which disentangles phenomena from their context and allow operational linkages tracked from the past to their contemporary existence.

For the purpose of this research, the case study looks in-depth at marae funding as the phenomena and locates Public Health in Maaori settings. Thus the story of why a particular marae is resilient toward accepting gambling proceeds in order to fund their activities and therefore “survive” cannot be fully understood or examined without taking into account the whole story of the cultural and social factors that encompass the whole marae.

## Recruitment

### Participants

A total of eight participants were recruited for this study using purposive snowball sampling (n=8). The recruitment of participants began with the consultation process utilized to seek marae committee approval for the undertaking of this study at Te Iti o Hauaa marae. Currently there is one main committee at Te Iti o Hauaa marae that strategic and operational leadership over the affairs of the marae. The committee also heads the general maintenance of the marae. Under this committee there exist three subcommittees: Kapa Haka; Rangatahi (youth); and Sports. Each committee is made up of a chairperson, secretary and treasurer. Some committee members serve on more than one committee.

During March 2013, the researcher attended a marae committee meeting and presented the research proposal for this study. The researcher gave an in-depth description and rationale for intended study and desire to conduct the study with marae committee members. Attendees of this meeting were invited to ask questions of the study. At the conclusion of this meeting it was unanimously moved that the study was able to proceed and that the marae would support the study. The Chair advised that they would provide a support letter for the purpose of the Ethics application and would support recruitment (Appendix A).

A panui (Appendix B) which outlined the study in brief and contact details were given to the Chair who at the next available Committee meeting and again once ethics approval was gained would distribute to members and give verbal notice also where he was able to that participants in the form of committee members were being sought.

During October 2013, the researcher approached committee members' kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face) at various marae events to participate in the study and following ethics approval in November 2013 made a time with eight individual committee members to be interviewed.

A koohaa of \$30.00 in the form of vouchers were given to those participants who took part in the study.

### Interview Procedures

Eight individual interviews were conducted during December 2013 and February 2014. Following through with the kaupapa Maaori framework of tikanga and kawa, all interviews groups were opened with a karakia and again closed with a karakia.

All participants were given the information sheets (Appendix C) and asked to read through initially. Time was left open for any questions arising out of the information sheets. The researcher then read through the information sheet with participants and explained the study, tending to any questions that arose. The researcher also noted that the interview would be recorded through note taking and digital audio recording and sought permission. Following verbal permission participants were handed consent forms (Appendix D) to sign to indicate that participants had an understanding of the study, the interview processes and that interviews would be digitally recorded. Consent forms were then collected and conduction of the interview began.

Demographic data was not collected as the study was not person focussed. All participants however were affiliated to and had whakapapa to Ngaati Hauaa iwi, Te Iti o Hauaa hapuu and consequently Te Iti o Hauaa marae.

### Interview Schedule

Semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted using the interview schedule outlined in Appendix E. Unprompted participants were asked to outline their committee and their role in the first instance. Participants were then asked to discuss their thoughts on funding derived from gambling activities.

Participants were then asked to discuss their views on preventing and minimising gambling harm in terms of how they saw gambling harm and whether or not the marae played a role in preventing or minimising gambling harm.

Finally participants, the researcher then asked participants to describe how (in relation to their stated role on their committee) funding occurred on Te Iti o Hauaa marae.

A small amount of time was given for additional comments regarding the study aim and information in regards to funding and marae in general.

### Closing

On completion of the interview, participants were advised the ensuing research process. Participants were made aware that their koorero would be immediately transcribed and offered back to them to check for accuracy and consistency of what had just been discussed. All participants declined to have their transcripts returned for this purpose. Two main reasons cited was firstly due to their time constraints to be able to do this and secondly, that they felt the researcher would represent their koorero accurately. Participants were then thanked for their time and a koohaa was then given. The interview was then closed with a karakia.

### Research settings

Interviews were held at various locations, two interviews were held in Eureka; another two interviews were held at the Hauora o Ngaati Hauaa offices in Waharoa. The



remaining four interviews were conducted in the participant's homes at Te Iti o Hauaa marae Paa.

### Data entry

Interviews digital recordings were transcribed by the researcher. Recordings were transcribed verbatim and then checked by the researcher for consistency and accuracy against notes taken.

### Data Analysis

Transcripts were coded using a grounded theory approach initially in order to extract relevant themes out of the data. Grounded theory as a method for data analysis starts with open coding to begin anchoring key points, the collection of these codes and the use of memo's allows data to be grouped (Glasser, 1997). The researcher read all transcripts individually highlighting the themes that emerged. The units of analysis method (distinctive meaning from words or phrases) was then performed on the data and then appropriately measured qualitatively against the majority of participants who concurred and diverged regarding the topics presented for discussion in the interview schedule. This action was carried out by compiling all initial themes from the grounded theory approach into one combined transcript. The researcher then re-read the complete transcript highlighted all themes that were common across all interviews. Some themes sat across a number of categories and where this occurred the most relevant category in terms of the original research questions received the data.

In order to ascertain the validity of the initial themes another researcher provided advice and review to the initial themes. After discussion, new themes were appropriate to the research question were established, others set and some polished.

## Ethics

Ethics approval for this study was granted by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 02 December 2013, ethics number 13/309 (Appendix D).

So as to ensure that participants were informed about the study in addition to any consultation that took place prior to the research occurring, they were all handed Participant information sheets which outlined:

- What the study was about
- What was involved with deciding to take part in the study and participants right to withdraw their koorero (any or all parts) at anytime
- How long the interview would approximately take and where
- Confidentiality
- How to contact the Independent Health and Disability Advocate should they have any concerns about the study
- The researchers and the researchers supervisor contact details

A consent form was developed for participants to sign giving their consent to participate in the study. The form was given following the participant information sheet and acknowledging that they understand their right for withdrawing at any time and the aims of the study

All participants were from one marae and had strong familial links with the researcher. To this end and in consideration of confidentiality all participants were reassured of the confidentiality of their koorero. Participants were also be given the option to have their specific koorero made known through the use of their name in this research should a specific quote be used. Given the closeness of the marae and all participants it was possible to identify a participant's koorero – participants were asked during

interviews and at the completion if they wished to have any of their koorero not included. Participants were also told that their transcripts would be returned to them to check and to decide if they did not want to have any of their koorero included in the report writing, all participants declined and advised they would be happy to have their koorero included in the report writing.

In lieu of participant's real names, this study has instead used pseudonyms. The pseudonyms represent the Tumuaki of Ngaati Hauaa. No one pseudonym has been assigned to a particular participant for a particular reason. These have been assigned randomly. Thereby, in some form assuring the participant a form of anonymity.

The researcher was aware that discussing gambling can trigger people to disclose and therefore had on hand relevant professional service persons and their contact numbers (both Maaori and non-Maaori) available in that case that a participant did disclose their or others gambling during our koorero and required the need to speak with a counsellor.

### Limitation reflection

On reflecting the research methodology one limitation was identified which occurred earlier on in the recruitment of participants. When approached following the initial marae hui, several potential participants declined to participate as (despite their role on the committee) they expressed that they perhaps may not have anything to offer the study given their own simplex view of their role and not being from an academic background. Others felt that other members would be more appropriate. Where this occurred I re-explained the aims and objectives and then outlined what I believed their role on the committee to be and further explained that despite their academic

background or perceptions that others might be better suited to interview, despite having an academic background – that I was the one without knowledge and they were the keepers of what knowledge I required. After re-orientating the view the held putting them in the seat of knowing and myself as the “other” to knowing – I was able to successfully recruit participants.

## Summary

The research was undertaken with Te Iti o Hauaa marae in the Waikato region. The collection of data was from individual interviews with eight marae committee members. Data was analysed using a grounded theory approach initially and then units of analysis to extract themes and then categorize themes according to divergence and convergence of data relevant to the research.

## Chapter 5: Tradition, Tikanga and Tapu

### Introduction of Findings

The findings of this research are presented in the following three chapters according to their themes. Unknowingly at the time of extracting these themes from the data collected, they have fitted neatly and appropriately in Chronological order: the past, the present and the future which in turn correspond with the three major thematic areas:

1. Traditions, Tikanga and Tapu – The past
2. Ngaa Pou Tuaraa oo Te Iti o Hauaa marae – The present
3. Succession Planning – The future

In order to orientate the reader to how the findings in each of these chapters are reported, a brief outline is presented below.

*Chapter Five* covers funding and very briefly gambling at Te Iti o Hauaa marae contextualised under the themes of Traditions, Tapu and Tikanga. These three themes lay the foundation for the subsequent two chapters. Here I present the histories of marae funding, its influences and the basis upon which the marae has refused gambling proceeds to fund its activities and maintenance.

The second theme reported in *Chapter Six* presents the funding model: Nga Pou Tuaraa o Te Iti o Hauaa marae. This chapter focusses on the current funding strategies currently in place each section of the marae is described in detail based on interviews had with the marae committee.

The third theme explored in *Chapter Seven* focusses on the future direction of marae funding based on the strategic direction of Te Iti o Hauaa marae. This chapter serves to organise the participant's discussions on how future funding opportunities might occur and the succession planning opportunities that they utilise to ensure the ongoing sustainability and resilience of the marae to refuse and mitigate the taking of gambling proceeds.

Throughout the results the terms participants and informants are used interchangeably. They should be taken to mean the same.

## Traditions

What occurred traditionally on the marae historically with regard to activities and funding was broadly discussed. However there were many sub categories within a gambling context. All participants had knowledge of gambling activities and were able to equally identify several harms that were associated with certain types of gambling.

### *Gambling on the marae*

Participants who had lived at the marae for most of their lives were adamant that gambling activities were not a part of the marae. Noted very early in each of interviews regardless of the age of participants was that gambling was considered an undesirable activity on the marae.

*Never had gambling on the marae. - Tuputaingakawa*

*No, the marae never touched gambling. It was considered a bad thing - Tahiwaru*

### *Marae upkeep*

Despite the funding of the maintenance and overall upkeep of the marae always belonging to the marae committee, whaanau belonging to the marae had always been encouraged to contribute financially to a pooled fund out of their own pockets. Kaumaatua (elder) recalled that they were discouraged from accepting or raising gambling funds for this purpose or the taking of government funding.

*The upkeep of the marae had to come from our pockets. Not from gambling or government money or any loan. - Tuputaingakawa*

The collective and communal approach to looking after the marae was not only by way of financial support from all affiliated whaanau. All participants were able to recall that at some point they themselves had taken care of maintaining the marae throughout their life. Here they explained that the voluntary nature of maintaining the marae was a far more cost effective option and additionally the idea of paying somebody from outside their marae or hapuu to fix something they themselves or another were able to, was considered superfluous.

*We've always tapped other resources like working bees, someone has always done the work. - Tahiwaru*

### *In the houses but not the marae*

Although funding by direct gambling activities of marae whaanau or outside gambling proceeds were never a part of the marae, never occurred on the marae or were sought or accepted, raising funds to sustain the people did take place in whaanau homes surrounding the marae.

*What happened way back then, they gambled in their own houses. For themselves. Not the marae. For themselves. From house to house. - Tuputaingakawa*

The main gambling activity was described to be card games such as poker. Housie was a common activity also within homes.

*We never had machines, only cards in the house. - Tuputaingakawa*

The gambling that did occur in homes we utilised by whaanau as a supplementary method of raising additional funds to support themselves.

*Only in the houses. The money stayed there. It helped to buy you some kai and things like that. It helped you know. - Tuputaingakawa*

### *Supporting whaanau*

Participant observations and experiences of these fundraising activities in homes were presented in a way that the overarching purpose was beyond an individual that raised funds for themselves but rather that whole families would attend with the contention that they would support another family. In this way it created opportunities for increased whanaungatanga through coming together to support each other.

