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Taupaeui Māori Positive Ageing

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HE MIHI

Nau mai e te ao awatea

Ūhia mai tō hā ki tēnei mouri ora

Hurihia te pō uriuri te pō hāngū ki tua

Kei te tuhi kei te rarama

Ura mai te rā!¹

Tēnei te mihi o tēnei uri o Taranaki ki ngā matakanapa o rātou mā.

Nau mai, tau mai e rarau ki tēnei kaupapa mō ngā pahake.

E tika ana te kōrero

Ka whati te tī,

Ka wana te tī,

Ka rito te tī.

Tēnā koutou, kia ora mai tātou katoa.

Will Edwards

¹ From the karakia pure *‘Te hā oranga nui’* a greeting to the morning sun and the new day, composed by Huirangi Waikerepuru (Taranaki).

ABSTRACT

The global phenomenon of population ageing has major ramifications for societies and governments around the world. In New Zealand, efforts to address the impacts of population ageing have centred on the Government's Positive Ageing Strategy.

This is a thesis about positive ageing as viewed through Māori eyes. It has been informed by the memories and aspirations of older Māori who have lived through challenging times but have emerged with qualities that enable them to enjoy older age and to contribute to their own whānau, Te Ao Māori (the Māori world) and Te Ao Whānui (wider society).

The thesis is philosophically located at the interface between Western science and mātauranga Māori, an Indigenous inquiry paradigm. It is argued that Western science and mātauranga Māori are relevant to research in the contemporary context, and reflect the realities of older Māori who live in both Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Whānui. The study used research techniques that draw on Western science (literature review), mātauranga Māori (review of 42 Māori proverbs) and both inquiry paradigms simultaneously (qualitative study with 20 older Māori people).

The research found that Māori positive ageing can be characterised by a two dimensional concept that incorporates a process dimension and an outcome dimension. The process dimension is consistent with a lifecourse perspective and therefore recognises that ageing is a life-long process where circumstances encountered during life may impact cumulatively and manifest in old age. The outcome dimension can be described in terms of complementary 'universal' and Māori specific outcome domains. The universal outcome domains are encapsulated in the New Zealand Positive Ageing Strategy and more recently are expressed in the Positive Ageing Indicators 2007 Report. The Māori-specific outcome domains identified in this Study are: kaitiakitanga – stewardship; whanaungatanga – connectedness; taketuku – transmission; tākoha – contribution; takatū – adaptability; and, tino rangatiratanga – self-determination. The overarching outcome domain is taupaenui – realised potential.

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PREFACE

This preface provides a brief background about me as a Māori researcher and also describes the conventions I have followed in the presentation of this thesis.

In Chapter Three I mention the ‘experiential learning’ that researchers bring to their work. It is therefore necessary to provide a brief explanation regarding my background, especially as it relates to interaction with older Māori in both my personal and professional life.

I grew up on whānau land just outside the small South Taranaki town of Hawera. As I identified myself at the beginning of this thesis as descending from Taranaki, I have grown up in my own tribal region. Throughout my life I have had regular exposure and interaction with older Māori people. During my childhood all three of my surviving grandparents lived locally, two of them were Māori. As a family we frequently spent time with our grandparents. My two Māori grandparents one paternal, one maternal were both native speakers of the Māori language. However neither of them spoke Māori to us, which was not unusual at the time.

Our family also spent a lot of time involved in the Māori community in South Taranaki. This would sometimes be at Oeo marae where my father was heavily involved in activities. More frequently though, we would go to Māori Mission Mass at Hoani Pāpita followed by Araukuku Māori Catholic kapa haka practices. We would have hui and live-ins at Ngarongo marae in preparation for the annual Catholic Hui Aranga held every Easter. There were always older people there to guide us and teach us in those times. My sisters and I, along with a select group of our generation, were asked (made) to spend time learning waiata tawhito (ancient songs, some dating back centuries) from our tribal region. We would frequently have to go to one auntie’s home in particular on Sunday afternoons and learn waiata. This practice continued while I was away at boarding school as a teenager. We (my sisters more so than I) would be expected to take part in hui, tangihanga and ceremonies where the various waiata tawhito would be performed.

I remember various elders we had been regularly involved with as children leading our whānau on various excursions outside of our tribal area. The reasons for these trips ranged from tangihanga, unveilings, weddings and other matters of tribal business. I recall them

accompanying our whānau to my siblings' university Māori graduation ceremonies and later to my first graduation in 1992. Reciting the waiata we had learnt in their sitting rooms and at marae, I began to develop a greater understanding of the importance of Māori identity, knowing my history and knowing what differentiates me from other Māori and indeed other people generally. Most of those elders have now passed on, leaving very few culturally skilled older Māori to fulfil formal cultural roles in my home region. I spent 1993-1995 completing a total immersion Māori language degree initially in Taranaki, then in Waikato.

As an adult male speaker of the Māori language I have been required to fulfil formal roles in Māori settings that would normally be ascribed to kaumātua. This is quite a common occurrence for males and females of my generation in Taranaki. For me this has required negotiation with the remaining elders about how to assert myself in areas where I may have requisite cultural knowledge while maintaining the mana of elders who may not have had the opportunity to learn to speak Māori. These types of experiences in my own tribal region provide a basis for cultural learning that cumulatively inform a Māori analysis, and provide a lens through which data is analysed.

My first full time job as a researcher was as a research assistant on the Oranga Kaumātua Study that was based at Te Pūmanawa Hauora, a Māori health research centre at Massey University in 1996. Alongside basic research tasks, a key role involved providing assistance in the recruitment and liaison with 10 Māori communities from throughout the country. The recruitment involved presenting information to groups of older Māori and asking them if they as a group would like to be involved with the research. I also assisted in the training of 70 peer interviewers, that is, community-based older Māori who would interview the participants from within their community. During the dissemination of findings I accompanied two elders and presented the findings to various hui of participants and their whānau. Following completion of that project and after five years of working on a Māori language resource research programme I was approached to work on the follow-up Oranga Kaumātua Study which began in 2004. As part of that research project I worked with older Māori in the five study regions.

At a national level I spent three years as a member of the Kaitiaki Group (Māori reference group) for Te Rau Hinengaro, the New Zealand Mental Health Survey. In that group I was the only member that was not a kaumātua. The Kaitiaki Group's role was to advise on the

appropriateness and acceptability to older Māori people of key aspects of the study including recruitment of regions and participants, data collection and management and dissemination of findings. My role involved acting as a liaison between the kaumātua and the research team. This required me to be able to work simultaneously with psychiatrists, epidemiologists statisticians and community based older Māori cultural experts. The experiences I have had professionally also affect my subjectivity and the analysis I bring to this Study regarding Māori positive ageing.

Conventions

I have included translations of Māori words in the text where necessary and also have provided a comprehensive glossary of Māori terms used in the thesis.

In some sections of the qualitative data chapters square brackets '[']' have been used to insert comments, translations or pseudonyms. Comments have been inserted to assist clarity, and translation from Māori to English has been provided to make this study accessible to a wider audience. Pseudonyms have been used to replace people's names or small place names to protect the anonymity of participants. Also in the chapters concerning proverbs and qualitative data Arabic numerals have been used to label all of the proverbs and participants including those labelled one to nine. This has been done for consistency of appearance.

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Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is about older Māori people, their changing circumstances, interactions with the Māori world and wider society, and their experiences of ageing. An idealised historical view is that Māori society valued its older members who were generally looked upon to provide leadership, stability, guidance and wisdom (Durie, 1999a; Kukutai, 2006). As Māori participate in the ever-changing New Zealand and global societies the role and interactions of older Māori in the contemporary context have also changed. Current understandings of the Māori experience of ageing and old age are unclear, or at least not yet articulated in the literature. Māori ageing is an important consideration from a number of fronts, not the least of which are increased Māori life expectancy and the consequent increase in the older Māori population.

An ageing population is by no means unique to Māori, nor for that matter is it distinctive to New Zealand. In the first decade of the 21st century population ageing is a major consideration for governments, business and society throughout the world.

Until early in the 20th century the study of human ageing was principally restricted to investigation of biological and physiological processes (Hendricks & Achenbaum, 1999). More recently social gerontology has introduced a de-medicalised approach to the study of ageing. The focus has shifted from illness and disability of the individual to an increased emphasis on life history as well as societal and cultural forces. Furthermore due to the increasing numbers and proportion of older people it is becoming more important to extend the period that older people remain healthy, independent and contributing to society.

This study was carried out under the auspices of the wider Oranga Kaumātua research programme based at Te Pūmanawa Hauora - The Research Centre for Māori Health and Development at Massey University. Oranga Kaumātua is a multi-region investigation into the health and wellbeing of older Māori. This thesis focuses on the construct of positive ageing due to the highly influential position the construct and related public policy has in this country.

In New Zealand, Government efforts to address the ageing population have occurred across a range of perspectives but are underpinned by the 2001 *New Zealand Positive Ageing Strategy* (PAS) (Dalziel, 2001a). Since the release of the PAS, Government activity across sectors is measured against goals and key actions contained in the Strategy.

It is argued that the PAS largely reflects a Western scientific view of the world and does not fully capture a Māori perspective of ageing. This is a limitation if the Strategy aims to cater for older Māori who may have experienced a different journey to reach old age, and who may conceptualise their experience from a uniquely Māori world view. This is especially likely given the re-emergence of distinctly Māori models of well-being and Māori defined frameworks for development that have emerged since the latter part of the 20th century.

An investigation into the broad concept of ageing and positive ageing as it relates to Māori people, based on Western Science *and* a Māori world view is therefore timely. The current study intends to inform Government and Māori policy makers, whānau, providers of health and social services, and ultimately older Māori people themselves.

Research question

The central research question for this study was:

‘What are the characteristics of positive ageing for Māori?’

Emerging from the central research question is a set of related questions:

- ‘What theoretical approaches are most useful in understanding ageing for Māori?’
- ‘What are Western scientific understandings of ageing and positive ageing?’
- ‘What are historical and contemporary Māori perspectives on ageing?’
- ‘What is the context within which Māori ageing takes place?’
- ‘What are the key factors that influence the ageing experience for Māori?’

Population Ageing

An in-depth analysis of the causes and nature of global, New Zealand and Māori population ageing is beyond the scope of this thesis; however some key observations can still be made.² Simply expressed, population ageing is a global occurrence that is closely linked to the wider 'demographic transition'. That transition entails a shift from relatively high mortality and high fertility rates to relatively low mortality and low fertility rates. The transition is a result of various social-economic forces and health factors (Kinsella & Phillips, 2005; Population Reference Bureau, 2004; Statistics New Zealand, 2006b; United Nations, 1956, 2002). In many nations the effects of changing mortality and fertility patterns will be amplified by the ageing of the large cohort born in the middle of the 20th century, the so called 'baby boomers'.

Global population ageing

One of last century's most significant population trends, the 'baby boom' was a result of the significant rise of the number of births in the years immediately following the Second World War (WWII) from 1946-1964. While not the sole cause of population ageing (Statistics New Zealand, 2006b) the baby boom phenomenon has certainly received much public attention. As early as 1948 the socio-economic repercussions of the post WWII increase in births were being considered by the popular press in the United States ("Baby boom," 1948). The substantial economic opportunity that the baby boom presented was highlighted later that year by *Newsweek* ("Population: Babies mean business," 1948).

Academic analysis of population ageing has been underway for over half a century. From the 1950s the United Nations (UN) produced population projections describing the likely changes in the age structure of the global population. Also various UN agencies undertook comprehensive studies into the implications of global population ageing within their sectors (United Nations, 1956). More recently the UN Population Division stated that in the mid 20th Century there were 200 million people aged 60 years and over. This figure was estimated to be 600 million by the year 2000. It is now projected to reach nearly two billion by 2050 (United Nations, 2002).

The proportion of people over the age of 60 was eight percent in 1950, 10 percent in 2000, and is projected to reach 21 percent by 2050 (United Nations, 2002). Significant diversity in nations'

² For detailed discussion on population ageing see: United Nations, 2002; Pool, 2003; Population Reference Bureau, 2004; Kinsella and Phillips, 2005.

current age structures, fertility rates and socio-economic circumstances are a cause for varied projections of global population ageing (Population Reference Bureau, 2004).

New Zealand population ageing

Like the global situation New Zealand's ageing population has also been investigated widely as a basis for planning and policy formulation (Bryant, 2003; Pool, 2003; Statistics New Zealand, 2000, 2004, 2006b, 2007b; Zodgekar, 2005). According to Statistics New Zealand (2000) between 1901 and 1951 the number of people aged 65 years and over usually resident in New Zealand grew from 31,000 to 177,000, a nearly six-fold increase. By 1999 that number had reached 446,000. This significant increase was proportionately larger for the 65+ age group than for the rest of the population as shown in Table 1.

