Me Mau Kia Ita
Ki Te Tuakiri o Te Whānau
Ma Te Whānau e Tipu Ai

Whānau Identity and Whānau Development are Interdependent

Kim Himoana Penetito (2005)

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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 nor material which to a substantial extent has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning, except where due acknowledgement is made.

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Mā te wā, ka tangi koe

The time will come when you will look back and cry
for what you did not take the time to find out.

Na Pai Kaukau, Kaumātua Ngāti Te Oro.

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(thoughts) to me from his father's teachings. This kaumātua (elder) passed away in
May 2005 aged 89 years, in the final stages of my writing of this thesis. This kōrero
(discussion) validated for me the choice I was making to clear a pathway for our
mokopuna (grandchildren) to continue learning about who they were, and where they
belonged.

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I acknowledge the source of the following diagrams and graphics used in this thesis;
    Map of Ngati Hauā Territory – Stokes (1996)
    Te Whakapapa o Ngā Tumuaki – Eru Kaukau (2004)
    Whānau Penetito Whakapapa – Wally Penetito (2003)
    Dual Socialisation Butterfly – Dencik (1989)
    Transformative Praxis – Becoming More Human – Graham Smith (1999)
    Whānau Penetito Tohu – James & Tangimoana Penetito (1994).

Ahakoa he iti noa, he pounamu
He tohu aroha
Ahakoa kei konei, kei konā
He tohu aroha
He tangata rerekē
He tangata wairua, hūmārie
He aroha o ngā tūpuna
E kore mātou e warewaretia

Abstract

Whānau is often qualified as synonymous to the description family, or extended family. The purpose of this study is to show that whānau is not only a social grouping belonging to Māori society, but an aspect of cultural identity central to the future development of Māori. Whānau is a concept belonging to Te Ao Māori, and the development of this concept has been challenged through the history of Aotearoa by external cultural influences and internal responses to these influences. These influences include Western paradigms and societal norms introduced through colonisation and leading to the modern perception that whānau is a mirror image of the concept of family.

Modernisation, as an example of a Western developmental theory is applied in this study to demonstrate the impact of an ethnocentric notion on the concept and experience of whānau - culturally, socially, economically and spiritually. It is observed by the writer that whānau remains central to strategies for development as a people notwithstanding this experience. This observation required that the study explore the key elements retained by whānau, for the concept of whānau to have achieved sustainability. Although the effects of external influences have impacted on the structural, functional and relational aspects of whānau, it is evident in the findings from this study conducted with descendents of Ngāti Te Oro that the practice of whānau as a cultural grouping was significant to retaining a cultural identity. This finding has strengthened the position that there are specific contributing aspects towards a secure whānau identity that provides the foundations as well as the vehicle to progress the development of Māori.

Introduction

This thesis examines the hypothesis that whānau identity and whānau development are inter-dependent. Chapter one introduces the landscape and whakapapa (genealogy) of the descendants of Ngāti Te Oro, who are profiled in this study. The account of this hapū (sub-tribe) and their leadership is told to provide a physical, spiritual and cultural site in which the identity of whānau is embedded.

Chapter two visits the concept of whānau examined in a historical context and accentuates the evolution and development of whānau through to a modern context. This chapter explores perceptions of whānau identity, in relation to cultural identity and Māori identity, and initiates some discussion between whānau identity and whānau development. The effects of defining whānau by government for example and the increased use of Māori terminology in government policy is followed in this chapter. In an attempt to address disproportionate and negative statistics sourced by whānau Māori, this strategy has been employed by governments to gain a positive reception to the programme assistance offered and cooperation from the Maori population to engage as consumers.

Chapter three introduces Modernisation theory and the affects of this proposed process of development to the process of whānau development. Modernisation is a development theory that can be applied to demonstrate the external influence of Western society on the Māori social construct.

Chapter four describes the research methodology used in this particular project. There is emphasis on 'insider research' and the position of the researcher, as a member of the

research whānau group. Whakawhanaungatanga (social relationships) is a Kaupapa Māori (Māori Philosophy) research strategy that is the reference framework in this case study and applied to the process of interviewing and analysing of data. This data uncovers themes that present an assurance in a sense of whānau identity, including prominent and positive aspects of whanaungatanga, identification with the land and a want to plan ahead collectively. The other theme that emerges is a degree of disconnection from, and some ambiguity associated with, elements of a cultural identity. This is discussed more in the context of the whānau interaction with Te Ao Māori (the Māori world) and provides sufficient evidence to the thought that the concept of whānau is another of the many unique facets that are innate to the cultural tapestry of Te Ao Māori.

Chapter five details the research findings within four prominent themes mentioned in the previous paragraph. This chapter explains the experience of social relations across the whānau groupings and to the physical setting, the interface of whānau identity with cultural identity, affects on whānau from external influences and the desired direction of development for whānau individually, and collectively.

Chapter six takes into account the findings from the research that identifies Whānau Hui as the preferred strategy to progress collective development. This gives some prudence to those practicing and accessing whānau hui about, the positive factors that create this forum as an ideal environment for whakawhanaungatanga and makes some assumptions about what you might aim to achieve through this hui.

The concluding chapter sums up the hypothesis that whānau identity and whānau development are interdependent, by reflecting on the findings of the qualitative research conducted, and identifying what further resources are required to help whānau assert

their ability to continue to retain, maintain and develop their tino rangatiratanga (self determination).

Chapter One

Research Setting: Ngā Uri ō Ngāti Te Oro

Ko Maungatautari te maunga
Ko Tainui te waka
Ko Waikato te awa
Ko Ngāti Te Oro te hapū
Ko Raungaiti te marae
Ko Te Waharoa te tangata
Ko Ngāti Hauā te iwi
Ko Penetito te whānau

Maungatautari is the mountain
Tainui is the canoe
Waikato is the river
Ngāti Te Oro is the sub-tribe
Te Raungaiti is the marae
Te Waharoa is the man
Ngāti Hauā is the tribe
Penetito is the family

Figure 1: Ngāti Hauā Territory Stokes (1996)
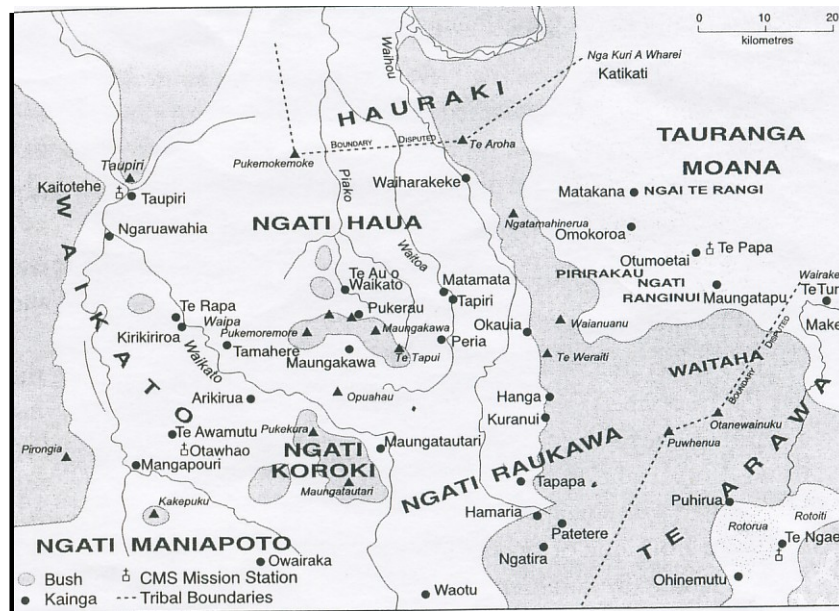
The whakapapa (genealogy), whenua (land /geography), and hapū (the descendents of

Ngāti Te Oro),will be profiled in this chapter. Pohatu (1996) argues that

> the notions of 'terrain' and 'siting' coincide with the cultural indices of whēnua
> and whakapapa. In the cultural mindset these two cultural items belong

together; they give purpose, reason and sustenance; they support and reaffirm one another and to the whakapapa groupings that belongs to them. (pg. 59)

This reinforces the intent, to relate the setting with the whānau (family), with tupuna (ancestors), with hapū (sub-tribe), with iwi (tribe) and with the physical sites of these groupings.

The map (Figure 1) shows the rohe of Ngāti Hauā and surrounding iwi as at 1840. Kaumātua Eru Kaukau (personal communication, 8 April 2004) of Ngāti Te Oro explained the oral historical geography of Ngāti Hauā based on the location of maunga (mountains) as significant landmarks. These maunga are named Taupiri, Maungatautari and Te Aroha. He relayed the kōrero (speak) from kuia of Ngāti Hauā (the elder women of Ngāti Hauā) in explaining 'ngā kōhatu whakatū mai i te rohe o Ngāti Hauā'. (the rocks that establish the territory of Ngāti Hauā)

Titiro mai ngā kōhatu o Ngāti Hauā. Mai Te Aroha te maunga mai i te raki, tērā a Tamatera ngā kaitiaki
Titiro ki te rawhiti, Ngāti Maru tēna
Tōna kōrero mai Te Aroha ki Katikati ki ngā kuri wharei ki tikirau
Te hauāuru mai ki Te Aroha ki Taupiri. Tēnā ā Ngāti Paoa, me Wairere
Titiro mai ki te tonga Te Aroha ki Wairere, tēnā Ngāti Hauā e mihi mai nei
Titiro ki Wairere ki Maungatautari.
Ka huri ahau ki te pātetere ki Raukawa ki te Ihingarangi ki Ngāti Koroki ngā kaitiaki o tēnā maunga
Engari, titiro ki Maungatautari ki te raki ki Taupiri e ngunguru e mihi mai nei Ngāti Hauā I waenganui ko tōna kōrero, he piko he taniwha, te maunga o ngā Kīngi
Ka hoki mai I ngā kōrero o Tawhiao.
Waihotia te kaumārua mōku te kaua mohi ko hau ki roto. Ko te Atua tōku piringa ka puta ka ora
Ngā kōrero Rawiri nōku roimata hei kai mōku I te ao I te po, I te ao I te po. Ko wai tōu Atua.

Look to my mountain rocks from Te Aroha to the North. I see the hapū of Tamatera tangata whenua (people of the land), tangata kaitiaki (caretakers).
Look to the beginning of the sun to the East, Ngāti Maru, Ngāti Pūkenga, from Te Aroha to Katikati as tangata whenua and kaitiaki, from the howling dogs of Te Arawa to the outskirts of Matātua we humbly beseech thee
Look to the West, from Te Aroha to Taupiri, Ngāti Paoa, Ngāti Wairere
Look to the south Te Aroha ki Wairere. Ngāti Hauā we greet you within

Look to the Western side from Wairere to Maungatautari amongst our neighbours Te Arawa, Matātua, Ngāti Raukawa Te Ihingarangi o Ngāti Koroki Look to the North from Maungatautari, to the mountain of Kings, Taupiri. We come back to the passing thoughts of Tawhiao. Leave me the twelve prophecies. The Ten Commandments, eleven with me in it, there will only be one God for me and my people twelve I turn to Psalm 42:3. My tears are my food day and night, while all day long they ask me, where now is your God.

In this kōrero (narrative) the maunga (mountains) are the landmarks of the tribal boundaries of Ngāti Hauā. Other tribes mentioned are Ngāti Paoa, Ngāti Wairere, Ngāti Koroki, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Tamaterā, Ngāti Whanaunga and Ngāti Maru. This explains how these tribes are associated in relation to how they are positioned (eastern, western, northern and southern) to each of the maunga (mountains), and this in turn explains their tribal boundaries distinguished by this positioning. Ngāti Hauā occupies the space between the markings of the maunga distinguished in the above passage.

Hauā is the eponymous ancestor from which the tribe Ngāti Hauā descends. As told by Clark & Tairi (1992) Hauā was born in the 1600s. His father Koroki married two sisters, Kahurere and Tumataura. Tumataura and Koroki had two sons, Hape and Hauā. Ngāti Koroki are descended through Hape, and Ngāti Hauā through Hauā. Ngāti Koroki remained in the Maungatautari area, and Ngāti Hauā became concentrated around Matamata and other areas (refer to Figure 1). This whakapapa (Figure 2) shows the descendents from Hauā through to Te Oro, and on to the well- known leader of Ngāti Hauā, Tarapipipi Te Waharoa Wiremu Tamihana.

Figure 2: Te Whakapapa o Te Ihingarangi

Rereahu = Rangianewa
|
Te Ihingarangi = Ringaariari
|
Te Kuri = Whakamaunga a Rangi
|
Hinemapuhia = Ihuwera
|
Rauti = Tamaihohonginoa
|
Tumataura = Koroki = Kahurere
|
Tamangarangi = **Hauā**   Hape = Te Angaangawaero
|
Kanohi = Parehiawe   Pukauae = Hourua
|
Te Oro = Mataroa
|
Purangataua = Parepaoroa
|
Tangimoana = Kahurangi
|
Te Waharoa
|
Tarapipipi = Te Rangiwiwini
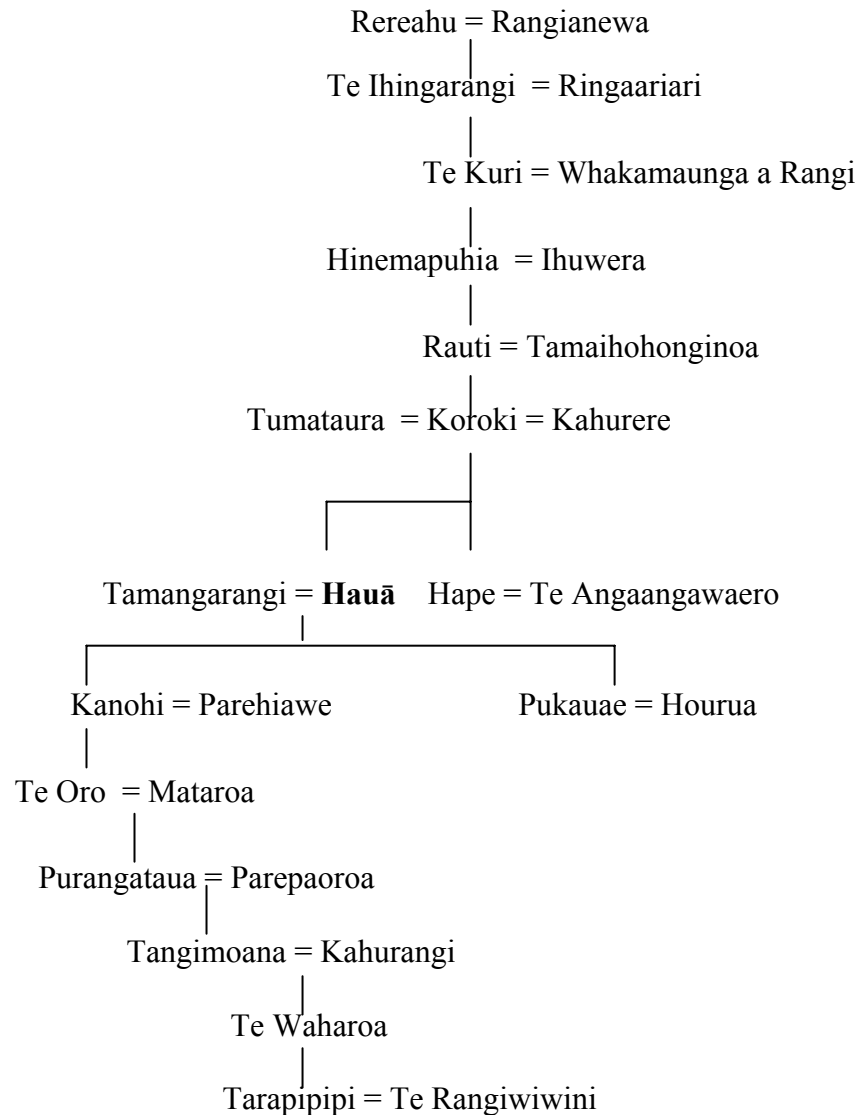
The lands of Ngāti Te Oro are situated closely in and around Matamata and Waharoa. The marae affiliated to Ngāti Te Oro have been over time Kutia, Te Pae o Turawaru, and the present day Raungaiti located alongside the aerodrome and adjacent to Waharoa Pa.

Wardill (2001) has compiled "the case for the return of Waharoa airport" a thesis researching a claim of the Ngāti Te Oro hapū referring to land taken under the Public Works Act 1928, by the Air Department in 1942. In this thesis the history of the area of

Ngāti Te Oro is accounted through Native Land Court records provided by attendees in a court hearing dated 31 March 1866;

> Te Raihi, a chief of Ngāti Rangi and Ngāti Hauā, stated that the owners in former times were Ngāti Rangi and Ngāti Tāwhaki but his Ngāti Hauā ancestors went to war with these tribes. When Werewere and Mataroa of Ngāti Hauā were killed in one of the battles, Te Oro and Hauā II came to avenge their deaths. Taha, the chief of Ngāti Rangi who lived at Tokerau (Matamata North), made peace by giving his daughter Paretapu to Te Oro who settled at Parahao. Taha gave the mana of the land and the people of Ngāti Rangi and Ngāti Tāwhaki to their son and his grandson, Te Ahuroa. Ngāti Hauā lived with Ngāti Rangi through intermarriage but Ngāti Tāwhaki left the district and went to Maungatautari. They came back later to dispossess Ngāti Hauā but were unsuccessful. Following the introduction of Christianity, Te Tiwha and Tarapipipi Te Waharoa (Wiremu Tamihana) invited Ngāti Tāwhaki to return and live on the land, and according to Te Raihi "we are now one. (pg.67)

Wardill (ibid) noted from court proceedings that Wirihana Te Tutere commented that, the descendents of Paretapu (Ngāti Rangi) and Te Oro (Ngāti Hauā), are Ngātirangi Te Oro. Hori Neri confirmed this naming in his statement that Ngātirangi Te Oro was the hapū, and Ngāti Te Oro was a name "got up" at the court of 1905. Today the hapū (sub-tribe) is known as Ngāti Te Oro, not Ngātirangi Te Oro. It is interesting to note however that the court records have possibly played some part in distorting the original naming of the hapū. Pohatu (op.cit) observes;

> The significance of names out of the kāwai tangata show how an individual belongs and has a long history of being part of a special grouping. By this action, the relationships, the talk, the traits and the stories of that tupuna…. provides that continuous whakapapa spark and linkage through generations within the kāwai whakapapa. (pg.19)

It is not uncommon for mis-spelling and misinterpretation of Māori names to occur in government official documents. In some instances these discrepancies have had significant effect on land ownership disputes, or like in this circumstance, provided a record of information from an oral presentation that could be used to re-claim an authentic statement of identity. Under these circumstances it appears that this information has failed to be culturally transmitted through hapū oral traditional methods, for whatever reason. These records may be resurrected by individual's in the

future who choose to research the whakapapa (genealogy) of Ngāti Te Oro and revisit some whitiwhiti kōrero (discussion) about naming.

Figure 3: Te Whakapapa o Ngā Tūmuaki

Tumataura = Koroki
|

Hape = Kuratamaki   Hauā = Tamangārangi
|

Kāhoki = Parehewai
|

Te Oro = Mataroa
|

Purangataua = Parepaoro
|

Tangimoana = Kahurangi
|

Te Waharoa = Rangiwīwini
|

(KM1) **Wiremu Tamihana** = Wikitoria
|

Purangataua   (KM2) **Tiputaingakawa** = Koha
|

Tarapipipi = Petiwaea (KM3)
|

Pare Rahapa   Wiripoai   Rumātiki **Wiremu   Te Waharoa Tahiwaru** Parewaho
paoro   **Tarapipipi Tarapipipi Tarapipipi**
                                    (KM4)   (KM5)   (KM6)

Ranginui   **Wiripoai Wiripoai**
(KM7**)**   **(**KM8**)**
|

Anaru Thompson

KM = Kingmaker (Te Tumuaki)

In Figure 3 Ngāti Te Oro features in the whakapapa of Te Tumuakitanga (Kingmakers) as the source of leadership in support of the Kīngitanga from Ngāti Hauā. Both Te Waharoa and Tarapipipi Te Waharoa Wiremu Tamihana are personalities noted throughout history in positions of leadership from Ngāti Hauā, more specifically, descendents of Ngāti Te Oro. To give some insight and substance to the history of Ngāti Te Oro it is relevant to illustrate some of the political activity of the leadership over the period of their life times 1780-1866. The following passages are references of

character rather than detailed accounts of the series of events, and commentary on the war skirmishes between Ngāti Hauā and other tribes, or against the Pākeha military. Melvin (1962) states,

Te Waharoa met Reverend Henry Williams in 1833 who described him as

> a celebrated warrior of middle height, with well formed intelligent features. He had a grey, half shaven beard and his hair, which was partly grey, was exceedingly neat; while his dress and general deportment marked him out as a superior chief. Quietly spoken, his manners were mild, and the expression of his countenance pleasing. (pg.366)

As illustrated in the whakapapa (Figure 2.) Te Waharoa's parents were Tangimoana and Te Kahurangi. Te Kahurangi was of Te Arawa descent. As an infant Te Waharoa's Pa, Te Kaweheitiki, was invaded by Ngāti Whakāue. Te Kahurangi's ability to explain her lineage connections to Rangiwewehi spared the lives of both herself and her child Te Waharoa. They were taken back to Rotorua with the war party and lived as relatives among Ngāti Whakāue. Only in his teenage years did Te Waharoa return to Ngāti Hauā at Maungakawa.

Although Te Waharoa became well known as a warrior capable of planning and administering strategic warfare that was brutal; the man captured by records of the Missionaries possessed a conscience about allies and had patronized their presence. He assessed their work at the time as a non-threatening presence. He forewarned them of impending battle situations for their own protection, and showed respect for their efforts of negotiation and mediation in an effort to avoid tribal blood shed. Te Waharoa was hospitable and received the Missionaries as potential allies to develop his people. He supported the Missionaries attempts to practice in Ngāti Hauā. He did however maintain a relationship with the Missionaries that indicated his leadership style would not be compromised, and that they would not be permitted to interfere. Melvin (ibid).

The introduction of Christianity through missionaries Brown and Williams in 1834, Te Waharoa's time, had successfully found a niche within Ngāti Hauā. Rickard (1963) explains Tarapipipi Te Waharoa inherited the leadership of his people following the death of his father Te Waharoa in 1838, and the inability for his eldest son Te Arahi to maintain leadership. Tarapipipi had adopted Christianity, and although possessing qualities of determination, authority and eloquence like his father, refused to take part in tribal wars as a result of his newfound faith. He had previously, been active in leading war expeditions in the 1820s in Taranaki and Waikato. Shortly after his father Te Waharoa's death, Tarapipipi was baptized with the name Wiremu Tamihana (William Thompson).

During the 1840s Tamihana was occupied with the development of Ngāti Hauā communities, establishing a Christian settlement Tapiri in 1839 that accommodated up to 300 people. These developments included generating employment with agriculture and horticulture, and trading the produce with Pākeha settlers in Auckland. According to Rickard (ibid), in 1846 Tamihana constructed another Christian Pa at Peria, on his own land in the Maungakawa Hills. This settlement grew with a school, church, boarding houses and plentiful fields of produce to sustain the community. Stokes (op.cit) observed that Tamihana was responsible for promoting Pākeha customs and practices among his people in a true belief that there would be positive opportunities gained through education – reading and writing. He did not however during this time, neglect observations of Pākeha injustices inflicted on Māori. In 1857 he presented grievances to the Governor in Auckland. Dalton (1963) contends that Tamihana was treated dismissively, and not received with the respect deserved of a man of his mana. Returning to Waikato, Wiremu Tamihana turned his energy towards providing total support towards the Kīngitanga. Allen & Unwin (1990) commented that his stand was that Māori had no wish to be a separate nation, but it was their interest to remain distinct

from the Pākeha to retain their rights under a King of their own. (pg.437) This position

was cited by Sorrenson in Stokes (2002), who observed through correspondence that

cohesion and strength was achieved by the King movement reviving traditional Māori

systems and not by imitating European institutions and techniques.

Tamihana was influential on appointing the first King Potatau, and his successor

Matutaera who took the name Tāwhiao, following Potatau's death in 1860. For this role

he was recognized and titled by Pākeha as the Kingmaker. He had a central position

among Waikato Māori, and was considered a threat to Pākeha government officials as

he promoted alternative options to inter tribal, and inter racial war. He offered to

mediate situations, yet continued to visibly assert his support for the King movement.

As a result of his actions, Pākeha began to refer to Tamihana and his activities as that of

a rebel, and mistrusted his motives. Tamihana's motives are expressed in Deuteronomy

17:15: a transliteration of the King James version of the bible:

> *Hei Kingi mana motuhake mo te iwi Maori*
> *He maunga nga rongo ki te mata o te whenua*
> *Hei pupuri i te toto*
>
> A King be set up to hold the Mana
> To have prestige over the land we lie or stand on
> To stop the flow of blood shed.

Sorrenson (1987) illustrates the situation Māori were suffering.
"In December 1864 Governor George Grey signed a proclamation authorizing the
confiscation of 1,202,172 acres of Waikato land. Later 314,364 acres were returned,
leaving 887,908 acres confiscated." (pg.186)

By April 1865 Tamihana submitted petitions requesting a process of redress for the

confiscation, with no favourable response. Stokes (op.cit) In May 1865 Tamihana

addressed Governor Grey 'te maungārongo' (the covenant of peace), with the

understanding that arms on both sides would be laid down. (p.50) Tamihana publicly

conceded that 'the Queens laws would also be the laws of the Māori King'. In this

account of events there was continuous conflict and war between Māori and Pākeha, as a result of confiscations. Despite Tamihana's efforts to resolve some dispute face to face with officials in a civilized manner, and through his services as a mediator in the newly established Native Land Court, he remained under suspicion. Doolan (1993) reflects that "He wanted peace with Pākeha authorities and settlers, but he also wanted a united Māori leadership capable of retaining Māori control over their lands so that the Māori could survive as a people." (pg.12)

Sorrenson (1963) ascertains that "Tamihana and the bulk of Ngāti Hauā defected in 1865." (pg.47) The movement, however, relocated to Ngāti Maniapoto under Tāwhiao, became known as the King Country, and developed as a self sufficient community for the next twenty years.

Tamihana's health was failing in the last year of his life, he had experienced a loss of hope of obtaining justice from government who ignored his plea to investigate confiscations, and the conditions of the covenant continued to be misinterpreted. His influence in dissuading Waikato warriors from war was also to be unsuccessful as his people and other Waikato tribes took revenge against Pakeha military occupation of Māori lands.

Reverend Taylor commented in 1868, as reported by Stokes (op.cit):

> There is something very sad in the death of this patriotic chief; a man of clear, straight-forward views; sad that a man who possessed such an influence for good, should thus have been ignored by the Government, when, by this aid, had he been admitted to our councils, a permanent good feeling might have been established between the two races. (pg.50)

Wiremu Tamihana died in December 1866 in Peria. As Stokes (ibid) reflects in her biography of Tamihana, had his role of peacemaker and mediator been acknowledged by Pākeha statesmen of the time, the conflict over land as a result of confiscations may

not have been inevitable especially for those iwi in Tauranga and Ngāti Hauā.

However, his pacifist approach was misinterpreted and with his death, land

confiscation, known as Raupatu, would force mana whēnua to assert their status by

more aggressive means. The results of Raupatu would have a far reaching impact that

would be experienced psychologically, spiritually, culturally and economically for

generations of these iwi to follow.