*One Saturday night it might be me and my family and all the other people come and support me and my family. And whatever you make stays at your house. And then you go to the next house. - Tuputaingakawa*

*But it was never about winning money. It was about whanaungatanga. - Tahiwaru*

Kuia (female elder) and kaumaatua were also said to have supported the attendance of whaanau at these gatherings as a method to support each other.

*I remember aunty would say to us, go to so and so ('s) house, they are having a (poker) night. So we would go along and support them. And when we'd have one they would come and support us. - Tahiwaru*

And so while gambling and gambling funding happened in homes, the general consensus reinforced that this activity never occurred on or for the benefit of the marae.

*Only in the houses. The money stays there. But never the marae. Never. - Wiremu*

### *Activities*

After it was established that gambling never occurred on the marae, participants noted that unlike nowadays the only primary activity held was tangi. Occasionally weddings and birthday were held at the marae. Yet the funding for these gatherings was by and large funded by individual families themselves and not the collective whaanau.

*Back in those days it was only the tangi. That was the only thing held on the marae. But the family took care of that. Sometimes there would be a wedding but again the family took care of that. - Tuputaingakawa*

Although the marae whaanau would not collectively contribute financially to these events and were not required to mandatorily, assistance was still provided by way of helping with preparations for and on the day.

*Whoever the tangi or the wedding or whatever else, they took care of it financially. The people would go and help. Always, the people help with the mahi (work). - Tuputaingakawa*

### *Sustainability based*

The marae and surrounding whaanau were also considered strongly by older participants to be greatly self-sustained through communal efforts. This was cited as a primary reason for why gambling within homes never really endured as a whaanau activity.

*We never had machines, only cards in the house. But they never started really because we had gardens. All around here. - Tuputaingakawa*



The gardens had a dual purpose of firstly sustaining homes and also contributed to marae gatherings and therefore raising funds via gambling was never considered an option even during the early days of the marae as their sustenance was provided already by the pa.

*Never ran out of kai. Each of the houses had gardens. We had gardens out the back and out the front. With all the gardens we lived off the land. The gardens contributed to the marae. - Tuputaingakawa*

*Yes and that was the way it was always done. Grow your corn, potatoes. - Tahiwaru*

When enquiries were made into why the marae no longer had vast amounts of gardens to draw from it was explained that the return of whaanau back to the marae the land immediately surrounding the marae was then utilised for housing.

*All the houses came, families started coming back. So sections were cut up. - Tuputaingakawa*

### *Women's committee*

The marae was revealed to have several funding initiatives and bodies traditionally. Each body had a particular responsibility to look after different aspects of the marae and so would have their own method of raising funds. One such body was a collective of women from around the pa whose primary task was to maintain the pillows and linen in the meeting house.

*The women's committee was put up to collect funds... like when you come to a hui donate. It was for the linen, pillows and sheets. That was their responsibility. - Tuputaingakawa*

One such project was recalled by three participants whereby the Women's committee undertook the building of a new toilet block for the marae. Two of the participants described the process that they undertook.

*What they did... the women's committee, they set up a fundraising committee amongst the women to raise to raise funds first of all for the ablution block...*

*They had a little notebook, we still have it, and in it they had everyone's name written down and they had a set amount that they wanted to collect from each person and off they would go. Each person had to contribute a certain amount, and then they made that up by other fundraising things like a raffle for bread or their cakes.*  
- Tuputaingakawa

The significance in their efforts was regarded by one participant as motivating when they considered the projects of marae in today's times. They regarded their acts as a legacy for the people and equally an example of the traditional funding capacity of the marae.

*A few old woman took on a project like that not because nobody else would but they themselves felt their need to contribute to the marae.*  
- Ranginui

*They collected and recorded the money themselves too. From start to finish* - Tuputaingakawa

The women's committee example spoken of by participants suggests that a continuum of self-reliant funding was reinforced throughout the marae.

*See this is why we don't say things can't be done. We might have a little moan, but underneath it all we know stuff can be done. I mean look at our Nan. Her little bake sales and notebook built our toilets.*  
- Tahiwaru

### *Changing Times*

As successive generations took over the running of the marae so too did the funding initiatives expand. Each generation was described bringing innovation toward raising finances for the maintenance and infrastructure of the marae.

*When they all passed away (the old people). A new lot came through. There were new ideas. They brought their ideas forward and we agreed.* - Tuputaingakawa

*Galas. And Touch Rugby from the next generation, we had a tournament in the paddock next to the marae, and the money came back to the marae* - Tahiwaru

In changing times, kaumaatua explained that changing times meant that they were able to consider taking money from gambling proceeds in the form of government lotteries

grants. This money was not utilised for the marae however, but for the building of families' homes.

*Now times changed. We do, we changed over. When we say government, we took the lotteries money, to build our houses. – Tuputaingakawa*

### *Assessing the implications of funding streams*

Although the money received by the lotteries funding, these funds were not considered on par with gaming trust funds of today. Older participants reflected that these funds were considered to be government money as it was the government that initiated and oversaw the provision of the lottery.

When asked to describe if they felt that accepting lottery funding had ethical implications, participants explained that the lottery funds were considered to be distinguishable from gambling proceeds and distributions of Trust funding today based on the fact that as far as they were aware no person had suffered from buying lottery tickets. The quote below suggests that whaanau traditionally even though perhaps oblivious to the fact, would assess the ethics of receiving gambling proceeds based on the harm the activity generated.

*The lotteries wasn't considered a bad thing. I mean how many people lost their houses because they bought a Golden Kiwi ticket or those things. In a way yes it was gambling money, but it from people who would lose everything to buy that ticket. That's not justifying it either. But that's the facts, different from today and taking that money. If anything was bad about it. It was that it was government money, that's how we put it anyway. – Te Waharoa*

Aside from receiving gambling funding for the marae only one avenue of generating finances, the taking of loans was regarded as a non-option. Kaumaatua elected that loans and to an extent the institutions that provided them were risky and highly concerned with the impact that this would have on the marae.

*One thing I didn't agree on was a loan. XXX say we get a loan? And I say no. You get it and if you don't pay it back at a certain time... they take your marae of you. So I said no. - Tuputaingakawa*

## Tikanga

### *Tikanga*

Tikanga was highly regarded as the most guiding concept of the marae, the people of marae and that which governs practices at or away from the marae. Tikanga was discussed as the basis for the marae never taking gambling proceeds. Additionally tikanga as a discourse was conferred by participants as an important contextual factor for its overall influence of regulation and decision-making processes over the holistic health of marae whaanau and funding initiatives.

When kaumaatua were asked about why the marae never took gambling funds, tikanga was cited and utilised to represent the need for independence in financial gather as opposed to a culture of reliance.

*That's why those things never happen because its tradition. It's a tikanga. - Tuputaingakawa*

Tikanga in the sense of refusing to receive gambling funds also represented the need for financial independence as opposed to a culture of reliance.

*Because of tradition, tikanga. We say don't rely on other people to give you funds, it's yourselves. - Tuputaingakawa*

### *The "Old People"*

Participants consistently weaved throughout their talk's importance of heeding to the words and teachings of the "old people". When using the term "old people" this referred to people who were the older generation of the marae who were steeped in the teachings of protocols and well versed in tikanga according to their accumulative experiences of it. The direction of the marae were largely placed under their leadership because of this handed down knowledge and experience that they had gather from their "old people". Discussions such as these suggested that the marae decisions were drawn from a longstanding historical body of knowledge established of which both the marae whaanau and committee trusted.

*You need to always listen to the old people because they've been here before, they have the maatauranga, and they've done this all before because they were once in our position. They learnt from*

*their old people. These are old teachings, thoughts. So how could we not agree or speak out against it. We trust in them because of all this history. And it's the right way to follow. – Tahiwaru*

Stories were shared of different times when old people had intervened when marae whaanau attempted to begin gambling activities as a means to generating funding for themselves or the marae as a way of bringing tikanga back to an equilibrium.

*I think they tried to go for gambling once. But the old people put a stop to it. Who's that idea? But it was the new generation. They (the old people) were always looking at raising funds that had to come from your pocket. And then they started a hidden one but they (the old people) found out and they put a stop to it. Not on the marae, in your own home. - Tuputaingakawa*

### *Land influences*

The old people instilled a sense of reinforced financial independence into consecutive generations and at the same time this independence appeared to stem from their (the old peoples) experience with land confiscations that had occurred in their lifetimes. A pairing of mistrust of government actions of the time was paired with anxiety that accepting an form of funding could result in land loss particularly the marae and thus loss of control over their last bastion of Maaoridom the old people cautioned generations of not ever taking government money to maintain the marae.

*You see in the old days, I'm talking about before the 60s. The old people never allowed the young people to raise money from the government. We never wanted any money from the paakehaa... they took our land, and that's what they say... the old people. - Tuputaingakawa*

*And that's why we stick to, what the old people say, no that's my family... no that's my responsibility - Tuputaingakawa*

### *Compensation*

It was explained by kaumaatua that in their younger years they attempted to persuade their old people to take funding from the government. However these appeals to take such funding were rebuked as the return of land was more important than any financial gain.

*And when us, the young people like us say well we should take money from the paakehaa.... Compensation. They took our land and the government should give us money. The old people say no, kao. We want the land back. Not the money, they reckon Money goes, but land is stands. - Tuputaingakawa*

### *From the pocket*

Repeatedly, when asked how the marae was funded the response almost always began with the mantra of “from *the pocket*”. From the pocket related to the notion that funding would always come from the marae whaanau first and foremost as this was their responsibility to contribute.

*From the pocket... always from the pocket. Nowhere else. From the pocket first. - Tuputaingakawa*

*Your resources come from your hapuu, your marae. Contributing. Each house contributes. – Tahiwaru*

### *Ownership*

Resisting funds that came from sources outside of the marae and being self-resourced also strengthened the sense of ownership that whaanau were able to exercise over the marae. This alleviated anxiety of having to experience land loss and therefore an enhanced belonging to the marae.

*You can say this is your marae, you finance your own marae, nobody else, yourselves. - Tuputaingakawa*

### *Taxation*

Te Iti o Hauaa marae secured their ability to abstain from other funds and as a monetary measure to maintain tikanga historically (and to an extent they still do) by developing their own system of taxation.

*We tax ourselves fifty pounds about 100 dollars. Fifty pounds each working person in the house. - Tuputaingakawa*

The system of self-imposed taxation applied across all income earning persons who at the time felt that older people should not contribute, however still wanting to be active contributors they too were “taxed”.

*Even the old people on the pension. They paid. Cause they wanted to pay. Out of our pockets. We never rely on government money. - Tuputaingakawa*

*Working person and pensioners. At first we said not the old people. And the old people used to say, no – they want to put in too. And that's how they get the fund. - Tahiwaru*

### *Fines*

Another measure of reinforcing tikanga that was utilised in a pecuniary sense were fines. The fine was enforced when a rule of the marae was broken.

*No gambling on the marae. And no beer, no alcohol on the marae, you get fined if you get caught. - Tahiwaru*

The fines were considered to be large at the time and largely served as a penalty for not adhering to the tikanga on the marae. The benefit of having fines meant that tikanga was additionally reinforced, but also that any funds raised in this sense financially benefited the marae and the need to seek funding elsewhere was prevented.

*Big fine in those days. Five shillings an hour. But you get fined ten pounds. Your dog goes on the marae, you get fined. They say who this dog belong to... belongs to so and so. Oh well he gets fined. And the money went back to the marae. - Tuputaingakawa*

### *Contemporary Tikanga*

In a contemporary setting tikanga still prevails over much of what is done in principal at Te Iti o Hauaa marae. Two participants recalled that a gambling harm prevention waananga was hosted at the marae and attended by many whaanau. The waananga presented at the marae as one of the whaanau were working in the sector at the time. These participants recollected that the waananga spoke primarily about different types of gambling, especially gaming machines and the significant amount of harm that came from their use.