Table 1 New Zealand Population – Age structure changes 1901-1999

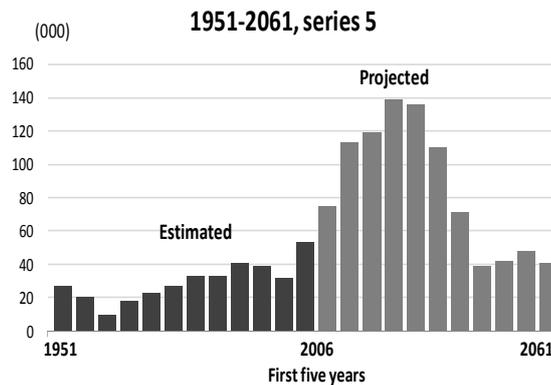
Age group (years)	1901	1926	1946	1966	1986	1999
	Percentage Distribution					
Under 15	33	30	27	32	25	23
15-64	63	65	64	59	65	65
65+	4	5	9	8	10	12
Ratio of Under 15 to 65+	8:1	6:1	3:1	4:1	2.5:1	2:1
Median Age (years)*	23	26	30	26	30	34
*Half the population is below this age.						

(Source: Statistics New Zealand, 2000)

Since the beginning of this century the ageing trend has continued with New Zealand's over 65 year old age group increasing from 450,400 in 2001 to 510,000 at the 2006 census (Statistics New Zealand, 2007a). This movement is expected to accelerate as the baby boomer cohorts enter this age group between 2011 and 2037 (see Figure 1). The number of over 65 year olds is projected

to reach 1.44 million people by 2061³, nearly triple the 2006 total. From the late 2040s this age group will make up over 25 percent of the population (Statistics New Zealand, 2007a).

Figure 1 Change in population aged 65+ years



(Source: Statistics New Zealand, 2007a)

Of particular note is the fact that the proportion of ‘old-old’ (those 85 years and older) is projected to make up a larger proportion of the total over 65 year age group. Statistics New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2007b)⁴ reports that individuals aged 65-74 made up 70 percent of all New Zealand residents over 64 in 1951, 53 percent in 2006, and are projected to decrease to 40 percent by 2051. Conversely during the same timeframe the proportion of 85 and overs in the 65 plus age band rose from 3.9 percent in 1951 to 11.7 percent in 2006 and is projected to increase to 24 percent in 2051. In comparison to other age groups the proportion of those aged 85 plus as part of the total population is set to increase so that by 2021 there will be more people in the old-old age group than those under the age of 15.

To the same extent the diverse experiences of population ageing among nations at a global level are mirrored by differences across regions and between ethnic groups within New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2007b; Zodgekar, 2005).

³ Base 2006, Projection series 5

⁴ It should be noted that the data for the 85 and over age group is based on different projections than the earlier section regarding the whole 65 and over group.

Defining 'older Māori'

In New Zealand, the aged population is generally defined as those aged 65 years and over. At the time of the 2006 Census, 4.1 percent of the Māori population were aged 65 years or more compared to 12.3 percent of the general population. The current definition of the aged population has been criticised as biased towards those populations which have a long life expectancy, and this is of particular relevance where age-based definitions are used as criteria for access to services. Cunningham (2000) suggested two alternative definitions that would be more equitable, one based on the percentage of the population (e.g. the oldest 10 percent) and another based on the health and disability experience of the population (e.g. age of onset of disability). The application of either definition would lead to an earlier age at which Māori would be included as part of the aged population. The latter approach is reflected in the New Zealand Guidelines Group (2003) guidelines for the assessment of personal, social, functional and clinical needs in older Māori. According to the guidelines, assessment should be available at age 55 for older Māori. For the general population, assessment is recommended for those with potential or known needs at age 65 years.

Within Māori society there are many terms, some of which are gender specific, used among Māori to refer to older Māori people. Further, there are some dialectal differences between regions and terms that are specific to particular iwi. Māori words used to describe older Māori include kaumātua, pahake, taueke, kuia, koroua, reiputa, mata pūputu, poua, taua and ruruhi. These terms often imply a certain status as an older person, and the expectation that an individual will be equipped in terms of experience and cultural knowledge to fulfil expected roles. This generally held view represents a Māori perspective that positions ageing as a positive life course transition (Durie, 1999a), as opposed to a deficit model that emphasises dependency, vulnerability, isolation and limitations (Moody, 2002). The positive perspective is consistent with research findings indicating that Māori value ageing and the roles undertaken by older people (Durie, M, et al., 1997).

Findings from the Oranga Kaumātua research project (Durie, M, et al., 1997), a survey of 397 'culturally conservative' older Māori, found that being considered a kaumātua or elder is more about role and function than about age. The age at which elder roles are assumed varies. While often eligibility for elder roles tends to be widely accepted as being for those in their mid-sixties, there are instances where younger adults may assume elder roles due to exceptional skills and/or

a lack of older Māori to fill those roles. Those roles may include leadership on marae (Māori meeting centres), formal speaking on behalf of the tribal group and conflict resolution. These roles are enhanced if they are filled by elders (Durie, 1999a). For the old, there is a time of transition when an active role transforms to a supportive role demanding fewer responsibilities. The age of 'potential retirement' may be in the eighties. It recognises advanced years, high status and the need to be protected (Durie, 1999a).

The extent to which the popular view of older Māori as elders who are repositories of cultural knowledge reflects the typical experience of older Māori people is unclear. This view may be misleading in the face of increasing evidence of cultural diversity within Māori communities and among older Māori (Cunningham, et al., 2002; Kukutai, 2006).

Māori population ageing

The transition in the age structure of the Māori population is significantly different to that of the total New Zealand population (Pool, 2003; Statistics New Zealand, 2004, 2006b, 2007b; Zodgekar, 2005). Overall the Māori population is projected to grow at 3.4 percent each year from 2006 through to 2026. During that period Māori as a proportion of the total population will grow from 15 percent to 17 percent (Statistics New Zealand, 2007a). Māori fertility and mortality remain relatively high signalling a less advanced progression through the demographic transition. However, fertility rates have decreased significantly from 6.6 (in the 1960s) to 2.2 in 2006.

Overall the Māori population (median age 22.7) is youthful in comparison to the total population (median age 35.9). By 2021, the Māori population aged 65 and over is projected to reach 56,000 a substantial increase from the 20,000 figure from 2001. The proportion of Māori aged 65 plus will increase from three percent to seven percent during the same period, a trend shared by the other two statistically prominent ethnic minorities in New Zealand, Pacific and Asian. The increased numbers from these three groupings will lead to a more ethnically diverse population over the age of 65 (Statistics New Zealand, 2006b; Zodgekar, 2005).

Global, New Zealand and Māori population ageing are significant factors that provide context for the current study. However the demographic transition forms only one part of the overall context of positive ageing for Māori. In order to understand positive ageing for Māori it is

necessary to review a wide range of historical, social, political and cultural factors as encapsulated in the broad construct of Māori development.

Māori Development

The construct of 'Māori development' is used by Māori Studies academics to describe and analyse historical, social, political and cultural trends experienced by Māori dating back centuries. Furthermore Māori development is a rubric that is used to describe, analyse and codify current and future action by Māori people. The history of Māori development can be delineated into five clearly defined periods. This review focuses primarily on the post-European contact period, as during that time a national Māori identity emerged and Māori faced the greatest threat to their collective survival.

Pre-1900: Adaptation for survival

Māori development is an ongoing process and can be traced back to more than 1000 years ago when Māori migration began from wider Polynesia to Aotearoa and Te Waipounamu (respectively the original names for the North and South Islands of New Zealand). Although there is no consensus as to the timing of Māori arrival and settlement, estimates are around 1000–1350AD. However, there were other ancestral groups whose settlement in Aotearoa predated Māori; the Kahui Maunga ancestors (Broughton, 1979).

Māori arriving from central Polynesia faced the daunting task of adapting to a far colder and harsher environment than in their homelands. Most aspects of daily life required adaption including food gathering, clothing, and housing (Buck, 1950). While life continued to centre around communal cultivation and collection of food according to seasonal patterns, in some areas warfare was also important due to population growth within the context of limited resources such as food, cleared fertile land, and stone (King, 1997). Disputes centred on, for example, territorial boundaries, transgressions of the social order and political relationships, and authority. Some grievances were transmitted and played out through generations. Increasing and maintaining mana, or status was a central theme in conflicts, and high value was placed on warfare abilities, physical prowess, readiness, strategic capacity and resilience. These qualities were more likely to ensure the survival of the group (King, 1997).

While initially the major threats to survival were the challenges of adapting to a new environment, some centuries later the devastating impact of colonisation became the greatest threat to Māori survival (Durie, 1999c). At first sustained contact with Europeans in 1769 the Māori population was estimated to be around 100,000 (Pool, 1991). The earliest European settlers, whalers, sealers and traders lived among Māori and intermarried. By the late 1830s organised colonisation had begun in earnest (King, 1997). Waves of European colonisation led to the emergence of a national Māori identity in 1935 when the Declaration of Independence was signed, recognising Māori sovereignty. Up until that time Māori society was firmly tribal in nature and at times confederations were formed in response to distinct circumstances (Durie, 1998a). In 1840 the Treaty of Waitangi was signed between Māori chiefs and the British Crown. The intentions of the Treaty were threefold - to protect Māori interests, promote settler interests and secure strategic advantage for the British Crown (Adams, 1977). However, the Treaty remains a document of some contention. While there is general recognition that it is the founding document, there is no consistent agreement as to its meaning and application in contemporary New Zealand. Differences between the English and Māori language versions of the Treaty add to the debate. The impact of Pākehā settlement (New Zealanders of European extraction) was catastrophic for Māori due to, among other things, the introduction of muskets which made warfare more deadly. In addition infectious diseases from which Māori lacked immunity were introduced, and land alienation took away a major economic resource. Land loss was to have the most far reaching and enduring negative impacts.

Large scale land conflicts between Māori and Pākehā from 1845 to 1870 had devastating effects. The 'New Zealand wars' over land played out mainly in Northland, Taranaki, Waikato, and the Bay of Plenty (Belich, 1986). During that time vast tracts of land were alienated through a combination of aggressive land purchasing by the Government, confiscation, and the activities of the Native Land Court. From almost 30 million hectares of land in Māori ownership in 1840, Māori land holdings reduced to less than five million hectares by 1891 (Durie, 1998a). Land alienation equated to the loss of the economic, social, spiritual and cultural foundations of Māori society. Māori population decline at the end of the 19th century can be mapped to land alienation. Similar patterns are evident among other Indigenous peoples who have been subject to land alienation through colonisation (Kunitz, 1994; Pool, 1991).

1900–1950: Re-emerging Māori leadership

Customary Māori leadership and authority had been severely undermined by colonisation at the start of the 20th century (Walker, 1990). The Tohunga Suppression Act 1907, which made it illegal to practice as a tohunga (a Māori specialist in a range of areas who were traditionally leaders) prevented customary healers from practising or drove them underground. Māori leadership took a new form; Western trained professionals who were Māori, culturally skilled and connected to Māori communities. These leaders included Apirana Ngata, Maui Pōmare and Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter Buck). The approach of this new form of leadership was to encourage Māori adaption to working within the Western government structures and systems, and adoption of Western democracy, justice, education and health practices. Other leaders, such as Rua Kenana, advocated Māori sovereignty as a key to a Māori recovery (Durie, 1999b) but their sustained impact was limited.

According to Walker (1990) Apirana Ngata provided strong leadership for Māori development from 1900-1950, in a variety of areas including cultural reinvigoration, the retention and development of Māori land, and enhancing the sense of Māori citizenship through Māori enlistment to fight the war. Consolidation of land interests was a key strategy to avoid further alienation (Walker, 1990) and to provide for the economic interests of the collective as opposed to a solely individual focus (Durie, 1998a). Fundamentally, the approach to Māori development emphasised during this period was to fully exploit Western tools while maintaining Māori cultural values and spiritual integrity. But the dual aspirations were difficult to retain.

1950–1975: Urbanisation and protest

Within a 25 year period around 80 percent of Māori had relocated from their tribal homelands to cities (Durie, 1998a). Urbanisation was catalysed by a combination of rural poverty, the emergence of an industrial society and WWII. Returning Māori service personnel used their newly acquired skills to secure work in the cities. Many of those who had not gone to war but had moved to urban areas to support the war effort through essential industries never returned to their rural homes (Walker, 1990).

Urbanisation impacted heavily on Māori social structures, diminishing the significance of tribal identity for many and reducing whānau cohesion through practical constraints imposed by physical distance which limited opportunities to maintain active links. Those remaining in their

tribal regions shouldered responsibility for maintaining traditional tribal tenure but the relationship between those who remained at home, and their urban relatives, inevitably changed (Kāretu, 1990).

Māori–Pākehā relations were also substantially challenged as urbanisation led to greater contact between Māori and Pākehā (King, 1997). While urbanisation had held the promise of escape from rural poverty, the reality was that Māori were marginalised and lacked authority in cities. The position of urban Māori motivated Māori political activism in the 1960s and 1970s. While Māori political movements worked closely with other social movements, a range of distinctly Māori protest groups emerged to progress Māori advancement. Ngā Tamatoa is one of the better known Māori activist groups; and they advocated for a variety of causes, including the promotion of the Māori language (Walker, 1990). During this period, the most high profile protests were the 1975 land march against land alienation, the 1977-78 Bastion Point protest which also focussed on land issues, and the Waitangi Day protests that called for the Government to honour the Treaty of Waitangi (Durie, 1998a; Walker, 1990). Regardless of the specific issue, a core concern of Māori activism has been increased Māori control of Māori development.