As the Tainui Māori Trust Board (1990) claims,

> The establishment of Kīngitanga in 1858 and the imposition of Raupatu in 1863
> has consolidated all hapu within the Waikato tribal boundary. The loss of tribal
> lands has strengthened the hapū in all matters pertaining to Tainui lore and
> traditions. (pg.1)

The continuation of the Kīngitanga, and the role of Tumuakitanga has been part of the

whakapapa of responsibility of Ngāti Te Oro as a people to Tainui. As depicted in the

whakapapa of the Kīngitanga, the role of tumuaki (King maker) remains with Ngāti

Hauā, where Ngāti Te Oro is represented as one of the five hapū. The Kīngitanga is a

thesis in itself that has huge relevance on the siting of the hapū Ngāti Te Oro, and

descendents of whānau affiliated to this hapū.

The following whakapapa (Figure 4), provides additional information about the

connection of the whānau Penetito to Ngāti Te Oro, and illustrates the association with

the aforementioned leadership. It is through the first wife of Te Oro, Mataroa that Te

Waharoa and Tarapīpipi descend, and from his second wife mentioned in the notes of

the court proceedings, Paretapu, that Te Tiwha and Penetito descend.

Figure 4: Te Oro ki Penetito

Rereahu = Rangianewa
|
Te Ihingarangi = Ringāriari
|
Te Kuri = Whakamaunga a Rangi
|
Hinemapuhia = Ihuwera
|
Rauti = Tamaihohonginoa
|
Tumataura = Koroki = Kahurere

Tamangarangi = Hauā   Hape = Te Angaangawaero

Kanohi = Parehiawe   Pukauae = Hourua

Te Oro = Mataroa = Paretapu

Purangataua = Parepaoroa

Tangimoana = Kahurangi

Te Waharoa

Tarapīpipi = Te Rangiwīwini

Te Ahuroa
|
Te Tiwha
|
Te Whakamomori
|
Penetito

The earliest known tupuna (ancestor) to remaining descendants is Hāre Penetito, who has become the starting point for purposes of whānau development, that is, discussing and learning whakapapa (genealogy), and tikanga ā iwi (tribal protocols). Hāre and Atareta (who was of Te Arawa descent) established a papakāinga (sub-tribal residential site) on two blocks of whānau land situated on sites in the Hinuera Valley and Waharoa. These two prominent sites are remembered by whānau as places they have a strong association with, and where much whānau activity was centred.

Figure 5 illustrates the lineage from Te Ahuroa. Te Ahuroa had three wives. The first was Pare-te-iwi, Rangi-hoko his second wife, and Ruma-kanga the third. The Penetito whānau descends from his marriage with Rangi-hoko.

Figure 5: Te Whakapapa o Te Ahuroa

Te Ahuroa = Rangi-hoko
|
Penetito Te Tiwha = Paremutu (2nd wife, from Ngati Paoa)
|

| Rehua | Te Toi | Whakamomori = Ngamako | Hura | Tūwhenua |

Hāre = Atareta   Kanakana = Horea
|

| Timiuha | **Te Mokai** | Kanakana | Pene | Paremutu |
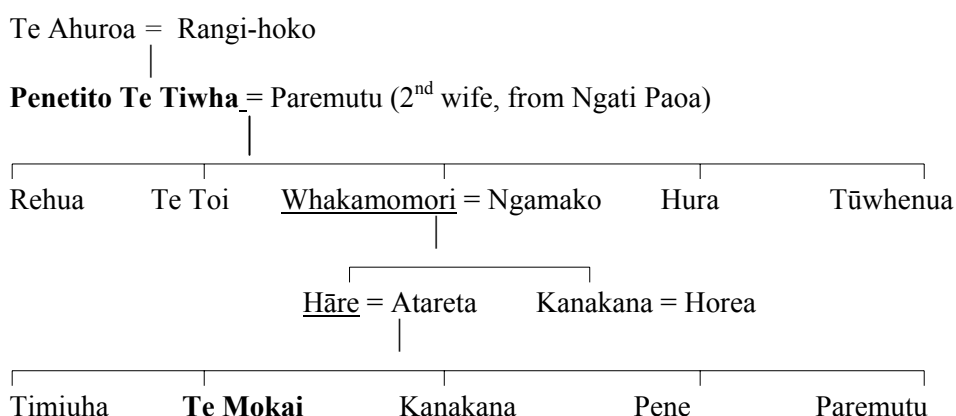
Whānau site location 1 - Hinuera

The Hinuera site is made up of five plots of land. Three lots are on one side of the roadside of State Highway 29 which crosses from State Highway 1 between Karapiro and Tīrau, through to the Kai Mai's leading to Tauranga. The whānau urupa (cemetery) is also located on this roadside. Two farms are on the other side of this main road. This papakāinga (sub-tribal residential site) is recalled with fondness, and a strong sense of belonging by members across three surviving generations of the whānau. This research project brought together a common thread of identity affiliated with this papakāinga. Individuals described the Hinuera farm site in the following recollections;

> "The farm house really was the centre of the universe in those days. "
> "The farm was our marae. "
> "The farm was self sufficient. "

There was a strong suggestion that the setting of the whanau homestead offered a

sustainable existence recognised by the generations affiliated to the farm land. There was also an indication of large numbers of whanau of all ages resident and frequenting this site.

"Heaps of whānau around…we all knew each other. "

"They were always coming home, whatever it was…there was a huge crowd at home. "

"The house was full of people, adults and kids. "

The whānau resided on five farms adjacent to each other and belonging to Hāre and Atareta's descendents Mokai, Pene, Kanakana and Paremutu. The original homestead was inherited by Mokai and his wife Waengārangi (Ngati Koura, Ngāti Whawhakia, Ngāti Wairere and Ngāti Raukawa) and physically located centrally, framed by the other two farms either side, and two directly opposite. At the rear of the homestead was a building known to the whānau as the 'kuhu'. This kuhu hosted most whānau gatherings from weddings, 21st birthdays and such celebrations, as well as local farming community social gatherings. The homestead had a tennis court at the front of the house that attracted local farmers for social competition and the kuhu provided the hospitality of the after match function. It was built by Waengārangi's brother probably in the 1930s (by account of an individual's memory of its existence in their childhood). It was one big room with a brick fireplace that filled the entire back wall of the building and was used for heat and cooking. This building was burnt down in the 1970s.

This particular land was a considerable distance from the Ngāti Te Oro and the Penetito whānau marae Raungaiti, in Waharoa (at least 20 kms across the other side of the Matamata township). The homestead is remembered by whānau as having tangihanga (funeral rituals) take place on site. The tupāpaku (body laying in state) was held in the front room, or in a tent alongside the house. Manuhiri (visitors) were called from the gateway arriving and as with any marae, engaged with rituals of karanga (ritual calls of welcome and farewell), mihimihi (greeting speeches), and hākari (ritual feasts). Photos

of Mokai's tangi in 1936 capture the hui, and procession to his burial at the whānau

Urupa (family cemetery) adjacent to the farm blocks.

<u>Whānau site location 2 - Waharoa</u>

The second whānau land site is located along the roadside of State Highway 27, at least

2 kilometres from Raungaiti Marae in Waharoa. This land belonged to Pikiteora,

inherited from her mother Paremutu and was adjacent to Timiuha's farm. There were

two farms and two houses on this block. A whānau member recalls "lots of people used

to live there from time to time. It was what most Māori families did in those days.

Those who had space and the aroha made a place for looking after whanaunga, whether

they were whanaunga or not".

These were also dairy farms managed and farmed by whānau members. The family

occupying this land had a close association with people and events at Raungaiti (the

marae), probably contributed to by the fact of location as well as whanaungatanga.

Although the location of each whānau land base either side of Matamata is apparent, the

whānau connection and contact was regular, and a sense of belonging at either farm

fostered by the whānau whānui (wider whānau).

Hāre died at age 65 in September 1922. The inscription on his stone, in the urupa that

he had designated as Wāhi Tapu for whānau burials reads;

> *He tangata tēnei i tino aroha nuitia e ōna haūu maha. Ara e Ngāti Hauā he*
> *tangata nui hoki ia i ōna iwi, a he tangata aroha īi a, ki te tangata ia, tae noa ki*
> *ana tamariki ōna manāki.*
>
> A loyal and supportive man to his many hapū. He was a man very loving of all
> people, his many hapū, his iwi of Ngāti Hauā and especially to his family.

Today this land in Hinuera remains as the papakāinga for the whānau Penetito. The

Waharoa land is not occupied by whānau, and is under lease for dairy farming.
The fourth generation of mokopuna from Hāre and Atareta number 60 (living relatives).
They range in age from 36 to 66 years. This generation have been actively encouraging
the regular meeting of whānau over the past 15 years. The first documented hui of this
whānau was held at Kirikiriroa Marae in Hamilton 1989. A reunion was held in 1994 at
the lakeside at Karapiro. Since 1999 the whānau whānui have annual hui where the
attendance has averaged 30 participants. These hui have picked up momentum and
become more structured and better organized each time with a set of standing agenda
items that include whakawhanaungatanga, whakapapa, waiata, karakia, financial
management and events planning.

A newsletter compiled and circulated at least annually has been one outcome of these
hui. A land database has been discussed and developed. A system for whānau koha to
tangihanga (ritual donations) at Raungaiti Marae has been established. A roster for
maintenance of the urupa (cemetery) has been put into action. A strategy for
distributing news through the whānau has been developed with consideration of
different mediums of modern technology and different accessibility to these mediums of
communication. This last item has been of particular importance in an effort to
strengthen whānau awareness of activities, achievements and calls for support.

Minutes are recorded and distributed from each annual gathering. Waiata have been
recorded and circulated to support the learning of waiata. The focus has been to
maximize whānau participation and involvement, and encourage interest through the
various forms of feedback from each hui (meeting). The third and fourth generations
from Hāre and Atareta have been instrumental in researching whakapapa and
resurrected the need for frequency of whānau hui (family meeting) and for the

transmission of whakapapa (genealogy).

There has been an increased interest throughout the last three generations of whanau in seeking higher academic qualifications, in the teaching profession specifically, teaching and learning te reo rangatira (Māori language), and promoting total immersion Māori learning opportunities for uri (descendents). Some whānau members have taken on responsibilities in land trusts and claims processes. Others are returning to Waikato to pursue tertiary education with relevance to Ngāti Hauātanga. These activities give a snap shot of the whānau today, and note that the seventh generation of mokopuna from Hāre and Atareta are already being produced, and will be beneficiaries to the future developments initiated by the importance placed on whanaungatanga (kinship ties), by individuals.

Summary

This chapter has set the scene for understanding the history, heritage and whakapapa of one whānau descended from Ngāti Te Oro. According to Pohatu (op.cit) "the conscious practice of reflection allows Māori the space for returning to moments in our past. By bringing those moments into 'this time' they can be considered from positions of our own choosing". (pg.55)

What I am attempting to do in this thesis is understand the values of a particular whānau, and to explore the influences shaping the concepts of whānau that have been transmitted through several generations. Kāwai whakapapa is a term frequently used in this chapter that refers to the values of the older generations that have been instilled as the values of the whānau. The reference to and applicationof these values ensure the longevity of the history, language, knowledge and culture of the whānau group. Metge

(1995) illustrated kāwai as the branching out and creeping similar to that of the kūmara vine, and in this context the ability to trace your ancestral lines. It is anticipated that the understanding gauged by the interaction with the subject whanau will subsequently provide connection between a whanau identity, and the foundations for development.

The past and the present have been explained in this chapter to give some substance to the context of kāwai whakapapa, and introduce a visual association to the setting. This background information has been presented to illustrate and allow for better understanding of the relationship between the research whānau and the physical, social, cultural and spiritual environment, thus creating familiarity for the reader. The whānau setting is strongly located to the whenua and signals a vital connection to the kāwai whakapapa, and identity of the whānau. This research project will trace the journey of whānau, in the effort to examine the whānau identity and development as experienced by these descendants of Ngāti Te Oro. This journey will uncover achievement of this particular whanau over generations who have endeavoured to plan for the future. Mason Durie, (2001) claims "The capacity to plan ahead, whakatakoto tikanga, is probably the most important whānau function, though is likely to be the one that is practised least well". (pg.202) By comparison to the progress of other whānau, this whānau could be considered to be still in the infancy stages of development however, the want, the energy and the importance to plan ahead is a motivating factor, increasingly so as whānau observe the knowledge base diminishing with each elder that dies within the whānau. If whānau is a state that is influenced by evolution of society and adapts accordingly, it is necessary to examine then philosophical aspects that are the DNA of whānau. That is, the weave of the fabric that is whānau. What is it that reinforces the strength, ensures the durability, and is a compatible tension to maintain a sense of adhesion and results in a quality garment? Whanau can be described as a garment that can be shared to provide warmth, protection, safety and a sense of belonging?

Rather than define the various interpretations of exclusivity associated with the function of whānau, and for purposes of continuing this dialogue without undermining the work of historians, it is equally important to spend time clarifying my own use of the terms 'family' and 'whānau' in the context of this thesis.

The term family will be used to refer to the nuclear unit, inclusive of siblings, parents, grandparents and mokopuna (across generations), and distinct by their family line, for example, the issue of two tupuna (ancestors). Whānau will refer to all descendants of two common ancestors across generations and family lines, inclusive of whāngai (adoptions) and those married into the whānau.

Having established the history to the setting and the background specific to the research whānau, the next chapter will lead into providing substance to definitions of whānau historically, and equally as relevant, in the modern context. The position of whānau identity within the environment of a Māori identity, and incorporated as a cultural identity will also be explored.

<h1 style="text-align:center">Chapter Two</h1>

<u>Whānau – Lost in Translation</u>

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Ha a koro mā, a kui mā.
The breath of life from forebears

</div>

Māori experiences of whānau are a mixture of traditional values and modern adaptations to societal change. In this chapter these experiences will be drawn from literature produced on the subject of whānau. Through this literature review different perspectives of whanau, in different contexts and different interactions will be examined to become familiar with what possible relationships exist within the description of whānau and for the purpose of explaining how whānau may be considered as having been 'lost in translation.' Some deliberations will be presented on issues surrounding identity and specific government documentation will be used as a point of reference to highlight these issues.

The beginning of time transmitted through kōrero tawhito (the oral histories of elders), describes the existence of Ranginui (Sky father) and Papatūānuku (Earth mother), the production of their offspring and the engagement between these personalities. This is the earliest depicted interaction of whānau in Te Ao Māori (the Māori World). The dynamics of whanaungatanga (relationships) including the roles between tuakana (older sibling), teina (younger sibling), sibling rivalry, parent-child interaction, and parent to parent child rearing values, are captured in the kōrero tawhito. The diversity of these relationships and the values that are produced as the fruits of this interaction are transmitted by orators of Te Ao Māori (the Māori World) illustrating a sense of belonging, an identity, an explanation of the beginnings of whānau, the importance of whānau whether in a state of calm or conflict and the responsibilities to and for whānau

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for many a generation. Papakura (1986) impresses that, the orators within Te Ao Māori

(the Māori World) are responsible for reinforcing the identity of younger generations by

establishing an accurate and meaningful account of their heritage. The presence of

Ranginui and Papatūānuku in this oral tapestry represent the richness of values, tradition

and meaning that are the foundations of whānau.

Marsden (1975) explains that the world for whānau Māori consisted of physical and

spiritual realms, and these impacted on the wellbeing of whānau. It is these oral

traditions that preserve the cultural fabric of identity and explain the importance of

heritage, also explain the interconnectedness of a people, a belief system, a genealogy

and a sense of belonging. This idea is also encapsulated by Arohia Durie (1997):

> Through the telling and interpretation of the Māori pantheon, younger
> generations of Māori have, from the earliest times, been able to situate
> themselves within the web of relationships set out in the cosmological
> narratives. As whakapapa is told and re-told, the interconnections between the
> living and the ancestors, the deities and the land becomes clear. From the
> personification of the pantheon down through eponymous ancestors, the shaping
> of individual and collective Māori identity is set within the context of the
> personal, the collective and the total environment. (pg.147)

To illustrate the dimensions of whānau, it is relevant to understand the principles or

foundations of whānau values, through the deliberated functions of whānau. The literal

meaning of 'whānau' was reference to the giving of birth and the birthing of a life.

Durie (2003) states "Apart from its fundamental meaning, to give birth, whānau is a

word that has changed as Māori society itself has changed". (pg.13) Expressions of

whānau are described in the following extracts from a range of authors of a variety of

backgrounds, and presented within various genre.

Metge (op.cit) highlighted five primary functions of the whānau. These included the support of individuals within the whānau through reciprocity; the lending and sharing of support and the provision of basic needs. Secondly, she notes the shared care role of raising children. Thirdly, the care and management of group property and assets which include land, marae (common tribal meeting ground) and papakāinga (whanau residential area). The ability and obligation to organise, manage, host and facilitate hui is the fourth function described; and lastly is expressed the capacity to raise, discuss, and resolve internal whānau conflicts between members, or with an external issue.

Metge's (ibid) study of whānau presents an understanding of Māori concepts, with the intent to extend the knowledge of Pākeha to better recognise the unique cultural structure of Māori society. She provides a comprehensive analysis of change, and the structural patterns of whānau that have evolved. She explores the degrees of identification, internal and external influences to this change, and insight to non-kin whānau associations, modelled on the whānau of primary reference. Metge (ibid) expands on the assumption that everyone is familiar with the concept of whānau in the statement that "In ordinary and even in professional interaction, Māori who know the whānau from the inside typically take it for granted and fail to see or address other people's confusions and misunderstanding." (pg.26)

This statement validates some thinking around the phenomenon that 'whānau' as a concept is not directly transferable or qualified as a translation of the word 'family', or assumed to be the natural experience for all Māori. Therefore, whānau as an identity is like other cultural concepts within Ao Māori. It is a responsibility for each generation to demonstrate the practice of whānau, and in doing so transmit the value of whānau in order to retain the importance of whānau.

By comparison Durie (op.cit) describes the main goals of whānau. He qualifies the goals of whānau maximise the individual and group well-being. This includes maximisation of resources (including land) and protection of an asset base. Within Durie's explanation of the whānau's 'principle activities' is the celebration of life cycle milestones, mutual support, reciprocal commitments, transmission of shared heritage and land management. In contrast to the functions of whānau listed by Metge (op. cit), Durie (op.cit) has formed a set of goals to better describe not only activity of whānau, but obligations and responsibilities.

Pohatu (1996) elaborates on the roles within Te Ao Māori that are cornerstones for whānau well being to deliberately secure a sense of whānau identity. Pohatu explores yet another aspect of whānau. He refers to invisible factors that socialise individuals into a distinctive group such as whānau. Pohatu works within a cultural context to illustrate the roles and mechanisms within a whānau setting to achieve the transmission of cultural practise, cultural thought, cultural behaviour and the cultural importance that maintains a positive whānau identity.

Within the education and learning environment, another approach to interaction with whānau is discussed by Tangaere (1998). Tangaere compiles his own theory on whānau by identifying three sites that are indicators of a support environment in whānau. He uses these sites to explain the behaviours that make up the institute of whānau. *Aroha*; love, caring, embracing inclusitivity as part of the group. *Man*ā*ki;* hospitality, sharing, nurturing and providing, and *atawhai*; support, interdependence and reciprocity. Tangaere's thesis designs the principles of the *whānau model* within the arena of formal education, emphasising the importance of the following values:

- Participation - in whānau hui, and in managing the educational service to children.

- Collaboration and support -between kaiako (teachers) and parents/whānau.

- Accountability.

- Commitment to the kaupapa -revitalisation of te reo and nga tikanga.

- Decision making - contribution towards the content for the children's learning and development.

Prior to this model Nepe (1991) described whānau as 'the place of security, and surety of social, cultural, educational and political reproduction'. (pg.78) This position of whānau is presented by Nepe from a Kaupapa Māori educationalist paradigm, and emphasises whānau, under positive circumstances as, the social grouping that interconnects physical, spiritual, and cultural realms to provide the ideal situation for learning. She goes on to acknowledge whānau as the buffer not only to protect ones existence, but ones survival as Māori. Both her statements and those reiterated by Tangaere (op.cit) have contributed to the reinforcement of whānau decision making within Māori education. They have applied the values of a healthy whānau to the environment of education required to achieve positive Māori learning.

Moeke-Pickering (1996) found that the formation of a secure whānau identity would be likely to contribute significantly toward an overall stable Māori identity. There is a theme of interdependence between a sense of whānau and a cultural identity that is strongly represented by each of these writings referred to. There is extensive study and documentation about Māori development, and definition of identity as a construct of this development. These definitions interact between the terms cultural identity, Māori

identity and whānau identity. Moeke– Pickering (ibid) captures the dimensions of

'Māori identity within whānau'. Her analysis examines conceptualisations of Māori

identity, illustrates Māori identity in relation to Pākeha ecology, highlights the support

movements towards stabilising Māori identity, and summarises then interpretations of

tradition and contemporary whānau identity concluding;

> what is of significance, is that the formation of a secure identity is likely to
> contribute toward an overall stable Māori identity. Creating an environment
> where a sense of secure wellbeing among members of a whānau is nurtured,
> leads to members constructing a whānau and Māori identity that is meaningful
> to them in their lives. (pg.10)

Moeke–Pickering focuses on the two notions of 'whānau identity' and 'Māori identity'

using literature from 1972 – 1995. At this stage the theories of identity are further

explored to illustrate a variety of perspectives and angles, thus creating a relationship

between whānau identity and whānau development.

The interface between conceptualisations of Māori identity, cultural identity and

whānau identity are discussed by both Māori and Pākeha, who have established

rationale for changing whānau structures, dissected Māori terminology to understand

these whānau structures, and in Durie's work, developed key markers for Māori cultural

identity. These key markers indicate a range of forms of engagement that would assist

to determine an individual or whānau's level of awareness, participation and

relationship with a Māori cultural identity. Durie (1995) lists these markers beginning

with self- identification as Māori, cultural knowledge, access and participation in Māori

institutions (marae), activities (hui whānau), resources (land), and access to use and

learning of te reo Māori. Durie (ibid) acknowledges that there is no single measure for

these concepts (whānau identity, cultural identity & Māori identity), and that the

shaping of identity is evolving. The definition of whānau in a cultural context, and the

awareness of the political environment, ecology and external non-Māori influences are prominent themes in contributing to the understanding of what whānau identity involves.

Ballara (1998) examines the relationships, social interaction and re-grouping of whānau, hapū and iwi from 1769 to 1945, forming the opinion that "Māori have been coping with multiple identities for centuries". (pg.33) From hapū to hapū, iwi to iwi, the experiences studied are unique to events, leadership, land, inter-tribal connections and interaction with Pākeha. The interface between whānau identity, cultural identity, and identity as Māori are intertwined. Ballara (ibid) explains the introduction of the term 'Māori' manufactured a new category of identification of whānau, hapū and iwi beyond the experiences of tangata whenua (people of the land) prior to the arrival of tauiwi (other peoples). In a sense it is true that there was no 'Māori' social organisation or history until after significant pan-Māori movements began their reaction to European settlement. The word 'māori' meant ordinary, common as against exotic or fresh, as in ordinary drinking water.

The records of the first European contact with Māori, are subjected to an exclusive mono-cultural observation of Māori society at the time. As with many classical social structures that operated in Aotearoa prior to the arrival of tauiwi (strangers) the identity of whānau was to be invariably compared to the colonial definition of 'the family'. Ballara (ibid) remarked, "The British view in 1823 was that: the Māori community had a bond of mutual protection, and descent and kinship were unnoticed or unrecorded". (pg.62)

The structure of whānau was to be more reliably reported, by non-Māori standards, through the eyes of early settlers in the late 18th century. Their observations of the perceived roles of whānau members, of whānau activities of social interaction, of perceived levels of status to individuals in the whānau, and characteristics and behaviours familiar to the norm of the parent-child cultural tradition were correlated to the recognised British form of family. According to Metge (1995) whānau was identified at this time by records of clergimen and British government officials as; 'the basic social unit of Māori society'. (pg.16) This observation came from the apparent three tiered whānau - hapū - iwi structure.

The complexity of whānau relationships are scrutinised by both Māori and non- Māori Metge (op. cit), Salmond (1991), and Durie (1994). These authors have gone about examining the socialisation of whānau, the evolving influences of environment and location, the interpretations from whānau themselves about kinship arrangements, and their shaping of whānau identities based on inter-hapū, inter-iwi whakapapa links, as well as socio-economic circumstances inclusively. In the late 19th century the quest by Missionaries and British government officials to identify 'whānau' produced many variables that defined whānau differently in different contexts. Correspondence and records from Henry Williams (1831) and Wakefield (1845) cited in Ballara (op.cit) provide external observations and interpretations of the social organisation of Māori society. These variables included debate on the inclusion of whāngai and spouses, economic inter-dependence, tribal differences, ancestral naming, land inheritance and a defined range of generational identification. Ballara (op.cit) points out that a major problem to defining Māori society was the finding that descent groups were 'bilineal'. (pg.32) This meant that whakapapa (genealogy) was traced through both maternal and paternal lines with equal importance and precision of knowledge of descent groups

including hapu and iwi affiliation to both parents, all four grandparents and all eight great grandparents.

Best (1924), Firth (1959) and Te Rangihiroa (1950) did however achieve agreement on the following aspects common to whānau despite the aforementioned variables; according to Metge (op. cit)

> a family group usually comprising three generations; an older man and his wife, some or all of their descendants and in-married spouses, or some variant (such as several brothers with their wives and families) representing a stage in a domestic cycle; a domestic group occupying a common set of buildings (sleeping house or houses, cookhouse and storage stages) standing alone or occupying a defined subdivision of a village;a social and economic unit responsible for the management of daily domestic life, production, and consumption;the lowest tier in a three-tiered system of socio-political groups defined by descent from common ancestors traced through links of both sexes, the middle tier consisting of hapū and the highest of iwi. (pg.35)

The researched opinion of Best, Firth and Te Rangihiroa span a time frame of five decades, indicating for its time these common attributes were consistently apparent, and resilient traits had been maintained regardless of the affects of Christianity, loss of land, health epidemics claiming high mortality rates, and the early stages of urbanisation. Despite the evident ability of a dominant culture to assert a label of identity on a people, and for this people to further adopt this identity, the threat of losing a cultural identity and the values of that identity would become the focus for Māori to re-claim unique aspects of tribal-tanga. Rangihau (1975) persisted to elevate Tuhoetanga (the cultural practice of customs and etiquette unique to Tuhoe as a people) as an example in this context.

Generations of whānau, hapū and iwi have been exposed to the influence of assimilation as indigenous people. King (1977), Walker (1975), Marsden (op.cit) This external

cultural influence is introduced and investigated through the development theory of Modernisation in later chapters. In the context of the development of Aotearoa as a colonised nation, the stress to whānau as a result of cultural invasion will be exposed. This realisation for whānau in modern times would become motivation for establishing strategies for re-claiming inherent structures of identity. Penetito (2000) observes, "It is not new to hear about the confusion, conflict, and even crisis of Māori identity (Schwimmer ,1973; Vaughan, 1964) yet Māori are numerically stronger than ever before and self-identifying at least as convincingly as earlier generations". (pg.63)

The decolonisation argument introduced by Smith (1999) has in recent times challenged the need for validation of a Māori world view. This argument presents a theory that draws on a traditional knowledge base and reinforces a focus on the legitimacy of Maori philosophies, which includes the importance of Maori language, culture and principles. This theory is coined the Kaupapa Maori theory and although it has been developed through academic exploration, the concept has been drawn from the existing philosophical foundations of Maori culture. The validility of this knowledge was only ever questioned and negated by colonisation and the colonisers.