Because the waananga was held on the marae and attended by the people this was viewed as supporting the kaupapa of preventing and minimising gambling harm, maintaining the old peoples direction of not allowing gambling on the marae or the taking of funds generated by gambling activities.

*Because we had the kaupapa on the marae and participated in that, we supported it in principle. It was the principle that we valued. - Wiremu*

*So a decision was made from then on to support the no gambling or money because of the harm to whaanau, not just our own - Ranginui*

One participant described that the tikanga had been set in place by the support given to the waananga and because of that tikanga aspect the people of the marae would not have stayed any decisions to accept the funds.

*Because we did all those things, even if we had of gone for those sorts of money, the people would have never supported it. Because of the principle. - Wiremu*

Aside from the principle of tikanga, a few participants reflected that the taking of gambling money that caused harm to whaanau was not desired and additionally that the current system of funding was sufficient.

*Besides we've never really needed or wanted that kind of money. We've had our own system in place that has worked for us. - Wiremu*

### *Pride*

Overall as discussions progressed about the overall study objectives and especially concerning tikanga. Participants expressed how fortunate they considered themselves by having learnt to hold tikanga in high regard. Their recollections of how funding was achieved at the marae spoke volumes to them about how well they were able to maintain their sustainability based on these values. Additionally, it illuminated how tikanga had ensured that gambling harm and the ethics of taking gambling funding was not highly prevalent at Te Iti o Hauaa marae. For many it meant that tikanga sustained their wellbeing and togetherness.

*I'm glad that we've had that to hold us. It says a lot about our values... and how we look after one another. - Tahiwaru*

*It's never really been a problem for us, but if you look at it... it's because of our tikanga that's it's never been a problem. - Wiremu*

*We look after our own by doing what has been handed down and it's a good thing. - Tuputaingakawa*



## Tapu

The pinnacle of upholding tikanga was considered to be a form of an outward display of maintaining tapu. The marae is always considered to be in a state of tapu. The tapu of the marae of Te Iti o Hauaa marae was pronounced as the very concept that ensured the ongoing viability of Maaoridom and therefore any form that hindered the tapu of the marae was not permitted. Gambling was considered to be such a form that would hinder the tapu of the marae and the diminishing of tapu also meant that mauri, the life force and wairua, the spirituality of the marae would also be diminished.

*See with our marae, especially Ngaati Hauaa marae, its tapu. If you break that tapu on your marae, what's going to happen in the future or whenever, your marae becomes nothing. No wairua, no mauri. That's why you stick to your tikanga, your kawa. Don't let other people tell you to change your tikanga. - Tuputaingakawa*

### *Viewing other marae that take gambling money*

All participants were astonished that other marae accepted gambling proceeds to fund their marae. When they considered how Te Iti o Hauaa marae in comparison to other marae did not take funding based on the idea that the marae tapu would be weakened they concluded that:

*Many they can do what they like. If they want to bring all that into it then that's up to them. That's how they want to operate. But they take the tapu off that and bring in gambling or whatever. - Tuputaingakawa*

Whether a marae was a traditional marae with traditions strict adherence of tikanga to maintain tapu gave rise whether or not gambling occurred according to kaumaatua.

*Mind you. The new marae, they're not a traditional marae. This is an old marae. Those ones just came up. That's where the thing is. Whereas this one is an old marae, we don't gamble or take that money. It's traditional. -Tahiwaru*

Urban marae that took gambling funding were considered to be without the restraint of deciding from a tikanga and tapu standpoint. The funding mechanicals was measured as being that that's just their option of funding.

*Whereas all the new marae the ones in the cities, well...nothing stops them. That's how they work, that's how they are funded. - Tuputaingakawa*

### *Loyal to the cause*

Taken on the whole participants felt strongly on their steadfastness to not allow gambling or the taking of gambling proceeds.

*Never on a marae, never. This marae was staunch, no gambling. Our tikanga, our tapu is more important to us. - Tuputaingakawa*

### *Harm Prevention*

Upholding tapu on the marae through practising tikanga and not permitting gambling or gambling funding was central to ensuring that whaanau were protected from the negative impacts of gambling. In this regard tapu acted as a safeguard through the adherence to tikanga which was generationally imparted by old people to the younger generation.

*No, no gambling. That's surety. No gambling. So we uphold what the old people say: No gambling. It becomes a thing gambling, like with the government. You lose all your money. - Tuputaingakawa*

*You stick to what's been handed down. And that's why we stick to, what the old people say. - Tahiwaru*

### *Summary*

This chapter explored the concepts of tradition, tikanga and tapu as stabilisers for Maaori health in a marae setting and as protector factors for problem gambling. As an opening chapter for the findings in this study, the findings indicate that a strong tradition of adherence to tikanga values have protected the tapu of the marae with relation to gambling. Funding or activity. The mauri that was described to remain active at all times was spoken by participants as the main cause for the tapu to be protected. Participants shared secondary views as to the ban of taking gambling funds or gambling on the marae due to traditional views that such funds were government related. Following on from land loss, old people of the marae also believed that any

funding that was not derived from the people themselves could result in loss of land. Such was their resolve that they instigated their own tax collection system and self-imposed fines to raise their own revenue. The findings additionally found that participants exhibited pride on the knowledge that their marae did not take pokie machine funding.

## Chapter 6: Ngaa Pou Tuaraa oo te marae

Tirohia kia marama; whawhangia, kia rangona te haa

Observe to gain enlightenment; Participate to feel the essence

### Introduction

This chapter occurs primarily in three parts. Part one speaks to one specific funding measure at Te Iti o Hauaa marae that is in place to cover Tangihanga. The second part describes the funding model that is currently utilised. Finally, part three of this chapter speaks to the funding model and describes how each pou of the model originally formed and the outcomes that have emerged. In addition themes around why the marae has refrained from pokie funding is also presented.

### Part One: Tangihanga

Prior to the expansion of the marae, the only cultural activity or event that was held was Tangihanga (tangi). A tangi relates to the Maaori ritualistic approach to the process of bereavement and grieving for whaanau that has passed on. Ngaati Hauaa tikanga dictates the proceedings for the tangi. Very rarely are Ngaati Hauaa tangi held completely in private homes and funeral parlours, these almost always occur on the marae.

When a tuupaapaku (deceased) returns to the marae they and their whaanau accompanying them are called onto the marae where the body will lie in state for three to four days. During the tangi the coffin is in most circumstances left open. Over these days the whaanau, hapuu and iwi manaaki (support, care for) mourners who

come to pay their respects to them that have passed and share their grief and sense of loss for the deceased, their whaanau and also those that have passed before them.

On the final day the coffin is closed and a service is held on the marae aatea (sacred front area of wharenui). Following the service, the tuupaapaku is then delivered to the urupaa for the nehu (burial). After the rites at the cemetery the whaanau pani (bereaved family) and mourners then return to the wharenui for karakia to whakanoa (release from sacredness) them. One of the final rites according to Ngaati Hauaa tikanga that end the tangi process occur with the kai hakari (feast) where the bereaved family join the iwi and mourners back in the wharekai and partake in a feast. The significance of the feast is to celebrate the deceased life and to seal the removal of tapu from the whaanau. A tapu of sort remains with the one or a few of the deceased and they enter into their year of mourning. This usually involves attending other tangi and carrying their kawē mate (to bear the mourning).

Traditionally, tangi at Te Iti o Hauaa marae was explained by kaumaatua as being entirely funded by the bereaved families alone. All monies that were collected from the tangihanga through the laying of koohaa by manuwhiri (visitors) or moni aroha (love money) given by whaanau was passed to the family to help them with the costs of the tangi. The marae whaanau would support the family by working in the kitchen and tending to the manaaki of mourners who would arrive to the marae.

### *Raarangi Ingoa*

The financial burden of carrying a whole tangi became challenging for whaanau heralding a new system of funding that enabled a more collective approach to sharing the financial costs. In 1963, the people of the Ngaati Hauaa decided to take on some of the responsibility of tangihanga to manaaki (care) and tautoko (support) whaanau

by creating a new model of collective funding. The model that came about was called raarangi ingoa. Literally, raarangi ingoa means list of names. What this refers to is all persons affiliated to the marae. In a form raarangi ingoa is practised across all

Raarangi ingoa is the contributing payment of a small sum by each person affiliated to Te Iti o Hauaa marae towards the catering costs of the tangi. The sum that paid has increased over time to align with the cost living. Currently the set contribution that each person pays toward a tangi is ten dollars. The bereaved family is only then left with the responsibility the final kai hakari.

Tangi are also supplemented by the koohaa or moni aroha given by mourners that attend the tangi and lay the koohaa on the marae. This money is handed back to the bereaved family to assist them with their costs of the final kai hakari. In addition, other forms of contribution koohaa are given by whaanau such as kai to help cover the tangi and the final day. The marae do not charge a hireage fee for the use of buildings for the duration of the tangi. All services and utilities are covered by the marae. At the end of each tangi, a whaanau meeting is held and the committee outlines the costs of the tangi. Any moneys in excess is banked and provides an ongoing foundation for subsequent tangi. Names of all those who paid raarangi ingoa are read out at each bi-monthly marae meeting to demonstrate accountability of whaanau and affiliates to the marae.

### *Tikanga*

Raarangi ingoa is embedded within Ngaati Hauaa Tikanga and has been now practised for 51 years. The key principle of raarangi ingoa is described as manaakitanga (actions of caring). A sense of collective accountability for the bereavement is derived from

the model in action. This is best demonstrated by everyone affiliated to the marae both financially by some small part of contribution and through the manaaki of service.

*The key principle or tikanga within that is that whaanau manaakitanga. It's really the essence of the tikanga itself. – Ranginui*

Raarangi ingoa as a practice appears to also, as a tikanga, underpin whaanau, marae, hapuu and iwi naturalised responsibility towards each other. When speaking about raarangi ingoa the majority of the participants described raarangi as something “you just do”.

*It's what we've always done, look after one another - Ranginui*

*The tangi is only one that you have to get on board the raarangi ingoa. All those affiliated to the marae. It's all carried by the marae. From that day to this day it still stands. - Tuputaingakawa*

It was figured that the tikanga of manaaki that emulates from raarangi ingoa is not necessarily a new thing within Ngaati Hauaa but rather a financial form of expressing that.

*In today's world that's done now with sharing the costs through a dollar value but in the old time it would have still been that. The tikanga would still have been manaakitanga but it would have been to arrive with a kai or just manaaki the whaanau. - Wiremu*

*...its origin would have come from old tikanga and kawa and it's now given a new name. In that form its only as old as our grandparents, but it's come at a time where the old people realised that the cost of food and the dollars needed to look after a family was becoming so much, so the old people got together and found a way forward. - Ranginui*

It was recalled by one participant that they had heard of other marae that would play card games and other forms of gambling to raise money for their tangi. Here they articulated that the sagacity of the old people in developing raarangi ingoa mitigated the need for Te Iti o Hauaa marae to resort to gambling to pay for such cultural events as tangihanga.

*Some people they gamble for their tangi. Some go out to the pokies to try and win money. We've never done that and there has never been a need. That is why the old people sorted a way forward for us like raarangi ingoa. - Wiripoai*

*I think it's one to be proud of for our people. It's good that the old people had foresight. - Wiremu*

One participant shared that they were aware of other marae who required a financial payment upfront before they were able to take their tangi back to the marae. The form of manaaki from raarangi ingoa allows the bereaved family to bring their loved ones home and focus on collecting their small portion for the tangi and allows them also to just share in their grief.