1976–2000: Treaty of Waitangi claims, language revitalisation, eliminating disparities, codifying Māori development

Following the 1975 land march, Parliament passed the Treaty of Waitangi Act which established the Waitangi Tribunal. The Tribunal's role was to make recommendations on claims made by Māori where the Crown had not fulfilled its obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi. Initially, the Tribunal's jurisdiction only included Crown breaches following the passing of the Act (Kelsey, 1984) but a 1985 amendment to the Act enabled the Tribunal to retrospectively cover grievances dating from the period to the signing of the Treaty in 1840.

The establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal provided a forum for Māori claims regarding Crown breaches of the Treaty to be heard. The claims and settlements process led to much debate and dissent throughout New Zealand (Durie, 1998a). Māori were particularly preoccupied with the claims process and expended huge resources preparing and contesting claims and subsequent settlements. While to some extent the process distracted Māori from other avenues of development, much was achieved including the Tribunal's 1986 'Te Reo Māori Report' which

recommended that the Government take an active role to protect Māori language. It resulted in substantial consolidation of effort that had begun in the early 1980s with the Kōhanga Reo movement. The resulting 1987 Māori Language Act made Māori an official language of New Zealand and established The Māori Language Commission. The 1989 Education Amendment Act encouraged the establishment of kura kaupapa Māori (Māori immersion schools) and wānanga (tertiary institutions based on Māori customs), schools where Māori language would be the dominant language of instruction.

Earlier, in 1961, the Hunn Report (Hunn, 1961) gave evidence of wide disparities in the socio-economic position of Māori relative to other New Zealanders. Māori dissatisfaction with their marginalised position, which had motivated activism in the 1960s and 1970s, had not dissipated as Māori continued to be over-represented in negative indicators of socio-economic status.

Māori have consistently expressed discontent with wide and enduring ethnic inequalities. These disparities have also motivated ongoing Māori development efforts. The codification of modern Māori development had its foundations in the 1984 *Hui Taumata* (the Māori Economic Summit) which foreshadowed the Decade of Māori Development (1984–1994). Durie (1998a) identified six themes that underlie Māori development as conceptualised at the Hui – ‘the Treaty of Waitangi’, ‘self-determination’, ‘tribal development’, ‘economic self-reliance’, ‘social equity’, and ‘cultural advancement’. Essentially the core characteristics of Māori development are that it is focused on positive development, a greater level of autonomy, the equitable distribution of the benefits of society, and precedence is not given to economic development at the expense of social, cultural, and ecological concerns; (Loomis, 2000).

The 1994 *Hui Whakapūmau*, hosted by the Department of Māori Studies, Massey University, to mark the conclusion of the Decade of Māori Development reviewed progress and sought to provide future directions (Department of Māori Studies, 1995). A number of ‘consensus themes’ emerged from the Hui: ‘Building on gains already made’ referred to the need to consolidate progress made in the years leading up to and during the Decade; ‘Addressing contemporary Māori realities’ was concerned that strategies for Māori advancement must recognise the diversity of Māori people; ‘A changing world’ highlighted the need for resilience to adapt quickly and effectively to change, and benefit from new circumstances; ‘Embracing new technologies’ referred to the need for Māori to be involved in the knowledge society in order to benefit from

advances; 'The right to be Māori' was concerned with ensuring that Māori have access to Māori resources, and have opportunities in their everyday life to live as Māori; 'Taking charge' was about self-determination, and therefore increased opportunities for Māori control over their own affairs.

The 1998 Māori research and development conference *Te Oru Rangahau* proposed five outcomes for Māori development: 'tino rangatiratanga' (self-determination); 'equity and social well-being'; 'outcomes which endorse Māori custom and identity'; 'resource development and economic growth'; and 'universality' (Durie, 1998b).

Five Māori development goals were identified in the 2000 conference *Toi te Kupu, Toi te Mana, Toi te Whenua: Māori Development in a Global Society/the Millennium Conference*. 'Live the legacy', essentially strive for development while retaining a secure Māori identity. 'Reclaim our lands, our waters and our air', which acknowledged that the extent of Māori ownership of New Zealand's natural resources has yet to be robustly debated. 'To be strong, healthy and wealthy' emphasised the linked objectives of good health and education standards while building wealth. 'Standing tall in our own country and exercising wise governance' encouraged Māori to seek an equal partnership with the Crown based on the Treaty of Waitangi while at the same time fostering positive relationships within Māoridom – be they iwi, urban based, hapū or whānau. 'Embracing other peoples, their cultures, technologies and lands' emphasised the importance of learning from groups outside of New Zealand, particularly other Indigenous peoples, and fostering positive relationships with those groups (Durie, 2000).

Following on from Hui Taumata, by the late 1990s the then Labour Government had recognised the need to address the major socio-economic disparities between Māori and non-Māori (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1998). This approach has been termed 'Māori advancement', and is concerned with identifying disparities and seeking to address those disparities (Cunningham, 1999). While the value of a Māori advancement approach in addressing disparities is recognised, there is some criticism that this approach risks marginalising Māori aspirations (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999).

The Labour Government's 'Closing the Gaps' strategy which sought to address ethnic and other inequalities was criticised by many commentators. One of the main arguments was that disparities in society were seen as a function of socio-economic position rather than a result of

the notion of ethnicity (Chappell, 2000). This argument neglected research evidence demonstrating that Māori ethnicity is an independent risk factor (independent of socio-economic status) for poor outcomes, including mortality rates (Reid, Robson, & Jones, 2000). However, due to the criticism, the 'Closing the Gaps,' initiatives based on ethnicity were officially abandoned; nonetheless ethnic disparities remain.

2001 – Continued focus on disparities, the globalised knowledge society, environmental degradation and resource depletion

Recent research has shown that schools are continuing to fail in the equitable provision of high quality education to young Māori (Robson, B & Harris, 2007). In 2006 Māori students were over three times more likely (152 per 1000 15 year-old students) to have been granted an early leaving exemption compared to European/Pākehā students (56 per 1000 15 year-old students) and had the highest suspension rate (16 students per 1000, compared to 4.1 students per 1000 for European/Pākehā). Also in 2006, approximately one in five Māori students left school with little or no formal attainment (a rate of 2.5 times that of European/Pākehā students). While Māori have a high rate of participation in tertiary education (18 percent of Māori aged 15 years and over), this is largely due to substantially higher rates of participation at sub-degree level (Ministry of Education, 2008). The Māori unemployment rate decreased from 18.6 percent in June 1999 to 7.7 percent in June 2008. However, Māori rates of unemployment remain more than twice that of the general population (3.6 percent) (Department of Labour, 2008). Given these figures, it is not surprising that Māori have relatively low annual household incomes. In 2006, the median annual income for Māori adults was \$20,900 compared to the general population figure of \$24,400 (Ministry of Education, 2008). Using the NZDep, an index used to measure deprivation levels across ethnic groups, gross disparities have been demonstrated between Māori and non-Māori. More than half of the Māori population are distributed in the most deprived deciles (Robson, B & Harris, 2007). Wide health status disparities reflected in both prevalence and severity of impact have also been demonstrated in a variety of areas including mortality rates, all-cause hospitalisations, cancer, mental health, cardiovascular disease, diabetes, respiratory disease and oral health (Robson, B & Harris, 2007).

The fast changing world of the 21st century places new challenges before Māori that will require different and flexible skills and approaches and again, a capacity to change and adapt (Durie, 1999c). The geographic isolation of New Zealand that in the past had afforded, at least for some

time, a degree of protection from wider influences is no longer as relevant due to rapid developments in information and communications technology (ICT), vastly increased access to global transport networks, and increased population flow between New Zealand and the world. The greatly increased ICT capacity and common use, particularly the internet and digital communication, have given rise to a global ‘information revolution’ that has been equated to the industrial revolution (Information Technology Advisory Group, 1999).

New technologies and a changing global market have stimulated the Government to focus more on the development and strengthening of a knowledge-based economy and less on continued dependence on land-based industries (Ministry of Research Science and Technology, 1999). ICT enables New Zealanders to conduct business globally and in collaboration with international colleagues while retaining a New Zealand base. Alongside ‘virtual’ technology based collaboration, enhanced international travel networks facilitate face-to-face contact with international groups and markets with relative ease. However, at the same time, uncertainty over the supply of petroleum based fuels has threatened travel links and the ability to transport goods both domestically and internationally (Hirsch, Bezdek, & Wendling, 2005)

The opportunities afforded to Māori and other groups by enhanced ICT are not only limited to the economic sphere, but extend to political and social arenas. Importantly for Māori development, ICT provides a tool to strengthen relationships within Māoridom regardless of physical location. Those resident in traditional homelands, sometimes referred to the guardians of the ahi kā (home fires), have increased opportunity to interact with urban Māori both in New Zealand and abroad. Critically, urban based Māori with high level skills may now have the option to relocate to traditional homelands while continuing to earn a livelihood and progress their careers by working at a distance. Anecdotally this appears to be an increasing trend. Faster network speeds and the relative availability of internet enabled audio-visual equipment such as web cameras, make informal and potentially formal whānau interaction possible. For instance, in early 2009 parts of a tangihanga (mourning ritual) of a high profile Māori leader were streamed live via the internet to enable those who could not attend physically to participate in the ceremonies (Television New Zealand, 2009).

While there are many advantages of new technologies, such as enabling cultural interaction regardless of physical distance, they also have the potential to threaten a secure Māori identity.

Advances have resulted in an unimaginably large amount of digital content that is readily available through powerful search and retrieval mechanisms. The accessibility and volume of content threatens the uniqueness of cultures due to its pervasiveness and the dominance of English language and United States-based content (Herring, 2001).

The emerging global knowledge society offers vast opportunities, not only to New Zealand generally but also to Māori development. In line with Government priorities, Māori are well positioned to greatly extend the Māori asset base by adding value to commodities produced on the land and from the sea (Durie, 2005b). However serious primary production endeavour must now carefully consider climate change and wise natural resource management.

While some debate still continues over the veracity of the claims of global warming, substantial supporting evidence has been published and few governments are now disputing the facts (Parry, Canziani, & Palutikof, 2007). Environmental concerns have entered the public's consciousness through various mass media mechanisms and other high profile means. For example the makers of the documentary '*An Inconvenient Truth*' received an Academy Award for Documentary Feature and a Nobel Peace Prize in 2007. There are also growing concerns around access to clean water for human consumption and as a means of primary production (Ministry for the Environment, 2006). The combined challenges of instability of petroleum supply and climate change have led to the call from some quarters for a move toward relocalisation, a rebuilding of local communities and essentially a rolling-back of globalisation (Flavin, 2008). Given that Māori society, to a greater extent than many other groups in developed countries, has retained a degree of local and tribally based social cohesion and capital, Māori could well be advantaged in relocalisation efforts.

Current circumstances of older Māori

Approaching the close of the first decade of the new millennium Māori continue to endeavour to advance as Māori, and as citizens of the world (Durie, 1998a, 2005b) throughout their entire lifespan. Because many Māori experience a compromised quality of life and reduced lifespan relative to non-Māori, there is much scope to enhance positive ageing strategies within New Zealand so that they are relevant and support older Māori people to achieve their own self-

defined aspirations for positive ageing. In order to achieve this aim, a clear understanding of the current circumstances of older Māori is necessary.

In recent years the role of whānau (family) in caring for vulnerable Māori elders has received considerable attention. Kepa (2006) offers the 'He Whānau' framework which is based on a rationale of elderly care grounded in whānau, whānaungatanga (connectedness) and kanohi kitea (presence and participation). This framework emphasises cultural relationships to strengthen and expand the care of elderly Māori people and the 'new notion' that caring for vulnerable elderly Māori people includes social, cultural and political relationships of caring not simply health related matters.

Maaka (1993) highlights the expanding roles of Māori elders whereas their Pākehā counterparts' roles contract. The range of kaumātua roles has grown considerably in recent decades as Te Ao Māori has reasserted itself politically. Their status has also grown considerably within their communities as demands for leadership in Māori culture and the Māori language have increased. The customary kaumātua roles on the marae of kaikōrero (formal orator) and kaikaranga (ceremonial caller) largely remain with kaumātua revered as guardians of tribal lore, fonts of wisdom and the bond with the past where they have the necessary cultural skills. Māori women in particular can also have leadership roles in their communities after decades of community service without necessarily fulfilling the traditional leadership roles associated with the marae. Outside the domain of the marae, kaumātua are increasingly called upon to take high profile advisory and leadership roles, executive and non-executive roles on Māori and mainstream organisations.

Contemporary kaumātua face many challenges that their own elders would not have had to face. They participate in traditional roles on marae and now new roles in mainstream non-Māori organisations. Kaumātua are not necessarily proficient speakers of te reo nor are they well versed in local tribal or hapū lore or customs (Durie, 1999a). Many have not had the training or educational qualifications to participate effectively on tribal boards of governance or as Māori representatives on wider community bodies. Many feel the burden of carrying out roles that are beyond their skill sets. Stephens' (2002, p. 334) survey dealing with the role of kaumātua in Treaty of Waitangi claims highlights the burden of expectation upon kaumātua:

Old Māori are supposed to be the repositories of all Māori knowledge. But they are also the lost generation, least able to cope with that burden of expectation. We have to live with the contradictions and the tensions.