Kaupapa Māori Theory is a contemporary description of mātauranga Māori, a Māori knowledge base which encapsulates a Māori world view. Kaupapa Māori theorists have claimed a space for liberating a Māori thought process through this development. Parallels drawn between Kaupapa Māori Theory and Critical Theory, by Pihama (1993) align the theoretical framework of Kaupapa Māori to the tools of resistance and emancipation, as expressed through Critical Theory. The thinking that these two theories may compliment each other is couched by Kirkpatrick, Katsiaficas, Emery (1978) description of Marx's world view. Marx articulated a school of thought in

critical theory that advocated the 'worldview of the exploited wageworkers rather than the worldview of the aristocracy or the rich bankers as had previously prevailed'. (pg.3). His aim was to challenge the status quo of society through empowering the voice of the voiceless, in order to 'release humanity from the bonds of alienation'. (pg.1) Relevant to this is Pihama's (ibid) observation that the voice of modern Māori in the 21st century is increasingly politicised, and conscientised, able to analyse the history of injustices and inequalities as a people, not only from oral tradition but from a position of knowing, and experience through exposure to the continued oppression. There is a collective want to reclaim a cultural identity and assert the rights of this identity to progress a sense of self determination. An example of this emancipation has been advanced through the development of Kaupapa Māori Theory.

The concept of Kura Kaupapa Māori (total immersion Māori language medium educational institute) provides praxis between the theory of Kaupapa Maori and active development of whanau. Kura Kaupapa Māori provides a vision for Māori development as an educational model that is based on mātauranga Māori. This total immersion learning environment has regenerated the energy of whānau Māori to reclaim and uphold this knowledge base as a valid cultural basis for Māori education. Kura Kaupapa Māori is also recognised as an instance of praxis between Kaupapa Māori Theory, and Mātauranga Māori.

Smith (1990) has progressed the definition and philosophical basis of Kaupapa Māori with statements that secure a position for Mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge/epistemology) in the wider context of theoretical validity, as well as to ground an understanding of its practicality in growing development initiatives within Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Pākeha for Māori purpose. He summarises the theory by

substantiating the position of 'being Maori' is to assert an autonomy to promote a survival of culture, and security of wellbeing, based entirely on an inherent knowledge base that is conveyed through te reo and tikanga, principles and philosophies of Te Ao Maori (a Maori World view). (pg.100)

Tikanga Māori (Māori traditions) and Te Reo (Māori language) are asserted as the principles of Kaupapa Māori legitimising the ownership and cultural capacity for Māori to actively participate in the transformation of theory to praxis, with their own tools, te reo me ngā tikanga Māori (Māori language and traditions). Kaupapa Māori is a theory that has provided a platform for study on subjects pertaining specifically to Māori concepts or phenomena to be researched for the betterment of Māori society itself, not for reasons of increasing Western knowledge or understanding of the subject, as has been the experience historically for research conducted on Māori, for Māori. Kaupapa Māori operates within a definition of whānau acceptable both to cultural dimensions of the concept, as well as being responsive to the academic responsibilities of accountability, rigor and validity involved in research. An example of this development is evident in the presence, construction, use and praxis of Kaupapa Māori theory. 'Kaupapa Māori' is a concept adapted to the purposes of progressing the notion of Mātauranga Māori, the body of knowledge inherent to, and inclusive of a Māori world view. Introduced formally in the 1990s, Kaupapa Māori is a term and a reference that is now most commonly used in the academic world to describe a specific Maori perspective. The presence of whānau within the research of Kaupapa Māori theory is referred to as a medium for monitoring, accountability, validity, legitimacy, and guardianship.

There is little debate that the future of Māori development on a macro level, through to whānau development on a micro level have critical components for positive development, as expressed in a report for government compiled by Durie, Fitzgerald, Kingi, McKinley & Stevenson (2002). This is an opinion reinforced by Smith (op.cit), Rangihau (op.cit), and King (op.cit) who argue that these critical developmental components are cultural identity and the central position of whānau to any future development. Durie (op.cit) goes further to acknowledge that identification to a cultural sense of belonging can be assessed through the degree of access an individual has to Te Ao Māori in this case, as a Māori. Irwin (1992) argues that the challenge ahead as people is to acknowledge and rectify cultural practices fundamental to whānau development. In the following paragraphs the distinguishing differences that have been highlighted in the former discussion points and observations of society in general regarding Māori identity, cultural identity and whānau identity are summarised.

Ballara (op.cit) takes the position that Māori conceptualisations of their social structure, and Māori social organisation are constantly in a state of change, and that there has been a need to consequently adapt and adopt multiple identities. Metge (op.cit) provides a comprehensive analysis of change and parts of the pattern of whānau that have evolved. She explores the degrees of identification, internal and external influences to this change, and insight to non-kin whānau associations, modelled on the whānau of primary reference. Although Metge's (ibid) study is focused on whānau identity, she integrates cultural identity as the foundations for a whānau identity within a Māori family to develop. Durie (op.cit) has a more specific focus through his research which involves developing a methodology for determining cultural identity. He determines that the concept of a secure identity within a Māori cultural context, are the means to achieving the goal of self determination for Māori. Penetito (op.cit) explores Māori development

from an educational perspective. He places the notion of identity into an arena of responsibility stating; "The whole idea of a crisis of Māori identity is an inherently flawed notion. But having said that, I do not claim that Māori are being all that they can be – this is clearly far from being the case and both Māori and the state, agency and structure, have important roles to play". (pg.64)

Rangihau (op.cit) contended the creation of a Māori identity did not make sense, it was an identity created by Pākeha. He claimed that a more relevant cultural identity was based on tribal origin. Moeke-Pickering's findings were that the formation of a secure whānau identity would be likely to contribute significantly toward an overall stable Māori identity. To suggest there has not been valid assessments produced by Māori and non-Māori alike, to provide reason for these conceptualisations would be unfounded. I would agree that aspects of identity are intangible. However when the practice of hui (gatherings), wananga (formal learning opportunities), kapa haka (performing arts), tangihanga (ceremony for death) is observed, this brings people together to share kai (food), stories, whanangatanga (relationships/connections) and history. This practice of 'being Maori' is captured for me in the statement made by Michaels (1992): "What this involves is the representation of your culture not as the things you love to do but as the things you love to do because they are your culture." (pg.673)

Based on an understanding that a cultural identity is a combination of social interaction, a connection, a history, sharing of commonalities and association in an environment that creates a sense of belonging as Māori we participate within an ethnic specific culture, which provides a Māori identity. As a people of a culture that is labelled Māori we claim our own social structural identity as members of whānau, hapū and iwi. The urban Māori debate offers another perspective on affiliation to these structures, however

there remains present a positive cultural identity, with little or no contact with Te Ao Māori, an association never the less with a whānau identity, a Māori identity, and a cultural identity. The relationship between these identities has been strengthened by creative opportunities, for example Smith (op.cit) explains Kaupapa Māori as an intervention strategy is an inclusive structure ideal for analysing the engagement between these identities and providing a support base for awareness raising (through conscientisation), direction and confirmation (transformative praxis). (pg.36)

This notion of transformative praxis was developed by Paulo Freire (1972) who considers praxis as a process of action and reflection. Freire explains that the process of freeing up oneself as a people, from oppression and exploitation involves engagement in a transformation cycle. He describes the awakening stage as conscientisation. The often unconscious but deliberate action to engage in finding out more about ones identity is transformative praxis, and the learning or exposure to truths leads to the other state in the cycle, resistance. The resistance is the energy applied to dispel existing perceptions. Transformative praxis is illustrated by Graham Smith (1999) as a lesson derived from Paulo Freire in this flowchart.

**Figure 6: Transformative Praxis – Becoming More Human**
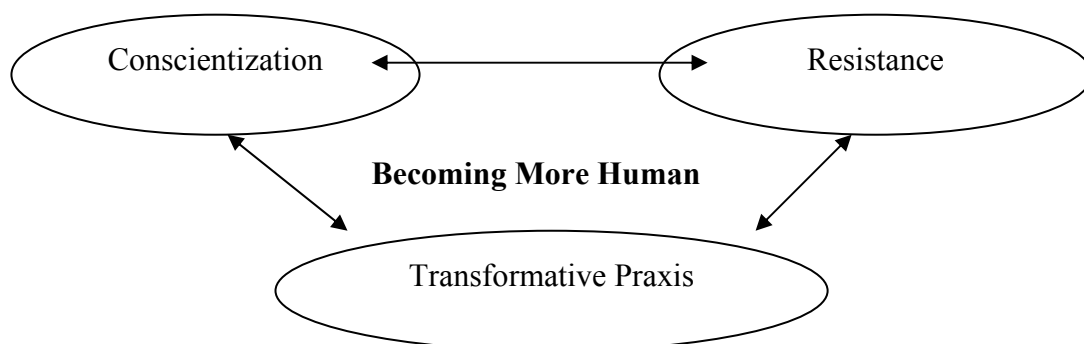
The praxis can be followed in the example of parental engagement with their child at Kohanga Reo (pre-school education total immersion Māori language nest). Participation in Kōhanga Reo can be used as an example of this cycle. Perhaps the initial reason for entry to Kōhanga Reo for the parent is for childcare purposes. What the environment presents asthetically is an expectation of knowledge of te reo. All communication is in te reo rangatira. The prerequisite for entry delivered to parents is an expectation of commitment to the kaupapa (philosophy), that is in the first instance that parents use te reo with their child, and if this is not an immediate possibility, a commitment to learn te reo is required. Whānau engagement and involvement is invited through regular hui, and individuals are exposed to issues beyond the goings on in the Kōhanga Reo, inclusive of political issues in the community and within Ao Māori society. The individual's senses are heightened as their contact with a Māori learning environment infiltrates their daily lives. Their communication skills are extended unconsciously and by participating in Kōhanga Reo they are part of a resistance that has determined that mainstream early childhood is not catering to the needs of Māori children, and to their identity as Māori. Transformative praxis is an inclusive process that allows simultaneous engagement with each of the elements of resistance, conscientisation and transformative praxis.

It is on a similar bases that it can be argued that the interaction between whānau identity, Māori identity and cultural identity exists intrinsically, and not in isolation of each other. In identifying with a whanau there will be at some point for an individual an encounter with conscientisation. This is relevant to establish connection, genealogy and belonging. The extent of this knowledge and want for this information will also interact with differing levels of resistance, acceptance, and challenge for the individual

as to their cultural, social and ethnic position in a wider society context. Within

different influences like education, employment, relationships and friendships a

situation of constant reflection will inform an acceptance to identify with being part of a

whanau, being part of a culture and ethnicity. Each of these institutions become critical

experiences and cultures that shape the individual's identity and enable them to identify

with differences outside of their own cultural identity.

Figure 7: Identity Inter-Relationships

Cultural Identity

Māori Identity
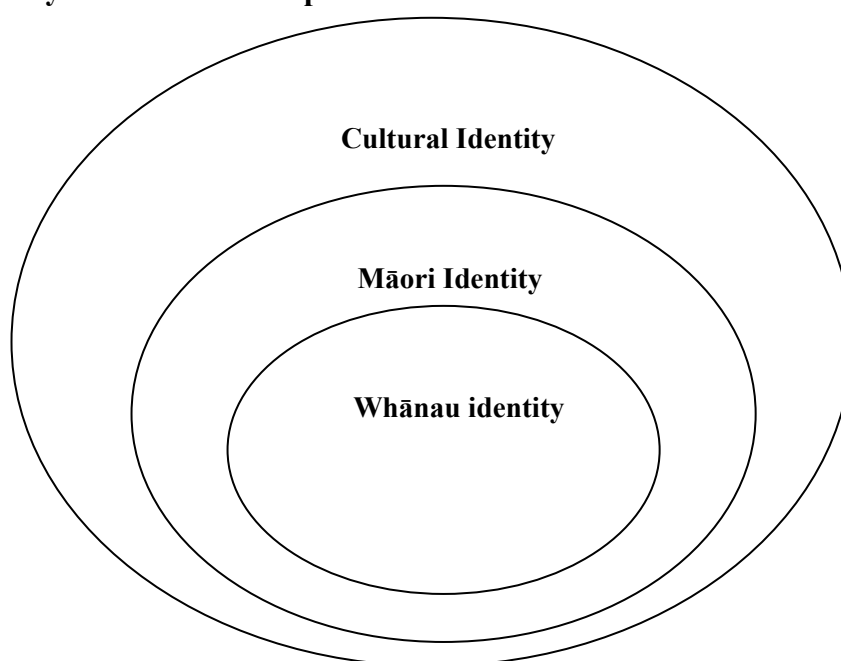
Whānau identity

This Venn diagram shows the relationship between each of the defined identities.

This diagram illustrates that whānau is the central common aspect of an individual's

identity. We are born into a whānau, and a whakapapa (genealogy). The whakapapa

belongs to their identity as Māori, by birthright. This in summary forms a very

simplistic explanation not of these three concepts individually, but in relation to each

other. The tangible common aspects of each of these constructs being, the people. It

also illustrates the first recognition of whānau, as a cornerstone of Te Ao Māori. It is

this relationship that will be debated throughout this thesis. When considering this

position of whanau as central to the identity of Maori, the reality of the modern

structure of whanau becomes an example of transformative praxis.

The use of the term whānau, akin with the concept of whānau has experienced an

evolution. Within this evolution the structure, function and relationship dynamics of

whānau as a construct of identity have been examined. Previous research on

interpretations, findings, observations and theories relating to whānau has enabled

whānau to be recognised as a social grouping that has been adapted to allow for

different generations to practice whānau, based on the experienced value in the concept

of whānau. This has consequently resulted in the formation of new paradigms of

whānau, to suit the setting. Metge (ibid) comments,

> Real life whānau do not and should not be expected to conform too closely to
> the constructed model. Each has its own character, its own degree of integration
> and effectiveness, created and re-created out of the interaction between
> personalities of its members and the circumstances of time and place.
> Members'right to work out their own identity and tikanga must always be
> respected. (pg. 78)

The constitution of whānau has developed parallel to, and influenced by, the

development of Māori society as a whole. There has been contrasting opinion

throughout the literature about interpretations of Māori concepts in isolation of each

other, the dynamics of interaction between these concepts, and the issue of belonging or

appropriate use outside of a Māori construct. It can be concluded that the interaction

between the different concepts of whānau identity, Māori identity and cultural identity

is experienced at different levels, and differing degrees however rarely, in isolation of

each other. As a part of reviewing literature relevant to explain whānau as well as

observe the versatility of whānau as a concept, the practice and application of whānau

has been explored. If whānau is an example of Māori terminology lost in translation,

then it is necessary to explore the language of translation. In this case the use of Māori language in government policy will present the opportunity.

The Language of Translation

From the turn of the century there has been a shift in the political thinking of governments concerning Māori. In turn, the response from Māori has shifted also. The use of 'whānau' in government department literature reflects this shift and is commonly an inclusive term referring to a range of family types.

It is observed that policy development specific to Maori needs continues to irritate Māori and result in some tension with Māori constructs of development. Across education, health, social work and justice sectors, Māori concepts and Māori terminology have been accessed and applied through research and writings to reflect government commitment and responsiveness to Māori disparity. Metge (op.cit) makes the following observation;

> In less than ten years the word whānau has moved from being unknown to most non-Māori to being sufficiently familiar to be used in conversation and the news media without translation. It has joined the increasing number of Māori words which are an integral part of New Zealand English. (pg.309)

Joan Metge, continues this dialogue to raise her concerns about examples of Māori terminology being used outside of the Māori context, and altering its meaning with little awareness to the depth and complexity of concepts like that of 'whānau'. The question could be posed as to whether this practice is an example of shared power, or as Fleras and Spoonley (1999) ascert rather a gesture of recognition towards tino rangatiratanga through the incorporation of te reo Māori within policy language of mainstream.

A brief insight as to what extent governments have ventured in their use of Māori values and concepts is necessary to gauge an answer to this question. The Ministry of Health (1998) advises that since 1996 there has been increased interest from government, and mainstream institutions to develop policy that acknowledges the value of the concept of whānau as a tool for development among Māori.

In choosing to advance responsiveness to Māori through recognition of the whānau as an institution within Ao Māori, the concept of identity and the role of whānau within this identity is susceptible to interpretation. The following statement identifies the risk associated with using a social construct to formulise the guidelines of a response to a social problem. Penetito (op.cit) claims; "Identity is a construction, a process never completed, never a proper fit of a totality." (pg.64)

In this context policy statements provide examples of the language and concepts of Māori cultural identity and whānau identity that have been considered as valid and productive strategies for approaching a positive relationship between Māori and the Crown. For example, the Ministry of Health 1995 produced a document which targeted the identity, structure and value of whānau, as central to addressing issues of well being. There appears to be genuine acknowledgement in statements that read;

> Programmes which are identifiably Māori, and which validate whānau and their values and beliefs, are likely to minimise many of the structural barriers that some whānau experience in the delivery of programmes and services.(pg.35)

This validation was reinforced further by the Ministry of Health (op.cit) producing 'Whaia Te Whanaungatanga; Oranga Whānau: The Wellbeing of Whānau.' This document developed principles and guidelines for improving the health status of Māori

through engaging, understanding and raising the awareness of the cultural aspects of positive development as supported within the whānau, and whānau inter-relationships.

Preceding this more recent example of policy has been the impact of legislation. According to Durie (op.cit) the introduction of the Child Youth and Family Act 1989 enforced the role of whānau participation in decision making. The Department of Social Welfare Report, *Puao Te Atatu* produced in 1986 and headed by John Rangihau of Tuhoe was initiated in response to claims of institutional racism against the Department. Kiro (2000) reflects on the document;

> The right of Māori children to ongoing contact with their whānau, hapū and iwi (family, subtribe and tribe) as a means of securing their cultural identity was reinforced through the 1986 report Puao-te-ata-tu, by the Ministerial Committee on a Māori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare. This report would contribute in part to the groundbreaking Children, Young Persons and Their families Act in 1989 by attempting to involve families in decision-making around their youngsters through Family Group Conferences. (pg.85)

The findings of *Puao Te Atatu* encouraged active leadership from the whānau in support roles, and required the professional worker to observe cultural preferences and customs. The Family Group Conference (FGC) would be the vehicle to implement this approach. The legislation then proceeded to define the parameters of this practice giving 'paramountcy' to the child. This in effect removes the child from the whānau unit. The circumstances of the child is assessed in isolation of the whānau, immediately contradicting the intent of whānau participation; the FGC is considered by the Department of Child, Youth and Family Services as the formal mechanism for consultation with whānau. However, the FGC anticipates an outcome which prioritises the needs of the child above the whānau. In the case of child abuse, if a whānau member is responsible for the abuse, the whānau is placed in the adversarial position. The Department's work with a whānau is exclusive of the child concerned in this scenario and negates the intended status of whānau. This example reflects the

vulnerability and compromise that presents when a Māori concept is customised for the purpose of practice outside of a Māori context.

The Adoption Act 1955 sets another example of contention in regards to child well-being and a whānau presence. According to Durie-Hall and Metge (1992), Māori adoption differs in fundamental respects from adoption as embodied in New Zealand law. In spite of recent changes in attitudes and practice still little recognition exists of the necessity for Māori to trace their identity through whakapapa (genealogy) and be able to claim multiple membership based on these kinship ties. Mikaere (2003) comments; "It was relatively common for Māori children to be given to someone other than their parents to be raised, but there was absolutely no secrecy involved, for it was imperative that the child know his or her whakapapa." (pg.105)

The arrangement of whāngai was not confidential like that of adoption, and remained most commonly within whānau. The parenting is also often a shared responsibility within whānau accessing various expertise for ages and stages in the child's development.

The language, meaning, and understanding of the differences in the way Māori and Pākeha think about adoption are perceptions from two different cultural paradigms. Mikaere (1994) illustrates; "While it is common for the Māori concept of whāngai to be paralleled with adoption, it is argued that the two concepts are so fundamentally different that they cannot and should not be spoken of as being similar in anyway". (pg.14)

Māori have resisted this traditional form of caregiving being captured and defined by government adoption law and policy which has continued to pose tensions between those in the legal system enforcing the Act, and whanau Māori asserting the practice of whāngai. Although more recently the 1985 Adult Adoption Information Act has modified the secrecy provisions of the 1955 Act Durie-Hall (op.cit), allowing the right to access birth parent information, the equity of legislation meeting the best interests of both Māori tikanga, and Pākeha protocols remains out of kilter. Aspects of Māori social and cultural practice continue to be exposed to Pākeha interpretation.

Concurrently within the justice system considerable attention has been applied by governments to rectify continued disproportionate Māori participation. The Ministry of Justice (2001)document *'He Hinatore ki te Ao Māori',* is quite explicit on this issue: "With a high proportion of Māori involvement in the Justice system, the Ministry of Justice has the obligation to provide policy which can in some way reduce this involvement". (pg.iii)

This Ministry of Justice document discusses concepts of utu (consequence/response) muru (compensation/retribution) and whakamā (shame/embarrasement) among other terms. The purpose of the document is stipulated as "to assist us in further understanding the meanings of these important terms". (pg.iii) He Hinatore ki Te Ao Māori recognised the depth and diversity of these concepts in Te Ao Māori give explanation for behaviours, actions, appearance and psychological states, in an Ao Māori environment. However, this policy paper also acknowledges the increase of presence of Māori terms in statutes, and the risk therefore of misinterpretation. It also states that the content is not definitive - an effort to protect Māori consulted for their expertise in these concepts. Selection of advisors and calibre of research is integral to

ensure sound policy and direction. Also important is the synthesis between Crown agent, advisor and community. Commonly, referenced to individual interpretations as unique to personal experience serve to explain the fluidity of these terms between Māori of different tribal heritage. These definitions therefore can not be assumed as transferable from iwi to iwi hence a disclaimer statement by the producers. Taking the meanings out of context be it cultural, or environmental is to add other dimensions, and subsequent considerations.

Similarly a draft document from the Department of Internal Affairs (2003) provides yet another perspective on this case in point. A strategy to enhance the organisations delivery of services to whānau (family), hapū (sub-tribe), iwi (tribe) and Māori organisations has coined the phrase *Te Whakamotuhaketanga Hapū* (Hapū Development). The summary of this document concurs that, "Any strategy focusing on effective outcomes for Māori must have its foundations based in Te Ao Māori otherwise it becomes yet another initiative done to or for Māori without reference to the aspirations of whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori". (pg.18) The title *Hapū Development* was the initial draft naming of the strategy that was taken to marae throughout the country and presented to whānau (family), hapū (sub-tribe), iwi (tribe). Communities consulted challenged the assumption that a government department would attempt to define what this term meant, and how to guide this development. As a result of this process the title *Whakamotuhaketanga Hapū* was nominated by a consultant/tohunga (ritual specialist), in collaboration with kaumātua (elders) represented in a departmental advisory capacity. This approach was to follow due process and respond accordingly to the concern. Through the use of Māori terminology the criticism would be settled, as this term placed whānau (family), hapū (sub-tribe), iwi (tribe) and Māori communities central to the strategy. The meaning of motuhake (self-determination) was more relevant to iwi

Māori (Māori people) asserting their own development, and this strategy would provide access to the support required to progress this visioning. The intent was to respond accordingly to the target audience and give affect to the strategy with approval from whānau (family), hapū (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribe) throughout the country. In this instance the intent was more acceptable to Māori, and the potential for development better understood when the concept was named to maximise benefit to iwi Māori (Māori people) more so than the crown agent. The power of te reo rangatira (Māori language) would be witnessed in this sequence of events.

It could be argued that very recently, official attitudes, policy and practice have begun to change in radical ways (Metge op.cit), and that government is attempting to recognise responsibilities under the Treaty of Waitangi. It could also be pointed out that, the risk of misinterpretation and misuse of Māori concepts has been observed to occur more at the application and implementation stages of policy.

Tino rangatiratanga is a phrase and example where translation, meaning and understanding is often in conflict with the context and intent proposed by government policy. Smith (1999) contends, "Although there is considerable linguistic and legal debate about the concept of rangatiratanga in relation to the text of the treaty and its obligations of the Crown, its wider use by Māori encapsulates a wide range of beliefs and aspirations". (pg.11) Tino rangatiratanga has become a political slogan for Maori which locates Maori as drivers and owners of their collective vision to manage their destiny. As a concept belonging to Te Ao Maori, the foundations of any progress towards Tino Rangatiratanga rely on the understanding and commitment of whanau. It is this connection that the term Tino Rangatiratanga will be utilsed to exemplify Maori terminology in a non-Maori setting.

In scanning literature, huge variations appear in the defining of the term tino rangatiratanga. The Waitangi Tribunal 1996 defined tino rangatiratanga as allowing the indigenous people of a country to have the rights to "manage their own policy, resources, and affairs, within minimum parameters necessary for the proper operation of the state". Mason Durie (1998) has had input in shaping an understanding of tino rangatiratanga, by providing an index of aims that would be steps towards the goal of Māori self determination. The index lists the aims of Māori advancement, the aim of affirming a Māori identity and the aim of environmental protection for future generations. In a survey conducted in 1999, the following terms were given by Māori and non-Māori to describe their understanding of tino rangatiratanga. Fleras & Spoonley (ibid) present these findings;

Sovereignty	full chiefly authority	ārikitanga
Autonomy	strong leadership	self determination
Māori nationhood	trusteeship	independent power
Self-management	supreme rule	
Iwi nationhood	self reliance	

(pg.24-25)

This survey illustrates the diversity of public interpretation of both Māori and non-Māori of this term, which begs the question as to how effective the implementation of government policy can be, given the equally diverse understanding of what is being attempted down stream. The measurement of performance is then open to scrutiny, as the indicators and milestones are subject to a similar scope of interpretation.

Further examples of this circumstance exist in other forms of legislation, and in different publications designed to endorse and explain the needs for Māori specific resourcing. The Mental Health Act 1992 took a stance in supporting Māori identity by making statements recognising the significance of a Māori cultural identity and again reinforcing the importance of whānau ties. Social policy legislation has also incorporated considerations of Māori values, beliefs and practices. (Durie op.cit) Extensive dialogue is presented in a range of literature about what constitutes the term whānau. Durie et al (op. cit), Cram & Pitama (1998) and Metge (ibid), highlight the importance of whānau as the development unit to achieve gains in health, employment and education. The report on 'Māori Specific Outcomes and Indicators states; "closely linked to the well-being outcome is the expectation that Māori development will also lead to security of identity. Cultural identity is a critical component of positive Māori development". (pg.17)

It is not difficult to access government policy from the raft of different services of government responsibility then find reference to, and acknowledgement, of the concept whānau. Whether identified as a social grouping as in the intervention to improve negative Māori statistics, or subjected to definition in order to tag social policy expenditure, the term whānau is familiar. The energy expended in explanation for non-Māori understanding is obvious, however caught up in this process of awareness raising and cultural teaching remains an ongoing concern about retention and preservation of the Māori interpretation of the term.

The disregard to acknowledge the vast cultural differences between English language and Māori language is commonly exploited through the development of government policy. The experience for Māori is compromise. An acceptance of attempts to

promote Māori needs by applying Māori terminology in policy without the true depth of understanding being captured, rendering the concept vulnerable to misinterpretation. Not only has the use of Māori terminology been exercised more frequently in the writing of government legislation and policy, the need to translate and define these terms has also increased as a necessity to appeal to mainstream New Zealand. For this sector of the community there has been a wider exposure to Māori concepts and a greater awareness towards needs for whānau Māori. The question continues to be relevant as to who benefits and what is the advantage to promoting Māori terminology in government policy? As Durie (op. cit) agrees "Māori development will be difficult to justify if it is simply a pale imitation of state structures and roles". (pg.91)

Summary

The experience of the whānau of classical Māori society, and the whānau of the modern age has endured dilemmas of ecological, economical and cultural change. This chapter has presented a descriptive analysis of whānau that has examined the form and function of whānau. The observation of non-Māori use of the term whānau has provided the basis for understanding the impact of an evolving society, where the concept of whānau, though subject to change, has remained a central component of Māori society.