*Some marae you have to put up the cash before you get in the door. This system says to our families don't worry about that you just get home and we'll sort the rest later. - Wiremu*

## Part Two: Ngaa Pou Tuaraa oo te Marae

The maintenance and development of Te Iti o Hauaa is community funded and follows a traditionally founded model that has evolved since the late 1800s. The model: Ngaa Pou Tuaraa oo te Marae seen in Ngaa Pou Tuaraa oo Te Iti o Hauaa marae

comes as a result of layered whanaungatanga linkages and established relationships outside of the iwi. The funding of Te Iti o Hauaa marae has come to include four



main funding areas that sit under a Pou. Here each Pou is explained in the first instance.

### *Tuku Aroha*

Tuku Aroha (love offering) is the newest form of funding in the model that generates income for the marae and is about whanaungatanga. The funds from this pou are derived from marae members' contributions. Unlike raarangi ingoa, Tuku Aroha is based on contributing to an annual fund.

### *Ngaa Pou Tuaraa oo Te Iti o Hauaa marae*

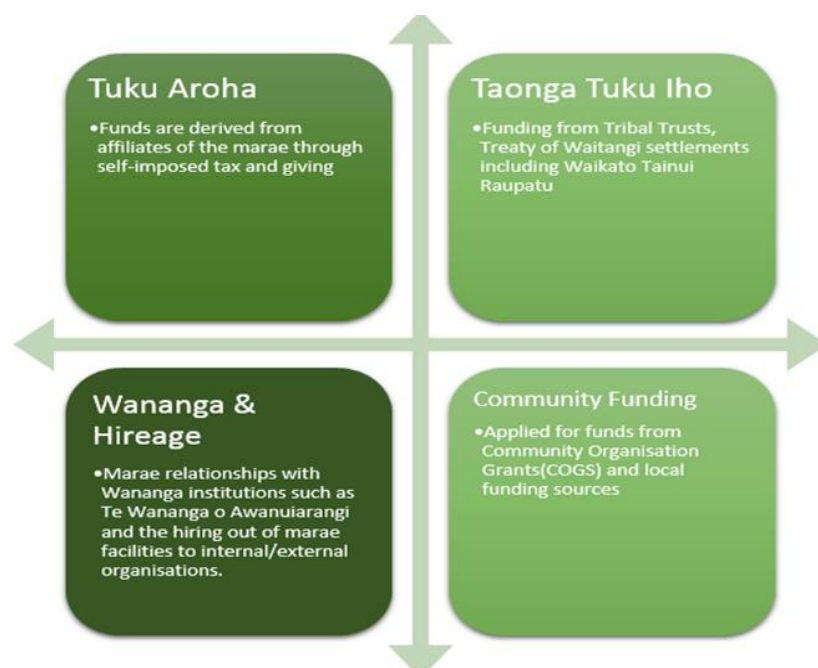


Figure 3: Te Iti o Hauaa funding model: Ngaa Pou Tuaraa o te marae

Whilst it was explained that currently only a small group of overall marae members at this time donate in this way, the marae committee is set to grow this.

### *Tuku Iho*

An enduring form of funding from the model is that of the pou Tuku Iho (historical giving). Tuku Iho funding represents the linkages that Te Iti o Hauaa marae has as part of Ngaati Hauaa.

This pou is a reference to funding that is derived from Ngaati Hauaa entities. The Ngaati Hauaa Tribal Trust contributes funds from land interests that the iwi overall has, in addition the Iwi Trust which formed as to oversee land and financial settlements as a result of the iwi Treaty claim will soon contribute also. Outside of Ngaati Hauaa entities, affiliations to Waikato Tainui also provide funds to the marae through the confederations Raupatu Land Trust settlement.

### *Marae Trust*

The Third Pou: Waananga and Hireage. This putea pou has in the last ten years been developed as a capacity building and capability pou on one hand and an avenue for income on the other.

The funding pool within this pou is extracted firstly from the relationships that the marae has established within Maaori academic institutions such as Te Waananga o Awanuiarangi. The second funding stream from this pou occurs through the hireage of the marae facilities.

### *Community Funding*

The final and fourth Pou: Community Funding – encompasses all grants both community, local and central government that are accessed.

## *Part Three: Origins and outcomes of the funding model*

Building on a wide range of resources available to the marae by and large the current funding model has grown and encompasses all different sources from which the marae derives their income to firstly maintain the marae and the people of the marae.

### *Wharekai*

Traditionally funding for buildings was raised through asking for whaanau contributions. Fundraising initiatives continued annual operations and was primarily headed by the women's committee. In addition funding from the Waikato Tainui settlement also continued the marae operations.

*Probably before we came on board there was very little funding. Most of the funding like for buildings we've asked each whaanau to pay a contributions. Or for annual operations it's basically come through fundraising initiatives. Which was done by the women's committee. It's been going on 20 years since the Waikato Tainui settlement, which has sustained a lot of the operations.*

During the late 90s with the then wharekai in a state of much needed repair and development, a project team of whaanau was assembled to oversee the development of the marae building. One of their key tasks was to locate the necessary funds in order for the project to be realised. Fortunately, two key members of that project team are also current committee members and were able to relay the funding portion of the development.

*In the past the marae has used COGs (Community Organisation Grants) and Trust Waikato. Considering the magnitude of the development however we also accessed other sources of funding such as the DIA (Department of Internal Affairs) Marae and Heritage fund and also Te Puni Kookiri. - Wiremu*

The project team recognised that the key to successful development of the marae was in their ability to plan well and recognising the long-term sustainability requirements conducted a scoping and strategy planning exercise early in the project.

*At the stage when we looked at the wharekai we tried to scope a ten year plan not just the wharekai we had to scope ok if we built a*

*wharekai for tentatively 2-300 where are they all going to sleep they can't fit in Hauaa<sup>10</sup>. So we had to include that. So we kind of scoped out a ten year plan. A concept plan of what the marae could look like if we maintained that. - Tahiwaru*

The scoping exercise proved to be fruitful in the sense that building a wharekai and other facilities required a large investment and furthermore in order for that investment to be worthwhile at its completion a sustainable income pull outside of the cultural events held on the marae would be needed to maintain the buildings.

*I think if we go back to the wharekai, it didn't make sense that we could put 600k into a building that could run down and depreciate in five years. It didn't make sense. Why work that hard. So when we applied for funding and got putea it was really just to keep the place going and try to keep the resources the equipment and that up to scratch so we could hire it out and that the hireage would maintain the marae. - Tahiwaru*

Following the build of the wharekai and two additional buildings, the marae was able to then hire them out to whaanau and other organisations which in the long term has sustained an income source for marae maintenance.

*What happened is after the wharekai went up the marae became quite sought after for hiring. We keep the marae up to scratch and it gets hired for big events. Some people just use the wharekai or one of the other smaller buildings. But it's at a stage now where we are able to do that and get funds from it. It wasn't that way before. It helps now. - Tahiwaru*

### *Whanaungatanga*

Indeed what did appear to be the basis of the funding model was Whanaungatanga. It was described that Te Iti o Hauaa marae always sourced their funding firstly from their internal resources such as those affiliated to the marae. Examples are evident in the giving of whaanau towards tangihanga and follow traditional giving practices of the

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<sup>10</sup> Hauaa is the name of the whare tupuna/wharenui located at Te Iti o Hauaa marae.

marae whaanau by firstly reaching into their own pockets. Collective giving currently in the form of annual contributions was described by the Chairperson of the marae and was initiated to strengthen firstly the accountability of whaanau to the marae and encourage participation.

*One is whanaungatanga pou which is tuku aroha or money that each marae member contributes. So currently there is only a small group currently that contribute towards an annual fund, but that's something that we are going to grow to. What these contributions do is inspire whaanau to put in and participate. -Wiremu*

### *Linkages*

Another form of whanaungatanga on a broader scale related to the linkages of the marae to the greater Waikato Tainui iwi and Ngaati Hauaa iwi entities. This funding subjects Te Iti o Hauaa marae to another layer of funding as described here:

*Taonga tuku iho which comes from us, our iwi, our Ngaati Hauaatanga, being linked to the Waikato Tainui settlement, being linked to the Ngaati Hauaa settlement, being linked to other iwi trusts that provide financial support. - Wiremu*

### *Community Education*

More recently, the marae has engaged with Maaori tertiary providers to bring Community Education in the form of Waananga to the marae. The funding currently provided by Te Waananga o Awanuiarangi enabled the marae to grow and develop whaanau through tikanga revitalisation, but more importantly added an income source for the marae model.

*It's like community education programmes that are funded through Te Awanuiarangi and what this also gave was the opportunity to do is upskill and to build the capacity of whaanau. So it had a two-fold effect. It helped us to go right back to when Tauwhare was built, the*

*history. It gave us a good opportunity to do that. Since given a good opportunity to learn tikanga, karanga. - Tahiwaru*

The Waananga therefore have a dual purpose for the marae and whaanau.

*So the funding was used to maintain the marae and the flipside was that we got to build that up in the people. - Tahiwaru*

One key feature of the Waananga was described as being a tool to strengthen Te Reo amongst whaanau and ensure the longevity of their cultural sense of being.

*What it has done is that it has... there were ones who up until 2007 did not sit on paepae (orators bench) and part of that was because they couldn't speak in Te Reo. So the Waananga were turned towards teaching that. So now you have those guys that are up there. So that's what the Waananga did. So the funding that was provided for those workshops and it is good to see now. Maybe without the funding we would not have been able to do this so easily and without all the challenges that go along with that. It helped with resources and the delivery of the classes. – Te Waharoa*

## Pokie Trusts as a form of funding

### *Personal views*

Each committee member interviewed commented from the standpoint of their position within the committee, but also relayed their own personal views towards the marae applying for Gaming Trust grants. For many their position had included seeking funding opportunities or this was presently their task. Irrespective of their marae committee position or related tasks however a general personal consensus existed that gaming trust funding was not an option.

*That was my role to get funding and I've always been conscious about the gambling stuff and that for me personally wasn't a place that I wanted to go to. - Tahiwaru*

*Personally I don't think it's something that we should ever get into. It's just not right and we are not about that anyway. Besides to my knowledge we haven't looked there. - Ranginui*

#### *Marae committee and whaanau opposition*

The fact that individual marae committee members had personal views about applying and receiving Gaming Trust grants influenced whether or not funding would be sought.

*I know there were some on our committee that had a pretty staunch position around the gambling money. - Wiremu*

Marae whaanau also were spoken of as having strong opposition to this type of funding for the marae.

*What can be said though is that there was strong opposition from the committee and whaanau when it was first raised and when it was first discussed. - Wiremu*

The primary reason that was cited from the committee and whaanau opposition was that pokie machine use had become a matter of concern for marae whaanau, with many experience harm as a result.

*I must say at that time too it was becoming more and more a problem, this is back in a time where that stuff really picked up in the late nineties early 2000s so the people were starting to get into a lot of hardship through that. It was starting to come to our table so it kind of changed our position. - Tahiwaru*

*Some of team that were strongly opposed to it because some of their whaanau had really struggle through gambling debts. - Wiremu*

Given the strong aversion broadly across the marae, no gaming trust funding had been sought during the major rebuild.

*It never eventuated because of that opposition...We weren't even interested in looking into it. - Wiremu*

### *Experience in other funding avenues*

Three key participants that were heavily involved in the marae rebuild during the late 1990s and early 2000 explained that applying to Gaming Trusts was additionally a non-option as they already had established relationships with funders and furthermore had experience in sourcing funding from these relationships.