To date the literature base concerning ageing and Māori has not been explicitly located in the dominant gerontological bodies of theory, and there is a lack of Māori-specific theoretical development. Instead, the Māori-specific research that has been carried out has had an applied focus and has largely been driven by public policy imperatives.

Assessing the circumstances of older Māori

The Ministry of Social Development's annual publication 'The Social Report' (Ministry of Social Development, 2006) monitors New Zealand trends across 10 domains of social wellbeing – health, knowledge and skills, paid work, economic standards of living, civil and political rights, cultural identity, leisure and recreation, the physical environment, safety and social connectedness. Key domains for which Māori-specific data is available are used as a guide in this section in discussing the circumstances of older Māori. Three research programmes are currently underway and when findings are published these will further enhance understandings of the circumstances of older Māori. Those studies are: 'Enhancing Wellbeing in an Ageing Society' (EWAS) based at the University of Waikato; a Massey University research project investigating the transition from work to retirement; and a follow-up to the 1997 research programme 'Oranga Kaumātua' also being conducted at Massey University.

Determinants

There is increasing recognition nationally and internationally of the role of social, economic, cultural, political, historical and environmental factors on wellbeing (Howden-Chapman & Tobias, 2000b; Wilkinson & Marmot, 2003). These determinants of wellbeing include income, social position, social connection, education and housing. The impacts of determinants are interrelated and cumulative over lifetimes (Robson, B & Harris, 2007).

The health and wellbeing of older Māori cannot be readily separated from the circumstances of the wider whānau. There are wide disparities in the distribution of social, economic, environmental, cultural and political resources between Māori and non-Māori in New Zealand. Despite increased Māori participation in education in the past 20 years, and the positive impacts

of the Māori medium education system, the New Zealand educational systems continues to fail to perform equitably for Māori as measured by qualification attainment at all levels (Robson, B & Harris, 2007). This is of particular importance given that educational qualifications are a determinant of employment and occupational status, and that they confer a 62 percent lifelong privilege in earnings (Salmond, A., 2003).

Māori have substantially higher unemployment rates than non-Māori, particularly among youth, and as well are over-represented in lower skilled occupational categories (Department of Labour, 2005). Not surprisingly, given the educational and employment status of Māori, the median annual income for Māori adults is lower than that of the total population - \$20,900 compared to \$24,400 in 2006 (Ministry of Social Development, 2006).

Using nine variables linked to the conditions of daily life and data from the 2006 Census, NZDep2006 (Salmond, C., Crampton, & Atkinson, 2007) calculates a numerical rating of socioeconomic status of a geographical area. The nine variables are: receiving a means-tested benefit; household income; owning the home you live in; single-parent family configuration; employment status; lack of school qualifications; household overcrowding; lack of access to a telephone; and, lack of access to a car. A score from 1-10 is created. A score of one represents the 10 percent of geographical areas that are wealthiest, and a score of 10 represents the 10 percent of areas that are most deprived. Nationally, Māori are over-represented in the most deprived areas and non-Māori are over-represented in the wealthiest areas. The inequitable distribution of material and social resources is founded in the country's colonial history and contemporary social structures (White, Gunston, Salmond, Atkinson, & Crampton, 2008).

Health

There have been substantial health gains for Māori older people in the past 20 years, measured by life expectancy and mortality and hospitalisation rates (Pomare, et al., 1995; Robson, B & Harris, 2007). However, despite improvements substantial inequities remain between the health status of older Māori and the health status of older non-Māori New Zealanders.

Māori have a lower life expectancy than non-Māori. For the 2000-2002 period, the male life expectancy at birth was 69.0 years for Māori compared to 77.2 years for non-Māori. In that same period, the life expectancy at birth for Māori women was 73.2 years compared to 81.9 years

for non-Māori women (Cormack, 2007). The expected years of life remaining for a Māori woman aged 65 years is 15.1 years, compared to 20.2 years for a non-Māori woman. The expected years of life remaining for a Māori man, aged 65 years is 12.7 years, compared to 16.9 years for a non-Māori man (Cormack, 2007). For Māori aged 65 years and over, the age standardised death rate was three-quarters higher than non-Māori, with chronic diseases being the major cause of death (Robson, B & Purdie, 2007). The leading causes of death, in this order, were circulatory system disease (mainly from ischaemic heart disease and stroke), cancer (one third was due to lung cancer), respiratory diseases, diabetes mellitus, and digestive system diseases. In each of these disease categories, Māori experienced substantially higher age-sex-standardised mortality rates relative to non-Māori.

The leading causes of public hospitalisation for care for Māori aged 65 years and over for the period 2003-2005 were dialysis, cardiovascular disease, respiratory disease and digestive system diseases (Robson, B, Robson, Harris, & Purdie, 2007). When the data is analysed in terms of the number of individual people admitted to hospital each year, a much higher proportion of this population was admitted for cardiovascular disease (7 percent), and respiratory disease (5 percent) compared to dialysis (0.4 percent). Much higher rates of Māori were admitted to care than the rates reported for non-Māori.

Hirini et al (1999) in investigating the health care needs of older Māori, drew on data from a subsample of 66 kaumātua who participated in a national survey of 1,500 older New Zealanders. The research found that the Māori subsample self-reported more physical symptoms and chronic health problems, and poorer self-rated health. However, despite higher self-reported health need relative to non-Māori, Māori participants reported lower utilisation of health services than non-Māori. The researchers concluded that the inverse care law applies with regard to older Māori, that is, those with greatest need for health care services have the least access to care. These findings were consistent with an earlier research project, the Oranga Kaumātua study. The project found high levels of reported disability with over half of those interviewed describing minor or major disabilities. However, there was a relatively low uptake of disability support services by participants (Durie, M, et al., 1997).

Participants in the Oranga Kaumātua study reported a preference for the choice of Māori-managed health and disability services and for improved services generally in terms of cost,

location, transport and consistency with Māori values. Cunningham (2000) recommended that the approach to health and disability support services for older Māori should be premised on the dual goals of Māori development (a positive approach to addressing Māori concerns) and Māori advancement (a problem oriented approach to addressing disparities). Further, that service development and delivery build on progress to date with regard to existing strategies, evidence based tools that guide effective service delivery for Māori, and research based models for health promotion among Māori. Nikora et al (2004) refer to the importance of both formal and informal disability support (including support from medical professionals, advocates, whānau, friends and the wider community) for older Māori with impairments.

Material wellbeing

The Ministry of Social Development has led an ongoing research programme on the living standards of New Zealanders. A survey of 542 older Māori aged 65 to 69 years was undertaken as part of the research programme, and published in 2002 (Cunningham, et al., 2002). The survey focussed on the day to day material wellbeing of older Māori, and found that older Māori experience a relatively high rate of disadvantage, poverty and material hardship, approximately three or four times that of non-Māori. Compared to non-Māori, Māori had lower and restricted incomes, levels of savings and assets, and home ownership. One in seven older Māori face some financial difficulty (15 percent compared to 10 percent of the older population generally), and an additional one in five face severe financial difficulties (20 percent compared to six percent of the older population generally). The Oranga Kaumātua study (Durie, M, et al., 1997) found that less than one-third of survey participants received an income from Māori resources, such as Māori land, forestry and fisheries. Further, that very few informants had private superannuation or medical insurance.

Alongside the direct impact of material disadvantage for older Māori, there is also concern that intergenerational transfers of wealth which contribute to individual material wellbeing, will be low for future generations (Xiao & Yang, 2002). Older single Māori tended to experience worse financial situations than older Māori couples, mainly due to reduced asset accumulation, high accommodation costs, and the death of a spouse. The majority of single older Māori are women. For non-Māori, the material living standards of single people and couples were similar.

Factors predictive of the variation in living standards of older Māori were net annual income, savings and investments, accommodation costs, recent financial stresses, the number of children raised or supported and economic adversity prior to the age of 60 years. Unlike non-Māori who tend to steadily increase wealth up to retirement; Māori have a pattern of limited wealth accumulation past their thirties. However, like non-Māori, Māori attitudes to saving appear to be diverse (PHP Consulting, 2003). Many older Māori reported in the survey that they had raised many children, and this factor was linked to material disadvantage. It was also distinct from the experience of older non-Māori who reported raising fewer children. The Living Standards Survey found that Māori are exposed to a higher level of financial adversity both before and after retirement. The study explored the links between experience of adverse economic life events during an individual's fifties (e.g. redundancy, separation or divorce, a major illness, death of a partner), and found that those reporting adversities experienced reduced material wellbeing in later years. This is not surprising in the sense that evidence of ethnic disparities in material wellbeing in old age in itself is likely to reflect that the differential life experiences of Māori and non-Māori impact upon material wellbeing outcomes in later life, in particular living standards in retirement (Kukutai, 2006). Findings from the Living Standards Survey showed clearly that the Māori population is heterogeneous, and therefore that interventions to improve the living standards should be targeted to specific groups.

Cultural identity

The Oranga Kaumātua study (Durie, M, et al., 1997) found that older Māori tend to lead physically, socially and culturally active lives. Most of the almost 400 older Māori participants had a secure cultural identity with high levels of iwi affiliations, participation in marae (which was associated with good health), and fluency in te reo Māori. A survey of 825 Māori aged 30-79 years (Gee, Stephens, Higgins, & Liu, 2003) found that satisfaction with level of fluency in te reo Māori was positively associated with life satisfaction and psychological wellbeing and with aspects of cultural involvement, such as marae participation. The results indicated that increasing Māori language fluency may lead to enhanced life satisfaction.

While the literature generally positions a secure Māori cultural identity as positive, the Ministry of Social Development's research programme on the living standards of New Zealanders (Cunningham, et al., 2002) found that older Māori with a secure Māori identity experienced a reduced level of material wellbeing than those with a less secure Māori identity. An association

was demonstrated between increasing Māori cultural identification and increased exposure to a lower household income, fewer savings and assets, greater accommodation costs, increased recent financial stresses and greater numbers of dependent children. These factors contribute accumulatively to the relative economic disadvantage experienced by older Māori with a more secure cultural identity. The researchers surmised that rather than a causal link between a secure cultural identity and reduced material wellbeing, these associations are likely due to historical processes; that those with a secure cultural identity experience cumulative financial disadvantage that reduces their capacity for financial preparedness for retirement.

Social connectedness

Kukutai (2006), conceptualising the wellbeing of older Māori, provides a model based on achieving a balance between participation and achievement in Te Ao Māori (including whānau) and Te Ao Whānui. The model recognises that older Māori are simultaneously operating in both worlds, and the extent and quality of their engagement directly impacts upon wellbeing. According to the model, participation and achievement in Te Ao Whānui can be understood in terms of nine of the 10 Ministry of Social Development domains identified in the social report - health, knowledge and skills, paid work, economic standard of living, civil and political rights, leisure and recreation, physical environment, safety, and social connectedness. Participation and achievement in Māori society can be understood in terms of Māori identity, Māori knowledge and skills, and Māori connectedness. Participation and achievement in both worlds impact on individual wellbeing, and through the individual's participation in Te Ao Māori there is also an impact on the wellbeing of Māori collectives. The social connectedness of older Māori is discussed in this section in terms of participation in whānau, Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Whānui.

Whānau

A major area of inquiry in the Oranga Kaumātua study was the level of whānau participation and involvement. Whānau interaction, as conceptualised in that research, was concerned with elder contact with whānau as leaders and caregivers, and as recipients of whānau support. The research found that typically whānau relationships were close, and reciprocal in nature, as well as being both demanding and rewarding. The types of assistance provided by older Māori to whānau included cultural support, accommodation, support during illness, encouragement with regard to education, and leadership with regard to te reo Māori development. In turn, whānau provided financial assistance, transport and support during illness. Findings indicated that the

high degree of reciprocity provide a sense of satisfaction for kaumātua and facilitate intergenerational understanding.

Kukutai (2006) suggests that elders with a high level of cultural capital such as tribal knowledge and te reo Māori have a greater capacity for reciprocity. Further, for those older people who provide care for children that capacity is again strengthened. Kukutai also referred to findings from the living standards study which demonstrated that a high proportion of older Māori receive tangible support from whānau for practical matters such as car or house maintenance and household chores. Kepa (2006) proposes a framework for caring for older Māori which is expansive, and not only concerned with health care but with broader social, cultural and political factors and with emphasising cultural relationships as a mechanism to strengthen and expand care. The approach would be whānau centred, and emphasise strengthening relationships through face to face interactions.

Te Ao Māori

There is a reciprocal relationship between older Māori and wider Māori community. The Oranga Kaumātua study identified that older Māori are the carriers of culture within their communities. The cultural strength of the Māori community and opportunities for the intergenerational transfer of cultural knowledge rely upon the active participation of culturally skilled older Māori. Further, the standing of an iwi is largely a function of the extent to which there is a visible presence and authority of elders. According to Durie (1999a, p. 102):

Executive and industrial leadership may well rest with the young and the middle-aged but it is the older generation who carry the status, tradition and integrity of their people. Without leadership at that level a Māori community will be the poorer and, at least in other Māori eyes, unable to function effectively or to fulfil its obligations.