Relevant to the discussion around policy it needs to be asked then, isn't all policy developed for Māori, based on Māori values outside of Māori constructs, at risk of misinterpretation? Observations from this review of government policy and legislation has uncovered that confusion is a reality that is created when language and constructs from two cultures are combined. The intention, whether to acknowledge the two cultures, to demonstrate a respect and recognition for the two cultures, or to manipulate or assimilate one culture into another is failing to concede that the interpretation,

definition and understanding of this terminology is from two distinctly different cultural world views, therefore not ever entirely the same. This state of cross-cultural communication was deliberated by Metge & Kinloch (1978) and further reinforced by Ramsden (1994) in the statement; "It is essential that Māori and Pākeha stop defining themselves against each other. Each must draw strength from their own culture and stop the unrealistic cross-cultural comparison and redefinition which is an easy option". (pg.258)

It is not acceptable for government to ask for the right terminology to affect positive change, but for government to trust the ability of Māori to manage their own resources, develop their own destiny, and create their own policies, laws, governance and management of appropriate services, without having to translate, interpret, compromise or explain their own preferred terms of development. Tino Rangatiratanga. Perhaps it is not the constant re-defining of whānau that has threatened the essence or capacity of whānau, but rather the access and obliging nature of Māori who educate and cooperate with non-Māori with the intention of creating a better understanding and respect of the depth and versatility of te reo Māori, within Te Ao Māori. The knowledge of the concepts used in government policy has come from reliable sources, steeped in mātauranga Māori. (Māori knowledge base). Government has had immediate and cooperative access to expertise. This is however an international indigenous peoples experience not isolated with the Māori experience, but specifically to the misuse of the language of the indigenous peoples of Aotearoa, in Aotearoa. Karetu (1993) gives this example,

> When two different linguistic groups get in contact with each other, the normal relationship leads to the following situation: the less powerful group (especially from an economic point of view) is forced to use the language of the dominating group, whereas the use of the language of the dominated group, considered as 'inferior', is not compulsory for the individuals belonging to the economically,

and thus politically, stronger group. It is the Alsatian who is bilingual, but not the Parisian; the Welshman, but not the Englishman; the Estonian, but not the Russian; the Aymara people, but not the Peruvians of European origin'. To that quote can be added, 'the Māori, but not the Pākeha'. (pg.227)

The implications of language and the toll of misinterpretation remains a tension between the cultures Māori and Pākeha, and executes the circumstance known as cross cultural communication, or more appropriately, 'talking past each other'.

This dialogue has explored definitions of whānau, and how this defining has impacted in a range of settings or circumstance, on whānau. The use and abuse of te reo rangatira, by the Crown in an effort to accommodate Māori has been highlighted and the conflict between Ao Māori concepts of tino rangatiratanga, and the Pākeha world view on developing a partnership approach to wellbeing of Māori communities has been discussed. Much of the research and writing of Māori are being accessed to improve the position of Māori, by way of strategies developed to reflect 'by Māori, for Māori'. However, total lack of trust in Māori capability, a focus on Māori skill deficit and a continual belief that Western knowledge and paradigms are superior to that of indigenous peoples, perpetuates the tension of defining and re-defining concepts belonging to Te Ao Māori. This notion of defining whānau has been explored historically within the dynamics of identity.

The next stage of this thesis progresses further the critical factor that Modernisation as an external influence has maximised the extent of social change and assimilation of whānau, as experienced through the 19th and 20th centuries.

Chapter Three

Modernisation and Whānau

Modernisation, a development theory, has been chosen to exemplify the upheaval to whānau as an entity within classic Māori society. Modernisation theory accentuates the changing significance of whānau as an active concept within Te Ao Māori. Chapter two concluded that whānau has experienced substantial changes structurally and functionally by the influence of external forces. The nature of membership, the degree of interaction with hapū and iwi among many other dilemmas have affected both Maori and non-Maori perceptions of whānau. In order to comprehend the imposition to Māori lifestyle by the arrival of Pākeha in Aotearoa, understanding theory of change under these principles referred to as modernism is required. This chapter will scrutinize the impact of Modernisation to whanau as a construct, and consider the influence of Modernisation to the development process of whanau.

Penetito (1999) describes modernism in a lecture as, a period in Western European history beginning in the mid 1600s and also known as the *'Enlightenment and the Age of Reason/Science.'* He continues to explain that it is also a way of thinking and has a set of assumptions that form the basis of almost all Western thought. Penetito expands by describing this thinking as a perceived position of superiority; genetically, technically, politically, economically and culturally. From this position it was assumed by colonizers of Aotearoa, Māori needed to be moved from a traditional society to a civilized state. To achieve this, values of modernism were applied to Maori society by the new migrant population

Berger (1979) discusses the 'dilemmas of modernity' in a context that explains five specific conditions for change. These provide the rationale to the thinking behind

circumstances imposed by migrants on whānau Māori in the 19th century. The first

notion was 'abstraction'. Abstraction involves the promotion and establishment of

abstract structures. In the context of Aotearoa, the introduction of Christianity,

bureaucracy and governments: here rules of social engagement were formed, delivered

and enforced to create a civilised and just society, while challenging the traditional

methods of leadership, decision making and ture (rules/laws). The second notion was

'futurity' which is the progress of thinking from past and present, to thinking about the

future. The implementation of this notion came with the introduction of clocks to

measure time, calendars to anticipate time, and the planning and development of policy

to help direct productive use of that time. The third notion 'individuation' saw the

progressive separation of the individual from the collective entities to assist in

promoting individual land ownership, eventually leading to better access to this

resource. Land and resources were more accessible through the shift of power from the

collective (whānau, hapū and iwi), to the individual. The fourth condition was

'liberation'. Liberation introduced revolutionary and innovative thinking providing new

choices to the status quo. Liberation challenged whānau to re-evaluate tradition and

tikanga. Subsequent to the implication of this condition were the changes to the social

structure of whānau, hapū and iwi. In contrast to this notion Ballara (op.cit) states;

> In emphasising the dynamics of Māori society both before and after 1769, it
> must not be forgotten that many patterns of local Māori behaviour, including the
> paramount importance of hapu in economic and social organisation persisted
> relatively unchanged from at least the 18th to at least the mid 20th century.
> (p.219)

However Keesing (1928) suggests a 'superimposition of white culture' (pg.61)

successfully attended to nationalising an originally complex social system aligning

Māori with Western systems of order, standards, processes and leadership. Māori

connection with and to the land was self evident in their own term of referring to

themselves as tangata whenua (people of the land). This connection traditionally

shaped the tikanga (lores, customs and traditions) and existence of each kinship grouping. To enforce assimilation to a more acceptable Westminster model of society the colonisers went about 'discrediting these old ethical standards' of Māori society, replacing them with their own. This process of discrediting would impose an extraordinary stress upon a complex social construct, that is, whānau, hapū and iwi, impacting directly on roles and responsibilities relevant to protection and maintenance of the land. This was achieved in large through the introduction of legislation determining new regulations to ownership and land title by stipulating re defined entities of compliance. The legislation determined the manner in which these entities would operate. Rules and regulations of membership, decision-making processes and powers, were in direct conflict with the pre-existence of Māori processes. The importance of spiritual and cultural connection to the whenua (land) was lessened as legislation altered the status of the land to that of a commodity.

The fifth condition of modernity is 'secularisation', best understood when the root word is given meaning. The word secular is defined to mean 'not sacred 'according to Geddes & Grosset (2002). Therefore, one might suggest secularisation would threaten the spiritual beliefs of Māori by making them 'not sacred'. This again was a significant element in the Modernisation of Aotearoa. Māori possessed an acute respect for the place of spirituality in the very fabric of Aotearoa society.

With these conditions understood the dilemma of modernity as a theory of change was to have serious implications for whānau, hapū and iwi. As well it offered the rationale for changes to the daily lifestyle, social organisation, institutions, rituals, cosmology and beliefs of 19th century Aotearoa.

This imposition was to have profound influence over a way of thinking, a world view, a belief system and value system belonging to whānau Māori. Williams (2001) observes the response in more recent times to this same instance;

> Throughout the world indigenous peoples are networking in order to preserve their culture, traditions and way of life from the ever-threatening and often totally overwhelming impact of governmental policies of modernisation and development. (pg.27)

This statement contemplates Modernisation as a tool that has been employed to reinforce the achievements of colonisation among indigenous peoples globally. As a development theory, Modernisation exercises a hegemonic approach that instilled government thinking that Māori needed what Pākeha had, in order to advance the nation. This was by way of Western religious beliefs, educational philosophy, Westminster law, and the introduction of literacy and numerousy based on a purely Western societal body of knowledge. Prosperity and technological advancement would be determined by the ability of Maori to master and operate competently on this basis. Once the superiority of Pākeha society was instated, economic prosperity of the new settlers and cultural co-existence could be achieved. The conflict arising from these assumptions is discussed in the text to follow, and examined in relation to the role the theory of Modernisation.

The Theory of Modernisation

Moon (2001) describes Modernisation theory as a paradigm originating from the United States in the 1950s. Among the leading proponents of Modernisation theory were Walt Rostow, David Mclelland and Neil Smelser. These theorists will be quoted in this chapter as a reference point to the basis of thinking around Modernisation. In this theory, undeveloped communities experienced economic transformation, the goal of

which was to imitate the patterns of developed countries. According to this theory Modernisation is the transformation from traditional societies, to a modern state characterized by the elimination of cultural, institutional and organisational barriers, providing more developmental potential and individual economic prosperity. Modernisation theory was devised to explain this transformation process experienced by small-scale societies. Aotearoa presented in the 19th century, the characteristics of a small-scale society, ideal for implementation of the development theory, Modernisation.

King (2003) argues that the Māori kinship units of post colonial society remained communal. Primarily life was organised around growing food, foraging for natural food sources (either from water sources, or bush), tool making, as well as maintenance of dwellings, canoes and pa sites. Production of garments, personal ornaments from bone and greenstone and flax woven articles were also a central activity of the Māori society. The skill of artists, was also highly developed at this time. Modernisation theorist Smelser (1966) identifies the traditional society as the starting point for development. In this context Smelser acknowledged that Māori society typified the definition of traditional society as, close knit kinship units, that operated from within a system of mutual benefit and interdependence.

Hoselitz (1962) argued, that economic activity was based on the maintenance of productivity to sustain tribal needs in the society, while labour was determined by custom and traditional family roles in that community setting. Moon and Keelan (2002) cite a description of Modernisation as 'ahistorical and ethnocentric'. Ahistorical refers to disregard of the phases of prosperity from a broader historical review, and the term ethnocentric asserts that only one culture and one path were the way to development. As Keesing (op.cit) points out;

> Three main aspects became apparent in the process of change: the gradual overthrow of the ancient bases of life; the extreme diversity in the struggle for adaptation; and the difficulties of mutual understanding between the races. (pg.57-58)

Therefore the theory was in conflict with the proposed development of Māori as a community from the outset. Tikanga was based on acknowledgement of mātauranga (knowledge), whakapapa (genealogy), pūrākau (oral history), and the transmission of cultural values and practice by oral traditional means. Māori society possessed a pride in self sufficiency, strong leadership traditions, efficient resource management and development as a people based on a combination of their own inherent knowledge, and skills acquired over generations from encounters with other sources. King (op.cit) testifies to this self-sufficiency in his account of Waikato as a people in the 1850s;

> Waikato was wealthy: there was food in its rivers and lakes and vast acres of potatoes in its cultivated fields; its Māori-operated granaries were supplying Auckland with flour and exporting to Australia and North America. The clinching proverb cited at Pukawa in Te Wherowhero's favour referred to the Waikato river as a personification of the tribe and its resources: "Waikato taniwharau, he piko he taniwha" Waikato, river of a hundred bends, and at every bend a taniwha or powerful chief. (pg.23)

The confidence across iwi nations to trade by utilising natural resources, and retaining traditional practices would encounter some tension, alongside the introduced technology, tools and methodologies of the colonisers. As stated by Moon & Keelan (op.cit) an ethnocentric approach was the requirement for modernisation to be effective. Frank (1971) was critical of Modernisation theory because it denied the history or experience of underdeveloped peoples. These criticisms continue today to be demonstrated across the world with the indigenous colonial experience. Williams (op.cit) captures this experience;

> Although the sun appears to have set on the days of colonial expansion-ism by Western powers, the latent ethnocentrism reawakened by colonialism remains deeply embedded within European societies'. This ethnocentrism, defined as 'the deep-seated belief that our way of doing things, our world view, our paradigm, is inherently superior to all other possible paradigms' has two aspects.

First 'there is a latent unwillingness to consider indigenous paradigms from the inside out, rather than evaluating them in western terms. And second, there is sometimes manifest an overt hostility when confronted with indigenous ways' particularly if these conflict with the Western paradigm. (pg.37)

Māori were caught up in the impact of Modernisation on a huge scale during the initial stages of colonisation of Aotearoa, and denied any recognition of their own processes of developmental thinking. The essence of Māori society was compromised at all functioning levels of tribal dynamics. On an organisational level Māori experienced changes to the commonly accepted work ethic, impacting labour expectations and skill requirement. The work ethic of Māori revolved around providing food, shelter and defense of the whānau, and hapū. These resources were produced in abundant levels to provide for the hapū. This did not exclude the entrepreneurial trading skills already progressed by many iwi presented with opportunities by the arrival of tauiwi (non-Māori) in the form of new produce and supply needs for the maintenance of transport and trade vessels. Moon et al (op.cit) ascert that;

For Māori, the economic and social cohesion within was broken as the economy of the colonisers imposed new and differing demands on the workforce, and the introduction of improved agricultural technology quickly undermined traditional agricultural practices. (pg.250)

The labour force was changed from one fashioned on customary and traditional roles, to one shaped to meet the new supply and demand philosophy of the open market. Modernisation increased international trading and introduced a business culture of advancement and profit, with little or no focus on maintenance of community well being. Introduction of advanced agricultural technology produced unprecedented levels of transformation to traditional patterns of feeding, harvesting and maintaining sustainability of hapū and iwi food sources. Concurrently there was increasing demand to accommodate the rapidly increasing new settler population growth. King (op.cit) report "The total number of Pākeha settlers in 1840 was a little over 2000. By 1858

they were out numbered by Māori by approximately 3000: 59,000 to 56,000. And by 1881 there would be around 500,000 of them". (pg.169)

Traditional leadership was undermined during this period by 'abstraction' the centralisation of the political power base and 'individuation' of leadership. The structure of whānau, hapū and iwi was complex for bureaucrats of colonisation to identify and made their dealings with Māori awkward, lengthy, and not entirely reliable. Assumptions made about tribal leadership and decision making authorities of whānau, hapū and iwi from observation did not prove to be accurate, therefore not applicable, and problematic. Mannoni (1964) captures the situation; "European civilisation and its best representatives are not, for instance, responsible for colonial racialism; that is the work of petty officials, small traders and colonials who have toiled much without great success". (pg.24)

Although there were barriers and blunders made by these assumptions, it could be said that this simply added to the success rate in the colonisation period of Aotearoa that was rapid and visibly damaging. The stress confronting individual rangatira (Chiefs/leaders) to lead the iwi (people) in the right direction, for prosperity and retention of control of their future would demand compromise and huge challenges in an effort to maintain the mana (integrity/status) of both iwi (people) and rangatira (leader).

Missionaries became a strategic tool to 'civilise' Māori. Fanon (1967) is disparaging of the process stating that "A necessary part of colonialism is the process whereby the colonisers problematise the culture and the very being of the colonised, where the latter come to accept the 'supremacy of the white man's values". (pg.43)

The colonisers of Aotearoa took to task this process by introducing the spiritual beliefs of Christianity, and the ability to read and write. These would be the agents for civilisation and assimilation of Māori to replace one set of cultural beliefs with that of another, the Englishman. The missionaries established schools and promoted the teachings of the bible, as a vehicle to advance literacy among Māori. Simon (1998) states

> Whereas Māori wanted to extend their existing body of knowledge, the state, through its assimilation policy, intended to replace Māori culture with that of the European. Māori were embracing schooling as a means to maintaining their sovereignty and enhancing their life chances. The state on the other hand was supporting schooling as a means to securing control over Māori and their resources. (pg.9)

Together Christianity and education would infiltrate the pre existing teachings, beliefs and knowledge base of whānau, hapu and iwi entrenched at the arrival of Missionaries. Although entrenched this knowledge base was never static, and constantly adapting. However this infiltration would collide with Māori rangatira (leaders) both iwi (tribal) and tohunga (spiritual) and their cultural obligation to preserve and protect the essence of mātauranga Māori. (Māori body of knowledge) Walker (1990) remarked, that Christianity achieved a rapid conversion of Māori society over the period 1814-1846 and lead to further erosion of Māori culture and power.

From 1850 onwards government institutions were intent on breaking down the existing structures of Māori society. Legislation was applied to control cultural aspects of Māori society that continued to challenge a smooth assimilation. The Native land Act 1862 is the prime example. This enacted the transfer of land title from communally owned hapu and iwi land, into individual title. Moon et al (op. cit) explain that because Modernisation recognizes custom and culture as possible or partial barriers to successful

economic development, there was an emphasis put on the need to have these barriers removed. Smith (1993) supports this statement;

> Historically the same processes of commodification were used by Pākeha to access Māori land. This was achieved through the individualisation of Māori land titles, that is to commodify-'package up'- what were collective or group held titles into individual holdings in order to facilitate their sale to Pākeha under Pākeha rules and custom. (pg.15)

Hoselitz (op.cit) documented his observations of Māori society during this period and argued that many of the Māori social institutions remained largely intact, despite the mountainous forces of change around them. Māori showed a capacity to manage change in a variety of ways. Prior to European settlement Māori development existed within the context of any society developing within their means: to feed, nurture and protect the people. The influence of European forces accelerated a change process that involved adapting to take on other forms of development, and other measures, created by a foreign people. There was a rapid transition from a tribal, to a market economy and the gain of European technical skills enhanced trade and travel opportunities. Māori were a driving force in industry, and were a significant part of the economy. In due course, the aforementioned strategies of Modernisation saw Māori affected from a proficient level of economic attainment, to a state of social disarray.

From the 1940s there was a substantial resettlement of Māori from traditional rohe (tribal boundary) to urban association. Metge (op. cit) states that three primary factors attracted Māori to the cities: work, money and pleasure, and in doing so, in a relatively short period of time, suffered severe loss in cultural identity terms. Urban Māori society was the transplant of whānau, hapūtanga (practice of kinship of descendants to a common ancestor) and iwitanga (practice of kinship of descendants of a tribal group) into the social environs of Pākeha society fashioned on antagonistic values of individualism and capitalism. In the transition to an urban environment whānau, hapū,

iwi would be irreparably damaged as Māori were disconnected from the whenua(land), the single common denominator in traditional social development to that point in the Māori timeline.

The structure of whānau was challenged and transformed. The extended whānau consisting of kaumātua (elders), mātua (parental generation within the whānau), tamariki (children) and mokopuna (generation of grandchildren) lived traditionally in close proximity to each other, often in the same dwelling. This co-existence was to diminish into smaller nuclear family units as found in most European households. Walker (op. cit) portraits this impact on whānau, stating the whole significance of family and kinship ties valued by Māori became less significant as the drive for individualism was impressed upon tribal groupings. Dencik (1989) observed that the cost of urbanisation for Māori was apparent with the rise of social disarray, crime and other undesirable forms of social behaviour.

Urbanisation was a phenomenon that spanned 20th century Aotearoa transitioning rural Māori to the urban centers. The move was motivated largely by the search for work . Māori dominated low skilled, lower-income positions in the construction, agricultural, manufacturing and meat works industries. King (2003) illustrates the extent of the phenomenon, stating that "In 1936 only 11. 2 percent of the national Māori population had lived in urban areas. By 1945 this had risen to 25.7 percent, and by 1996 over 81 percent. Māori had become in little more than a generation, an overwhelmingly urban people." (pg.473)

Urbanisation would impact whānau and manifest itself in socio-economic terms relative to the position of indigenous peoples throughout the world - low. Affordable housing

was of a low standard, coinciding with poor health conditions and a corresponding standard of health care. As well were disproportionately negative statistics for Māori associated with crime, poverty and low educational achievement. This domino affect directly influenced the socio-economic status of Māori. The compromise for Māori to be participants in modern Aotearoa society would take its toll on the cultural capacity of whānau, hapū and iwi. Smelser (1966) noted that the incidence of cultural dislocation for the younger generations of Māori growing up in the city, away from their tribal areas and cultural base, would significantly impact the identity of these and subsequent generations.

The spiritual and psychological shift of whānau values and tikanga (customs) to the urban environment was problematic. Not only were whānau required to 're-define aspects of Māori-ness' they were in constant conflict between maintaining responsibilities of tikanga within the mores of a dominant Pākeha society placing very different demands upon them. Walker (1975) emphasised the role of marae as one cultural institution that was re-established to support whānau through 'the transplantation of his culture into the urban milieu':

> While Māoritanga has a physical base in ethnic identity, it also has a spiritual and emotional base derived from the ancestral culture of the Māori. Māori oratory, language, values and social etiquette are given their fullest expression in the marae setting at tangi and huihuinga. For this reason, urban marae are urgently needed, so that the second generation of city-born Māoris can imbibe their culture and take pride in their identity. There are few things more pitiful than the deculturated Māoris of urban life who still have the physical characteristics of being Māori without a satisfactory underlying social identity. (pg.32)

This response alone has not reached some whānau who would have experienced at least two generations of poverty, and dislocation from a whānau, hapū, and iwi existence by the 1960s. It would be remiss not to examine the reality for some whānau who are the product of the breakdown of whānau structures. Durie (2001) contemplated this

actuality and formulated the following table to describe the condition and circumstance

leading to a dysfunctional state for some.

Figure 8: Patterns of Whānau Dysfunction

Pattern of Whānau Dysfunction	Health Impacts	Remedies
Whānau tūkino Unsafe families	Abuse Violence Disregard for others	Emergency arrangements to ensure safety Structured relationships Non-compliance with unacceptable behaviour Inclusion of other whānau to reduce intensity of relationships
Whānau wewete Laissez-faire families	Limited guidance Lack of limit setting Flexible (or absent) standards	Education Guidelines Establishment of whānau kawa
Whānau pōhara Marginalised families	Poor access to goods & services Cultural poverty	Location of external resources Wider whānau support Access to cultural, social opportunities
Whānau tu-mokemoke Isolated families	Alienation from society and Māori networks Low societal participation	Linkages with wider whānau and with hapū, or community.

Source:Durie (2001:200)

Durie (ibid) goes on to explain that these four whanau types above tend to come to the notice of external social support services on a regular basis and by their description suggest that there is a deficit in fundamental whanau values. This also suggests that there is an inability for any corrective action for change without this help from outside the whanau. (pg.211)

Whānau, as the smallest social grouping, would expose Māori vulnerability, offering the shortest route to colonisation. Equally as important and yet in a contradictory position, whānau continues to be recognised by Māoridom as the most important incubator for cultural retention. The dislocation from whenua (land), separation from extended whānau support systems for child rearing including the presence of elders, and the loss of te reo (language) has reduced the capacity of whānau; hence the existence of whānau

tūkino (unsafe families), and such like. The stress on whānau Māori serves as testimony to the success of Modernisation in Aotearoa.

The imposition of British imperialism through the 19th century colonisation in Aotearoa had not only achieved 'cultural invasion' of British attitudes and values. The process had secured population dominance, and control of resources. Aotearoa was rich in raw natural resources in the early years of European discovery and occupation, providing perfect conditions to apply Rostow's (1956) theory of 'take off.' The 'take off' position was considered to be a specific time of readiness in the Modernisation process. Rostow (ibid) acknowledged a necessary imposition of changes to traditional communities that included; centralized political power, changes to family and community structures, and the tailoring of education and training to meet the employment skill requirement of the community. The climate for 'take off' recognizes an increased potential for investment in the community, the perceived ability of community leaders to channel this investment where the greatest economic benefits will be achieved, the presence of identifiable sectors of activity suitable for enhancing community economic development, and an obvious sense of order in the community to be able to work with the possible economic expansion. The management factor of this growth to a point of self sustainability is considered a significant ingredient for the point of 'take off'. The three major requirements for Rostow's 'take off'as a tool of Modernisation are; the Supply of Loanable Funding, Sources of Enterprise and Leading Sectors in the Take Off. Rostow (1988)

For Māori the first requirement, supply of loanable funding, meant compromising self-determination to external forces. This requirement would review the notion of resource and the supply of. An important element of this requirement involves the role of the

'outside expert'. The theory of 'take off' promotes the 'outside expert' as the facilitator/broker of information sources, funding sources and abundance of other 'outside experts'. However useful and productive the role of the outside expert, there is always an element of risk where confidentiality is important to the group. Furthermore the possibility that the outside expert is motivated by alternative motivations can compromise perceived outcomes including the value the group places on cultural context within the process. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) states "The outside 'expert' role has been, and continues to be problematic for indigenous communities". (p.139)

Although her reference is broadly referring to the experience of indigenous peoples within the research field, it nonetheless captures the transferable practice and belief that the Western world offers a superior intelligence to any development. Chakrabarty, (1992) reiterates this thinking in his claim that theories produced over generations by philosophers in the social sciences claim to encompass a consideration to benefit all of human kind. These theories however in the main have no baring or relevance to non-Western cultures. (pg.3) Modernization theorists sometimes suggest it remains to be a necessary part of the process to engage external expertise, particularly with the external supply of funds. Durie (1998) observes.

> For many indigenous peoples the ambivalent and non-compromising attitudes of the state remain barriers to the realization of the aims of self-determination. It is also ample evidence that Māori development and self-determination are subject to many external forces, both at national and international levels (p.13)

The second requirement for 'take off' is called Sources of Enterprise. This part of the process involves having several potential investors who can see an opportunity for success and a niche for themselves in the long term. Naturally this stage requires a group, usually a collective of entrepreneurs who are stakeholders and guided by the trustees of that particular community. Investors however, are not those who solely have

monetary interest as in the case of the New Zealand Company that took the role of

investor (by definition of the Modernisation theory). This included those settler groups

investing in the future of their families. The New Zealand Company was a private

enterprise initiated in London around 1838. Their paramount interest was to purchase

land in Aotearoa for settlers.

The final requirement for 'take off', Leading Sectors, involves the community itself

recognizing specific sectors that have experienced growth rates in their industry and

anticipate their growth will stimulate growth in other areas of the community. Verrian

(1998) suggests that Modernisation theory may help to understand the factors that

stimulate capitalist growth, however the concern lies within the bias attention to focus

on economic viability instead of social vitality. He criticizes this lack of responsibility

in the theoretical process to recognize socio-economic inequities and for this reason

places Maori society in deficit position to participate. (pg.25)

The social and cultural vitality for Māori was understood by tangata whenua (people of

the land) to be present in their status and relationship to the land. Moon (1994) states

the Treaty of Waitangi 1840 claimed tangata whenua to have ceded to the Crown,

kāwanatanga (government) and retained the 'unqualified exercise of rangatiratanga

(chieftainship) over their lands, villages and all their treasures'. (pg.86)

The historical evidence of Māori economic capacity in the trading of produce generated

from the land during the time of first European contact certifies that the ability to

participate was indeed present in these early stages of colonisation. Firth (op.cit)

illustrated this situation;

> There was a wide spread desire on the part of the native tribes to secure the
> results of European enterprise and skill, but to retain at the same time their

economic independence…large areas of wheat, maize and potatoes were under cultivation, while different kinds of vegetables, peaches and other fruit were grown, and not only served to feed their producers, but were sold in large quantities to the European community…. the native had become accustomed to the practices of a money economy, had learnt the principles of bargaining according to European fashion, and had begun to produce largely, not only for the needs of himself, relatives and guests but to exchange against the wares of the white trader. (pg.452)

Māori implemented their own strategies to modernise; in international trade as an example, without compromising their cultural values. Māori were capable of developing economically and in turn protecting their culture. The right of rangatiratanga in terms of whenua (land) for Māori is the role of kaitiaki (guardianship). These are traditional roles of guardianship and caretakership of taonga, (material values) history, whakapapa (genealogy) and land as one of the many precious cultural resources that require protection for future generations of whānau, hapū and iwi. Firth (ibid) explains further the value of this role; "To the Māori his lands were the virtual basis of his economic life; any influence which affected his ownership or control of them was fraught with grave consequences for his future welfare". (pg.446)

When this kaitiaki (guardians) role is considered for the land of Aotearoa, it is possible to see that in the process of take off, whānau were in a very favourable position for controlling what was the most valuable economic asset base. However, to explain this stage in more detail is to better understand the extent of dispossession to Māori that resulted in the progression of Modernisation. Walker (1990) describes the process in statistical terms: "By the turn of the century all the best land had been alienated, and only two million hectares remained in Māori ownership". (pg.139)

Māori ownership, 96% of land in 1860, would translate to less than 4% in 1960, demonstrating the shift of control of natural resources in New Zealand. As King (op.cit) contended, in relinquishing ground, literally and metaphorically for the influx of

'foreign' people, the indigenous Māori would lose this, and much more. Understandably Māori had also lost the right and authority to develop and project their potential economic viability in association with the land, as this status was stripped from whānau along with ownership and occupation.