*I suppose it came down to two things, we had a lot of experience with sourcing government funding and we had limited experience with those Trust funding. So you stick to what you know. And secondly, we had good relationships, especially at a regional level. We had relationships with COGs, Trust Waikato, Te Puni Kokiri and DIA (Department of Internal Affairs) and so we had really good relationships there and so once you set a figure in your head with what you need, create your funding plan and once you've sourced it, I don't believe in going too far outside of that. Wiremu.*

Having had strong funder relationships and experience writers who were able to source funding it became apparent that applying for grants from the Trusts was not required then or would be an option in the future especially given the lack of know how in applying for such funding and additionally the absence of relationships with the Trusts.

*I must say though by 2005 once we finished the original project we didn't need to even look at that funding. But like I said before we had no experience with that form of grants and didn't know who they were, really. - Wiremu*

*So both that the fact that it's not an area that we knew and the areas that we do know that we tapped for funding. Has been enough. – Tahiwaru*



### *Recruitment by sector*

What interestingly emerged from an interview was the fact that the marae had been approached by an individual who had been a part of the Gambling sector. The individual was described as having insider knowledge about the acceptance of grant applications and encouraged the marae to apply. This was viewed as nonsensical and came at a time where the marae was really looking into funding avenues.

*The only reason I know we haven't is that this guy approached us about it and said ... hey look if you plan this out you can get an annual income of let's say 20k and well I said ok if it's simple as that you come down and explain it to me. And to be honest we've never really looked at it before. Income is income and that time you're almost desperate for your project to get funded. But his pitch to it all didn't make sense. It sounded amiss. He never came down to the marae though and to be honest we weren't worried. We were ok with what we had. - Wiremu*

### *Community Action*

Following the completion of the marae rebuild project there appeared to be a positive demand for hireage of the premises. The iwi hauora provider<sup>11</sup> was involved in a gambling campaign, of which a health promotion day was held at Te Iti o Hauaa marae. The day was described as raising awareness within the community about the harmful impacts of gambling – particularly pokie machines and how the harm could potentially be minimised.

Fundamentally the promotional event appeared to have a rather large impact on marae whaanau and resonated with their stance on abstaining from Gaming Trust funds based on the level of harm that some whaanau had experienced.

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<sup>11</sup> Te Hauora o Ngaati Hauaa

*I remember the gambling kaupapa that we had down the pa. I think too it came at a good time and made gambling ok to talk about. Or really a lot easier to help others. - Wiripoai*

*Now if there's a time that created a strength of opposition against the sort of funding it was that. So, very difficult to convene a hui or any form of action opposing and the impacts it's having on the community and this was held at our marae and so it makes it hard to make that stand and then go against it. - Wiremu*

One committee member recalled the promotional event and conveyed also that being a part of the action was enough to warrant decisions to not accept Trust grants. Their rationale for this appeared to be based on the fact that the marae whaanau were in practise demonstrators themselves of their actions.

*I remember the gambling promotion thing we had down the marae. There was a competition to design a magnet and things like that. But lots of whaanau went to this. So if we all of a sudden started taking that kind of money, then what does that say about us? I think it would say we're not real about what we say and do. That wouldn't be good for us. But yeah, we supported the promotion of stopping gambling through this promotion thing held at the marae. - Wiripoai*

Closing commentary on why the marae had not taken such funding and wouldn't do so in the future was described by one committee member:

*I can probably say now that that's something we wouldn't move into. I think the key one there the principle is being part of an action opposing that. I think it is well worth the move to conscientiousness to do that and to go even one step further to embed that in policy. Which is something we haven't done. - Wiremu*

### *Future Funding*

When asked about the long term funding strategy of the marae all committee members were unanimous in the vision that self-sustained funding without the external input would be way forward in the future.

*I suppose the best kind of funding would be to become self-sufficient. The ability to be able to hire out the premises. The ability to create some kind of employment opportunities that keeps everyone having to work from two different directions, having to keep the marae up and going. - Tahiwaru*

Equally so committee members were also agreed that the less that the marae had to rely on outside funding the better. Dependency on community funding organisations was not a long term strategy of the committee.

*We applied for money you know... outside of our whaanau and iwi resources for our big projects, hopefully though if it comes about that we develop more things that we won't need to rely on that sort of money though and that we would have our own money to do this stuff in the future.- Wiripoai*

The idea that less and less of outside funding was used appeared to be a common goal as was increasing the internal input and participation at the marae. Although one committee member noted the importance of utilising such funding sources as a moment in time where the marae required assistance in order to create upward mobility.

*I can tell you now we probably would have been able to do the project without the outside funding, it would have taken an extremely long and unnecessary time and energy though. However, what that sort of funding did do was give us a hand up. Too many times people are after a hand-out. Which means they are really not*

*prepared to put some guts into the work and take what is given and really improve their circumstances. We looked at the funding as a hand up and we knew from our scoping and concept plans was that this was going to improve our ability to be more self-sufficient. There is a big difference in taking a hand out and continuing to keep looking for handouts and then there are hand ups which is what this was for us. - Wiremu*

One committee member further described that in becoming self-sufficient that a level of input was required to enhance the prospect of realising this aim.

*I think for the future the less that you to depend on government funding the better. But it means that we have to get off our butts and create opportunities to keep firstly the marae going and secondly to look after the people. Ultimately self-sufficient is the way we need to go. - Tahiwaru*

## Summary

In summary this chapter presented an overview of how the only recurring cultural event, tangihanga, are financially resourced and the accompanying solitary model of funding that is aligned with tangihanga. An explanation of the funding model utilised for operational and whaanau development at Te Iti o Hauaa marae was given. The viability of the model appeared to be largely based on the internal connections of marae at a whaanau, hapuu and iwi level which was described as providing an on-going small amount of income for the marae. The need to develop the facilities however was described as being the catalyst for seeking external funding resulting in building the capability of the marae to potentially move closer towards self-sustainable funding in the future. Not only was some parts of the model described as income but held a dual purpose in that income was derived from a source but also that capacity building was enabled with the people. In discussing the funding model the committee also conveyed explanations as to how the marae has not applied for pokie machine grants previously

and why they will not do so in the future. Strategically moving forward the committee members affirmed their desire to become fully self-sufficient and financially independent of external funders.

## Chapter 7: Funding versus Fundraising

*Maaku anoo e hanga tooku whare, Ko toona taahuhu, he Hiinau. Oona pou he maahoe, he patatee. Me whakatupu ki te hua o te rengarenga, me whakapakari ki te hua o te kawariki.*

I myself shall build my house, its ridge pole will be made of Hīnau, and its posts will be made of Māhoe and Patatē. Raise the people with the fruit of the Rengarenga, strengthened them with the fruits of the Kawariki.

- Kingi Tawhiao

### Introduction

This chapter focusses on the financial succession planning of Te Iti o Hauaa marae. Firstly, this chapter serves to organise the participants discussions firstly on the role that the women's committee played as citizens who reinforced a sense of financial input within an already focussed community and secondly the importance of community participation within a marae. The women's committee became a recurrent theme which developed the analysis for fundraising and how fundraising interacts with community development and community health.

A secondary focus of this chapter looks at how future funding opportunities might occur and the succession planning opportunities that they utilise to ensure ongoing sustainability and resilience of the marae to refuse and mitigate the taking of gambling proceeds given the potential levels of harm that problem gambling can rise to in Maaori.

In this study community health is interchangeable with marae whaanau health and marae development, with the marae as the community.

## The women's committee

Littered throughout discussions with informants especially when asked how funding occurred on the marae was the Te Iti o Hauaa marae women's committee. As mentioned in previous chapters the women's committee was set up during the early 1950s with their primary task and initially their only task being to maintain the mattresses, pillows and linen of the marae. However with much needed development on the marae the committee expanded their responsibilities and took up further smaller projects around the marae and had a hand in raising funds for operational purposes.

One committee member noted that perhaps their desire to include additional tasks outside of their core purpose may have stemmed from their involvement with the Maaori Women's Welfare League.

*Actually XXXX said there are records that show that Tauwhare had one of the leading sectors in the country. And I think the women's committee kind of fell out of that. I remember Nan talking about all the different ones when she was a child that were part and parcel of that so that has a history on its own. - Tahiwaru*

It was explained by the majority of committee members that given the recent development of the marae was primary done on high level funding it paved the way forward for the marae to consider and apply for funding in the future.

*Moving forward, funding is the logical step because there is a difference between funding and fundraising. However, I'm a firm believer that you still need to have on the side fundraising to keep the community involved. - Wiremu*

That said however, they additionally added that despite the amount of funding that could be drawn on this also had implications for providing opportunities for the marae whaanau to be involved.

*The money from the big organisations is good, it's big. But you have to think about who does that and who can do that. Only a few – so where does the rest of whaanau come in and get involved. - Tuputaingakawa*

One participant recalled the Hui that occurred at beginning of the marae development. In their description they noted that despite the high level funding required, the women's committee were undeterred and instigated a fundraising initiative alongside the funding.

*I remember when we first started having the meetings for the wharekai build, those old ladies would come to every meeting. They would sit in there. One meeting was when XXX came to talk to us about funding and realistically how much money we would need. Well after the meeting I saw them and they were saying yes we can get the women's committee together and do some raffles. - Tahiwaru*

Another committee member who was also a part of the marae development project team described their initial responses to the fundraising initiatives.

*Our thinking was ok we are going to need about a million dollars to seriously do some development and well quite frankly our cake stalls are going not to cut it. - Wiremu*

Recognising that moving forward the marae now saw funding as a more viable option to financing marae developments two commentators still attested to the need for fundraising to occur alongside funding.



*One or two people can sit to the side and look at funding opportunities and bring in a couple hundred thousand dollars that's not the problem. But the beauty with fundraising is that you can involve the whole community and people can put their skin into it and that's important alongside funding. - Wiremu*

Similarly one participant described in support of community organised efforts towards fundraising that despite the high level of funding secured for projects, there is still an essential element of funding that is required at grassroots level.

*Every project we have ever done and there is one thing that came through from those ladies is that no matter what the project was you still have to put some skin into the work you do yourself and that's where the fundraising comes in. - Wiremu*

They went on to utilise the women's committee as an example in that communities must be committed to fundraising despite the enormity of funding required.

*But they had that level of commitment where it didn't mean nothing to them to work together towards fundraising in that manner no matter how big the hole was. - Wiremu*

*They were committed to it and it was in them. Anytime there was anything, they would set up this women's committee. - Wiremu*

This level of commitment appeared to have encouraged a renewed sense of community involvement and participation towards developing the marae. According to some informants the women's committee through their fundraising efforts provided an important linkage between marae whaanau and the marae development project team and the marae committee throughout the development phases of the marae. The

linkages were said to occur through the fundraising opportunities they provided for whaanau to be involved in.

*There was only a small team really that started off the development. So automatically what that does is narrow down the level of involvement that the people have overall in the project. Of course we had different ones helping with this and that, helping the builders or coming to the meetings. But really what they did when they did the little fundraisers was have the whaanau involved from the outset.*  
- Tahiwaru

Aside from the vignettes of the marae project development fundraising, one committee member noted that for normal operations the women's committee in their fundraising continuously provided a small income to the marae. This small income demonstrated that fundraising even on a small level played an important role in funding the ongoing sustainability of the marae.

*So again, my point is moving forward we still need to reinforce that funding is a logical step moving forward, but like the ladies of their time that commitment to just maintaining ongoing income is vital. People don't know the difference it makes just having that 500 dollars coming in monthly. It just makes the whole of the operations tick over that little bit easier.* - Wiremu

These participants explained that a two-fold effect occurred with the women's committee during the marae development project. The first was that it demonstrated an avenue of involvement for the entire marae whaanau. The second was that it in turn had demonstrated to the marae committee that despite the enormity of funding required for the project there were still opportunities for the people to remain connected and involved through fundraising.