Durie refers to two implications of this position. That is, that the roles ascribed to older Māori are fundamental to the maintenance and development of tribal mana, and that with age comes a set of expectations that, if met, will often require major lifestyle changes. Those expectations may be substantial, and some consideration and ongoing negotiation may be required about the extent to which new responsibilities will be accepted. For some older Māori there may be little real choice but to accept these cultural expectations. In some instances this may be due to their

high level of cultural competence or genealogical ties, while for others a lack of cultural skills and/or connections to Māori communities may mean that they do not have the opportunity or expectations to fulfil customary roles. For those who do take on cultural responsibilities of elders, these expectations may become burdensome and are likely to require personal sacrifice in order to support the priorities of Māori collectives (Durie, 1999a). Findings from the Oranga Kaumātua study (Durie, M, et al., 1997) demonstrated that 30 percent of participants reported concerns at being overburdened by Māori community responsibilities. However, respondents also expressed their enjoyment of their roles on marae. Subsequent analysis of the data suggests that those older Māori who had low levels of participation with marae self-reported lower levels of health (Waldon, 2004).

For some older Māori, community expectations may exceed their cultural and other skill base capacities and lead to situations where they are in roles that are not suited to their particular talents. Participants in a study investigating the role of kaumātua in Treaty of Waitangi claims suggested that the roles of kaumātua could be enhanced through better communication with younger people, ensuring an appropriate fit between individual skills and roles, and increased involvement of Māori communities in the selection of cultural and political leadership (Stephens, 2002). The issues faced by kaumātua in adjusting to retirement may be quite different from those of non-Māori in terms of increased demands from communities and limited opportunities for personal or immediate family priorities (Durie, 1999a).

Ideally, the relationship between kaumātua and Māori communities should be reciprocal (Durie, 1999a). Whereas kaumātua may sacrifice time and energy to meet the needs of the collectives, Māori collectives are expected in return to support elders through, for example, the provision of kaumātua housing or ensuring positive social interactions for older people and respect. Kukutai (2006) suggests that a more systematic mechanism to compensate older people for their contributions to Māori society may be necessary in order to make it easier for elders to fulfil cultural roles that are beneficial for communities.

Te Ao Whānui

A number of indicators may be used to gauge the participation of older Māori in New Zealand Society/Te Ao Whānui. Key indicators that are linked to wellbeing are health, income, employment status, qualifications, home ownership and access to services. It is apparent from

discussions in previous sections that there are wide ethnic inequalities between Māori and non-Māori in each of these areas. This in turn indicates that older Māori are marginalised in terms of the extent and breadth of their participation in Te Ao Whānui.

The position of older Māori in New Zealand society

The position of older Māori within New Zealand society is largely determined by the influence of social, economic, cultural, and historical factors and are inextricably linked with the place of whānau in New Zealand society. Older Māori are marginalised, relative to non-Māori, in terms of health status and material wellbeing. However, despite these adversities, they have a critical role in whānau and wider Māori society as carriers of culture and leaders in Māori cultural contexts. For Māori, older age signals a transition to a phase of life that may be characterised by increasing community expectations and demands on the individual at the expense of personal and family life. While those demands may create a substantial burden for individuals, they nonetheless appear to be mitigated, at least in part by an increased level of support provided by whānau and communities.

Thesis Outline

This thesis is divided into 11 chapters. Chapter One provides the context and rationale for the Study and identifies the central research questions. Chapter Two examines the philosophical position of the thesis. This chapter describes and discusses the interface approach used in this Study. Chapter Three documents how the interface approach has been operationalised in the current Study. Chapter Four discusses the emergence and theoretical development of gerontology as well as key perspectives and concepts relevant to this Study. Public policy in New Zealand relevant to ageing is also considered. Chapter Five explores 42 Māori proverbs as a Māori source of knowledge about ageing, the aged and age. The next three chapters present the findings of the qualitative study of 20 older Māori. Chapter Six presents findings on ageing, Chapter Seven discusses findings on age, and Chapter Eight reports on the findings relevant to the aged. Chapter Nine synthesises the findings from the overall study. Chapter Ten identifies and discusses the characteristics of Māori positive ageing and discusses the implications of these characteristics. Chapter 11 contains the conclusions of the Study.

Summary

This chapter provides an overview of the context within which Māori ageing occurs and identifies the central research questions of the current Study. The world-wide phenomenon of population ageing has led to increased focus on how societies can better manage substantially increasing numbers and proportions of older people. In this country the 2001 *New Zealand Positive Ageing Strategy* articulates the Government's effort at promoting positive ageing. To date just what constitutes positive ageing for Māori is unclear.

Māori development trends have demonstrated patterns of resilience in the face of adversity and innovation when opportunities arise. Despite recent gains, wide disparities between the circumstances of Māori and non-Māori remain. Understanding recent historical patterns, the current circumstances of Māori generally, and the extent to which Māori engage with both Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Whānui provide a backdrop to understanding the phenomenon of positive ageing for Māori.

Chapter Two

PHILOSOPHICAL FOUNDATIONS: LOCATING AND MAPPING THE INTERFACE BETWEEN INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE AND WESTERN SCIENCE INQUIRY PARADIGMS

Introduction

This thesis is philosophically positioned at the interface between Indigenous knowledge and 'Western science' inquiry paradigms. It simultaneously incorporates elements from the traditions of Indigenous peoples while remaining engaged with the 'Western scientific' paradigm in order to navigate the two worlds within which contemporary Indigenous people live. Indigenous scholars have long searched for a way to work in contexts which allow Western scientific norms to be applied while at the same time remaining true to their way of seeing the world as an Indigenous individual and importantly making sense to Indigenous communities (Smith, 1997). Indigenous academics have sought to create 'space' to undertake research within the academy (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). The approach employed in the current study builds on past work of Indigenous scholars by consolidating and 'mapping' that space. The current project draws on the dual threads of Indigenous knowledge and in particular Māori knowledge, and Western science to collect and analyse evidence in order to generate new knowledge that is robust and germane to both world views.

The interface approach used in this study further develops work undertaken by Durie (2004a, 2004b, 2005b). This approach has been developed for five reasons. First, the research subject deals with Indigenous people's real lives and situations and therefore the research needs to resonate with them. Second, although Western science has led to incredible advancements for humanity (International Council for Science, 2002) it is not able to solve (and may be implicated in) major challenges currently facing humanity such as climate change and resource depletion (Deloria, 1999; Stewart-Harawira, 2005). As a result there is increasing interest in drawing on Indigenous knowledge systems alongside Western science. The notion of the interface between Indigenous knowledge and science has wide currency in business (Harmsworth, 2005), information technology (Nakata, 2002), and tourism (Butler, Hinch, & Ryan, 1997). Locally, two

noteworthy examples of the relevance of the interface are New Zealand's emerging national identity and the outcome of the significant WAI 262 Claim before the Waitangi Tribunal (Watson, 2002). Third, the current study takes a pragmatic position rather than a one-sided paradigm allegiance (Patton, 1990) to *either* Indigenous knowledge *or* Western science. The apparent rigour of the Western scientific paradigm has not been blindly accepted, but nor have the holistic integrative merits of the Indigenous knowledge system been adopted without question. The complementarity of Indigenous knowledge and Western science has been used to address weaknesses and maximise benefits arising from either one of the two knowledge systems for investigating and ultimately addressing the research question of the current Study. The fourth reason the interface approach has been developed is, as will be discussed in Chapter Four, the study of ageing and the various fields of gerontology is multidisciplinary in itself. Fifth, the investigator is Māori and located within the academy. The interface approach is not only consistent with but highly appropriate for the field of inquiry.

The purpose of this chapter is to articulate the rationale and justification for the interface focus and to demonstrate how this approach provides the philosophical underpinnings of this Study.

Worldviews, Knowledge Systems and Paradigms

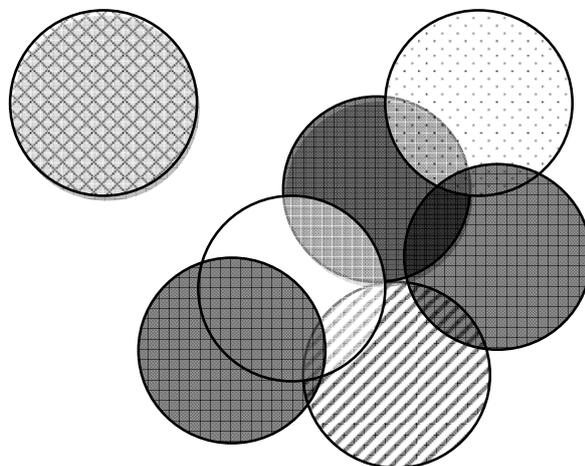
Philosophical questions concerning the essence of humanity and being have perhaps occupied the human mind since the beginning of thought itself (Stewart-Harawira, 2005). Questions such as 'What is real?' and 'How do we know what we know?' have certainly long been pondered by scholars. How people make sense of the world around them is closely linked to the accumulated experience of their societies over many generations and therefore to cultural beliefs and values. Over time those shared beliefs and values evolve, modified through experience and imbibed with anecdotes and narratives that become entrenched in cultural belief systems. A shared belief and values system that has evolved over time is often referred to as a world view, and can be peculiar to a particular group or culture, or can be shared by many groups. A world view represents a collective set of cultural beliefs that enable groups of people to make sense of the world around them (Kawagley, 1995). Worsley (1997, p. 14) asserts that the guidelines people use to live their lives are derived through "...ways of thinking embedded in popular culture, absorbed by virtue of our membership of various kinds of communities."

In effect humanity and its many cultures and societies has developed numerous ways to address the fundamental philosophical questions of existence and ways of going about investigating the world and their interaction with it. Those groups in their day-to-day life implicitly subscribe to their own worldview or knowledge system. In contrast, any serious academic endeavour must explicitly engage with the debate around the varying merits, the compatibility and otherwise of world views and knowledge systems. Within the academy there are various approaches to this debate.

Positivism for example holds that there is one absolute truth and reality that is driven by immutable natural laws (Davidson & Tolich, 2003; Guba, 1990; Guba & Lincoln, 2005). In contrast constructivism asserts that there are multiple realities, and that knowledge is subjective and locally constructed (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).

Roberts (1998) contends that the majority of humankind's various knowledge systems have some commonalities and therefore that very few, if any, might be unique or without common properties with other knowledge systems (see Figure 2).

Figure 2 Commonalities of human knowledge systems



(adapted from Roberts, 1998)

Worldviews and knowledge systems are all-encompassing constructs that literally attempt to describe a particular group's perception of reality. There are numerous knowledge systems and various ways to compare and contrast them. The concept of 'paradigm' and in particular 'inquiry paradigm' facilitates the mapping of the interface between knowledge systems.

In his highly influential volume, *The structure of scientific revolutions*, first published in 1962, Thomas Kuhn brought the term 'paradigm' into currency. Kuhn (1996) described a paradigm as a scientific outlook, that is, a set of beliefs, values and assumptions that are shared by and unite a scientific community and allow that community to carry out its 'ordinary' scientific activities. Kuhn's thesis was controversial in that it conflicted with the widely accepted notion of science as rational and objective and promoted the view that truth itself was relative to the paradigm within which the scientific endeavour is conducted. Therefore, only certain types of knowledge can be generated within the confines of a given paradigm.

Kuhn's original discussion of paradigms was criticised as imprecise because in *The structure of scientific revolutions* he consistently used the term in different ways (Masterman, 1970). However, Guba (1990, p. 17), commenting on paradigms, notes that "...having the term not cast in stone is intellectually useful..." while Chalmers (1982, p. 91) argues "...it is of the nature of a paradigm to belie precise definition. Nevertheless it is possible to describe some of the typical components that go to make up a paradigm".

Guba and Lincoln (2005) describe a paradigm as a set of basic beliefs that cannot be proven or established as fact and which guide action. A paradigm is accepted unquestioningly and on the basis of faith, and as such is a human construction that provides a lens through which a person perceives the world and therefore guides how he/she acts within it. Guba (1990, p. 18) also notes that there are many paradigms that humans use to direct their actions such as: "the adversarial paradigm that guides the legal system, [and] the judgemental paradigm that guides the selection of Olympic winners".

In the context of the present Study a paradigm may provide the philosophical foundation for a research programme. Guba (1990) describes paradigms that guide disciplined inquiry or research as *inquiry paradigms*.

Inquiry Paradigms

Inquiry paradigms provide a set of basic assumptions about the nature of reality as a framework for interpreting the world. They make explicit what is important, legitimate, and reasonable, and therefore guide the researcher's practice in terms of what are research priorities, what are legitimate methodologies and methods and what are reasonable interpretations and findings

(Patton, 1990). Those basic assumptions may differ markedly between Western science and Indigenous knowledge, the two inquiry paradigms employed in the current study.

Guba (1990, p. 18), and more recently Guba and Lincoln (2005, p. 183) shed further light regarding the attributes of inquiry paradigms by posing the following fundamental philosophical questions:

- ‘What is the nature of reality?’,
- ‘What is the relationship between the inquirer and the known?’, and
- ‘What is the best means of acquiring knowledge about the world?’⁵

These questions have been applied widely to the Western scientific inquiry paradigm. They are most commonly associated with three constructs namely: ontology; epistemology; and, methodology (see Table 2).

Table 2 Inquiry paradigm constructs

Construct	Underlying fundamental philosophical question
Ontology	What is the nature of reality?
Epistemology	What is the relationship between the inquirer and the known?
Methodology	What is the best means of acquiring knowledge about the world?