The impact of Modernisation on whānau was more visibly destructive to the social fabric of whānau than the physical structure. The resilience of whānau was challenged however, and it adapted accordingly to accommodate the introduction of Pākeha values. As a consequence of Modernisation the process of economic prosperity overlooked the very essence of the Māori - the people. It can be proven that this oversight enabled whānau to be empowered to develop strategies for protecting traditional cultural values, to some degree. There is genuine evidence and recall of a loss of a cultural identity through decimation of many cultural values, and the implementation of an oppressive political agenda to bring Māori into the modern, Western society culture, particularly at the time when the process of urbanisation was complete. However, there was at this time, elements of resistance, and a deliberate determination to protect and retain Ao Māori (traditional) practice. This energy to uphold tikanga (protocols) is proven to have achieved comparable success to that of Modernisation.

The idea of socialisation to two vastly different worlds; Western society and Te Ao Māori (traditional Māori World) would be the ultimate challenge for Māori. Dencik (1989) describes this challenge as dual socialisation. The following excerpts identify how whānau met the demands of dual socialisation.

<u>Dual Socialisation and the Whānau</u>

Modernisation has been applied to Aotearoa society and is largely responsible for the extent of detriment to cultural identity and retention of cultural identity for whānau. As a catalyst for change this theory provides the parameters that provoke this phenomenon referred to as dual socialisation. Dual socialisation is used in this thesis in the context of a vehicle to demonstrate the process of Māori socialisation into a modern non-Māori society. This concept is discussed as an instrument for adaptation and adjustment both in response to the environmental and economic changes that occurred for Māori, and in the social and cultural dimensions of change that impacted classical Māori society. 'The dual socialisation butterfly' developed by Dencik (ibid) and adapted with relevant characters illustrates the dynamics of the concept.

Figure 9: Dual Socialisation Butterfly
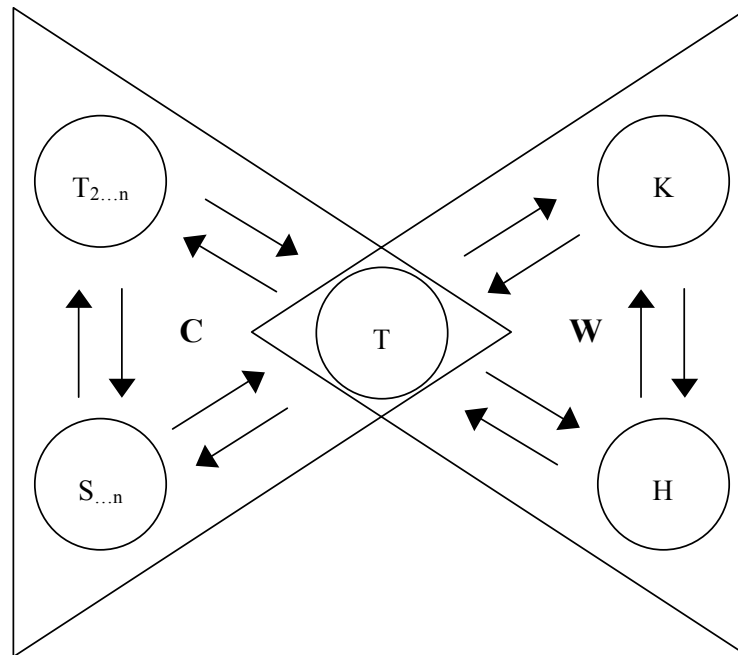
T	Represents tamariki, the children under study
→	(the arrows in the figure) represent socio-interaction processes
C	The C-wing represent the community
W	The W-wing represents the whanau
T_2	Represents the children in the community
$S_{...n}$	Represents the school in the community
K	Represents the kainga (home)
H	Represents the hapu

Dual socialisation is the ability to operate, manage and socialise within two different social paradigms or sociotopes. Dencik (ibid) describes this term; "Sociotope is used as a locality where life is going on, but by no means confined to a physically delimited area". (pg.165)

In Figure 9 the child is the central character in this diagram and the child's experience of dual socialisation is illustrated between the whānau/home environment and the school. The interaction between these worlds may vary a great deal. Dual socialisation is the transference of experiences from one environment to another, and the unconscious ability to manage and gauge that certain behaviours belong, or are associated to

different environments. An example of dual socialisation is the interface between working women and their families. Hare-Mustin (1988) describes a situation, "The most dramatic change in the family this century has been the entry of women into the world of paid work". (pg.37)

The responsibilities of women, their relationships with work colleagues and partners, experiences of social interaction, and workload distribution between workplace and home have been researched both among women in traditional society structures, and industrialised society. Although the outcomes of this research in the main is not liberating news for women, that is, that women are overloaded and men continue to have an influential presence in both environments; the management of dual roles recognises working women as skilled practitioners of dual socialisation.

In a cultural context, a secure sense of one's cultural identity equips the individual to a more fluid comprehension and socialisation of another different cultural perspective. Identity is shaped by many influences, among them the first verbal language of communication experienced from childhood. Practice of values and beliefs instilled by the cultural environment during childhood are also strong influences. As aspects of the Māori socialisation process encounter the values of a Pākeha Worldview conflict will endure and the question remains contentious whether the processes known as colonisation/assimilation/modernisation can ever be complete.

There will always be gaps or shortcomings in what Māori learn regarding their culture reflecting what has been lost. For example if you think of yourself as Māori, but don't speak Māori you have a linguistic gap. If you want to apply for a Māori scholarship,

but cannot provide your whakapapa (genealogy) then you have an identification gap. This is one reality of dual socialisation for Māori.

Double Bind and Whanau

Another outcome associated with the application of dual socialisation is a tension known as 'double bind'. Double bind is a term that contributes to the communication mechanisms that can be implicated within the process of dual socialisation. Sampson (1976) describes the double-bind as a communication that imposes a contradiction between the content and the metacommunication (the relationship between the person delivering the message and the one receiving it) aspects of a message. The double bind hypothesis suggests that inconsistent messages are confusing because they do not permit the person to infer the actual meaning of the message content or of the relationships between themselves and the other person. Thus it is not possible to determine either the behaviour expected of them or the definition of themselves and the other person. According to Bateson (1956) all communication contains at least two aspects; the content of the communication and how the message is to be taken, which is the relationship between the person communicating and the one receiving it. Tā Apirana Ngata shared in the 1940s following thoughts typifying the advice given to Māori of his time; Salmond (1980)

> E tipu e rea I ngā rā o to ao
> *Grow, child, in the days of your world*
> Ko tō ringaringa ki ngā rākau ā te Pākeha
> *Your hand to the weapons of the Pākeha*
> He oranga mō tō tinana
> *An existence of your body*
> Ko tō ngākau ki ngā taonga ā ō tipuna
> *Your heart to the treasures of your ancestors*
> Hei tikitiki mō tō māhuna
> *As a topknot for your head*
> Ko tō wairua ki te Atua
> *Your spirit to almighty God*
> Nāna nei ngā mea katoa
> *Who is the giver of all things* (pg.205)

If one's elders purport to this philosophy, where does one learn one's Māoritanga, and if by some chance it is possible, what importance has Māoritanga if it is not about 'getting on in the world'. Another example when Te Reo Māori (Māori language) is viewed an unacceptable medium of communication in the school environment, and is punishable, yet in the home environment is spoken only among adults – a gap exists. The child adapts by responding to the rules of each setting. Conclusion; the message for the child is te reo cannot be used at all in the school environment, reinforced with consequences the child would rather avoid, and at home te reo is a practice only used by adults, it belongs to the adult world. The result is te reo is an unnecessary means of communication in this world.

Gregory Bateson (op.cit) was well known in the 1940s for his work in behaviourism. Bateson introduced the concept of double bind. This would be progressed and later defined and recognised as deutero-learning by Bateson (1972).

In 1953 Bateson alongside a research group consisting of Jay Haley, John Weakland, William Fry and Don Jackson, would develop the following characteristics of double bind. As Visser (2003) explains, the conceptualisation of the four characteristics would demonstrate a communication pattern explaining the concept of double bind.

1. Two or more persons are involved in an intense relationship with a high (physical or psychological) survival value for at least one of them (eg; mother and child).
2. In this relationship messages are regularly given that at one level of communication assert one thing, while at another level negate or conflict with the assertion. The assertion often takes the form of a negative injunction, threatening some behaviour with punishment, and is usually communicated verbally. The conflicting conveyance is also enforced by punishment or signals threat of the valued survival. This message is usually communicated by non-verbal means.
3. In this relation the receiver of the incongruent messages is prevented withdrawing from the situation or commenting on it. The receiver may be

4. Double binding in this sense is a long lasting characteristic of the situation, which once established, tends toward self-perpetuation. (p.273)

It is possible to form many examples in our life experience where the message is in some way confusing or contradictory regarding learning or accessing cultural teachings about what it means to be Māori. Several generations of Māori have experienced double bind. On the one hand learning the teachings of another culture while coming to terms with the impact of dramatic changes to their own environment, socialisation, communication, education, and the subsequent impact to the social construct of whānau, hapū and iwi.

Dual socialisation describes the phenomenon experienced by Māori to comprehend and balance the socialization from the whānau environment, with the socialisation requirements of society outside of the whānau. The implications of double bind are the consequence of assimilation. The double bind paradigm for Māori is acceptance of an inherent right ie; tradition and culture without the obligatory responsibility to pass on to future generations.

The future of whānau would then be to promote and accommodate the ways of the new world. To know this world, and move confidently in this world is to succeed in this world. Māori want to be successful but at what cost?

Where the historical events, and socialisation factors for Māori intercept with the hegemonic agenda of colonisation, the role of Modernisation Theory and its impact on the traditional Māori societies of the 1800s, has perscribed the status of whānau in the 21st century. What was a threat for colonisers as reported by Mikaere (op.cit) would

survive as the most recognised cultural concept in a modern New Zealand societal

context.

> The whānau was under attack no sooner than the first missionaries had stepped
> ashore. It was clear right from the outset that Māori collectivism was
> philosophically at odds with the settler ethic of individualism (…) The
> disruption of Māori social organisation was no mere by-product of colonisation,
> but an integral part of the process. (pg.102)

Modernisation, a development theory would influence quite extreme outcomes for the

concept of whānau. Whānau would come to be recognised not only as a cultural centre

of positive development for Māori in the best case scenario, but equally as prevalent,

dysfunctional whānau suffering the result of social, moral, financial and cultural

breakdown existing in ever increasing numbers.

Summary

The impact of Modernisation as a development theory and how this theory has

conflicted with the paradigm of whānau development has been discussed.

Acknowledgement that Māori were successful in economic development, especially in

the early years of European contact has been established in this chapter.

The influence of Pākeha social organization, based on values and institutions that

presumed supremacy, threatened and later damaged Māori cultural values.

Modernisation theory then has had destructive implications for Māori historically, and

to some extent has hindered progress of greater and more affirmative action with respect

to whānau responsibility for whānau development. If we reflect upon one of the

opening propositions in this chapter that Modernisation has been a deliberate tool to

manipulate Māori society, and compliment colonisation, then the destructive outcome

of cultural poverty for many whānau proves some success to this strategy. However it

is also this realization that has motivated and supported the movement of whānau to

reinstate and reclaim their cultural capacity.

A report released in 2003 by the Ministry of Māori Development about the Māori economy stated that 'the Māori economy grew faster between 1997 and 2002 than the general economy'. This report illustrates how this has occurred by highlighting a Māori economy that is conducive to cultural institutions like whānau, hapū, and iwi. Important factors to Māori and development as concepts are woven into an economic development position, complementary to the New Zealand economy, but with distinct strategies for accelerating performance within a Māori economy. Of particular interest in this paper is the acknowledgement of Māori as a diverse community, and the aim to promote a philosophy of culturally based sustainable development that embraces values of whānau, kaitiakitanga and advancement of collectivism as a development tool. The report states; "the apparent trade-off between Māoriness and economic success is mostly a failure of the existing institutions to reconcile the two better". (pg.45)

Definite affirmation of a want to strike a balance between a sense of identity as Māori, and economic success is expressed succinctly in comments from people like Henare (1994) "It is this collective achievement that motivates whānau to pursue a journey of self-determination. Māori don't want to be passengers on the bus. We want to be driving the bus, with our hands on the steering wheel". (pg.132)

The whānau is central to any Māori, hapū and iwi development. The strength of the position and infrastructure of whānau in modern literature is consistently acknowledged despite the impact of development theories like that of Modernisation. In the most recent literature, produced by De Bruin & Mataira (2003) regarding entrepreneurship,

from a community and indigenous peoples perspective, vital cultural networks, and the role of whānau feature prominently. Whānau are described in this literature as support givers, confidantes, cultural resources and investors that gave respondents endorsement and consolation. This continual reference that elevates whānau by Māori to non-Māori, as the central focus to any Māori development provides affirmation that the spiritual and psychological cohesion of the concept of whānau has retained a resilient capacity to resist the ethnocentrism of development theories like that of Modernisation.

The development of a whānau is a unique experience, like the sense of tribal-tanga (a practice of customs and nuances unique to that tribe) and hapūtanga (a practice of customs and nuances unique to that sub-tribe). Whanaungatanga (kinship) is the term for maintenance and ongoing development of the relationship shared through whakapapa (genealogy). We are in a climate of cultural rejuvenation and whānau as well as the individual are, participating actively in reconstructing an identity.

The next stage of this thesis is to investigate the external influences that have impacted on a specific whānau grouping, and uncover the determinants that have contributed to their own mechanisms of resistance and self reliance. As Metge (op.cit) reiterates the unique experience of whānau is essential to be retained and reinforced to advance a positive practice of whānau.

> Real life whānau do not and should not be expected to conform too closely to the constructed model. Each has its own character, its own degree of integration and effectiveness, created and re-created out of the interaction between personalities of its members and the circumstances of time and place. Members' right to work out their own identity and tikanga must always be respected. (pg.78)

This research project will trace the journey of whānau, in the effort to develop a whānau identity as descendants of Ngāti Te Oro. As Durie (2001) states, "The capacity to plan ahead, whakatakoto tikanga, is probably the most important whānau function, though is likely to be the one that is practised least well". (pg.202) The energy to date as a whānau have contested this statement, though still in the infancy stage, the want, the energy and the importance to plan ahead is a motivating factor, more so as whānau are increasingly aware of losing the few special vessels of cultural knowledge in the form of kaumātua (elders). The position of whānau identity in relation to Māori identity and cultural identity will be explored.

The dialogue to be explored further is how Māori have retained a strong sense of whānau while withstanding the pressures of external social, cultural and economic influence and change. The confines imposed on certain cultural aspects of identity during a particular observable period of time, only to be exposed again for rejuvenation some generations later is also investigated. It is this phenomenon that generates the argument that whānau identity and cultural identity can in fact be separated to some degree, and remain intact to be salvageable for reconstitution.

Chapter Four

Research Methodology

Introduction

This chapter will describe the process involved in gathering information on the topic of 'whānau', from the research participants, the whānau Penetito. This process places the research methodology within a Kaupapa Māori framework shaped by whakapapa (genealogy). As Bishop (1996) validates, "To the researcher, the whakapapa, as the methodological framework behind the research project, provides the orientation." (pg.232)

The positioning of the researcher as a member of the participant whānau in this case study suggests there would be challenges associated with the 'insider' position. Insider research is quite simply research that is undertaken by an insider that is a member of the organisation being researched or as in this instant of the whānau. This means the researcher interacts with the participants as a deliberate research strategy, this relationship between researcher and researched is elevated.

Chapter one reference to investigation and illustration of social setting is imported here to clarify researchers circumstance as 'insider'. A descendent of Ngati Te Oro research findings become a responsibility as both the researcher and a member of the group being researched.

It is necessary to consider the relationship between the researcher and the researched, the research approach and the detail of the method applied. Bishop (ibid) leads an important dialogue on the position of a researcher applying a Kaupapa Māori approach.

He discusses the need for those conducting research to create a connection and involvement through personal investment. Engagement is one of the primary objectives enhanced by connection through whakapapa (genealogy) and whanaungatanga (kinship relationships). From this position the focus immediately shifts from self to the collective. In the context of this research project, the participation of whānau involves both the researcher and the researched therefore conceived as a collective investment.

The role of the researcher is to ensure expressions of self-reliance and collective benefit are upheld, knowledge is protected, progress is reported to and information is held in confidence. Some of these are ethical issues that will be used in this study as indicators of accountability and elaborated on within the description of the approach.

As a qualitative research project which incorporates Kaupapa Māori, the principles of manāki (caring & sharing), kaitiaki (guardianship & protection) and pupuri (storing & maintenance) Pohatu (op.cit) are relevant to development of identity and form the philosophical underpinnings of the research. Therefore two distinct paradigms are identified in this project from different philosophical positions. Qualitative research relies largely on interpretive and critical approaches to social science, while Kaupapa Māori involves the implementation of world-views. Both share ethical standards of validity, rigor and legitimacy in the research process. However their use in this thesis is intended to create a respectful balance between cultural expectations/obligations and the conventional methods of Western research.

The following table compares points of association and distinctions between each paradigm for the express purpose of identifying complimentary factors. It is appropriate in doing so to acknowledge Irwin's (op.cit) absolute objection to Kaupapa Māori and Western science comparisons. It is however relevant to illustrate here the obvious

compatibility, and reiterate the position that Kaupapa Māori research is its own

paradigm.

Figure 10: Research Paradigms: Qualitative Research and Kaupapa Māori Research Whakawhanaungatanga

Qualitative Research Approach	Kaupapa Māori Whakawhanaungatanga Research Approach
Activities: • Locates the study within particular settings which provide opportunities for exploring all possible social variables; and set manageable boundaries • looks deep into the quality of social life	Activities: • establishes whānau relationships • rāranga kōrero – knits together narrative
Beliefs: • Conviction that what it is important to look for will emerge • Confidence in an ability to devise research procedures to fit the situation and nature of the people in it, as they are revealed • reality contains mysteries to which the researcher must submit, and can do no more than interpret	Beliefs: • participant driven • devolved power & control to promote Tino Rangatiratanga • collective benefit • cultural consciousness
Steps: • Decide the subject is interesting(e.g. in its own right, or because it represents an area of interest) • Explore the subject • Let focus and themes emerge • Devise research instruments during process (e. g. observation or interview)	Steps: • researchers are somatically involved • hui – used to engage participants at every stage of the research development • taonga tukuiho-oral histories shape the outcomes of research subject • joint development of new story-lines
Rigor: • Principled development of research strategy to suit the scenario being studied as it is revealed.	Rigor: Whānau involved in; • decision making • ownership of data • communication • monitoring • procedure • participation • accountability • accuracy/correctness • preservation of intellectual property – taonga tukuiho

Adapted from: Holliday (2002:6) and Bishop (1996:216)

The compatibility of these methods is evident from this table (Figure 10) and form the criterion for this research project. Both are participant driven, interested in social behaviour and display a respect for observing the setting and circumstance.

The definitions of Kaupapa Māori Theory are acknowledged in the terms of reference for this research. Additional to this, the participant whānau perception of Kaupapa Māori and the researchers ability to recognise the presence of the two.

Whakawhanaungatanga refers to one research strategy within the Kaupapa Māori Research paradigm: see above table. As recapitulated by Graham Smith (1990) this strategy highlights the unique aspects of Kaupapa Māori as a methodology utilizing Māori processes of language, culture and knowledge transmission. Integral to these is the practice of being Māori and viewing the world as Māori. The integration of qualitative research methodology with Kaupapa Māori also tests the ability of Western Methodology to interchange with Māori methodology.

A case study approach was applied as an explanatory tool. This facilitated exploration and explanation of the experiences of the participant whānau. Experiences based on documented history, the rich descriptions of those interviewed and their interaction with the physical settings. The intent of this case study is to sample the response from a specific whānau group, the participant whānau, regarding their experience of whānau, with a design applicable to any whānau grouping. The study identified strong themes relative to culture and environment contributing to the whānau's sense of identity. These themes may contribute to the development of other whānau groups.

In working with an individual's own whānau, the insights presented by Bishop's (op.cit)

development of whakawhanaungatanga, as a Kaupapa Māori strategy needs to be

acknowledged. Within this strategy Bishop (ibid) outlines three interconnected

elements that make this strategy relevant for this research;

1. That establishing whānau relationships is a fundamental, extensive and ongoing
   part of the research (whanaungatanga)
2. Participant driven research facilitates this relationship building and elevates the
   sharing of power and control over the research (self determination),
3. Researchers are somatically involved in the research process physically,
   morally, ethically and spiritually. (p.216)

How would these elements be relevant to this research? The research was completed

within a whānau structure. The experience of individuals was sought and progress

reports regularly provided to the collective. The initial stages of development, thesis

topic and research question, were prescribed by the whānau. The annual whānau hui

2003 supported a proposal to trial run a survey and form a demographic profile for the

whānau. The whānau then completed a selection process of who would and could

conduct this research.

Researchers of whānau health and well-being are usually outsiders. The

whakawhanaungatanga strategy validated the insider position within the parameters of

acceptable research practice. This mechanism also lends to the validity of the research

findings for the benefit of future generations. Bishop & Glynn (1999)

> Knowledge is powerful and to be treasured and protected for the benefit of the
> group, not the individual. Knowledge is not just to enable researchers to collect
> data and publish an account of the new knowledge. Rather, the gaining and
> transmission of new knowledge in a Māori context is in order that the lives of
> the participants may be enhanced by the actions of the researcher. (p.172)

The researcher, in conjunction with the participant group, developed terms of reference

for the project to assure the whanau of the integrity and responsibility of the project.

Guidelines were not limited to, but included areas such as;

- Research parameters,
- ethical standards and procedures for confidentiality,
- information storage and access,
- participation in interviews and,
- agreed incremental reportage to whanau forum.

A constraint to reportage is that the whānau only gather once a year, however extensive electronic networks are utilised for sharing and gathering information across the whanau. Throughout the schedule of interviews guidelines were repeated and reinforced as whānau were engaged. An important element of the research was the whānau remain in the 'driver seat'.

Data Collection

Interviews

As a qualitative research project, semi-structured interviewing was applied as an information-gathering tool of data. Interviews were conducted with sixteen descendents of Atareta and Hāre Penetito. The interviews took place over a three-month period at the participant's convenience of place and time. Thirteen whānau were interviewed at home while two chose their place of work. Two whānau group sessions were conducted, one with three participants present and another with four. One whānau member was located in Whangarei, four in Auckland, eight in Waikato, and three in Wellington. The three-month time frame allowed interviews to be transcribed soon after the interview then returned to participants to edit, comment or correct transcripts. The time between each interview also allowed for quality time to digest the data collected and be familiar with each script.

Strengths were evident in the process. There was already rapport and trust in the relationship between the researcher and the interviewees. Access to individuals was easily achieved subsequently the interview itself was straightforward. Interviewing kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face) provided participants with a dedicated audience to hear stories of childhood and other life experiences within the whānau. For individuals who no longer have, regular contact with the whānau, there was an excitement and willingness. To engage and exchange dialogue and be updated on the lives of other members in the whānau was an opportunity. Volunteers were not difficult to attract to the research. Also savoured the time together with the interviewer to provide insight into personal issues and misfortune that may have pre-occupied their family lives.

A challenge that emerged for an 'insider', conducting research with ones own whānau, presented when the formalities of ethical procedure were implemented. In particular, to preserve confidentiality, protect information, and gain consent to information for the purposes of the thesis topic. Within the lived experience of working in the whānau setting as a member of that whānau, this practice would be guided by Bishop's (ibid) Whakawhanaungatanga strategy , "Researchers are somatically involved in the research process physically, morally, ethically and spiritually." (ibid)

The process of interviewing involved agreeing to timeframes and ensuring the participant was comfortable with surrounding. Participant agreed to the duration of the interview from start time to finish time. Inevitably these ran well over the time the participant had stipulated. This was acceptable to the researcher so long as the participant was made aware and chose to continue. The researcher carried photographs, newsletters and whakapapa (genealogy) as tools to relax participants. On each occasion participants responded in kind by providing their own treasured memories, photographs, correspondence, etc. These were regularly accompanied with recollections of memories

the researcher could not have hoped to gain through a simple question answer session. At these times at each interaction all participants accepted that this was the true essence of whakawhanaungatanga. This provided an opportunity to catch up on movements, achievements and current events in the participants whānau as well as an informal introduction to the interview. Even more pertinent to this was creating a relaxed atmosphere for clarifying the purpose of the visit assuring whānau that there were no right or wrong questions. The interview itself introduced an explanation on what the research topic was, and how the information would compile a theory on whānau identity that would form the basis of a thesis. The participant and researcher went through the consent requirements together and examples of each point provided for further clarification.

The first stage of the interview was a question to warm participants up. This encouraged stories of childhood memories and other experiences of growing up. There were ten questions designed to gauge variations and similarities to aspects of individual's experience of whānau. Who did they identify as their whānau? What was valued about whānau? What influences were there that helped shaped their experience of whānau? Were there any missing ingredients to their expectations of whānau? These questions were seeking a reflective perspective from the individual and sought to provide an opportunity for participants to consider their experience of whānau from childhood through to their present engagement with whānau as adults, parents, grandparents and great grandparents. One question was set in the present, asking of their current interaction or experience with the whānau. This question was intended to illustrate any changes to association with the whānau over time, and indicate what activities were constant examples where whānau gathered.

The last sets of questions were about looking forward. What do you want for your tamariki (children) and mokopuna (grandchildren)? How do you think you can contribute to help them achieve these aspirations? What role does the whānau have in helping our tamariki and mokopuna achieve these goals? These last questions in particular were challenging for most participants. These questions were presented to understand the relationship between the aspects of whānau that individuals had absorbed as valuable, and whether these were then transmitted through their own experiences through to their offspring (tamariki and mokopuna). The interview was formally ended when the participant was satisfied they had completed their response to the questions posed.

Although the interview process was completed, participants used the opportunity to continue to share many stories, and dialogue, off the record. The experience of whitiwhiti kōrero (discussion and sharing of experiences/stories) was welcomed, and for many rejuvenated the want to dialogue with whānau through this experience.

Some of the difficulties experienced in this form of interviewing derived from the researcher's inexperience. At the stage of converting the taped interviews into transcripts it was recognised that there had been several missed opportunities to explore in more depth some of the individual's impromptu lines of thinking.