## Rangatahi

Another example of fundraising occurring alongside funding was explained in the form of the Te Rangatahi Trust at the marae. The Te Rangatahi Trust was formed during the late 1980s as a charitable trust to provide development opportunities for youth from the marae. The Trust was headed by whaanau who at the time had been successful in community organisation grants (COGS) funding. Central to the Rangatahi Trust was delivering tikanga and kawa noho marae (marae stay) and organised sports activities. Overtime the Trust was successful in gaining annual funding which sustained the Trust to continuously provide the activities.

A key participant during that time recalled that in order to supplement the funding received and furthermore to enable a greater breadth of activities and outings the Trust would organise fundraising events.

*You see a lot of the boys down the pa were mowing everyone's lawns and gardening. Things like that. So we did a lot of fundraising on top of the COGS funding. - Wiremu*

## Self determination

It was described that the extra funding enabled the rangatahi to take ownership in determining their activities they wanted outside of the core activities tied to the funding.

*So we could go out on outings and trips and the reason for that was ok, the COGS people gave money to do this, this and this but our rangatahi also wanted to do other things and we'd say ok, if you want to do that you have to play your part too. Money doesn't just come from nowhere. So everyone that wanted to go well, we'd all fundraise. The key in that was teaching the rangatahi that you still had to work for those extras. They were happy, they got to go out and so it wasn't a big deal for them to do those things. – Te Waharoa*

### *Financial succession planning*

The example of the Rangatahi Trust was said to have provided a foundation for the youth at the time to be able to actively fundraise and not be reliant purely on funding.

*You can't really say that nobody around here doesn't know how to fundraise. Because almost everyone went through the Rangatahi Trust. – Te Waharoa*

Another example that was given highlighted the level of fundraising capacity within marae whaanau. Here they describe the ability of marae whaanau to mobilise small projects themselves with ease.

*You just need to go to any of the smaller committee hui when we need money for something that we want to do or go somewhere. The marae committee may donate a little money to the cause, but essentially everyone will have a few ideas up their sleeve on how we can fundraise for the bulk if not all of that money needed. - Wiripoai*

### *Tikanga and Fundraising*

Following on from these statements it was summed up by one participant that in fact the marae has had a method of funding succession planning which appeared to have stemmed from the mantra featured in earlier chapters of taking from one's own pocket first.

*I think after all we've talked about what it comes down to is that we haven't relied on this pokie money for all different kinds of reasons. Some of it has been kind of because of the trouble that people go through with gambling and that's just not what we are about anyway. Other reasons if you look at it is because of our tikanga and that's probably the most important one. Because really our tikanga has shown us to look at ourselves first. - Tuputaingakawa*

### *Reflection and assessment*

Within the summary they describe how marae whaanau tend to reflect in the first instance on how funds can be raised. Within this reflection appeared to be a learned manner of grassroots assessment to what and how much was required and what they were able to input themselves first before any form of other funding was considered.

*And because you're asking about how we manage to do all this stuff then it's because we've all been raised think or talk about what it is that we're after and then to look at ourselves first and what we can put on the table whether that be skills or anything really. - Wiripoai*

### **Marae as the last bastion**

All committee members agreed that Te Iti o Hauaa marae was dedicated to preserving their tikanga and kawa, especially where financial planning of the marae was concerned. The importance of that preservation was explained as ensuring the longevity of practices without the need to compromise the teachings they had received as young children and as adults who still learn from kaumaatua.

*We've been taught, we've all been taught how to do this. How to fundraise. And the good thing about it is we don't need to go out and apply for that sort of money because well, the legacy has already been put in place since we were young and that's been passed down to us. - Ranginui*

The marae in this sense was discussed by many informants as being inherently different to other marae. The difference was described as firstly having a traditional marae that still adhered to traditional ways of being and secondly; whilst recognising the changing financial climate maintaining financial independence for the marae is a defining factor in really being able to determine their future sustainability as Maaori.

*I'm not too sure what others have said but what I do know is that we still hold strong to many things and that's a good thing when you think about it. What this says is that in years to come we will still be able to hold fast to our ways and not be influenced or easily won by the lure of the easier money. We will still be able to... well be ourselves. - Wiripoai*

One commentator was concerned with the way the having to acknowledge gambling funds would change the look of the marae. They contended that their ability to not take funding enabled them to remain themselves on the marae, unchanged.

*I can see how it would be easy to get carried away with that machine money. But what I would worry about is how that would change the face of the marae. See you already have marae who have to have those signs up saying who they got their money from because they have to and in a way, that's changed them already. We did that here there wouldn't be enough room for all of the whaanau names. This is our marae, we might get funding... the big money from some places, but it's not that pokie machine money. We can carry on being who we are, here on the marae. - Wiremu*

### *Community Wellbeing through fundraising*

Final commentary on fundraising from participants related to the wellbeing of marae whaanau as a result of being involved and having the capacity to raise funds themselves. A committee member explained that having a shared set of skills that could be brought together at any given time to mobilise small projects or work alongside larger projects always reinforced a sense of unity amongst the people of Te Iti o Hauaa marae. The unity was seen as been a strong factor in marae whaanau wellbeing as it enhanced the empowerment of the people.

*Everyone comes together to support whatever is going on in one way or the other. Doesn't matter what we are fundraising for, the kapa haka, koohanga or anything else. What will happen is different ones*

*will come in and just do different things, but it's everyone, altogether, everyone has a part. See and that's our biggest thing. Everyone coming together. Well no good on your own. - Tahiwaru*

Self-confidence and self-esteem was spoken about by two participants as having a positive impact on community wellbeing when considering how fundraising occurred at the marae. Such involvement defines marae whaanau self-esteem, self-worth and places them within the marae “society”.

*When you know you can go out there and fundraise, there's a good feeling about that overall. You get to determine things, you have a sense of worth and usefulness. And let's be honest here Maaori for a long time have been searching for ways to be empowered. But yet I guess this fundraising is a confidence thing. - Tahiwaru*

*You feel good about because you can do something. So it's good too in that way. - Ranginui*

## Summary

This chapter utilised two examples of fundraising working alongside funding and the community wellbeing aspects that can be deduced from fundraising. Funding was spoken of as being the direction for financially supporting the marae activities and development however by and large this was viewed as impeding on the opportunities for marae whaanau to be involved. Here the marae women's committee were described as undeterred by the high level of funding that could be brought to the marae for development and activities and were still resolved to ensure that the community were able to be involved and provide input. Even if on a smaller level, namely as complementary fundraisers. The level of commitment of the women to forge ahead with their fundraising initiatives provided important linkages for marae whaanau to be

involved. Fundraising therefore was seen as beneficial and fundamental to be considered alongside funding. In addition to the women's committee, another example of the Rangatahi Trust was utilised as an exemplar of the need for financial succession planning of marae whaanau. Young persons of the marae have been imparted the importance of firstly drawing from their own skill set. Tikanga again appeared to have largely played a role in financial succession planning at the Te Iti o Hauaa marae. Rangatahi appeared to have been taught fundraising techniques which seemed to have been reinforced continuously and quite beneficial to the marae. Reflection and assessment of projects in terms of being able to discern the level financial input required and a logical way forward to achieve financial goals for the benefit of the marae whaanau activities for cultural and wellbeing development.

Given that the marae is strongly viewed as the last bastion of Maaoridom, participants greatly reflected on their tradition of firstly giving themselves. These reflections seemed to assure participants that their future sustainability based on their model of giving from themselves first appeared to enhance and empower the wellbeing of the community.



## Chapter 8: Conclusion

### Introduction

The research question in this study sought to ascertain what the dynamics of resilience are in marae who survived without gaming machine funding. It has become unmistakable from the koorero shared by the committee members of Te Iti o Hauaa marae that a tradition of tikanga based on Maaori values of connectedness, collectiveness and caring has influenced the marae to not seek pokie funding to support marae operations and activities. Participants were also clear in their responses that their survival has been built on their self-resolve and in the long term their sustainability also will be based on their self-determination.

In this final chapter the research questions are addressed by presenting the general themes that include: the power and strength of tapu, tikanga and tradition as regulating factors to wellbeing; the funding model utilised by the marae and the need for fundraising to sit alongside funding initiatives. Key salient themes are presented, the limitations of the study and considerations for future research is discussed. The chapter closes by outlining the implications of the study and provides recommendations.

### Tapu and tikanga as holders of wellbeing

Tikanga as Meads (2003) posits are tools of thought and understanding that help to organise behaviour, provide for templates to guide actions and differentiate between right and wrong in all that we do and in all the activities that we engage in (pp.22). In this study participants clearly outlined that the traditional marae, of which Te Iti o Hauaa marae is, has a mauri or a life force. The life force was interpreted to give the marae a meaningful and ancient spiritual foundation from which all activities, wairua

from tupuna (ancestor) and learnings was able to flow and guide the people. When asked about gambling on the marae, the question was met with great astonishment by the older participants. The reaction was in part due to the fact that gambling was considered a bad thing and would disrupt the mauri of the marae, removing the tapu and leaving the marae and the people with nothing. Te Kore or nothingness is referred to as a state of abyss where nothing existed (Barns & Whiteford, 2002). The absence of the mauri meant there would be Te Kore and the people would essentially be without all that constituted them as Maaori. That the marae was traditional, it had accumulated over the 100 years of its existence a wealth of knowledge packaged into certain criteria of tikanga which guided the basis of right and wrong. Gambling on the marae was considered wrong.

### Health promotion tikanga

The entirety of the marae committee and as far as they could remember those before them had never sought pokie funding for operations, development or activities. One of the key reasons outlined was due in part to a health promotion kaupapa held on the marae around problem gambling. Many of the marae whaanau were said to have participated in the awareness raising event. For the most part this one event appeared to have created a small movement again based on the tikanga of manaaki. The caring of each other and especially those who had experienced harm from gambling was found to be one factor towards the committee not considering applying for such funds. That the kaupapa had been held on the marae and equally that the people attended and supported that kaupapa in a sense created a tikanga around being tika or doing the right thing. In this case the right thing was to support whaanau and abstain from any sort of pokie machine related harm funding or otherwise. Such involvement from the people in being informed about the harms experienced as a result of pokie machine gambling

instigated a contemporary resolve to look after the wellbeing of the entire marae whaanau and not apply for pokie funding.

### Land confiscation

During the discussions with kaumaatua the mamae (hurt) from old times of land confiscation and colonial influence was revisited. It was frequently recalled during these particular koorero that many old people had either experienced loss of land or had seen the devastating effects of land loss. Given the role of government in these losses the elders of the marae largely viewed any financial dealings outside of the marae people to be government connected and could very well result in the loss of land. The resolve to be self-reliant that is very well alive today on the marae has this history based on colonial land loss.

Durie (2004) conveyed that Maaori are constantly in a state of fusion with the land and see themselves as one rather than separate. It is also for this reason that the need to not jeopardise the land falling out of Te Iti o Hauaa hands and into those of the government the marae and the people were adamant that any outside financial initiatives be not pursued or practiced on the marae. The marae sits on tupuna Maaori land which augments the power of the mauri even more so. That an activity such as gambling or taking gambling funding would disrupt that mauri and even worse instigate land loss was unthinkable and not tolerated according to results of this study.

Secondary to land separation and the mauri of the marae was the wellbeing of the people. While gambling was not permitted to occur on the marae it did indeed occur in homes connected to the marae. This was described as a sharing of financial resources rather than gambling. Values such as manaaki and aroha were cited. These organised activities in the homes were also said to be regulated by the marae whaanau

with limitations and rules. No harm resulting from the activity to either the participants or their whaanau was reported.

### *Activities on the marae*

It was apparent from the koorero in this study that the marae has evolved in terms of its activities and events it hosted. Traditionally only tangihanga were held on the marae of which was funded by the bereaved whaanau. Hardships and burdens saw a change in the 1960s and commenced a new form of manaaki called raarangi ingoa. This small funding model which emulated collectiveness has remained in effect for now 51 years. The need for gambling to fund cultural events was not an option given this initiative or even before this time.