Ontology is concerned with the nature of reality and knowledge, that is, what is real and what is legitimate knowledge. Epistemology is about the relationship between the researcher and what can be known, and methodology is the research process that determines what are and aren't acceptable research techniques or methods for the accumulation of knowledge (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).

⁵ A fourth question, ‘How will I be a moral person in the world?’ will be addressed in Chapter Three.

To date various Indigenous academics have also applied these constructs to Indigenous paradigms (Edwards, 2007; Meyer, 1998, 2003; Ratima, Mihi, 2003; Royal, T. A. C., 1998b). The use of ontology, epistemology and methodology to describe Indigenous inquiry paradigms is problematic as these terms are sourced from Western scientific thinking. And as Durie (2004b) points out the tools and assumptions of one knowledge system cannot be used to decipher the intricacies of another knowledge system. Roberts and Wills (1998, p. 44) discuss an approach that does “... not hold up Western science as the prime exemplar of knowledge against which other traditions should be measured”. Ironically Roberts and Wills (1998, p. 44) then describe a process that instead:

seeks to understand the *epistemological* framework underlying each system of thought, and to search for intellectual common ground on which other worldviews can be accommodated alongside that of [Western] science [emphasis added].

The current study invokes another approach based on contemporary Indigenous and Western scientific perspectives. Linda Smith’s project of ‘naming’ is employed in conjunction with Robin Horton’s comparative analysis of traditional knowledge systems and Western science.

Smith (1999) identifies 25 projects being undertaken by Indigenous people the world over. The projects she identifies provide examples of various forms of action by Indigenous people rather than actual stand alone projects. Smith (1999, pp. 157-158) states the naming project:

...is about retaining as much control over meanings as possible. By ‘naming the world’ people name their realities. For communities there are realities which can only be found in the Indigenous language; the concepts which are self-evident in the Indigenous language can never be captured by another language.

Horton (1967a) in the first part of a two part essay, identifies commonalities between Western science and traditional African thought.⁶ He states that beneath the idiom of the often cited dichotomies of subjective: objective, natural: supernatural, holistic: reductionist, lie cognitive properties common to the Western science and African (Indigenous) knowledge.

⁶ The second part of Horton’s paper (1967b) focuses on the differences between traditional knowledge and Western science. Here he asserts that unlike Western science’s ‘openness’, traditional knowledge is a closed system of knowledge where an “absence of any awareness of alternatives makes for an absolute acceptance of the established theoretical tenets, and removes any possibility of questioning them.” (Horton, 1967b, p. 156). Subsequent critique of Horton’s position counters that there are systems of authority that operate in the scientific community that act to suppress challenge (Roberts & Wills, 1998).

Horton presents a set of general propositions on the nature and functions of theoretical thinking. The first of these propositions, which is most relevant to the current study, states:

The quest for explanatory theory is basically the quest for unity underlying apparent diversity; for simplicity underlying apparent complexity; for order underlying apparent disorder; for regularity underlying apparent anomaly (Horton, 1967a, p. 51).

Horton therefore enables the exposition and engagement with the gestalt on which the Western scientific construct of epistemology is built.

A combination of Smith’s and Horton’s approaches better aids Roberts and Wills’ search for intellectual common ground within which other worldviews can be accommodated alongside Western science.

The current study proposes an ‘inquiry paradigm matrix’ which repositions the aforementioned philosophical questions as main reference points to locate facets of Western science and Indigenous knowledge. The inquiry paradigm matrix as it relates to Western science is shown in Table 3.

Table 3 Inquiry paradigm matrix and Western science

Philosophical question	Western Science
What is the nature of reality?	Ontology
What is the relationship between inquirer and phenomena?	Epistemology
What is the best means of acquiring knowledge?	Methodology

Western Science

The early precursors of contemporary Western science are commonly attributed to the Greek philosopher Aristotle (384-322 BC) (Chalmers, 1982). Although there were other significant developments in the following centuries such as Ibn Al-Haytham’s pioneering use of experimentation in the scientific process in the late 10th Century (Rashed, 2002), the Aristotelian

world-view held much sway in Western thought for 1800 years. At the heart of the Aristotle's teachings was a geocentric approach to astronomy which placed the stationary Earth at the centre of the cosmos and all other planets and the sun in orbit around it (Koyrè, 1957).

In 1543 Nicholas Copernicus developed a theory that the cosmos did not in fact centre on the earth, rather it orbited the sun and thus proposed a heliocentric perspective. Although much debate surrounds exact timing many historians hold the view that Copernicus's theory marked the beginning of a rapid period of scientific development known as the 'scientific revolution' (Koyrè, 1957). The scientific revolution positioned Western science in a hugely influential role in Western society and Western thought generally. As Kuhn (1957, p. 2) explains:

His (Copernicus') planetary theory and his associated conception of a sun-centred universe were instrumental in the transition from medieval to modern Western society, because they seemed to affect man's [sic] relation to the universe and to God... Initiated as a narrowly technical, highly mathematical revision of classical astronomy, the Copernican theory became one focus for the tremendous controversies in religion, in philosophy, and in social theory...Men who believed that their terrestrial home was only a planet circulating blindly about one of an infinity of stars evaluated their place in the cosmic scheme quite differently than their predecessors who saw the earth as the unique and focal center of God's creation.

Another influential figure in the scientific revolution was the Frenchman René Descartes (1596-1650). Descartes was responsible for a view of nature which separated spirit and matter. The 'Cartesian division' led to scientists treating matter as non-living and totally separate from them. According to Capra (1991, p. 23), Descartes' philosophy encapsulated in the maxim 'I think therefore I am' led to a Western view of the world which separated the mind from the body which in turn was made up of many parts. This inner compartmentalisation is reflected externally into the segmented Western view of the world.

Isaac Newton built on Descartes' work and, amongst many other contributions to the advancement of science, he was able to unify laws of motion for objects on earth (developed by Galileo) with the motion of celestial objects (Kepler's law of planetary motion) (Kuhn, 1996). According to Koyré (1957), Newton's synthesis caused the shift in the Western perspective from a closed, finite, hierarchical, qualitative cosmos to an infinite, homogenous, quantitative universe. The change from cosmos to universe marked a shift from an organic worldview to a mechanical world picture (Hatch, 2007). From the time of Aristotle, famous classics of science were written

by leading scholars. Aristotle's *Physica*, Ptolemy's *Almagest*, Newton's *Principia* and *Opticks*, Franklin's *Electricity*, and Lavoisier's *Chemistry* implicitly set down the legitimate problems and methods of a research field for various periods of time (Kuhn, 1996).

Like the debate surrounding the dating of the scientific revolution, opinions vary regarding the exact beginning of the period known as 'the enlightenment'. During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century, disaffected with religion and aristocracy in Europe, a number of scholars turned their attention to the use of reason as a source of authority. The enlightenment marked the beginning of the application of the newly developed scientific tools of Newton, Descartes and others to human behaviour and human societies, 'science was the engine of the enlightenment' (Wilson, 1998). Wilson (1998, p. 30) adds that:

As late as 1835, Adolphe Quételet was proposing 'social physics' as the basis of the discipline soon to be named sociology. Auguste Comte, his contemporary, believed a true social science to be inevitable...[and suggested that] their [people's] behaviour and social institutions conform to certain still-undefined natural laws...

The early social scientists were very much influenced by the achievements of the 'natural scientists' and attempted to emulate them in examining societies (Gordon, 1991).

Contemporary Western science is made up of many disciplines. Complex interactions of historical and sociological forces lead to the emergence of the various fields (Lemaine, Macleod, Mulkay, & Weingart, 1976). Despite their diversity the disciplines within Western science do share common underlying principles and are part of the same over-arching project.

Gauch (2003, p. 5) points out that the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) which is the umbrella organisation for nearly 300 science organisations takes the position that:

Organizationally, science can be thought of as the collection of all of the different scientific fields, or content disciplines. From anthropology through zoology, there are dozens of such disciplines. They differ from one another in many ways, including history, phenomena studied, techniques and language used, and kinds of outcomes desired. With respect to purpose and philosophy, however, all are equally scientific and together make up the same scientific endeavour.

Within the context of the current study it is the social sciences within the Western scientific inquiry paradigm that are of most relevance. Generally, paradigms are articulated in terms of the ontological, epistemological and methodological positions. Guba and Lincoln (2005) provide a useful analysis of the ontological, epistemological and methodological positions of Western scientific social science inquiry paradigms (Table 4).

Table 4 Basic beliefs (metaphysics) of alternative inquiry paradigms

Item	Positivism	Postpositivism	Critical theory <i>et al.</i>	Constructivism	Participatory
<i>Ontology</i>	Naive realism – “real” reality but apprehensible	Critical realism – “real” reality but only imperfectly and probabilistically apprehensible	Historical realism – virtual reality shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, and gender values; crystallised over time	Relativism – local and specific co-constructed realities	Participate reality-subjective-objective reality, cocreated by mind and given cosmos
<i>Epistemology</i>	Dualist/objectivist; findings true	Modified dualist/objectivist; critical tradition/community; findings probably true	Transactional/subjectivist; value-mediated findings	Transactional/subjectivist; co-created findings	Critical subjectivity in participatory transaction with cosmos; extended epistemology of experiential, propositional, and practical knowing, cocreated findings
<i>Methodology</i>	Experimental/manipulative; verification of hypotheses; chiefly quantitative methods	Modified experimental/manipulative; critical multiplicity; falsification of hypotheses; may include qualitative methods	Dialogic/dialectical	Hermeneutical/dialectical	Political participation in collaborative action inquiry; primacy of the practical; use of language grounded in shared experiential context

(source: Guba & Lincoln, 2005 p. 195)

In their analysis Guba and Lincoln point out that since the late 20th Century there has been a blurring of the boundaries between the various paradigms within the social sciences. They note that this 'interbreeding' has resulted in previously opposing theorists informing each other's arguments. Bolton (2005) surmises that elements of one paradigm may be blended into another, to the point where research represents the best of worldviews.

While this blending is appropriate between the social sciences *within* the Western science inquiry paradigm the interface approach adopted in the current study recognises the inherent differences between the Western science inquiry paradigm and Indigenous knowledge.

Indigenous Knowledge

There are many terms used to describe the Indigenous peoples of the world, including aboriginal, native and first nations peoples. Indigenous peoples are diverse, and it is estimated that there are 5000–6000 distinctive groups of Indigenous peoples across at least 70 countries internationally (Centre for Human Rights, 1997). In the Arctic, Indigenous peoples include the Inuit and Dene of Canada, the Saami of Finland, Norway and Sweden, and the Nenets, Khanty and Chukchi of Russia. In Africa, where there is little official recognition of Indigenous peoples, they include the Amazigh, Berberes, Maasai, San and Tuareg – and for many of these groups their customary territories span the borders of contemporary nation states. Within the Pacific region, Indigenous peoples include Native Hawaiians in Hawai'i, the Kanaks of New Caledonia, the Santo of Vanuatu, the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islands' peoples of Australia, and Māori in New Zealand. Indigenous peoples in the Asia region include the Ainu of Japan, and huge Indigenous groups numbering in the millions in China, India and Myanmar. In Central and South America there are substantial Indigenous populations, and in some countries such as Bolivia Indigenous peoples comprise the majority of the population. In North America there are many Native American and Canadian nations.

Indigenous peoples have a wide range of characteristics including distinctive biological markers, cultural beliefs and values, language, historical experiences of colonisation, territorial links, and degree of recognition within countries. Given the diversity, it is not surprising that the concept of Indigenous peoples has been variously defined. Nor is it unexpected that Indigenous peoples resist settling on any one definition due to the risk of excluding groups that may not meet

prescribed criteria but nevertheless have a legitimacy as Indigenous peoples. The reluctance to develop overarching criteria also recognises the self-determined right of Indigenous peoples to self-define (Centre for Human Rights, 1997). However, despite some significant differences in beliefs, perspectives and experiences there are fundamental commonalities among Indigenous peoples that provide a basis for the shared sense of purpose of Indigenous peoples internationally.

At a pragmatic level, various definitions or characteristics of Indigenous peoples have been proposed. With the mandate of the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations, Madame Erica Daes (a former Chair of the Group) prepared a paper on criteria for the definition of Indigenous peoples (Daes, 1996). While Daes emphasised the right of Indigenous peoples to self-definition and a need for flexibility in definition, four factors were identified as fundamental to understanding the concept of Indigenous peoples – priority in time in relation to a specific geographical territory; the choice to perpetuate cultural distinctiveness; self-identification and recognition by others as a distinct collectivity; and, an experience of marginalisation, dispossession, exclusion or discrimination. These factors tend to be, at least to some extent, reflected in common definitions of the concept of Indigenous peoples.

While not all Indigenous peoples have an experience of colonisation, colonisation has been a common feature of the historical and contemporary experiences of many Indigenous peoples globally. In many instances, colonisation has had a dramatic and apocalyptic impact on the lives of Indigenous peoples which continues to be reflected in contemporary experiences of poverty and other forms of marginalisation. Despite the devastation, Indigenous peoples have continued to resist the inroads of colonisation and this resistance and call for self-determination has come to characterise the collaborative efforts of Indigenous peoples globally.

Value/validity of Indigenous knowledge and contemporary relevance

An integral dimension of the mobilisation and networking of Indigenous peoples globally has been the efforts to promote the legitimacy and validity of their knowledge systems and Indigenous knowledge. This is often in the face of dismissal and denial by dominant groups as to the relevance or even existence of Indigenous knowledge.