The group interviews had posed their own set of problems for the researcher in transcribing the recorded conversations during the interviews and identifying the speakers. As a group interview there was interjection and movement between speakers, which meant trying to define comments and content was sometimes difficult. However, this was less of an issue for the participants. The two groups who requested to be

interviewed as a whānau group were hesitant to contribute collectively, as in a discussion or open dialogue about the questions. Although this was encouraged by the interviewer, the natural occurrence was that each individual wanted their time to respond accordingly to each question. This is how one group operated, with each taking turn on each question. Both groups had a mixture of generations, which also meant that there was considerable diversity in their memories and stories of childhood. This reinforced the importance for each individual to recount their stories, and be heard.

Other verbal feedback after interviews were that participants had expected more input from the interviewer, to interrupt them and keep them on track. Those interviewed also gave feedback that they had found the process painless and the experience had been less intrusive and intimidating because of their comfort and familiarity with the interviewer. There were pre-conceptions that an interview was a question, answer process where you were either right or wrong. This expectation was subtly abandoned, and the discomfort and nerves to 'get it right' gradually and visibly subsided. Bishop (op.cit) identifies this experience as integral to ethical Māori research practice:

"The purpose of Kaupapa Māori research is to reduce the imposition of the researcher in order that research meets and works within and for the interests and concerns of the research participants within their own definitions of self determination." (pg.223)

Research Scope

The participants were all aged forty and over. The age criteria allowed an experience across a time span pertinent to what the research sought. The access to this age group was also expected less arduous as contact details and location were more reliable versus a younger demographic where lifestyle maybe transient. The number of whānau members in this category total forty four. By interviewing sixteen whānau members

forty years and over, this represents 36% of that total. The following table (Figure 11) shows the make up of interview participants in relation to their tupuna (ancestors).

Figure 11: Interview Participants by Generation and Descent
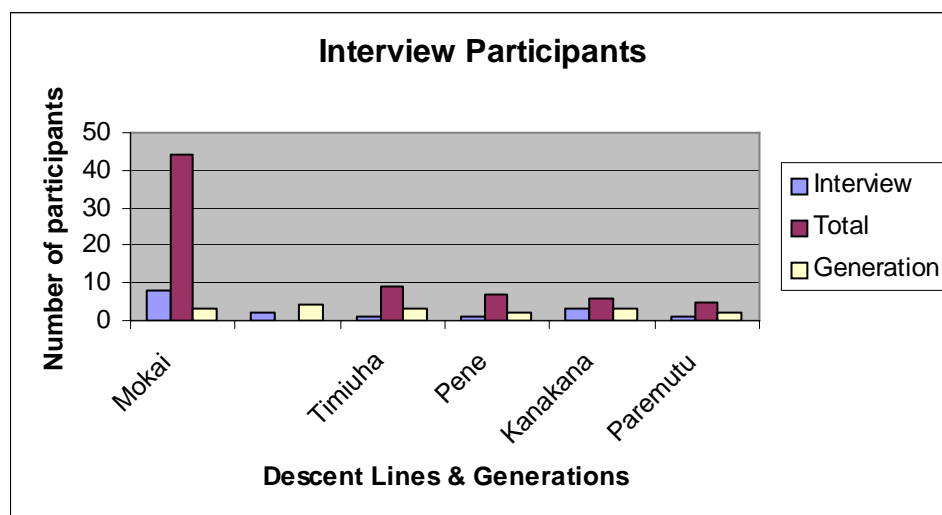
Generation		**Hāre**	**Atareta**		
1	Mōkai	Timiuha	Pene	Kanakana	Paremutu
2			1		1
3	8	1		3	
4	2				

- Mōkai has the largest family numbering seven, however all of his issue is deceased. Ten of his progeny were interviewed; eight from the third generation, and two from the fourth generation. Mōkai has forty-four living descendents of the third generation: recorded 2004.

- Timiuha had five issue, all of whom are deceased. One progeny, from the third generation was interviewed. Timiuha has nine living descendents of the third generation: recorded 2004.

- Pene had six issue. The sole surviving member was interviewed. Pene has seven living descendents in the third generation: recorded 2004.

- Kanakana had five issue. All these are deceased. Three progeny were interviewed from the six living descendents in the third generation: recorded 2004.

- Paremutu had two issue. The single surviving member was interviewed. Paremutu has five living progeny from the third generation: recorded 2004.

In the third generation of descendants from Hāre and Atareta Penetito there are eighty-two descendents, eleven of whom are deceased. The sample presents weighted toward the line of Mōkai. This occurs because the issue is larger than any of his siblings. This has impacted who has been available and prepared to participate within the parameters set out above.

The two kuia belonging to the third generation from Hāre and Atareta are the only surviving whānau members of this generation. Their input to the study was paramount, anticipating that they would be key informants as children of this generation who would be able to recount from the lived experience, as opposed to second hand, from stories passed on.

There was considerable energy put into seeking representation from each line of descendents of Hāre and Atareta. Four out of twenty individuals approached to be interviewed chose not to participate in the study. Two did not respond to a written invitation to participate (and this was the only known means of contact for them). One declined to be interviewed and considered themselves not to be the "right person", and one other was abandoned after several attempts to meet were unsuccessful over a four month period. In most cases the eldest member of each whānau line was consulted. In

the event that they did not want to proceed to be interviewed, they were asked for alternative whānau members to be suggested from their line of descent. Outside of this process, individuals who showed an interest to be interviewed and fit the criteria of over forty years of age were also obliged.

Analysis of Information

The process of analysis was guided by several sources of expertise specific to data analysis in research. The first stage followed the suggestion by LeComple (2000) to 'tidy up' and arrange interview data. This involved sorting, labeling and storing interview data systematically for easy access and retrieval. This was done chronologically by each interview conducted.

The interviews were transcribed, and returned to participants for feedback. Glaser & Strauss (1967) recommend organising items of data into groups or categories by comparing and contrasting items. The data was separated into categories relevant to each of the participants responses to each of the questions. As Coffey and Atkinson (1996) express;

> It is worth stressing here that codes are organising principles that are not set in stone. They are our own creations, which we identify and select ourselves. They are tools to think with. They can be expanded, changed or scrapped altogether as our ideas develop through repeated interactions with the data. Starting to create categories is a way of beginning to read and think about the data in a systematic and organised way. (pg.32)

Themes were then identified to gauge commonalities in attitudes, beliefs, experience and practices. Whānau group interview data was analysed in terms of common themes with particular attention to the perceptions of the two elders, as their knowledge was an invaluable contribution to the project. In parts of the analysis process this particular knowledge was considered unique to the experiences of this generation (of the elders)

and needed to be captured beyond the scope of 'çommon themes.' Miles and Huberman (1994) reiterate this practice stating, "A vital part of the reflections undertaken by the qualitative researcher will be the attempt to identify, 'patterns and processes, commonalities and differences". (pg.9)

As patterns emerged, they formed linkages between the data in interviews, and the hypotheses formed on the research subject, in this case, the importance of whānau identity to whānau development. From the process of codes & categories developed the presence of themes, and finally relationships.

Equally as important to the data analysis, was the need to remain aware of the role of the researcher in the research. Vadehoncoeur (1998) talks about the researcher understanding "the self". She describes the position of analysis to be reflective of "the self" in relation to the environment, and "the self" in relation to other people who would be observing, critiquing or participating in the research process. As a study that was being conducted by a descendent of the whānau group, whakapapa (genealogy) and whanaungatanga (relationships) would be considerations throughout each stage of the research to reinforce this analysis of "self" in the process. An understanding of the context of the knowledge shared, and a consciousness regarding the background of the participants would maximise an insight into the data produced. This connection created the opportunity to unpack knowledge and histories that were intellectual property belonging to the participant whānau. This knowledge at some time could be retold, with consent of participants, for transmission to future generations. It also meant that the interest to impart with this information could be, and would be scrutinised through each stage of development by the whānau.

As reported in the Ethics Approval process for this research, the findings were to be presented to an annual Whānau Hui in July 2005. This would gauge accuracy of data, and extend the opportunity for non-participant and participant members, to comment on findings, validate research outcomes, and provide collective recognition for the research. The research findings take exerpts of interviews, and these are referenced as numbered informants to protect the identity of people in relation to their impressions, and out of respect for their contribution to this thesis and their trust in confidentiality. The specifics of these findings and the themes that emerged follow in the next stage of this thesis.

Chapter Five

Research Findings

Captured in the findings of this research are very distinct understandings and interpretations of the social, cultural and physical environment and how these interact to shape the orientation of this whānau for individual participants. Diverse accounts of the same experiences, within the same geographical setting were unraveled through the research process.

Identified were individuals raised in the nuclear family orientation contrasting with others intimate with the extended family. An exclusive attitude to whānau contrasted with one inclusive of friends, and non-affine whānau. Some recalled frequent contact with the marae, others almost none. Some were raised in an urban environment and only visited those in the rural papakāinga setting. Some claimed to have a very Māori upbringing, others a very Pākeha experience.

When the size of the whānau, the mix of generations and lines of descent are considered, the diversity in results are not unexpected. The current location of the whānau (nationally and internationally), the impact of urbanisation, and the direct affects of Modernisation on the institution of whānau, lend to the various narratives of this whānau experience. Keeping in mind whānau is the smallest unit of the Māori social construct.

The degree of contact with Te Ao Māori was a common citation from participants. Perhaps the choice of language and terminology used, for example the use of 'whānau' and not family in the interviews may have influenced this response. These dimensions of whānau identity viewed across a spectrum of experiences are discussed throughout

the analysis of information gathered through the interviews. There were three main themes that emerged from the interviews; Whanaungatanga – the practice of whānau, Te Ao Māori-perceptions of the Māori world, and Future Directions – the shared vision of whānau collectively.

The first reference to whanaungatanga will involve placing the whānau in a context. In this instant the context is the papakāinga (whānau land). Within this theme featured aspects of shared parenting, explained through a dialogue about care giving circumstances and the guardianship roles associated with this practice. Concurrently good role modeling features as a familiar trait across the whānau and demonstrated through a productive work ethic championed by the adults in the whānau group.

Te Ao Māori – perceptions of the Māori World

The reference to and perceptions of whānau, were imperative to consider. Participants' experience within Te Ao Māori, individually and collectively was critical in the analysis. There was no direct question about individual's association with a Māori World. The want to explain this became evident in the comments captured during the process of transcribing taped interviews. Identification with Te Ao Māori, and degrees of interaction within a cultural framework was examined. Each time any descriptive reference was made, relevant to cultural identification, cultural awareness or lack thereof, it was grouped under the heading Te Ao Māori.

Within the theme of Te Ao Māori a feeling of confusion about identity as Māori emerges in the data. An example of such statements is depicted in the following quote;

> "There was kind of nothing there to say it was good to be Māori"
> (Informant 15)

The findings exposed considerable depletion of expressions of Te Ao Māori. Cultural transmission of certain elements in this whānau would be unsuccessful, of particular example, te reo (the language). However other aspects including the concept of 'manākitanga' is emphasised as a key feature to the whānau identity, an engrained teaching from Te Ao Māori. These findings lead to dialogue regarding the interface between Māori and Pākeha. A possible explanation and example of what influences resulted in this phenomenon.

Future Directions – the shared vision of whānau collectively

Under this heading the responses to the futurity of the whānau indicated three key areas; the role and importance of education,

> "The language and education…. I want to sort of raise the bar" (Informant 6)
> "To educate my young ones now so that they can carry on in the future…. carry on with what I'm trying to tell them and teach them now" (Informant 2)

the retention and significance of whanaungatanga,

> "the intrinsic thing about whānau is the whanaungatanga part, is the blood relationship" (Informant 11)

> "when I think about my earlier days and the fun and being together and all those things, a real strong bond across families and across whānau make you feel good…I'm not trying to repeat the past, its about trying to create the best things from the past and hold on to them in the present and in the future" (Informant 15)

and the concerns for physical health and wellbeing.

> "To be happy, safe and well, and hope that they make the right decisions in life" (Informant 9)

> "I like to see that each generation is going to get bigger and stronger" (Informant 15)

Within these themes are several elements and dimensions that contribute to the weave of each to the concept of whānau. For example whanaungatanga has the 'papakāinga', 'shared care' and 'role models' as subheadings and contributing factors to

whanaungatanga. Under each heading the findings will be introduced. As Chenail (1995) suggests, exemplars from the data are inserted and some discussion around each will shape the conclusions to each heading.

Theme 1: Whanaungatanga

The adults and elders of the whānau Penetito promoted the importance of kinship ties by providing an environment where the second and third generation (of Hāre and Atareta), as children, would be raised together, as one whānau. Interview participants had fond and similar recollection of both the people (whānau), and the place (the farm) where they experienced growing up in close proximity to each other and in frequent contact with each other.

> "we were so close…we lived at one another's homes…. my aunties and uncles were always around…. it was the whole whānau upbringing" (Informant 1)

The location (whānau land) enabled this phenomenon to occur quite naturally and the commitment to whanaungatanga was reinforced through this site.

> "we were always at the farm, and we were always together as cousins…our lives were in Piarere Valley…that's all we knew, farm life" (Informant 13)

Even those who were not physically resident on the land associated the farm with whānau interaction, a place for whānau activity and where whānau gathered on a regular and informal basis. It was in every sense of the word, recalled as the papakāinga.

> "The farm was like a meeting house" (Informant 14)

> "Our marae was where we lived, on the farm"(Informant 13)

The association between the function and role of this site and the place of the meeting house on the marae is interpreted as a safe place where whānau, hapū and iwi congregate for hui, for kōrero, for disputes, for celebration, for wānanga and for death.

As an institute in Te Ao Māori, the description in this exemplar signifies the farm as a site of whanaungatanga, and a place of purpose for this whānau.

"we had a safe environment and sense of belonging"(Informant 12)

A majority of whānau participants referred to the close, nurturing environment that was very sociable, inclusive, trusting and demonstrated a special place for children, with loving attention paid to their upbringing.

The terms 'contact, closeness and connected' filter through participants' recollections. The closeness is explained by their intimate knowledge of who everyone was, how they were related, and the time they spent together as children, interacting freely with adults in the whānau. It is recalled through collective activities and shared responsibilities including working together, eating together and playing together. The contact referred to was in essence, a result of a constant presence of whānau members, a familiarity as a result of this presence, and an assurance of accessibility, availability, reliability and dependability.

"we were brought up with a lot of whānau"(Informant 5)

"we spent a lot of time with our cousins, it was pretty special" (Informant 7)

"we were very close knit"(Informant 14)

"a lot of really strong connections…a lot of coming together"(Informant 15)

A theme of connectedness comes up frequently as a descriptive term for what participants felt was achieved as a result of being close and growing up together. It is expressed as a connectedness on an emotional and spiritual level and a deep sense of love and respect for whānau members. The papakāinga provided the site for this interaction.

<u>Whanaungatanga and Shared Care</u>

The shared care of children was practiced and is evident through individual's experience
of the care from the adults in the whānau. This is described in the research as
mentoring, role modeling, disciplinary action, advice provided and acknowledgement of
the positive influence of elders within the whānau. It is important to explain in relation
to the following responses, that in Māori kinship terminology the words defining
parents, mātua, whāea, refer to all of the biological parent's generation (uncles and
aunts). With the exception of Ngāti Porou who use the term kōka to describe aunt.

> "My aunties and uncles were like mums and dads"(Informant 1)

> "Uncles and aunties always involved in our upbringing"(Informant 13)

The association between the adults and the children in these comments is respectful and
indicates the children were well informed about the identity of these adults and their
relationship to each other, and to the children. This relationship is better understood
and the role of the adults appreciated in the next statements.

> "there was always someone giving you a steer on something, everybody just
> joined in…there were large numbers and a large variety of homes"(Informant
> 15)

> "someone was always there, and we grew up like that, we didn't know anything
> else"(Informant 7)

The death of adult whānau members at a young age was another aspect that was spoken
about by several participants interviewed. The result of death of one parent or caregiver
from illness and the impact that this had on the individual, either in the context of
continued care giving , or in the change to family settings, became a reality for some.
Circumstances changed dramatically for some. The whānau decided on ongoing care
giving arrangements, that did not include any input from progeny (whether they were

young adults or children), which appeared to be standard practice at the time. What some individuals recognised as home, changed sometimes in location.

> "we had a tough childhood…cause mum passed away and leaving us so young, I thought Dad did really well…but that made us grow up…I grew up having about ten mummies"(Informant 2)

> "when my mother died Uncle # took me…he had my sister, they put us together and from then on I was brought up there"(Informant 3)

> "I was about 6 or 7 when our mother died, and he brought us up. He brought a lot of his nieces in to look after us" (Informant 10)
> "Mum was sick though a lot of the time too, and I think we spent a lot of time out at the farm, because of that" (Informant 7)

Some indirect consequences from illness and death were increased responsibilities in childhood to help with the work or care giving responsibilities.

> "we were working kids, but that was our daily life"(Informant 13)
> "that's all we saw was cows night and morning, night and morning"(Informant 3)

> "Sissy (psydonym) was the outdoor person, she helped Dad on the farm, I cleaned the house and cooked the kai" (Informant 13)

The absence of a memory or association with the deceased parent was to create some feelings of disconnection and disassociation for some individuals. Others experiencing the loss of a parent had left a void that forced the children to develop a stronger association with the wider whānau as a support base, this in turn strengthened their relationships with the wider whānau.

> "Mum had showed us how to embrace beyond your own, whānau was not just blood" (Informant 6)

> "We were always all over there (at the homestead)"(Informant 3)

> "she just died too early for us. We were just growing out of our shells and then bang she's gone…what did we learn from that? Well, we were allowed to spread out to our others, which we did, we spread out to our other aunties and uncles" (Informant 6)

It appears that the idea of shared care was not only in response to the circumstances of illness or death, but a practice strengthened and valued by the whānau more so in these

times. Alongside the tragedy of death, the shared care of children and mokopuna in the whānau was reinforced. Incorporated in this experience was tangihanga, which raised a childhood perspective on death. The formal protocols around tangihanga are an adult domain, however the grieving process for whanau pani (the relatives to the deceased) at no point excludes the presence of children.

> "We were never allowed to go to tangis, we had to stay home. I don't know if he was keeping us away for a reason, or whether we had home duties to do…. but we were never involved until a late age"(Informant 2)

> "We never went to tangis or things like that"(Informant 3)

> "We never ever went to a tangi cause we weren't allowed to" (Informant 5)

It appears in this instance to have been a practice asserted by the adult whanau members to keep these children at a distance from tangihanga. For each of these statements the individual was unable to recall any reason provided, or intuition about why they were excluded from tangi, for others it was different.

> "When I was a kid they used to have tangis at grannies place"(Informant 15)

> "I remember I used to help the old lady dress the bodies" (Informant 14)

> "We used to have the tangis just in the house"(Informant 3)

> "Our father used to take us out to tangis"(Informant 10)

> "Whenever there was a tangi, there was no question about it, I would go" (Informant 12)

These experiences tend to contradict any reasoning applied in the former text for the exemption of children from tangihanga, however it does indicate a difference in upbringing from family to family within the whanau, and perhaps for different generations within the same whanau. Mason Durie (2003) comments on the concept of tangihanga. "The fact that the whole process is based on Māori language, philosophy and social organisation supports a positive cultural identity and adds to the emotional and spiritual significance." (pg.53)

The death of whānau members and the impact on individuals featured as an aspect of a cultural understanding that posed as a missing ingredient for some respondents later in life. The loss of siblings, or parents, and the lack of knowledge or contact with parents or grandparents due to sudden, or early death created a mixture of accounts of feelings of disassociation, regret, and grief for not having known these closely related family members and feel connected to them other than in name.

> "I suppose that would have been really neat to know grandfather, cause I never had a grandfather" (Informant 6)

> "That was a sad thing too you know, I didn't know my father" (Informant 5)

Mortality rates over two decades, 1940-1960 were disproportionately high for Māori, and reflected in this experience from the research participants. As Durie (ibid) comments "Many whānau are robbed of parents and grandparents well before children and mokopuna (grandchildren) have reached independence". (pg.21)

Whakawhanaungatanga is a prevalent testimony experienced by members of the Penetito whānau in their impressions of 'growing up', regardless of their circumstances in upbringing; where, or by whom. These experiences and relationships have been captured and grouped under the category, 'The benefits of whānau'. These personal expressions were what individuals stated they had got out of their whānau relationships, and their appreciation of belonging to the whānau.

> "something worthwhile happening"(Informant 15)

> "unconditional"(Informant 6)

> "a sense of belonging" (Informant 9)

> "a support network" (Informant 13)

> "a nurturing environment"(Informant 12)

> "a rich heritage"(Informant 12)

"an idea of family-ness"(Informant 15)

These expressions can also be used to summarise the achievement of shared care giving, and understand the role this has in whakawhanaungatanga.

All participants identified with blood relatives as having the most influence in their lives. These influences reflected the practice of shared parenting spanning parents, grandparents, uncles, aunts and siblings.

> "a person that had a profound affect on me was Granny"(Informant 15)
>
> "everything seems to revolve around Granny"(Informant 14)
>
> "he more or less educated me on being close and staying close cause life's too short…that was the biggest impact ever" (Informant 2)

Positive influences came from various generations, and various individuals within the whānau had significant influence. It is observed that those who married into the whānau share in the values of raising children collectively and as a result, some consistent whānau parenting is practiced. Interview participants responded with four main charactersitics that they valued and attributed to the influences around them in their upbringing. The first was positive role modeling that attributed to a strong sense of whānau;

> "We have good role models…supportive and always there"(Informant 1)
>
> "An importance was placed on who you are and where you come from"(Informant 13)

The emerging qualities of individuals considered good role models: demonstrated dependability; a protective instinct; temperament; resourceful and practical, and respected for leading by example. These were the characteristics that participants concluded were the makings of a good role model.

The next set of characteristics together formed whānau values and include a combined

attitude toward standards, strengths and work ethic;

> "He had a real powerful work ethic which was learned cause it works for me too, I'd grown up with it" (Informant 15)
>
> "Mum was a very strong person and I think she set a lot of ground rules for us, things that we did and didn't do, the things that were right, and what was wrong" (Informant 1)
>
> "She was a workaholic in my eyes…she kept her home spick and span…she was always busy…everything she did she valued. I think I was fortunate that she was always around us and that sort of helped us I suppose and how we grew up" (Informant 13)
>
> "Dad was a real provider and a worker, and Mum really had to work hard" (Informant 4)
>
> "They certainly enforced in us the right things to do, and the wrong things to do, and how to do it so that it's done properly"(Informant 11)

This articulation of whānau values relates to the qualities of positive role modeling that

are a feature of the Penetito whānau. Adults in the whānau organised and managed the

whānau. Children (now adults) observed and have practiced the collective approach to

responsibilities in maintaining productivity and well being among the whānau. Perhaps

influenced by a background of farming and providing for a large family, the standards

of performance, production, achievement and collective responsibility have shaped the

culture and values of importance to this whānau.

These positive aspects of whānau that nurtured strong kinship connections were obvious

barriers to the required societal structures that would compliment conditions for

successful 'take off' as determined by the process of Modernisation. Rostow (op.cit)

Modernisation theory engages traditional societies to convert to economically active

communities. One of the fundamental activities of this process is breaking down any

notion of collectivity, and in a parallel approach, impose ethnocentricity. For whānau to

retain a collectivity and connectivity can be celebrated as a positive resistance to

Modernisation. For application of the theory, this strength would present difficulty in directly influencing anything positive about progressing towards a less cohesive whānau. The collective culture of whānau posed a problem to this development theory in the context of what whānau represented and had been retained.

Equally as threatening would be the practice of mentoring and role modeling that would contest any isolated identification of individual leadership. To reiterate, Modernisation theory worked towards individualism. Within this whānau were deliberate mechanisms to protect the whānau identity through maximising the connections to each other and to a place of belonging. The work ethic set standards of responsibility and obligation to the whānau, and the land, intrinsic to the survival of a whānau identity.

Theme 2: Te Ao Māori

"Family rediscovers whānau".

Cited in Durie (op.cit) Pihama claims that "colonial attitudes have greatly diminished Māori concepts of whānau by opting for narrow frameworks, and in the process excluding those whose birth circumstances lie outside the nuclear constructed". (pg.189)

Reference to the use of the word whānau was deliberated throughout the interview process. The term 'family' was the common description used to refer to the relatives present during upbringing. There were two distinctive trains of thought on the same subject. One was that language had evolved from that time to this;

> "We called family, family….today I probably call it whānau" (Informant 4)

> "I suppose it's just a word maybe and the word that's changed…like Pā was a Pā, and now it's a marae" (Informant 5)

"I don't think we ever used the word whānau, just the family"(Informant 10)

The second perspective is the interpretation of family being perceived as the nuclear unit, and whānau being more inclusive, extending beyond blood ties.

"I used to think of family back then, that's what it was…it's not until we got older the word family has become whānau" (Informant 5)

"The individual is the first unit, the family is the second, and the whānau is the third" (Informant 15)

"Whānau today seems to be everybody and yet family wasn't. I think my family to me is more whānau, it's wider"(Informant 4)

"Whānau is not only my immediate family but all your family as a whole" (Informant 13)

In responding to the question, Who do you identify as whānau ? the initial reply was to name immediate family members. Participants proceeded to then expand their definition to include extended whānau. The majority of individuals, family and whānau concluded that there is differentiation between the meanings of family and whānau. Although there was some inference about the progression of language, there was no direct conjunction made between the decimate state of te reo a generation ago, and the increased awareness and use of te reo Māori across society in this present time. It could also be ascertained at this point that there was no admission that the origin of one word is of the English language, and the other of te reo Māori. There is an acceptance that these words, family and whānau in the same context may be interchanged to mean the same thing. This is maybe the most blatant example of success from colonisation and Modernisation on the institute of whānau; a reality all the same for Māori as stated by Pōhatu (op.cit);

For many Māori today however, they are locked into a Pākeha mindset and this is problematic. Their first language and cultural patterns are Pākeha, consequently how they interpret Māori words is an understanding that has been informed by code switching the English language, so that Māori words equate with English ones in the definition or the meaning. Non-Māori templates infiltrate the Māori mind and what emerges with time is cultural replacement. (pg.20)

<u>Identification as Māori</u>

The role of Te Ao Māori featured prominently in the feedback from the interviews when respondents were asked to identify any shortcomings in their experience of whānau. There were observations of the presence of te reo and degrees of contact with the marae at Raungaiti. However, more determined comments emerged regarding the absence of positive reinforcement and recognition of identity as Māori, from the adults around them. Some introduced a discomfort in their sense of identity in the context of being Māori.

> "For the kids everybody just spoke English, a sign of the times I think…. you have to speak Pākeha because you have to get on in the Pākeha World…. I think with Grannies family not only was it believe it was actually strongly supported. In many cases they didn't really want to know about things Māori" (Informant 15)

> "When they spoke to us it was in Pākeha" (Informant 3)

> "I think my own kids were learning Māori at school and different things that they would come home with that I couldn't answer" (Informant 2)

> "I don't remember ever believing I wasn't a Māori, or that I didn't want to be one" (Informant 15)

To the other extreme there was also some feeling of confidence from some respondents who claimed to be secure in their identity as individuals. This lead to an assumption on these individual's part that to be secure in their own identity was to justify an obsolete need for interaction with whānau, and, or Te Ao Māori.