Tikanga was well weaved throughout the entirety of the study in different contexts. For the funding model there is a tikanga. For supporting kaupapa there is a tikanga, even the way the committee operates and considers funding there is a tikanga.

### *Whanaungatanga*

Bishop, Ladwig and Berryman (2014) state that relationships are most powerful when they are operate interdependently. The entire marae funding model is based on whanaungatanga. While the marae never did apply for pokie funding as the study progressed and was analysed it was quite ostensive that there has never really been a need to. The marae calls out its relationships based on a tier of whanaungatanga. The first pou tuku aroha collected funds based on the affiliations of people to the marae who wanted to give because it was in their heart to do so. The whanaungatanga here is largely based on the people's relationship with their marae.

The second pou calls out to the ties the marae has with their immediate iwi affiliations. These familial connections stem from land income, treaty settlements and the Ngaati Hauaa iwi business ventures. This pou also signifies the special relationships that Ngaati Hauaa has with the larger iwi entities in Waikato Tainui. Each year the marae is allocated funds based on the collective Treaty settlement with the Waikato Raupatu Lands fund and the number of registered beneficiaries to the marae. The strength in these two pou harnesses the meaningful and mutual relationship that the marae has with its iwi.

The third and fourth pou offered income opportunities based on relationships external to the traditional whanaungatanga based on blood ties. These relationships provided opportunities for capacity building at the marae and in turn also income. The capacity building has strengthen the resilience of the marae to recapture their expressions of Maaoridom. Alongside this, it appears also that these financial relationship have provided an avenue to map the marae succession planning.

Entrepreneurial efforts from these pou in the form of hiring the facilities to organisations both internal and external to the marae have created opportunities for the marae to extend on their whanaungatanga within the community. Such extensions to the marae relationships enabled the marae to host events such as that of the problem gambling kaupapa which again had a two-fold effect. Income on one hand and promoting health on the other.

The layering of whanaungatanga that largely underpins Tino Rangatiratanga. Rangatiratanga (leadership) is a long tradition at Te Iti o Hauaa marae given their history of chieftainship, their lineage of kingmakers and their allegiance to the Kiingitanga (King movement) . Whanaungatanga as a public health measure speaks

to the collaborative relationships, accountability of marae whaanau to each other, the marae and the wider hapuu and iwi. The accountability in this sense builds social cohesion as it seeks to involve people through a profound sense of belonging and a sense of responsibility to each other. The cohesiveness occurs where whaanau are compelled to be involved and participate in activities and are thereby drawn together. Again, because of whanaungatanga the marae committee in their responsibilities towards the people of marae are compelled to make decisions based on what brings the people together and not set them apart.

### Succession Planning

Durie (2004) noted that active marae are integral to participation in Te Ao Maaori and therefore a marker for Maaori wellbeing. Succession planning has long since been a constant and consistent theme at Te Iti o Hauaa marae. The activeness of marae whaanau in ensuring their behaviour is able to be modelled appeared to have reared successive rangatahi into adulthood who are well armed and equipped with the skill of self-reliance for funding. This self-reliance has been the mantra of the marae in terms of ensuring that each person is able to contribute to the marae based on their skills and ability to manaaki each other. The skills spoken of here are those that have enabled whaanau to mobilise their projects based on their ability to delve into their repertoire of fundraising initiatives. Fundraising was a salient theme in this study. Fundraising even as an informal method of income was said to have been taught and modelled by leadership within the marae like the Women's Committee. The Women's committee in their resolve to keep the people involved at some level in marae developments large and small resulted in increased participation where it may have zeroed out completely

due to the inability of whaanau to deal with specialised funding applications for one, and not seeing fundraising as a tool for decision making input as another.

### Resilience at the marae

Kepa, Wiles and Wild (2011) view resilience as being based on strengths. Te Iti o Hauaa marae have fortunately and undeniably managed to survive without the need for pokie funding based on their strength of their tradition of tikanga. Parallel to this their strength has also been harnessed through their ability to recognise, treasure and utilise meaningfully their reciprocal relationships, whanaungatanga.

Kepa (2011) says that resilience is not a “psychological “quality or commodity””, but explains that resilience is a way of living with others in the world. Again here the strength of whanaungatanga on the basis of financially supporting marae and ensuring gambling harm minimisation indirectly highlights how Te Iti o Hauaa marae has survived without gambling machine funding.

There has almost however, not been a need for the whaanau of Te Iti o Hauaa marae to be resilient. This is stated with much caution and referred to the fact that the marae is one of few that have resisted pokie funding and still managed to very much survive if not thrive.

### Study Limitations

As a case study the scope of this thesis was restricted to only exploring how one marae survives without pokie machine funding. The findings therefore are limited in terms As the study participants was limited to only current marae committee members, the data collection relied on the recollection of those who were older and had been privileged to have knowledge passed down to them from kaumaatua. On saying that, there were two kaumaatua that were interviewed as they served as the kaumaatua

advisors on the marae committee in an informal role. However, again this was only two kaumaatua and therefore much of the data collection around what activities traditionally occurred on the marae was from two participants directly and backed by other participants stories of what they had known to occur in the past from their experiences of hearing stories from either the same and or other kaumaatua. The limitation is not debilitating to the study, however worth noting. The sampling therefore would have benefited from recruiting both past and present marae committee members and included a special selection of kaumaatua. The recruitment of kaumaatua to studies that seek to explore historical or traditional factors should have been a requirement rather than an option as quite often that special and particular knowledge of marae is not always documented in written form to locate.

A strong limitation of this study was the absence of literature and studies undertaken that explore the ethics of applying for and receiving gambling proceeds from pokie machines to develop and sustain marae. The literature search also yielded minimal studies on marae resilience in regards to gambling funding. Studies that were located spoke about this in broad brush terms and at that focussed more on problem gambling behaviours.

A final limitation for this study is that not all marae are traditional marae and therefore some of the findings in this study particularly where this study found significant factors such as whanaungatanga and traditions of tikanga to be markers for not applying for and accepting pokie funding.

### Future Research

The marae committee members in this study provided an insight into the wider contextual cultural factors and values that influence income gathering on marae both



presently and in the past. It would be interesting to explore if other marae across the iwi of Ngaati Hauaa share the same model of funding and values to consider the uniformity of the findings in this study. Equally so it would be worthwhile exploring the values that marae place on their funding streams and what methods of tikanga apply to these values. Looking further at how values determine the basis for financial decision making at marae would possibly reveal the nature and extent to which the history of the marae is honoured or changed and furthermore the input that the overall marae whaanau have in that decision-making process.

As fundraising appeared to be a significant tool utilised by marae whaanau to mobilise their aspirations for the marae, it would also be worthwhile to extend on this by exploring marae fundraising initiatives to build the body of literature that documents aspirations of marae built from the ground up.

Because succession planning at Te Iti o Hauaa marae around finances and income has in the past, present and no doubt will so in the future involve fundraising capacity building it would be useful to consider further investigations on the extent to which marae perceive self-reliance and what measures are in place to secure the future sustainability and viability of marae outside gambling or government funding.

This study overall provides a foundation for future research into marae development and the role waahine play in connecting whaanau together through fundraising and building capacity.

## Conclusion

The main finding of this study was that Maaori values of tikanga, awareness of tapu and whanaungatanga have ensured that marae are able to survive without gambling machine proceeds. The resolve to be resilient has not happened overnight, instead

resilience has come to be established as tradition of the people to be self-reliant and self-determining. Preserving the life force of the marae has been a long term protective factor of the marae people in regard to the marae being an example for right and wrong.

Self-reliance and determination which participants cited as being the additional key factors towards not accepting gambling proceeds was strongly associated with modelling behaviours permissive of positive succession planning initiatives.

This study has found that a reconnect with tikanga Maaori practices and values could very well provide other marae and organisations models for income and avenues for developing and sustaining the wellbeing of Maaori communities.

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## Glossary

<b>Ahuatanga</b>	Personas
<b>Aroha</b>	Love
<b>Aotearoa</b>	Maaori name for New Zealand
<b>Awa</b>	River
<b>Hui</b>	Meeting
<b>Hura Kowhatu</b>	Unveiling
<b>Huritau</b>	Birthday
<b>Iwi</b>	Tribe
<b>Kai Hakari</b>	Feast
<b>Kaainga</b>	Home/s
<b>Kanohi ki te kanohi</b>	Face to face
<b>Kao</b>	No
<b>Kapa Haka</b>	Cultural Performance group
<b>Karakia</b>	Prayer
<b>Kaumaatua</b>	Elder
<b>Kawa</b>	Protocols
<b>Kiingitanga</b>	King Movement
<b>Koohaa</b>	Donation, gift
<b>Koohanga</b>	Learning nest
<b>Maatauranga</b>	Knowledge
<b>Mamae</b>	Hurt
<b>Marae</b>	Communal Maaori gathering place
<b>Marae aatea</b>	Area in front of Marae
<b>Manaaki</b>	Support, care for
<b>Manaakitanga</b>	Actions of caring
<b>Manuwhiri</b>	Visitors
<b>Maunga</b>	Mountain
<b>Mauri</b>	Life essence
<b>Moni Aroha</b>	Love Money
<b>Nehu</b>	Burial
<b>Paa</b>	Collection of family homes located very near to a communal marae.
<b>Paakehaa</b>	European Settlers

<b>Paepae</b>	Orators bench
<b>Panui</b>	Notice/s
<b>Raarangi ingoa</b>	List of names
<b>Rangahau</b>	Research
<b>Rangatahi</b>	Youth
<b>Rangatiratanga</b>	Leadership
<b>Roopu</b>	Group
<b>Tangata Whenua</b>	People of the Land
<b>Tangihanga</b>	Bereavements
<b>Tapu</b>	Sacred, Restricted
<b>Tauiwi</b>	Non-Maaori
<b>Tautoko</b>	Support
<b>Te Ao Maaori</b>	The Maaori World
<b>Te Kore</b>	Nothingness
<b>Tikanga</b>	Procedures
<b>Tino Rangatiratanga</b>	Self Determination
<b>Tuupaapaku</b>	Deceased
<b>Urupaa</b>	Graveyard
<b>Waananga</b>	Learning gathering
<b>Waiata</b>	To sing, Song
<b>Whaikorero</b>	Oratory
<b>Whaanau</b>	Family
<b>Whaanau Pani</b>	Bereaved Family
<b>Whaanaungatanga</b>	Birth
<b>Whakanoa</b>	Release from sacredness
<b>Whakapapa</b>	Genealogy
<b>Whakawhanautanga</b>	Sharing Familial connections
<b>Wharekai</b>	Dining Hall
<b>Wharenui</b>	Meeting house

## Appendix A: Letter of support from marae Chairperson



### TE ITI O HAUA MARAE TRUST

Physical Address: Tauwhare Road, Tauwhare

Postal Address: 40 Carroll St, Waharoa

Phone: +64 7 888 9475

RE: Master of Public Health research project for Te Pora Thompson-Evans

Tēnā Koutou,

Ko tēnei he panui tautoko te mahi Rangahau o Te Pora Tamehana.

It with great pride that I write this letter of support for Te Pora Tamehana-Evans.

Following Te Pora introducing her research to the marae committee and the people of Tauwhare Pa, answering questions and seeking Kaumātua advice to her project, the marae committee and wider whānau of Tauwhare are pleased to support her project.

Marae committee members are happy to be approached by Te Pora and participate in her project.

We are proud that Te Pora has chosen to bring her project home to her marae and people and we will endeavour to support whichever way we are able to. We look forward to the outcome of this project and the results.