Nakashima (2000, p. 442) provides a compelling statement on the real world validity of 'other systems of knowledge' including Indigenous knowledge.

Often dismissed by scientists as irrational and insignificant, 'other systems of knowledge' in fact provide much of the world's population, including the most impoverished and marginalised, with the principal means by which they fulfil their basic needs.

While Indigenous knowledge generation was strongly motivated by survival needs, and in some parts of the world this remains the case, there is also a view that Indigenous knowledge should be reconceptualised as contributing to the thriving of Indigenous peoples. Further, the movement from surviving to thriving will necessarily rely on the generation and development of Indigenous knowledge and on operationalising Indigenous knowledge within contemporary contexts.

Traditional medicine provides one example of the relevance and practical application of Indigenous knowledge to everyday contemporary life. The World Health Organisation's Traditional Medicine Strategy 2002-2005 (World Health Organization, 2002, p. 7) defines traditional medicine as:

...including diverse health practices, approaches, knowledge and beliefs incorporating plant, animal and/or mineral based medicines, spiritual therapies, manual techniques and exercises applied singularly or in combination to maintain well-being, as well as to treat, diagnose or prevent illness.

The report explicitly includes Indigenous medicine within the term traditional medicine. The report also emphasises the contemporary importance and relevance of traditional medicine, stating that 80% of the African population use traditional medicine to address their health care needs, and in China 40% of health care delivered is traditional medicine. Furthermore, the report notes that traditional medicine is not only important from a health systems point of view, but also from an economic perspective, with for example, approximately US\$500 million spent annually in Malaysia on traditional medicine and complementary and alternative medicine.

Characteristics of Indigenous knowledge

Indigenous knowledge is considered to be distinctive from other types of knowledge, and to harbour knowledge that is as yet not part of 'scientific' inquiry (Nakashima, Douglas, 1999).

Indigenous knowledge has been variously labelled as, for example, 'native knowledge', 'local knowledge', 'ecological knowledge', and 'traditional knowledge'. Some of these terms, such as 'traditional knowledge' are broader and are used to incorporate Indigenous and other types of knowledge. Generally however, these terms, rather than capturing the essence of Indigenous knowledge as a whole describe some core aspects of Indigenous knowledge.

A central characteristic of Indigenous knowledge is that it is knowledge generated by Indigenous peoples. It is distinct from knowledge that may be generated about Indigenous peoples or their concerns by non-indigenous individuals or groups. Essentially, this distinction is concerned with the paradigm within which Indigenous knowledge is generated and that Indigenous knowledge can only be generated from within an Indigenous paradigm and therefore framed by Indigenous world views.

Indigenous knowledge may be local in nature in the sense that it has been generated by a particular Indigenous group within their own unique context with the primary purpose of benefiting Indigenous peoples themselves. It may however have wider application not only to other Indigenous peoples but also for use that benefits other population groups (Stewart-Harawira, 2005). There is some concern that Indigenous peoples should remain the primary beneficiaries of Indigenous knowledge, but that this approach does not exclude benefits for wider communities. Further, Indigenous knowledge should be able to be used in whatever way Indigenous peoples determine. As Victoria Tauli-Corpuz (2007, p. 6) as chair of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues stated:

If indigenous peoples choose to use their traditional knowledge to engage with local, national, international economies in a commercially viable manner, then they should be provided the tools and instruments to do this to their own benefit.

A related issue is the extent to which some forms of Indigenous knowledge are protected and are not for wider dissemination outside of the originating group. There are two reasons for knowledge protection: the first is related to intellectual property rights and the second to misrepresentation through dissemination channels that do not use the knowledge appropriately. It should also be noted that Indigenous knowledge is not only generated at the community level, but may be developed by Indigenous researchers working in a variety of contexts including academic settings (Cajete, 2000).

Lakota scholar Vine Deloria (1999) asserts that Indigenous conceptions of knowledge are intrinsically connected to the lives and experiences of human beings, individuals and communities. Further, Indigenous knowledge is considered to be based within real life experience (Kawagley, 1995) and to be closely connected to the relationships between human communities and the natural world, in particular seascapes and land (Durie, 2005b). In contrast to Western science, Indigenous knowledge emphasises relationships and is therefore cross disciplinary seeking connections rather than categorisation and disciplinary divisions. Royal (2005, p. 4) points out the holistic, ecological nature of Indigenous knowledge:

...Indigenous knowledge is 'holistic' in the sense that knowledge is interconnected and relational in the same way that all life is interconnected and relational...A 'holistic' view of the world and of knowledge is not blind to parts, boundaries, borders and thresholds but rather sees these parts both as 'wholes' in themselves as well as parts of larger wholes.

While the conceptualisation of Indigenous knowledge is very much connected to the customary beliefs and values of Indigenous peoples, it is not a form of knowledge that is locked in the past. Rather, Indigenous knowledge can be generated at any time and can be applied to contemporary matters. For example, Indigenous knowledge may be applied in diverse fields such as biotechnology, pharmacology, sustainable agriculture, resource management and understanding or addressing social issues. There are risks in using terms like 'traditional knowledge' as an umbrella term that includes Indigenous knowledge, in that it may lead to the perception that Indigenous knowledge only concerns ancient matters and has limited relevance to modern times.

The transmission of Indigenous knowledge has to a large extent been reliant upon intergenerational oral mechanisms and practical experience. In many parts of the world colonisation and resultant dislocation has disrupted customary mechanisms of knowledge transmission, which has severely threatened the maintenance and integrity of Indigenous knowledge. In many instances, older people who have been the customary carriers of knowledge have passed away before passing on their knowledge. More recently some forms of Indigenous knowledge have been captured in written and digital form but the challenge remains as to how to continue to maintain, develop and transmit Indigenous knowledge while retaining its integrity within the modern context. According to Royal (2005, p. 4) an:

...important theme within Indigenous knowledge is the desire to revitalise and rejuvenate the traditional knowledge bases of indigenous peoples, particularly knowledge that has been in decline through colonisation. This theme is deeply aligned to the desire by indigenous peoples to overcome their experience of colonisation and to build futures upon deep and indigenous foundations.

While there is no single agreed upon definition of Indigenous knowledge and there is wide diversity between Indigenous peoples, there is wide consensus about a number of characteristics. This consensus is likely to relate to the similarities in the world views of Indigenous peoples, for example the strong emphasis on links between the physical environment and identity, and more recently to some shared experiences of colonisation that may influence knowledge generation. Common characteristics of Indigenous knowledge are: that it is generated by Indigenous peoples and is ecological, integrative and holistic in nature rather than reductionist.

International protection of Indigenous knowledge

A significant concern with regard to Indigenous knowledge is where and with whom control of that knowledge should rest. There are strong views among Indigenous communities that Indigenous knowledge is the intellectual property of Indigenous peoples.

On 13 September 2007 at its 107th plenary meeting the United Nations General Assembly adopted the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Articles 11 (United Nations General Assembly, 2007, pp. 5-6) and 31 (United Nations General Assembly, 2007, pp. 9-10) of the Declaration specifically recognise the traditional knowledge of Indigenous peoples and the right of Indigenous peoples to maintain, control, protect and develop their intellectual property over that traditional knowledge.

There are a number of other international instruments which also recognise the rights of Indigenous peoples vis a vis 'traditional knowledge', including Article 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 15 para 1(c) of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and Article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, 2007).

Most of the debate and discussion within the United Nations system around Indigenous knowledge has been led by the World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO). This has tended to constrain the debate within the boundaries of intellectual property law, which is a

Western construct that is individualistic and not equipped to deal with the communal transgenerational nature of intellectual property ownership as perceived by Indigenous peoples (United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, 2007). Other global level initiatives that attempt to co-ordinate protection and development of Indigenous knowledge include the World Indigenous Peoples Conference on Education (WIPCE) which has run triennially since 1987.

Some broad characteristics of Indigenous knowledge can be identified in the literature. Furthermore there is evidence that Indigenous peoples and the United Nations system have made some progress towards the protection of Indigenous knowledge at the global level. However the articulation of constructs that attempt to encompass *all* Indigenous knowledge lies beyond the scope of the current project. Instead, as Table 5 illustrates, the inquiry paradigm matrix introduced earlier in this chapter provides a platform for Indigenous scholars to determine constructs emanating from the particular Indigenous inquiry paradigm with which they affiliate.

Table 5 Inquiry paradigm matrix

Philosophical question	Western Science	Indigenous Knowledge
What is the nature of reality?	Ontology	
What is the relationship between inquirer and phenomena?	Epistemology	
What is the best means of acquiring knowledge?	Methodology	

The inquiry paradigm matrix illustrates the repositioning of ontology, epistemology and methodology alongside similar Indigenous constructs concerning the nature of reality, the relationship between the inquirer and phenomena, and the best means of acquiring knowledge.

For the purposes of the current study a New Zealand Indigenous knowledge system, mātauranga Māori, or Māori knowledge is employed as a Māori inquiry paradigm.

Mātauranga Māori - an Indigenous Inquiry Paradigm

Ratima (2003, p. 10) proposed a ‘Māori inquiry paradigm’ for health research because the Māori world view had “...not been articulated as an inquiry paradigm that can be used to guide Māori health research.” A Māori inquiry paradigm proposed by Ratima and other Indigenous scholars rely on the ontology-epistemology-methodology constructs (Meyer, 1998; Roberts & Wills, 1998; Tau, T., 1999). However, as discussed earlier, the inquiry paradigm matrix formulated for the current study employs three fundamental philosophical questions to guide the articulation of a Māori inquiry paradigm. They are ‘What is the nature of reality?’, ‘What is the relationship between the knower and the known?’ and, ‘What is the best way to acquire knowledge about the world?’. The three corresponding concepts that are employed by Māori operating within a Māori world view, are ‘te ao mārama, whakapapa and kaupapa rangahau. The mātauranga Māori construct described here completes the inquiry paradigm matrix and is rendered in Table 6.

Table 6 Inquiry paradigm matrix positioning Western science alongside Mātauranga Māori

Philosophical question	Western Science	Mātauranga Māori
What is the nature of reality?	Ontology	Te Ao Mārama
What is the relationship between inquirer and phenomena?	Epistemology	Whakapapa
What is the best means of acquiring knowledge?	Methodology	Kaupapa Rangahau

The three constituent components of the mātauranga Māori inquiry paradigm are inextricably linked. The te ao mārama and whakapapa concepts exist simultaneously. They are statements regarding reality and the relationship of different phenomena within that reality. The third

concept, kaupapa rangahau is concerned with the exploration of that reality and thus is informed by the former two constructs.

Te Ao Mārama - a Māori perspective on the nature of reality

In a similar vein to Indigenous knowledge, attempting to provide a complete and unified Māori position on the nature of reality is beyond the scope of this thesis because of the rich diversity of perspectives within the various tribal houses of learning. However there are very strong similarities in the creation narratives across the various tribes. The te ao mārama concept is one such reoccurring element (Royal, T. A. C., 1998b). This is the primary rationale for its deployment in the current study as a Māori position on the nature of reality.

In his seminal piece *God, man and Universe: A Māori View* Māori Marsden (Marsden, 1975) provides a brief synopsis of the Māori world view. Within his account he draws on what is known as the Io tradition where Io is described as the supreme God and foundation of all things. He then describes three stages of being according to the Māori world view. Those three stages are Te Korekore (the realm of potential being), Te Pō (the realm of becoming) and Te Ao Mārama (the realm of being).

Marsden's treatise on the three stages of being has been referred to extensively in the literature (Bishop & Glynn, 1998; Cram, et al., 2003; Durie, 1994; Royal, T. A. C., 1998b). It is perhaps the most often quoted piece of literature pertaining to Māori world views and a Māori view on the nature of reality. This again provides further reason for the adoption of the Te Ao Mārama construct. Stewart-Harawira (2005) describes Māori visual art representations of the process of coming into existence. The spiral form within carvings represent pre-existence, te kore (the nothingness) to potential being, te pō (the night) towards actual existence (te ao mārama).

Te Ahukaramū Royal (Royal, T. A. C., 1998a, 1998b) provides extensive analysis of the Te Ao Mārama construct and suggests it as a Māori conceptualisation of reality. He draws on several variants of iwi based creation whakapapa including traditions from Ngā Puhī, Waikato-Maniapoto, Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa, Ngāti Porou, Ngai Tahu, and Ngāti Toa – Ngāti Raukawa. All of the whakapapa analysed refer to Ranginui (sky father) and Papatūānuku (earth mother) and the attendant explanations provide commentary on their separation to bring forth Te Ao Mārama. Locating Te Ao Mārama relative to Ranginui and Papatūānuku is extremely

powerful because from that point, explicit descendant links can be traced through the generations to Māori people living today.⁷

While Royal has stated that his work on Te Ao Mārama is a work in progress and therefore from a Western science perspective is not yet validated, he fails to acknowledge the centuries of validation that has already taken place by the seven tribal wānanga he draws on, not to mention the other schools of learning that he has not explicitly analysed. Perhaps it is the continued use of the Te Ao Mārama construct in contemporary times that may be described as a work in progress. As Marsden (1975, p. 216) concludes:

According to the Io tradition, at the border between Hawaiki Tapu in the Pō regions is *Te Waipuna Ariki* (the divine fountain of Io the fountainhead). This is the fountain through which the primal energy of potential being proceeds from the infinite realms of Te Korekore through the realms of Te Pō into the world of light to replenish the stuff of the universe as well as to create what is new. Thus it is a process of continuous creation and recreation.