> "I don't know why I don't go to these things. Everyone's always saying come over we've got such and such on, or….and I never do, I don't know. I don't know what's stopping me. It's not like I don't think I'm not part of the family because I know that everybody would include me and make me feel part of the family" (Informant 9)

> "There was nothing stopping me (from being involved with whānau) but I wasn't really worried about meeting the rest. I was quite happy with who I am. " (Informant 2)

"I might be like what I said before about growing up as a bit of a loner, where you think you're very self sufficient….I don't particularly need my whānau in the wider sense for me to progress, or for me to do the things that I'm going to do" (Informant 14)

Two respondents recall observing one particular family within the whānau that practiced a 'very Māori' existence. One of these two was a whāngai who was raised away from both Waharoa and Hinuera on her mother's land, and the other was a child who had spent a lot of time with the Aunties on the farm in Waharoa. Both were from the third generation. This 'Māori' environment wasn't specified, but contained in their comments and recollections of the places where they grew up:

"They were both caught in an era where they were both very Māori, they were very Māori…. . his first language was Māori and he was very limited in English…. you just knew the things Māori, they were just inate. We spent a lot of time at the pa, Kaiatemata…. I knew Waharoa really well too, Tauwhare, I knew these marae. We were always connected in that way. I loved the fact that he and Mum were real Māori, cause that's where most of my essence comes from" (Informant 11)

" She certainly believed that with her family, with her mokos, the way ahead for the future was to make it in the Pākeha World and were less convinced of that…. they were certainly much more closely connected to the marae, to Waharoa. So people from the marae often used to come down and spend time there…. nobody actually did anything to encourage Māori to be spoken, apart from # and # I'm talking about. But they just did it as a matter of course in their house, they spoke to each other. Well, when their brother used to come down they'd speak Māori with him, and when someone from the marae arrived they'd speak Māori with them. For the kids, everybody just spoke English….a sign of the times I think…. and the belief that's how it ought to be" (Informant 15)

From these comments "very Māori" can be translated to be associated to the typical situation where the use of te reo Māori was a natural means of daily conversation and where contact with the local people and marae was part of this family's social norm.

The indicators of identification developed by Durie (2001) become tangible measures of awareness married to the responses of individual's and their sense of Māori identity. He describes the following categories as part of his interpretations of a Māori identity. A

notional identity is when the individual knows they are Māori, but does not have any knowledge or confidence to access any Māori institutions. A compromised identity is where there is good access to cultural and physical aspects of Te Ao Māori, but little desire for affiliation with Māori. The third category is a secure identity, qualified by access to tribal knowledge, customs, language, whānau and land. The positive identity demonstrates high levels of personal commitment to being Māori, but does not have ready access to language, land or other resources.

What seems to be apparent from this study is a range of variations and subsequent levels of experience towards Māori identity for this whānau. This observation leads into what some whānau describe as a sense of confusion in identifying as Māori. It provides some insight into what presence Te Ao Māori had in the whānau, and to what extent the practice was applied.

The experience of identification as Māori was introduced by research participants in their response to gaps regarding whānau socialisation within Te Ao Māori context. Rather than affirm that which was positive, was omitted, is highlighted by participants to depict a shortcoming in upbringing. This in turn has lead to a gap in cultural knowledge, impacting confidence to identify as Māori.

There is a mixture of childhood recollections, regarding being Māori, and an underlying dilemma about not fully understanding what this meant.

> "They said we had a nice house for Māoris…but we weren't real Māoris remember? They used to tell us we weren't real Māoris" (Informant 4)

> "You were only a Māori if you lived at the Pa…but the thing is I always knew who I was, I always knew we were Māori" (Informant 5)

> "I remember when we first went to the marae…I was scared, cause it was the first time I'd seen so many Māoris I suppose, I don't know" (Informant 13)

"…she asked me this question, 'did I like Māoris?' I didn't know what the hell she was talking about and I said, "I don't know Granny I haven't tasted them yet" (Informant 7)

There were external opinions and influences from peers and from the community in general that fed the confusion. Racist comments directed at individuals in the whānau. Derogatory comments from peers, Māori and Pākeha, directed at others were recalled.

"I had a Pākeha mate who'd say something about 'those Māoris', and at some point I'd say "hey, hey, I'm one of those Māoris too you know", and he'd say 'aw yeah but you're different'. I used to think to myself is that a compliment or is he insulting me"

"I can remember at school being conscious of Māoris being criticised by Pākehas or Pākeha kids talking about….kids being called nigger, blackie and it was always a derogative term you know ? I can remember hearing those when I was a kid and it always used to disturb me, screw my insides up, but not really knowing what to do about it" (Informant 15)

In fact for some reflecting on their upbringing there appeared little affirmation to negate the ambiguity of what it meant to be Māori.

"We went to Piarere School, we were the only Māoris there. We were kind of brought up in a Pākeha World" (Informant 10)

"I didn't know what a Māori was…you didn't really talk about them as much then as you do now" (Informant 7)

"nobody actually did anything to encourage Māori to be spoken…. a sign of the times and a belief that that's how it ought to be…you have to learn to speak Pākeha because you have to get on in the Pākeha world." (Informant 15)

This exemplar highlights glaring gaps in the dual socialisation process. There are statements describing experiences where education was unbalanced regarding the two worlds, Māori and Pākeha, where one set of values proved more important than the other. Along the same notion is the suggestion that use of 'te reo' (Māori language) was under controlled conditions in controlled circumstances, and only in the company of particular people.

"I never grew up with te reo" (Informant 13)

"the only time the old lady would speak Māori at home was when her

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brothers and sisters would come" (Informant 14)

The presence of 'te reo Māori' is remembered. One emergence is the conscious

dismissal of transmission to the children.

> "they speak in Māori all the time, when they used to come up home, that's all they do"(Informant 3)

> "his natural language was Māori…. we spent a lot of time at the Pā" (Informant 11)

> "if there was Māori spoken it was only between my Dad and their generation"(Informant 13)

Te reo Māori was treated as a power mechanism for the adults, and the children were

not encouraged to learn. This was an observation from recollections that

communication in te reo was selective, directive and intended to be obscure for the

children of the time. However they were regularly exposed to conversations of others

and as well, direction was regularly given in Māori, hence the reference to controlled

conditions. The contribution of experiences has indicated there were glaring gaps in the

practice and transmission of cultural templates for this whānau. That is not to assume

that alternative means and aspects of transmission were not retained. Transmission of te

reo Māori has not been successfully practiced. However, as uncovered through the

interviews, the manifestation of Te Ao Māori practice is formed through memory of te

reo Māori and its use, and more so in the act of sharing kai Māori (Māori foods).

> "we used to come home from school every afternoon and Granny had made Māori bread" (Informant 7)

> "I remember Granny cooking rewena bread"(Informant 13)

> "We used to have kanga wai coming out of our ears…a lot of stuff I can remember is around kai (Informant 14)

> "I can remember helping the old lady thread pipis through the flax and hanging them up to dry" (Informant 14)

Not only was the preparation of kai Māori preserved as a ritual to be passed on, it was the key ingredient in cultivating the philosophy and practice of manākitanga (hospitality) and manāki tangata. (caring for people)

> "the event of the year was going out to Grannies to harvest the gardens" (Informant 5)

> "always lots of food, lots of jokes, lots of laughter…. that house used to have lots of people coming and going, relations mainly but not just relations…everybody had to get in and do things" (Informant 15)

Kai; the preparation, the availability, the attention to provision of, the abundance of, the type of (Kai Māori), and the duties in childhood show a direct relationship to manākitanga (hospitality) and whanaungatanga (kinship).

This part of the research has uncovered an absence of identity factors associated with being Māori, and a lack of attention from older generations to explain these described deficiencies. Within this finding is a deduction that concepts of Te Ao Māori are not restricted to those of language and traditional custom. The final theme progresses this thinking and discusses the relevance of cultural identity in respect of the participant whānau. There are diverse recollections of interaction with Te Ao Māori and there is some criticism of what was excluded;

> "Mum shielded us from those things. We never ever went to a tangi cause we weren't allowed to and that was because of our grandmother…I think I must have been 15 when I went to my first tangi…so that was really traumatic, scarey when you're 15"(Informant 5)

> "She had this sort of separation between Māori, what Māori can offer you, and Pākeha can offer you and the rest of this sort of stuff" (Informant 14)

Elders in the whānau controlled exposure of children to aspects of tikanga and te reo Māori. On another level there is acknowledgement of te reo being used around the participants in their childhood, although not with them;

"His first language was Māori and he was fairly limited in English" (Informant 11)

"They speak Māori all the time ay…when they used to come up home, that's all they do…they kōrero" (Informant 3)

This makes more poignant the responses that articulate the importance on retaining key aspects of Te Ao Māori.

"We have wairua" (Informant 4)

"Tikanga ā iwi followed no matter where you are" (Informant 6)

"I had little interest in learning about whakapapa or tikanga until recently" (Informant 10)

"I have a commitment to whānau and Te Ao Māori" (Informant 11)

"My interest is in compiling whakapapa" (Informant 12)

"My motivation is to provide te reo for mokopuna" (Informant 13)

"I have an appreciation of kai Māori" (Informant 14)

"Huge interest in retaining whānau-ness and building a Māori identity" (Informant 15).

Te Ao Māori has cornerstones that are commonly identified as markers evidenced in te reo, tikanga, karakia, whakapapa and waiata.

Pohatu (op.cit 1996) makes reference to "Te Ao Māori cornerstones are critical factors that allow the cultural being to step out of the group that he is a part of, and objectively and critically reflect, assess and monitor the impact of actions upon cultural cornerstones and thus the well-being of the grouping, the culture". (pg.48)

He asserts that cultural cornerstones are a combination of responsibilities and notions inclusive of concepts, and not exclusive of the aforementioned cultural markers. It is this thinking that leads to observations of other positions or aspects of Te Ao Māori

successfully employed in the context of this research, like that of kai Māori and Manāki Tangata.

Manākitanga

Manākitanga was the most common response across most participants in the interviews when questioned about the thing that was valued most about their experience of whānau. This concept needs to be qualified to understand the range of values accommodated as manākitanga in this writing. In the context of this research I have come to interpret manākitanga as an obligation, respect and action word that facilitates the caring, sharing and positive values reciprocated to provide the well being factors of a whānau. Durie (ibid) explained manaakitia as the capacity to care, and responsibility for care, of whānau members. He also claimed that this capacity to care is a critical role for whānau. An example of the feedback that supports this conclusion follow;

"a pride" (Informant 4)

"a love and respect" (Informant 6)

"reassurance and stability" (Informant 9)

"nurturing, loving, caring, supporting" (Informant 11)

"shared values" (Informant 13)

"strong connections…inclusiveness" (Informant 15)

"the ability to help people, it's just something you do" (Informant 7)

"respect, integrity, honesty, loyalty" (Informant 8)

"whanaungatanga" (Informant 11)

These are statements about what was valued about whānau by individual's experiences. Secondary to manākitanga as a valued aspect of whānau again, was the whole whānau upbringing.

"even though you were first cousins, you were brought up like brothers and sisters" (Informant 3)

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The presence of good role models was reinforced as contributing to what was valued about whānau.

"you would look to them for support and encouragement" (Informant 13)

The concept of manākitanga is one that is proved to span the paradigm of whānau inclusive of Te Ao Māori. Manākitanga is a cultural imprint that has survived the influences of marginalisation of other cultural cornerstones of Te Ao Māori, like that of te reo Māori .

Te Ao Hurihuri- External Factors

The process of dual socialisation created different experiences of the interface between Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Pākeha. In this project they were explored as perceived shortcomings. The question was asked; 'What do you think has been a missing ingredient within the whānau?'

"The whānau never goes anywhere, it's always there. It's always right there. The only way that you get a barrier between you and the whānau is if you put it there" (Informant 8)

To follow are a summary of the responses. There was some concern shared about the sense of whānau being under threat of falling apart. Several themes of relevance emerged to do with changes to the practice of whanaungatanga, identification as Māori, and gaps in the transmission of some cultural expectations. Other factors generated by socio-economic changes to Māori society as a whole gained some acknowledgement throughout the dialogue, for example around these specific areas; urbanisation, distance and intermarriage. These examples are expanded on in the following passages, in relation to the experience imparted by the participants.

<u>Urbanisation</u>

The whānau in the main had physically moved, no longer residing on, or close to the papakāinga. Socio-economically, the whānau has become located more in the urban environment for employment and education purposes. The attraction of the urban setting meant whānau were to disperse; as verified by Pohatu (op.cit);

> Today most Māori live away from home from the whenua and the putaketanga of their whakapapa grouping. The challenge is constantly based on those questions "How do we transmit the culture and especially the kāwai whakapapa imprint today in a new environment of time and place to our tamariki and mokopuna. (pg.74)

Urbanisation has presented a dilemma in the transmission of whakawhanaungatanga for many like that of the participant whānau. Disconnection from that traditional place (Piarere in this instance) and severing of the interdependence between whenua and whānau impacting the sustenance, physically and spiritually. As with many modern whānau, the papakāinga remains a place of significance and belonging that is visited on occasion However the urban residence provides the economic sustenance with work and income opportunities, and provision of the educational needs of the whānau.

<u>Distance</u>

The problem of distance, travel and location reinforced the concern associated with the whānau dispersing, creating obvious limitations associated with distance. For others logistical constraints were associated with finance and transport.

> "I suppose distance may have been a barrier to being at all whānau things, but there was always someone else" (Informant 6)

This last statement also refers to confidence in the wider whānau to represent the individual on important occasion, or at particular whānau gatherings. Pohatu (ibid) reinforces the impact that distance has had on whānau of modern times;

> In this process (of operating within ones cultural world), along with constant inputs of time and energy, cultural clarity is gained. It is also a reminder of cultural vulnerability and how quickly and easily this clarity can be rendered invisible, placed back to the margins. This is a daily reality, especially of a Māori person living away from their whakapapa terrain, away from their traditional homeplace and genealogical connections. The impact of 'distance' and 'isolation' needs ongoing dialogue to remind Māori of these terms potential as on-going colonising/recolonising instruments. (pg.27)

It is accepted that distance poses a difficulty and inconvenience for many whānau, however also expressed was that location is by choice, whatever the reason, and can become the excuse to disengage with whānau. One informant quite bluntly stated that distance means whānau prioritise what hui are important, which immediately puts pressure on the value and praxis of whakawhanaungatanga.

Intermarriage

The dynamics of whānau have been impacted by marriage and relationships extended beyond inter-tribal association to inter-racial inclusiveness. This has provided new cultural dimension to the mix of whānau, and opportunities for whānau to practice a blended cultural model. Whānau adjusts as necessary to accommodate both background cultures in the marriage. This is also easier said than done, and many inter racial marriages tend toward one cultural norm in favour of the other. However, there is greater opportunity for these relationships to operate internationally.

> "There maybe a fair degree of fragment in the family units but the idea of whānau ness was disappearing because you know, in factual terms we were dispersing. Not only spreading out across the country, but across the World in some cases. And inter-marriage, and inter-tribal, and inter-ethnic, inter-racial marriage occurring all those sorts of things that we were going to lose…the fact that our families didn't know much about what it meant to be Māori, I always thought this was the case. " (Informant 15)

The ethnic and cultural mix has ultimately raised a cultural and political awareness within whānau, and acceptance has encouraged more intimate and respectful relationships. These intermarriages have been experienced by whānau right across

Māori society, and are producing new generations of children with mixed cultural

identities. This circumstance reinforces the need for whānau to maintain and retain a

connection with the whānau history and whakapapa, as a birthright to these

descendants.

These findings present common implications of external influence that have impacted

Māori in general. The effects of Modernisation are exhibited at each of these themes.

Urbanisation created diaspora Māori communities and a loss of connection to the

institute of whānau. This has resulted in the adaptation of family units, as opposed to

whānau.

Intermarriage sped up the assimilation of whānau, facilitating bi-culturalism. The

process compromised whānau Māori practices in an appropriate cultural context due to

the overwhelming Pākeha societal norms. The struggle for whānau recognition as an

equal in a Pākeha paradigm would be an ongoing challenge associated with

intermarriage. Durie (2003) describes the issues relating to the importance of an active

identity;

> A secure identity, as opposed to a notional identity, rests on adequate access to a
> range of identity markers. Cognitive skills (especially language competence)
> and cultural knowledge such as whakapapa (genealogy), tikanga (custom), and
> tribal history are important for the formation of identity. But identity also rests
> on being able to have first-hand contact with the wider Māori world: whenua
> tipuna (traditional lands), marae, mahinga kai (traditional sources of food),
> waterways, opportunities for social and work relationships with other Māori, and
> a balanced relationship with whānau. Alienation from Māori cultural, social,
> physical and intellectual resources is a barrier to identity. (pg.52)

The deliberate devaluation of culture through assimilation to Western norms was

exemplified by implications of Modernisation. As reiterated by Moon and Keelan

(op.cit);

> Colonial societies form a special category when analysing the Modernisation
> process. This is primarily because of the rapidity at which the Modernisation

process takes place in many colonised countries, and because of the extreme influence of an external force-the colonising power…. . Indeed if anything, the colonial administrators in New Zealand attempted to contain changes in the cultural and social sphere, and above all, the indigenous peoples tended to be '…denied full participation in a common political system and full integration in a system of solidarity' (pg.255)

The importance of whānau must be accentuated as the primary example of Te Ao Māori and the drive for progressing self determination. Regardless the vulnerability of whānau to be adapted, shaped and re-claimed in many and varying forms, the constant is and will continue to be kotahitanga (oneness). Whānau in its truest sense has the capacity and intelligence to decide on its sustainability. Constant re-prioritising of what is important about whānau has become a modern day reality for Māori.

"If you're in the city you can't make these tangis, you can't make those a weddings because for example you're too busy, you got to work overtime, or blah, blah, blah…that's the way it is and of course after working and missing a couple, then the values drop off a wee bit…you lose a bit each time you don't attend" (Informant 7)

"the family had dispersed and lost the idea of family-ness" (Informant 15)

"family has always been important to me. I've never really wanted to be away from there either you know….when you get married and things, you go where your husband goes. But I've never lost that feeling of belonging down there you know" (Informant 7)

This study observed the choices that the whānau Penetito have made, and are wanting to make, about development. In particular, the work of Joan Metge and Mason Durie, who have spent time researching and documenting their findings on the construct of whānau, has been a source of invaluable and vital information. The challenge then is for whānau Penetito to ensure some control of their own destiny. Explore their past, discuss their present and identify tikanga that reflects who they are as a whānau, and then what is important in transmission to mokopuna generations to come. As Vercoe (1994) observes; "One of the problems today is that people are not given the time and space to

work out who they are, where they fit in society, or what society's doing to them". (pg. 111)

Theme 3: Future Direction

"We want our children to be better off and do big and brighter things than we ourselves have done!" (Informant 8)

The final set of questions in this research relate to the future development of the whānau. These questions asked participants to re-tell their aspirations for future generations. What role they perceived they could personally contribute to achieve goals and aspirations, and where the whānau would be able to support. The feedback from interview participants were reflected in the main under the four following categories; education, whanaungatanga and health.

Education

A significant amount of participants identified education as their most desirable goal for their tamariki and mokopuna. The context of education was defined and explained from many angles through each interview. These included access and opportunity to education. A raft of reasons and occasion for education to extend benefits to the individual, and ultimately, to the whānau. Participants listed these benefits as; awareness of the world around them; ability to make informed choices; exposure to new experiences; qualification for employment; a means to raise personal aspirations; a medium to relate to people from different backgrounds. Other purposes identified the education ethic in terms of a culture; of learning to be treasured; a vehicle to be promoted and practiced, and/or so teachings handed through the whānau can be treated as taonga.

"The kids, well they were brought up with it today at school. They had it all, not us" (Informant 9)

An important point about education that was articulated was that definitions were not restricted to formal institutions of education. Participants identified the ability to progress ones life, the opportunity for personal growth and to aspire to goals within the school we commonly refer to as life. Included here were people, history, whakapapa, spirituality and relationships. All these were consider critical criterion for an effective education. Illich, (1971) states;

> Most learning is not the result of instruction. It is rather the result of unhampered participation in a meaningful setting. Most people learn best by being 'with it', yet school makes them identify their personal, cognitive growth with elaborate planning and manipulation….Once young people have allowed their imaginations to be formed by curricular instruction, they are conditioned to institutional planning of every sort. Instruction smothers the horizons of their imaginations. (pg.39)

This quote sums up the interpretation of the term education used by participants in this stage of the feedback. Whānau and individual contributions to develop a culture of educational aspiration were expressed thus;

> "Focus all the energy in the whānau on the language and on the education" (Informant 6)

> "I want to make sure they're not continually classed as second class because they don't have enough" (Informant 11)

> "I want to encourage their creativity, and teach them to treasure teachings as taonga" (Informant 4)

Whanaungatanga

The next most common response to future aspirations of the whānau was the express want for whānau to take collective responsibility for continuing to build a strong sense of whānau. According to Stewart-Harawira (1995) "The restoration of whānau and it's associated processes of whanaungatanga are crucial". (pg.197) In particular, the want was expressed to share the history of the whānau and involve the young people in getting to know their whakapapa, meeting whānau, and taking every opportunity to engage and socialise with whānau in an effort to retain what it means to be a whānau.

"I want my children to see and be familiar with the people who have been in this life….to be family orientated." (Informant 12)

"participate in whānau hui and ask questions- the best way to know is from your own" (Informant 3)

"Keep in touch with whānau and the papakāinga" (Informant 13)

The connectivity was mutually shared as a positive attribute that required some encouragement and was promoted by participants as the most valuable and beneficial aspect whanau should be expected to give to the mokopuna of the present time.

'I want everything I had, love and respect' (Informant 6)

'the thing about whānau, you keep it together, you'll be cool with it, you'll be fine, you get through it' (Informant 6)

The strengthening of whānau was identified as a role for the whole whānau. Comments covered strategies for progressing this goal. Through communication by attending face to face social events and other functions. Also through utilising modern technology (online email). The annual whānau hui was seen as the most obvious forum. This is regular and held the same weekend annually. This forum was recognised as the support base for whanaungatanga where the pooling of skills and acknowledgement of achievements could be celebrated collectively. This was also thought to be a conducive environment to build familiarity and trust with each other. Pere (1988) comments;

A basic belief of the Māori is to expose a child to his or her kinship groups as soon as possible and throughout the whole of his or her lifetime. The extended family is the group that supports the individual through a crisis or anything of consequence. Kinship identity is most important. Affection, physical warmth and closeness of members of a kinship group is encouraged and fostered. (pg.16)

This desire for increased awareness and contact for mokopuna with the whānau extended to the knowledge of Te Ao Māori. There was a popular reference made towards mokopuna learning and participating in mātauranga Māori.

"I want them to value their heritage, I want them to know about it" (Informant 12)

"I think they will be very confident in their own identities as Māori" (Informant 8)

"Today everything has changed. We have te reo and all the kids are korero Māori." (Informant 4)

Acknowledgements were made about how much more (the next generation) are already exposed to Te Ao Māori, more so than their parents time. Their contact and competency with te reo and tikanga has been an important and deliberate action employed by parents and grandparents, as a response to what was restricted to them in their childhood. This reflects the present climate of Māori self determination and the teachings of Te Ao Māori being more obtainable in modern times.

"It's important that you can know what it means to be Mäori" (Informant 15).

Health

Good health was only mentioned by two respondents.

"The positive things I want for my moko, is that they be healthy, that they have a good education, and I'd be around for years to come to see them grow up" (Informant 1)

"I hope that they will be happy, safe and well, and hope that they make the right decisions in life" (Informant 9)

This was interesting given that this whānau has a history of illness and death at an early age. Earlier dialogue reflected this whānau had suffered from high mortality rates at a young age brought about by ill health, disease and lack of access to emergency medical care incurred by living in a small rural setting. Durie (op.cit) gives an idea of the statistics of Māori mortality rates over this time;

In 1900, Māori life expectancy was around thirty-two years; in 2000 it will be around seventy-one years. In 1929 the infant mortality rate was 94 per 1000 live births; in 2000 it will be less than twenty, around 18 per 1000 live births. Deaths from tuberculosis were as high as 37 per 10000 in 1945. Now they have been virtually eliminated. (pg.21)

This minimal response to health could be interpreted that people on the whole take it for granted that we all want to maintain good health, particularly where our children and mokopuna are concerned.

Summary

A hui was held in July 2003 in Wellington. This was an annual whānau hui for Penetito whānau, descendants of Hāre and Atareta Penetito, and Ngāti Te Oro. A proposal was tabled at this hui, outlining a research project that would involve a survey to explore who they were (whakapapa), where they were (resident), what they do (vocation), the state of their wellbeing (health and knowledge of te reo/tikanga), and how they would like to develop. The rationale behind this proposal involved several assumptions;

1. If we want to operate as a whānau then keeping in touch with each other on a regular basis is important,
2. By knowing more about who we are, where we live, the sort of things we want to happen…. we will become more interested in each other, more aware of what we are doing, and be available to help and support each other.
3. As a whānau we will achieve the capacity to operate as a Māori entity with an understanding of our tribal links, our tikanga, our history, our marae, our urupa, and our ancestral sites, factors important to our whānau identity. It is understood widely by Māori that modern lifestyles make the practice of whānau a challenge. (Minutes:2004)

There is a desire to invest in whānau capacity. The whānau hui has been mentioned as the catalyst to begin to achieve the ambitions of participants for future generations. The greatest common response from individuals regarding their personal contribution was to offer themselves as elders. Primarily the qualities offered this role were to be accessible, available and receptive to supporting the young ones.

"to include whānau in our personal journeys" (Informant 11)

"to be available all the time - to talk to and provide support and advice" (Informant 4)

Participants talked about needing to model ongoing contact with whānau, and nurture this important virtue in our young ones.

"it's up to me to make sure they know about the whānau"(Informant 10)

"take the kids with me to whānau hui"(Informant 7)

"I want my mokos to know as many people in their whānau as possible" (Informant 13)

Where skills were acknowledged, individuals offered their guidance in teaching te reo, researching whakapapa and whānau history and sharing knowledge in the promotion of whanaungatanga, and retention of teachings in Te Ao Māori.

"I just know that strongly within us it's our Māori that's really deep seated" (Informant 11)

"my contribution is compiling this whakapapa, documenting family stories and experiences" (Informant 12)

"we've got a wealth of knowledge, a wealth of experience….the wahine in our whānau will accelerate in terms of their personal development and they will be playing a major role in role modeling both male and female Tamariki coming through" (Informant 8)

The vision of creating a space on whānau land to rejuvenate the practice of whanaungatanga, with the resources available, was only directly expressed by two respondents. However to re-establish the environment of whanaungatanga that existed a couple of generations ago was commented on frequently.

This analysis of findings from the research study has provided an understanding of the whānau experience, and the culture of whānau experience. Dialogue on the meanings of family and whānau illustrate a much changed and developed interpretation of these terms, in the experience of this whānau. The final observation relating to the identification of whānau members as Māori provided some insight into the origins of the thought that a sense of Māori-ness was bereft. It uncovered some truth to this thought, but also demonstrated that there were other forms of tikanga transmitted

through the whānau, from Te Ao Māori. Pohatu (op.cit) states "The challenge for each new tipuna generation is to ensure that they pass on, the trusteeship requirements and patterns to the younger generations". (pg.55)

This whānau has experienced the instruction of highly influential personalities who had strong opinions and fashioned beliefs to secure an impenetrable whānau identity. The basis to this particular experience of whānau identity is made up of geographical site, practice of reciprocity and collective benefit, and application of cultural disciplines. These are discussed throughout the findings. This environment included for its whānau members a tikanga or set of protocols, parameters and a whānau culture established and practiced by generations.

> "There was no such thing as my house, my car, it was always us, ours. Everyone cared for each other. Everyone looked out for each other. Everyone was acutely aware of everyone else needs. It was very much a nurturing environment to be in" (Informant 12)

Leadership, mentorship and eldership would steer and ingrain the cornerstones of this whānau identity. This eldership influence was explored in this section and this came from within the whānau itself. The strength of character and resourcefulness reinforces a sense of self sufficiency. Evidence of the capacity to develop their own cultural perspective. This too is apparent when considering one of the cornerstones of Te Ao Māori (te reo). Applied only in restrictive conditions and deliberately deflected from new generations, but ever present. Durie (op.cit) claims "Language provides access to spirituality, traditional values, customs and artistic expression; it is important for the development of a secure identity and for communication within the Māori world". (pg.200)

The final chapter to this thesis will remark on how the participant whānau have created and activated a strategy to reconstruct cultural capacity within the descendants of Te Oro. This strategy has been simple, but effective and utilises Whānau Hui as the choice for progressing future development.