Ngā mihi

Lance Rapana  
Chair, Te iti o Haua Marae Trust

## Appendix B: Study paanui to marae committee

### Panui



#### **He marae ora, He marae whakautā: Exploring the resilience in Marae who survive without gaming machine proceeds funding**

*E ngaa rau rangatira ma te komiti o Te Iti o Hauaa marae .*

*Ko teenei he panui ki a koe ki oku mahi rangahau mo etehi marae e kore whakaae ngā mea putea moni no ngā mihini peti. Na reira te whānau, korerotia mai te panui nei.*

You are invited to take part in a kanohi ki te kanohi kōrero where the resilience in Marae who survive without gaming machine funding. I am interested in your whakaaro and experiences around the funding of activities at Tauwhare Marae.

The Primary Researcher for this study is Te Pora Thompson-Evans. I am currently undertaking my Master in Public Health. This study will contribute to the thesis portion of that qualification. My supervisor is: Dr. Helen Warren, Department of Community Health.

The purpose of this research is to produce a thesis (report) about Marae who fund their Marae without the use of gaming machine (pokie) funding. With this research I am interested in identifying and discussing what motivates, enables and hinders Marae to seek out and utilize methods of fundraising that are alternative to those funds distributed by gambling activities.

There is very little research that has been undertaken from a Kaupapa Maori standpoint, in relation to gambling funds and Maori culture survival. The research will firstly understand the Marae environment in relation to gambling activities, notions and history. Secondly it will examine the history of Marae activities and the processes by which these were funded. In particular it will focus on whether or not the availability of trust funding has impacted on Marae sustainability.

If you are interested in participating in this study please contact Te Pora on:

Cellphone: 021 02708805 or email: [tp.thompstonevans@gmail.com](mailto:tp.thompstonevans@gmail.com)

## Appendix C: Participant information sheet

### Participant information sheet



#### ***He Marae Ora, He Marae Whakautā: Exploring the resilience in Marae who survive without gaming machine proceeds funding***

*E ngā rau rangatira ma te komiti o Tauwhare Marae.*

*Ko teenei he panui ki a koe ki oku mahi rangahau mo etahi marae e kore whakaae ngā mea putea moni no ngā mihini peti. Na reira te whānau, korerotia mai te panui nei.*

You are invited to take part in a kanohi ki te kanohi kōrero where the resilience in Marae who survive without gaming machine funding. I am interested in your whakaaro and experiences around the funding of activities at Tauwhare Marae.

#### **Who is co-ordinating this study?**

The Primary Researcher for this study is Te Pora Thompson-Evans. I am currently undertaking my Master in Public Health. This study will contribute to the thesis portion of that qualification. My supervisor is: Dr. Helen Warren, Department of Community Health.

#### **What is the purpose of this research?**

The purpose of this research is to produce a thesis (report) about Marae who fund their Marae without the use of gaming machine (pokie) funding. With this research I am interested in identifying and discussing what motivates, enables and hinders Marae to seek out and utilize methods of fundraising that are alternative to those funds distributed by gambling activities.

There is very little research that has been undertaken from a Kaupapa Maori standpoint, in relation to gambling funds and Maori culture survival. The research will firstly understand the Marae environment in relation to gambling activities, notions and history. Secondly it will examine the history of Marae activities and the processes by which these were funded. In particular it will focus on whether or not the availability of trust funding has impacted on Marae sustainability.

We hope that this research will also produce smaller reports, journal articles and conference & hui presentations.

#### **Why have I been approached?**

You have been approached about this study because:

- You are a member of a Tauwhare Marae Committee

#### **Where will the study take place?**

The study will be undertaken at Tumataura, Tauwhare Marae.

#### **How long will the study take?**

You will be invited to participate in one individual interview that will take approximately 1 – 1.5 hours.

**What is involved if I take part?**

If you are interested in being involved in this study, you will need to sign a consent form provided by myself at the start of the interview. A copy of the consent form showing your agreement to take part in the study will be given to you to keep, as well as details of a person to contact if you have any more questions or concerns about the study.

If you agree to take part in the study, I will organise with you a time that is convenient for you to be interviewed. The interview will consist of an open korero between yourself in your role as a Tauwhare Marae committee member and me about the funding of activities at Tauwhare Marae. A portion of this kōrero will involve a small discussion pokie machine funding. Once your interview is completed, I will transcribe your korero and hand your transcript (written kōrero) back to you to check. I will then analyse the data (kōrero) and may use direct quotes of your korero. If this occurs I will see you first seek your approval for the kōrero used.

**Will there be any costs involved?**

There are no costs involved with your participation in this study.

**What are the risks and benefits of this study?***Benefits*

- In the long term, this study may help improve the health of Māori by understanding Marae ability to survive without the need of Pokie funding. We may also in be able to understand gambling and gambling harm and the relation with Marae.

*Possible risks*

- There are no risks to you with this study.
- We will ask you questions about the resilience of Marae who survive without pokie funding. We do not think these questions will cause you any distress.

**Will the discussion be audiotaped/ videotaped?**

The interview will be digitally recorded and will not be utilized in any other study. After the data has been collected, records will be securely stored at AUT. The audiotape of your korero will be returned to you.

**Will the information about me be kept confidential?**

All information that you provide to this study including your about yourself will be confidential. No material that could personally identify you and which you do not give approval for will be used in any reports on this study. The information will be kept securely at AUT and destroyed after 6 years (according to national research guidelines). All computer records will be password protected. All future use of the information collected will be strictly controlled in accordance with the Privacy Act, 1994. During the study, only I and my supervisor Dr. Helen Warren may check the information you have provided to us. This will only be done to check the accuracy of the information collected for the study and the information will remain confidential.

Given the familial connection between the researcher and yourself as a potential participant, this information sheet recognises that relationship and to that end and in consideration of confidentiality all participants will be reassured of the confidentiality of their korero. As a participant you will also be given the option to have your specific korero made known through the use of your name should a specific quote be used. Given the closeness of the Marae and all potential participants it could be possible to identify a your korero – to counteract this all transcripts of interviews will be handed back to you to check and to decide if you want to not have any of your korero included in the report writing. If you agree to let your korero be used, but not your name we are able to use a pseudonym instead.

**What will happen at the end of the study?**

You will receive a letter containing the results of the study and future research plans if you have opted to receive this information.

**Has the study received ethical approval?**

Yes, this study has received ethical approval from the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC) on 02 Dec, 2013. The AUTEC reference number is **13/309**

**What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?**

We would like you to first consider your participation in this study. I will contact you within the next 14 days to confirm if you would like to participate. Please feel free to seek advice from other committee members, marae whānau and Kaumātua prior to agreeing to take part in the study.

**Where can I get more information about this study?**

Please feel free to me any questions you may have about this study. You may also ask the lead supervisor about the project.

Te Pora Thompson-Evans – Project Researcher

Email: [tepora@hapai.co.nz](mailto:tepora@hapai.co.nz) Telephone: 021 02708805

Dr. Helen Warren – Project Supervisor

Email: [Helen.warren@aut.ac.nz](mailto:Helen.warren@aut.ac.nz) Telephone: 021 02708805

**What do I do if I have concerns about this research?**

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor:

Dr Helen Warren

Email: [Helen.warren@aut.ac.nz](mailto:Helen.warren@aut.ac.nz), Telephone: 09 921 99 99

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTEC:

Kate O'Connor,

Email: [ethics@aut.ac.nz](mailto:ethics@aut.ac.nz), Telephone: 09 921 9999 ext: 6038

If you have any queries or concerns regarding your rights as a participant in this study you may wish to contact an independent health and disability advocate on:

Freephone: 0800 555 050,

Free fax: 0800 2 SUPPORT (0800 2787 7678)

Email: [advocacy@hdc.org.nz](mailto:advocacy@hdc.org.nz).

**Please keep this sheet for your information. Thank you for taking the time to read about this study.**

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 02 Dec, 2013.  
AUTEC Reference Number **13/309**

## Appendix D: Consent form

### Consent Form



*Project title:* ***He Marae Ora, He Marae Whakautā: Exploring the resilience in Marae who survive without gaming machine proceeds funding.***

*Project Supervisor:* ***Dr Helen Warren***

*Researcher:* ***Te Pora Thompson-Evans***

- ☐ I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated dd mmmm 2013.
- ☐ I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- ☐ I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.
- ☐ I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.
- ☐ If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant information including tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.
- ☐ I agree to take part in this research.
- ☐ I wish to receive a copy of the report from the research (please tick one):  
Yes ☐ No ☐

Participant's signature:.....

Participant's name:.....

Participant's Contact Details (if appropriate):  
.....

Date:

***Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 02/12/2013. AUTEK***

***Reference number 13/309***

*Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.*



## Appendix E: Interview schedule

Te Pora Evans 1268945  
Master of Public Health Student

### **Interview schedule for individual interviews**

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#### **Introductions**

Karakia & Whanaungatanga

Provide an overview of project to participant

Participant will be invited to talk briefly about their committee position, length of time in position and main tasks associated with that position

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#### **Interview Schedule:**

##### Gambling

- Invite participants to share their thoughts on funding derived from gambling activities

##### Preventing and minimising gambling harm

- How do you as a marae committee member see gambling harm
- Does the marae play a role in preventing or minimising gambling harm

##### Funding

- How are marae activities in your particular role funded
- How has marae funding occurred in the past
- Has the marae looked at other avenues of funding such as pokie machine funding
  - If not, why?
  - If so, how has this process occurred
- Are there some funding activities that the committee see as unacceptable to fund marae activities?
  - For example – poker nights
- What forms of funding are the committee looking at in the future

## Appendix F: Ethics approval letter



A U T E C  
S E C R E T A R I A T

2 December 2013

Helen Warren  
Faculty of Health and Environmental Sciences

Dear Helen

Re Ethics Application: **13/309 He Marae Ora, He Marae Whakautu: Exploring the resilience in Marae who survive without gaming machine proceeds funding.**

Thank you for providing evidence as requested, which satisfies the points raised by the AUT University Ethics Committee (AUTEC).

Your ethics application has been approved for three years until 2 December 2016.

As part of the ethics approval process, you are required to submit the following to AUTEC:

- A brief annual progress report using form EA2, which is available online through <http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics>. When necessary this form may also be used to request an extension of the approval at least one month prior to its expiry on 2 December 2016;
- A brief report on the status of the project using form EA3, which is available online through <http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics>. This report is to be submitted either when the approval expires on 2 December 2016 or on completion of the project.

It is a condition of approval that AUTEC is notified of any adverse events or if the research does not commence. AUTEC approval needs to be sought for any alteration to the research, including any alteration of or addition to any documents that are provided to participants. You are responsible for ensuring that research undertaken under this approval occurs within the parameters outlined in the approved application.

AUTEC grants ethical approval only. If you require management approval from an institution or organisation for your research, then you will need to obtain this. If your research is undertaken within a jurisdiction outside New Zealand, you will need to make the arrangements necessary to meet the legal and ethical requirements that apply there.

To enable us to provide you with efficient service, please use the application number and study title in all correspondence with us. If you have any enquiries about this application, or anything else, please do contact us at [ethics@aut.ac.nz](mailto:ethics@aut.ac.nz).

All the very best with your research,

Kate O'Connor  
Executive Secretary  
Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

Cc: Te Pora Thompson-Evans [tepora@hapai.co.nz](mailto:tepora@hapai.co.nz)

A u c k l a n d   U n i v e r s i t y   o f   T e c h n o l o g y   E t h i c s   C o m m i t t e e

WA505F Level 5 WA Building City Campus

Private Bag 92006 Auckland 1142 Ph: +64-9-921-9999 ext 8316 email [ethics@aut.ac.nz](mailto:ethics@aut.ac.nz)