Chapter Six

<u>Whānau Hui – Moving Ahead</u>

Whānau Hui is the modern response to stimulate discussion for whanau. Regarding such topics as learning gaps in cultural knowledge the result of influences like the Modernisation process, whānau hui is the forum for exploring whānau history; what the culture of the whānau means; and observing how the transmission of the cultural heartbeat is accomplished. This forum provides a safe space to acknowledge what cultural literacy has been retained by the whānau. As an assessment tool it is then possible to identify and address shortcomings in mātauranga Māori particularly to this whanau. Whānau hui is the formal practice of whanaungatanga (kinship relations), a device for whakakotahitanga (of togetherness) and, an instrument for tuhonotanga (of connecting or linking), that when used positively is a strategy to congregate individuals of a whānau into the whānau. The activities within hui can attend to issues relevant to wellbeing of the whānau at different levels and for different reasons. In the main the whānau hui experienced by participants in this research will be the catalyst to build on the following strategic goals:

1. To recognise the potential of the whānau through a stock-take of cultural resources,
2. to assess the asset base of skills within the whānau,
3. to channel the intellectual, cultural and spiritual knowledge of the individuals towards collective whānau activity,
4. to strengthen the ability for the whānau to recognise and draw on their own resources to achieve future prosperity independently as a whānau unit.

Therefore Whānau hui is seen as an effective mechanism, to rediscover things lost, recreate new relationships, reassert traditions of karakia, waiata and whakapapa, as well

as modern skills such as information technology to utilise contemporary tools for the advancement of whānau projects.

Whānau Reunion have been the catalyst for whanaungatanga, whakakotahitanga and tuhonotanga now for several generations, among whānau. Reunions tend to be huge events that take years to organise and for this reason are planned to follow a frequency of five to ten years. The event itself is a means to achieving the benefits available to whānau by coming together, however the reunion forum is only as useful as the activities on offer, and often reflect the representation of different interests at the organising level. The cooperation from those in the whānau groupings to share their stories and participate actively in events contributes towards building a secure identity for individuals. However compromised by the size and scale of this event is a commitment to have regular and frequent contact with whānau. The learnings of cultural significance, like whakapapa, historical landmarks, waiata, karakia and pepeha require a more disciplined environment that is intimate, safe and of regular occurrence. This is what the Whānau Hui provides.

The minutes and 'pitopito korero' newsletters recorded by individuals in the whānau beginning back in 1988 illustrate the deliberations of the participant whānau, around the value of whānau hui. The regular newsletter 'He Pitopito Korero a te Whānau Penetito' has recorded the main whānau events over the last decade. This research has scrutinized a selection of components of the whānau picture, and the findings will add to the puna mātauranga (spring of knowledge), or intellectual capacity of the whānau. A whānau survey currently being conducted will also contribute further to the understanding of who and what this group is as a whānau, at this time.

In the early stages of whānau development the motivation to come together was the planning for a Whānau Reunion, which took place in 1994. The research clearly demonstrated that whānau members were looking for a reason to re-connect and re-establish aspects of the culture that were treasured. It was conceded, that although there had been a deliberate channeling into educational options such as Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori, to strengthen knowledge gaps and grow confidence in cultural identity; the support base of the older generations was almost non-existent. Increasingly elders took these accounts with them in their passing. The accounts of the whānau settling on the land and how the whānau operated as a hapū were not recorded in writing or formally transmitted by oral tradition. The forum of whānau hui then became a very real and important vehicle for retention of cultural identity. Pohatu (op.cit) argues "The challenge for each new tipuna generation is to ensure that they pass on the trusteeship requirements and patterns to younger generations. This is done by creating the opportunities for whānau to again live in generational groupings, no matter where". (pg.60)

This assertion has some merit. As the culture of convenience gathers pace and technology regularly updates and improves, factors like distance and isolation begin to lose merit as barriers to whānau involvement. Therefore, proximity in relation to participation needs to be reconsidered. There is another perspective, however. Discussed through the theory of Place Based Education (PBE), the significance of location enhances connection to a place, and space of association for the individual, reinforcing a sense of identity that in turn allows for productive learning. Penetito, (2004) advocates,

> At its most basic, the objective of PBE is to develop in learners a love of their environment, of the place they are living, of its social history, of the biodiversity that exists there, and of the way in which people have responded and continue to respond to the natural and social environments. PBE has emerged as the result

of four ubiquitous concerns: a form of detachment that people acquire as a result of familiarity with place; the need to overcome detachment by developing a consciousness of the environment; the homogenisation of cultures and communities in the interests of egalitarianism and efficiency; and the way in which local history is either ignored or presented disconnected from meaningful contexts. (pg.11)

Penetito goes on to state that 'PBE is rooted in what is local and therefore unique to place'. The connection spiritually and culturally of whānau to land strengthens the identity and historical bond between past, present and future association. For the participant whānau in this study, this statement is confirmed. The pepeha (proverb of belonging) that introduces the chapter on Ngāti Te Oro demonstrates through whakapapa a connectedness, by maunga, awa and marae. Turangawaewae (a place of belonging) through hapū and iwi identification, responsibility and obligation to kaitiakitanga. This practice of pepeha states who I am, and where I come from in the widest Maori context. The point remains that in preserving a whānau identity, opportunity as well as location are important considerations. In pursuit of a whānau development plan Durie (op.cit) supports the assertion that it is essential to locate whānau as the central source of consultation to achieve this, and should be a deliberate action, as opposed to seeking the wider hapū and iwi direction;

> Whānau development moves from the arms-length iwi/hapū focus to a type of intervention that is within grasp of individuals. Impacts are more directly felt and accountabilities reinforced by the linkages stemming from known relationships, mutual interests, shared whakapapa (descent from the same ancestors), and blood ties. (pg.187-188)

The findings from the study indicate Whānau Hui is an intervention strategy that has, and will continue to offer collective thinking, learning opportunities and collective definition of a plan or direction for the whānau. The absence of elders and the lapse in aspects of customary Te Ao Māori practices is evidence of the impact of choices made under the pressures of Modernisation in this study yet; these are poignant and relatively characteristic to the testimony of many whānau Māori. The examples of double bind are tangible, and can only be successfully addressed by whānau, and not by the

individuals themselves. The effect of double bind is what the present generation is dealing with. The conduits of double bind are the ancestors who have since passed on, and the source of the tension is the introduction of dual socialisation to Māori as a people. Pākeha did not have a need to practice dual socialisation, but had a vested interest in the reinforcement of this theory in order to affect positive assimilation of whānau Māori. Acceptance of Western thinking and beliefs as the superior culture, intellectually, and spiritually would, in the dominant culture view, pave the way for social harmony between the two peoples cohabiting Aotearoa.

In the process of healing and reclamation of identity in response to the effects of dual socialisation and consequent double bind, the Whānau Hui is the modern solution that offers the environment for whānau solution. Durie (op.cit) identifies the essential ingredients that together in balance will ensure the survival of whānau. He lists specific capacities that contribute to a healthy and sustainable whānau which include;

- ❑ The capacity to share (tohatohatia)
- ❑ The capacity to care (manākitia)
- ❑ The capacity for guardianship (pūpuri taonga)
- ❑ The capacity to empower (whakamana)
- ❑ The capacity to plan ahead (whakatakoto tikanga)
- ❑ The capacity for growth (whakatini) (p.23)

The Whānau Hui experienced by the participant whānau in this thesis has attended to each of these capacities to varying degrees. The findings reiterate, practice of each of these capacities has produced opportunity to engage as whānau, and strengthen want to be together, grow together and model behaviour of whakawhanaungatanga for future generations to uphold. It is therefore valid to suggest, in the absence of certain of these capacities, or lessening of priority, it is still possible for whānau to maintain strong

connections and perpetuate a culture capable of preserving identity unique to the whakapapa and pepeha of that whānau's history.

This is a waiata composed by Tiriwa Wetere in 1989 titled 'Kei whea te manu ?'

Kei whea te manu e tangi nei
Where is the call of the bird
Whakarongo ki te tangi o te manu nei
Listen to the call of the bird !

Tēnei te tangi o Te Ātārangi e
This is the call of te Ātārangi
Rapuhia he oranga
Search for that which will sustain you both
Mō tō wairua tinana e
Spiritually and physically
Kia ū, kia tūpato
In doing so be steadfast and do so with care
E te whānau e
As these have been given to us (the whānau)
Nā ngā tūpuna tuku iho
By our ancestors
Ā rātou tikanga e
Sharing their customs

Kapohia tō mana Māori e
Grasp the prestige of the Ao Maori
Kaua rā e tū tahanga e
Stand with mana
Ngā taonga a ngā tūpuna
The treasures of our ancestors
Tuku iho ki a tātou e
Sent from above
Kia wātea, kia tū tangata e
Stand tall and proud

Kia ū, kia tūpato
In doing so be steadfast and do so with care
E te whānau e
As these have been given to us (the whānau)
Nā ngā tūpuna tuku iho
By our ancestors
Ā rātou tikanga e
Sharing their customs.

This waiata explains that it is the role of the whānau to restore the sound of the reo

(Māori language), like the song of the birds to the trees. It is identifying the total

immersion Māori language programme Te ātārangi as the means in which to do this, but

also states the whānau as having the responsibility to uphold the teachings and

traditional knowledge through use of te reo. In reflection upon the discussion points throughout this thesis this waiata encapsulates the thinking that the concept of whānau is inherently responsible for advocating and facilitating the development of Māori as a whole. It also reinforces the recognition of whānau as a fundamental cultural component of modern Māori society.

The final conclusions to this thesis will draw together the hegemonic agenda underpinning dual socialisation and provide a response to the hypothesis of double-bind in relation to the concept of whānau. The conclusion will also state the writer's findings that support or negate the hypothesis that Whānau Identity and Whānau Development are Interdependent.

Conclusion

This conclusion begins with acknowledgement of the whānau that actively participated in the research for this thesis. Their manāki, awhina and aroha of the researcher has enabled this thesis to engage with the hypothesis that Whānau Identity and Whānau Development are Interdependent.

The tohu (symbol) above depicts the connection of the subject whānau to the whenua located in the Hinuera Valley, Piarere. It is at this place that the whānau established a papakāinga on whānau land. The rock-face that frames the valley walls is a prominent landmark traditionally used to guide hapū and iwi travelling through the area. The trees featured are native Kahikatea. By planning or ecology, these trees mark the swamp areas on the farm land. This valley was the original path of the Waikato river, esteemed in the whakapapa of the whānau. Although an occurrence of centuries prior to their occupation the river is represented to acknowledge its continued spiritual significance to the people and importance as a source of fertility for the farmland that has provided

sustenance to the whānau for several generations.

Te Ao Māori is captured in the koru designs acknowledging the presence of Ranginui and Papatuanuku. This is the manifestation of the importance the environment played in sustaining both the spiritual and physical strength of the whānau.

The descendents of Hāre and Atareta designed this tohu for a whānau reunion in 1994. It has been adopted as a suitable crest identifying the whānau Penetito. Significantly this crest was carved as a headstone in recent years to honour one of the matriarch who had a central role in growing and nurturing the concept of whānau among the fifth and sixth generations.

This tohu captures the setting, the tribal connections, the place of spiritual and cultural value to this whānau and some reference to the socio-economic position of the whānau who own the land, and have been nurtured in it for many generations.

Whānau in modern times survive in a multitude of forms and react to the influences of Western society in their own way. Some of these responses have been to develop coping mechanisms. Two examples are establishment of urban marae and Māori Women's Welfare League (MWWL) to help whānau settle and create a support base in the cities.

The MWWL provide older Māori women as mentors to young Māori mothers in the cities and living away from their parents and kuia, traditionally on hand to help with raising children. The organisation and this service remain active today. There are definitely more whānau now available and accessible to young women in the cities, as

the relocation of Māori has seen several generations of Māori reared in the urban setting. However, it is the principles of whānau that are the medium of this and other Māori support systems. Another coping mechanism has been resistance. One example of resistance is the practice of whāngai referred to earlier in chapter two.

The concept of whāngai did not align or equate to Pākeha adoption laws or legislation. Despite efforts to capture, in a legal framework, the status of children brought up in such an arrangement, within whānau the practice of whāngai has continued. Directly or inadvertently this practice has maintained a cultural autonomy that has been protected from compromise.

Adaptation of certain customs, to operate in the modern world, are also examples of mechanisms to cope. The ritual of encounter (pōwhiri) has become culturally appropriate and is conducted in many places other than the marae. In many public service settings pōwhiri are practiced to welcome visitors, new staff, and in particular for the ceremonial welcoming of dignitaries.

The influence of the church and Christianity on the practice of karakia (prayer) and pūre (cleansing ceremony) reinforce adaptation. Churches like Ratana and Ringatū would combine traditional karakia with the teachings of Christianity.

Whānau managed the retention of tikanga and mātauranga Māori by assigning individuals within whānau as Kaitiaki (guardians) and Kai Tuku (transmitters) of whānau cultural heritage. Durie (op.cit 1998). "The act of guardianship, kaitiakitanga, requires clear lines of accountability to whānau, hapū or iwi and is more frequently associated with obligation than authority". (pg.23)

Other modern day mechanisms of reclaiming tino rangatiratanga have seen success through reinforcing the institute of whānau. Most commonly is the acknowledgement of the role of the whānau within Māori educational options. Both Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori pinpoint whānau central to their operations and governance. Kura Kaupapa Māori has resisted the rules of engagement within the state schools legislation that places elected Board of Trustees members in the position of governance and decision making. Kura Kaupapa Māori continue to acknowledge whānau first and foremost as the decision makers, and the Board as part of the management team, accountable to the whānau.

The preceding chapters give evidence of the resilience of the whānau concept in the face of continued intense pressure to discard inherent values, accept societal change and or to disband completely - and all in the guise of natural occurrence. The various degrees of collaboration or resistance, and the affects on the institute of whānau have also been tested. Cram and Pitama (op.cit) claim;

> Sixty per cent of Māori children are now part of whānau that struggle to meet their daily financial needs (Hohepa,1997). This socio-economic situation also prevents whānau from being able to function effectively in terms both of meeting cultural expectations (such as attending tangi), and of reaching the Pākeha promoted dream of owning your own home and having financial stability. The obligations of manākitanga are also difficult to fulfil. (pg.146-147)

Whānau is definitely not a myth, as espoused by John Tamihere MP (Labour Minister) in his speech launching the Well-being and Disparity Conference in Tāmaki Makaurau 2003. "For a lot of Māori, whānau is a myth. It doesn't exist. We need to make it a reality again. But meanwhile we need to work with the current reality, not the myth. By doing that, maybe the reality will start to look in reality more like the myth we aspire to." Whānau exists and depending on the choices of elders and leaders in each

collective, whānau has been preserved by chosen application of a set of essential cultural templates reinforced by each generation.

Timutimu (1995) discovered, "The power of the whānau and whanaungatanga and the cultural style that went with it as learnt in the home and community saved the total extinction of Māori customs and protocols for the informants". (pg.109) It is my belief that the same forces of whanaungatanga were practiced in the whānau group of this study, with similar results. Notwithstanding this the impact of Double Bind and the negative implications have presented challenges in equal measure giving shape to the findings of the research, and ultimately the uniqueness of the subject whānau.

The intent of this study was to explore the position that whānau identity and whānau development were interdependent. This position anticipated that the interpretation of whānau as a Māori concept placed this identity securely in the following cultural context. Pohatu (op.cit);

> For many Māori, their first language and cultural patterns are now non-Māori. Consequently how they apply their practice is from an understanding that has been informed by the English language and its hegemonic practices. Non-Māori thought and templates infiltrate the Māori mind and what emerges with time and application is cultural replacement. In some instances they challenge the very validity of Māori knowledge, language and culture. (pg.59)

However, in the analysis the interviews present a contrasting view. The subject whānau identified in their feedback cultural gaps regarding te reo and tikanga Māori in relation to their upbringing. This introduced the question, if whānau identity and cultural identity were inter-twined wouldn't both concepts suffer some demise in the event that one was perceived less important to retain than the other? What emerged was that the whānau functioned successfully despite gaps in certain cultural elements. The value of whānau remained constant. Also relevant the existing indicators of cultural wellbeing

and the role of guardianship. Teachings, lost in transmission, absent, or weakened by recent generations, as in the example of te reo, became evident in other aspects, such as manākitanga.

The opportunity to identify key aspects of traditional whānau practice, as peculiar to the subject whānau, has provided substance to the notion that whānau is unique to Te Ao Māori. The identity of whānau is unique to the cultural intellectual capacity that each generation bottle, and replenish with adaptations to modern circumstance. It is important to acknowledge that what has worked for different whānau may actually be the conduit for promoting sustainability of whānau identity and the vehicle for how they progress along the pathway to development. Furthermore that what has worked may also serve as the mechanism for maintenance of the same whānau identity. As Durie (op.cit 2003), claims;

> It is entirely predictable that the next millennium will present new threats to the survival of whānau. Some of those threats will be internal-competition for resources, lack of compatibility between hapū and within whānau and failure to adapt to new circumstances. Other threats will be external- new health threats, globalisation and the assimilation of cultures and ethincities, continued marginalisation and displacement. (pg.25)

It is essential to have the wherewithal to prepare whānau for the potential threats that will challenge and potentially devalue the concept of whānau. Mikaere (op.cit 2003), "Mana wāhine and mana tāne must operate side by side, the equilibrium must be restored. Māori survival depends on it. For if this is not achieved Māori whānau will become no more than brown mirror-images of Pākeha families. Māori cultural integrity will be lost, assimilation by the coloniser complete." (pg.144)

Much research has analysed the make up of whānau and the significance of whānau as the launching pad to Māori development. This study has provided an insight to a

contemporary experience of whānau in modern times. Coupling these findings with the findings of others who have accessed their own whānau to investigate the predicament of cultural replacement, it is observed that the cavern that has been created between cultural capacity and cultural emancipation is a void requiring further exploration.

The Community Development theory that nurtures a collective development approach stresses that each community, or in this case whānau, has the right to determine their own development. The practice promotes that each community possesses expertise and natural resources in their own environment and the people skill within its number, necessary to develop and manage their own vision. The ability for whānau to comprehend their own whānau culture unique to them, and scrutinise their capacity will effectively realise their own potential. Whānau are seeking tools and guidance through example and leadership. The answer will never be produced outside of Te Ao Māori. However the resources are there both within the whānau, and external to the whānau, to provide the means for designing their own destiny. What is then required is appropriate models of development and the framework, to help whānau through the process.

The wero (challenge) to whānau is to capture the existing skill base and leadership within. Alongside kaumātua and kuia, cultivate a collective consciousness of whānau identity. With each whānau in the modern Māori world becoming aware and stimulated about their own cultural heartbeat, the spark is ignited to close the cultural gap. Natural progression suggests that in turn this will generate a thirst for the access and transmission of a cultural inheritance. Whānau can then contribute and distinguish their experience as inherent to their cultural identity versus products of behaviour and socialisation attained through assimilation.

Glossary of Māori terms used frequently through the thesis:

Āhua:	appearance; form
Aotearoa:	literal meaning "land of the long white cloud." Original name of New Zealand
Ārikitanga:	worship of a higher being
Aroha:	love; concern; compassion; sorrow
Atawhai:	kindness; look after; tender hearted; support; interdependence; reciprocity; orphan
Awa:	river
Āwhina:	help
Hākari:	ritual feast; ceremonial sharing of food
Hapū:	sub-tribe; pregnant
Hapūtanga:	practice of customs, nuances & kinship unique to descendants to a common ancestor or sub-tribe.
Hara:	offence; infringement
Hau:	wind; famous; essence
Hauora:	health; well being; well- ness
Huarahi:	journey; pathway
Hui Whānau:	gathering of kin/family
Hui:	meeting; assembly, gathering
Huihuinga:	gatherings
Hūmārie:	peaceful; beautiful; pleasant
Ingoa:	name
Iwi:	tribe; people; bone
Iwitanga:	practice of kinship of descendants of a tribal group
Kai Māori:	delicacies of food prepared in a traditional method & practiced through generations (eg) dried seafood and fermented foods
Kai Tuku:	transmitters; sender
Kai:	food
Kaiako:	teachers
Kāinga:	home; village
Kaitiaki:	guardian, protection, controller

Kaitiakitanga:	guardianship
Kānga wai:	fermented corn
Kanohi:	face; eye
Karakia:	incantation; prayer; ritual; service
Karanga:	ritual call of welcome or farewell
Karapiro:	place name on Waikato river
Kaumātua:	respected elder/elders
Kaupapa Māori:	Māori philosophy
Kaupapa:	rules; norms; philosophy
Kāwai tangata:	the connection of the people within the kāwai whakapapa
Kāwai Tīpuna:	revered ancestors
Kāwai Whakapapa:	lineage; pedigree; those of the older generations and of the culture who ensure the longevity of the history, language, knowledge and culture of the whānau
Kāwai:	family tree; creeper; pedigree
Kāwanatanga:	governance, government
Kīngitanga:	kingship; king movement
Kirikiriroa:	Hamilton
Koe:	you (singular)
Koha:	gifts; donations
Kōhanga Reo:	Māori medium pre-school language nest
Kōhatu:	stone; rock
kōkā:	mother, aunt
Kōrero Purākau:	fairytale, legend, novel
Kōrero tawhito:	oral histories of elders
Kōrero:	dialogue; discussion; speak; news
Koro:	old man; elder male; grandfather
Koru:	spiral; fern frond
Kōtahitanga:	oneness
Koutou:	you (plural)
Kuhu:	small building/enter
Kuia:	old woman; women elders
Kūmara:	sweet potato
Kura Kaupapa Māori:	Māori language medium primary school educational institute
Mahinga kai:	traditional sources of food

Mana:	prestige, power, authority, integrity, status
Manāki Tangata:	caring for people
Manāki:	show respect or kindness to; hospitality; sharing; nurturing; providing
Manākitanga	the act/practice of looking after people, catering to needs
Manākitia:	capacity to care
Manuhiri:	guests; visitors
Māori:	normal; natural; Native people of New Zealand
Māoritanga:	practice of ones cultural essence as Māori
Marae:	enclosed space in front of a house; meeting ground; courtyard
Mātāmua:	eldest born
Mātauranga Māori:	Māori knowledge/epistemology; Māori world view
Mātauranga:	knowledge
Mātou	us; we
Mātua:	parents; parental generation
Maunga:	mountain
Mauri:	life force, life principle
Mauriora:	awake (adjective); conscious; used as a statement or greeting
Mihimihi:	greeting speeches
Mirimiri:	rub; massage
Mokopuna (moko):	grandchild/ren; descendant
Muru:	retribution, recompense

These are following tribes referenced in association with the map in chapter one;

Ngāti Hauā

Ngāti Koroki

Ngāti Maru

Ngāti Pāoa

Ngāti Porou

Ngāti Pūkenga

Ngāti Raukawa

Ngāti Tamatera

Ngāti Te Oro

Ngāti Wairere

Ngāti Whanaunga

Ngāti Hauātanga:	practice of rituals and customs unique to descendants of this tribe
Ngāti Poroutanga:	practice of rituals and customs unique to descendants of this tribe
Nui:	big, large, much
Oranga Whānau:	health; welfare; safety (of whānau),
Pā:	fortified village
Pākeha:	white man; European; imaginary beings with fair skin – pākehakeha
Pakeke:	adult
Pāpā:	father
Papakāinga:	residence; settlement; sub-tribal residential site; whānau land
Papatuanuku:	Mother Earth
Pepeha:	whānau history and connection to place and land
Pipi:	shellfish
Pitopito kōrero:	family newsletter
Pōwhiri:	welcoming ceremony
Puna Mātauranga:	spring of knowledge
Pupuri Taonga:	capacity for guardianship
Pupuri:	storing and maintenance
Purākau:	oral history
Pure:	cleansing ceremony
Pūtaketanga:	base; root; reason; cause
Rangatira:	chief/s, leader/s
Rangatiratanga:	chieftainship
Ranginui:	Sky father
Raranga kōrero:	knit together narrative
Raupatu:	conquer; overcome; land confiscation
Rāwhiti:	East
Reo:	language
Rēwana:	bread
Rohe:	tribal boundary / territory
Tamaki Makaurau:	Auckland
Tamariki:	child/ren
Tāne:	male; man; husband

Tanga:	added to the end a noun turns it into the practice of
Tāngata Whenua:	native inhabitants; people of the land
Tangata:	person ; man; people
Tangi:	cry; mourn
Tangihanga:	mourning ceremony; funeral rituals
Taonga tuku iho:	treasures, histories, values of all time passed down to the present generation from ancestors
Taonga:	treasures; prized possessions- including physical, social, cultural and intellectual; material values
Tauiwi:	alien; foreigner; other peoples; non-Māori
Taurima:	entertain
Te Ao hurihuri:	external factors; the ever changing world
Te Ao Māori:	the Māori world; traditional ways
Te Ao Pākeha:	the Pākeha world; Western values base
Te Ātārangi:	an accelerating learning method of Māori language
Te Reo Māori:	Māori language
Te Reo Rangatira:	Principle language of Māori people
Te Reo:	voice; language
Te Tūmuakitanga:	the king makers responsible for the appointment of the leadership for the King Movement
Teina:	junior line; younger sibling
Tikanga Māori:	Māori protocols; customs; lore; traditions
Tikanga:	customs; lore; traditions; protocols
Tikanga-ā-iwi:	tribal protocols; custom; lore; traditions
Tino Rangatiratanga:	self determination; self management; personal responsibility; sovereignty
Tipuna:	ancestor
Titiro:	to look
Tohatohatia:	capacity to share
Tohu:	mark, sign, proof, symbol
Tohunga:	spiritual expert; ritual expert
Tuahine:	sister or female of the same generation
Tuakana:	senior line; older sibling
Tuhoe:	People of the Urewera hill range of New Zealand

Tuhoetanga:	cultural practice of customs and etiquette unique to the Tuhoe people
Tūhonotanga:	connecting or linking
Tumuaki:	Kingmaker; Head man
Tupāpaku:	body laying in state
Tupuna:	ancestor (tūpuna / ancestors)
Turangawaewae:	a place of belonging
Ture:	rules; laws
Uri:	descendant
Urupa:	cemetary; burial ground
Utu:	is concerned with the maintenance of balance and harmony within society, whether it is manifested through gift exchange or as a result of hostilities between groups. The aim of utu is to return the affected parties to their prior position.
Wā:	time
Wāhi tapu:	designated burial site
Wahine:	woman
Waiata:	sing, song
Wairua:	spirit
Waka:	kinship group; canoe; vehicle
Wānanga:	learning
Wero:	challenge; pierce
Whāea:	mother, or female of that generation (aunt)
Whakakotahitanga:	togetherness; developing unity
Whakamā:	shame, embarrasement; shyness
Whakamana:	capacity to empower
Whakapapa:	genealogy; lineage; to layer
Whakāro:	thoughts; opinion
Whakatakoto tikanga:	capacity to plan ahead
Whakatini:	capacity for growth
Whakatu:	standing, erect
Whakawhanaungatanga:	
	social relationships; establishing relationships
Whānau:	to give birth; family; extended family; descent group; offspring
Whānau pani	family of the desceased

Whānau pohara: marginalised families

Whānau tukino: unsafe families

Whānau tumokemoke:isolated families

Whānau wewete: Laissez-faire families

Whānau Whanui: wider whānau

Whanaunga: relative

Whanaungatanga: family connections; relationship; kinship ties

Whāngai: feed; adopt

Whenua Tipuna: traditional lands

Whenua: earth; land; country; geography; afterbirth

Whitiwhiti kōrero: discussion and sharing of experiences/stories; reflexive/spiral

                        dialogue

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