It is an ambitious project to connect contemporary philosophical positions and action within the academy to centuries old genealogical records which are the Māori traditional structures of reality and knowledge. However drawing on centuries old traditions is not dissimilar to the current and taken for granted heritage of Western science, based on the teachings and world views of ancient Greece.

Whakapapa - a Māori way of relating the knower to the known

In traditional times whakapapa was used to order the world “All things [including people] from emotions to flora and fauna were part of an organic system of relationships” traceable to Ranginui and Papatūānuku (Tau, T., 1999, p. 14).

Whakapapa is utilised inconsistently by contemporary Māori academics. Whakapapa has been variously described as a paradigm, a framework for identity, a historical research framework and a methodology. Te Rito (2007) asserts that whakapapa is not only a source of secure identity for Māori, but because it links Māori people to the land and other permanent elements of the physical environment it enables resilience in the face of adversity. Te Rito (2007) and Tau (2003)

⁷ See for example (Roberts & Wills, 1998) where Mere Roberts, as an academic, provides her own whakapapa to Ranginui and Papatuanuku and therefore to her construction of reality.

note Apirana Ngata's use of whakapapa as a basis for historical study in New Zealand. During his Rauru Nui a Toi Lectures delivered in 1944, Ngata (1972) described an assortment of techniques that can be used to illustrate the relationship between individual people both through and across generations.

Williams (2007) discusses the use of a whakapapa framework to map the evolution of disciplinary fields and locates the contribution of established researchers and their protégées within that context. He goes on to suggest that the protégée can plan the development of their research career using this technique.

Roberts and Wills (1998, p. 45) state that for Māori to 'know' an individual, a tribe, anything animate or inanimate and even knowledge itself is to locate that entity in space and in time. They succinctly describe whakapapa as:

...a framework for an understanding of historical descent, pattern, and linkages, whereby everything, animate and inanimate, is connected together into a single 'family tree' or 'taxonomy of the universe'.

Tau (2003, p. 33) in discussing the meaning and purpose of whakapapa, notes: "...whakapapa attempts to impose a relationship between an iwi and the natural world. Whakapapa is, then, a metaphysical framework constructed to place oneself within the world."

For the present project, within the mātauranga Māori inquiry paradigm whakapapa locates the enquirer within the Te Ao Mārama Māori view of reality in respect to the phenomena being investigated. Using Roberts and Wills' (1998) premise that all things in the universe are related, use of whakapapa in the mātauranga Māori inquiry paradigm makes it possible to explicitly define the genealogical relationship between the investigator and the phenomenon being investigated. This may take the form of whakapapa between the botanist and the plant for research in the natural sciences, or whakapapa between the interviewer and informants in the social sciences. The intimate knowledge of in depth whakapapa to the level required in these cases raises three considerations.

First although the investigator may or may not know (or even be aware of) his/her exact whakapapa relationship to the phenomenon in question it does not alter the absolute existence of that relationship. Second, encyclopaedic whakapapa knowledge of humans, the natural world

and phenomena such as that held by specialist tohunga is privileged in the proposed mātauranga Māori inquiry paradigm. Third, in a similar vein to Tau (2003; 1999) part of the purpose of whakapapa is to provide the skeleton on which accompanying narrative and experience hangs. The narrative and experience, or as Bishop (2005, p. 119) terms it, 'rāranga kōrero' provides the all-important context that the investigator must be aware of, if not acknowledge and divulge, when undertaking disciplined inquiry. Bishop extends the process to also allow for acknowledging and maintaining metaphorical relationships by 'constituting research groups as whānau [in an] attempt to develop relationships' which are based on similar principles. Bishop places the process of literal relationship acknowledgement *and* metaphorical relationship building under the rubric of 'whakawhanaungatanga'.

Kaupapa Rangahau - a Māori way of selecting the best means of acquiring knowledge

In the mātauranga Māori inquiry paradigm, kaupapa rangahau determines how a researcher may undertake disciplined inquiry and therefore how Māori knowledge is accumulated. Kaupapa rangahau provides the parameters within which mātauranga Māori research techniques and methods may be selected, and therefore consistency with kaupapa rangahau ensures that appropriate ways of acquiring knowledge are selected within the multi-layered te ao mārama view of reality and cognisant of the whakapapa relationships that exist therein. Those whakapapa relationships enable kaupapa rangahau to gain a deep understanding of the phenomenon under investigation experience by mapping relevant and interconnected relationships within a holistic reality.

Kaupapa rangahau is similar to the Western scientific concept of methodology, in that it operates within the parameters and is informed by its two higher-level antecedents – ontology and epistemology.

One criticism of a pan-tribal approach of the mātauranga Māori inquiry paradigm is that the construct of 'Māori' itself only emerged since the arrival of Europeans to Aotearoa as a way of describing the Indigenous people. Furthermore it could be suggested that Māori researchers are limited by their own tribal schools of learning. These criticisms can be mitigated in three ways.

First, Huirangi Waikerepuru (2004), in his capacity as key note speaker at a gathering of Māori leaders and academics noted the diversity amongst various tribal narratives. Waikerepuru went

on to argue that it is timely that those differing schools of thought are considered together so that knowledge may be shared for the good of Māori generally.

Second through tribal genealogies it is possible to connect and to demonstrate genealogical and historic relationships between tribal groups. This is one of the most common necessary functions when Māori from varying tribal backgrounds meet (Mead, H., 2003). Common ancestry and interactions are recounted and reinforced.⁸ Notwithstanding tribal differences, between tribes there is more agreement on fundamental positions than there is disagreement. Further, for 200 years or more there has been a steady increase in inter-tribal associations, if not in resources, then certainly in relationship to people. Mātauranga Māori is not static. Distinctive tribal knowledge is increasingly complemented by Māori knowledge.

Third, the current study takes the position that the introduction of certain bodies of knowledge to the interface should only be undertaken with consent of the collective under their terms. For example, some knowledge held by individuals or contained in whānau manuscripts should only be introduced to the interface after careful consideration and approval by the collective. The whakapapa relationship between that knowledge (or person who generated that knowledge) should form part of that decision making process.⁹

The Interface

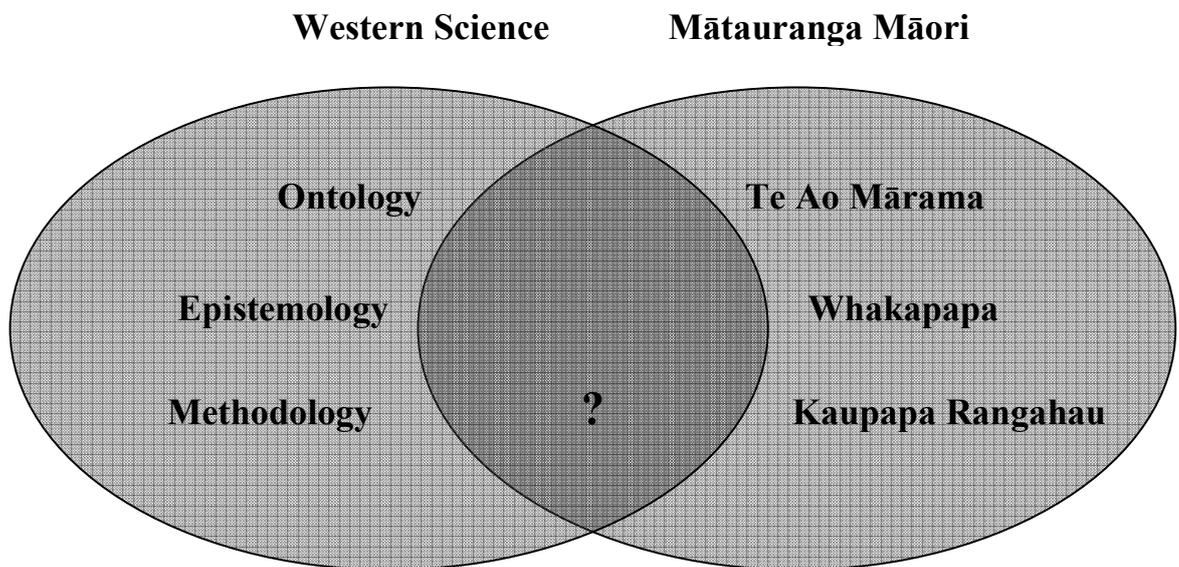
The notion of the interface is not exclusive to academia. Its general usage refers to the coming together of two or more entities and the interaction between them. Within the Academy, especially since the emergence of multidisciplinary approaches to research and scholarship, conceptual tools have been required to work through the convergence of disciplines at the

⁸ The interconnectedness of the whakapapa of many of iwi is celebrated in 'Te Pūtahi-ā-Toi' the name of the School of Māori Studies at Massey University. Literally meaning 'the coming together of Toi' the title recognises that numerous tribal groups can trace genealogical descent from Toi who lived several hundred years ago.

⁹ A substantial body of knowledge regarding Taranaki creation narratives and the relationship between knowledge and humankind is contained in whānau manuscripts written by the author's great-great grandfather, Te Kahui Kararehe. Although Te Kahui published in the Journal of the Polynesian Society and informed ethnographers such as Percy Smith much of his writings remain restricted in whānau possession. At present the whānau are debating the most appropriate method for the preservation, development and transmission of that knowledge within the whānau and further dissemination to other groups.

research site (Nader, 1996; Thompson Klein, 1996). As discussed earlier, Roberts (1998) has noted that most knowledge systems do have some inherent commonalities. However when working across knowledge systems the nature of those commonalities must be understood. Drawing on Roberts' sentiment and bringing it to bear on the Inquiry paradigm matrix developed in the current study the location of the interface between Western science and mātauranga Māori begins to emerge as rendered in Figure 3.

Figure 3 Location of the Interface between Western science and Mātauranga Māori



The increased recognition of multiple ways of knowing and the attempt, as in the current study, to undertake disciplined inquiry across knowledge systems has necessitated focused intellectual endeavour to achieve harmony at the nexus between those knowledge systems. Smith (2005, p. 85) states:

...the spaces between research methodologies, ethical principles, institutional regulations, and human subjects as individuals and as socially organized actors and communities is tricky ground. The ground is tricky because it is complicated and changeable...

Various Indigenous academics have proposed ways to address the difficulties in operating on the 'tricky ground' Smith describes. Meredith (1998), drawing on the work of Homi Bhabha, labels the nexus the 'third space'. Meredith points out that 'hybridity in the third space' provides the opportunity for creativity and progress away from dichotomous, antagonistic approaches.

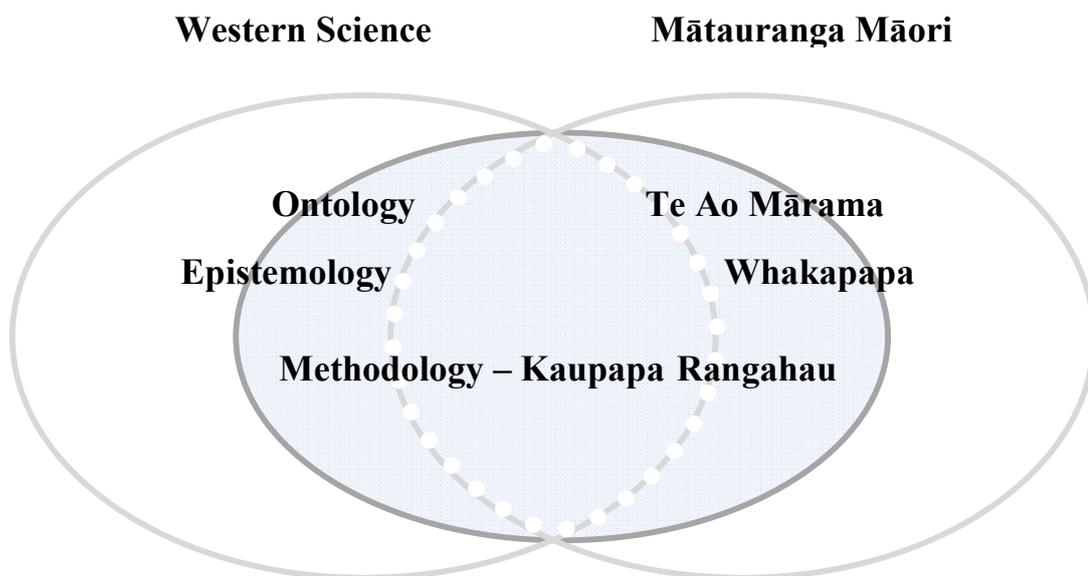
Ermine (2000) acknowledges the challenge of bringing together disparate knowledge systems but also recognises that actors bring different intentions and understandings regarding issues of mutual concern.

Ermine draws on another writer for his core notion, in this case ‘ethical space’ (Poole, 1972). Ermine states that the ethical space is “the appropriate place from which to transform knowledge because it offers a view of alternate knowledge systems in simultaneous fashion.” (2000, p. 122). In a later discussion paper Ermine (2005, p. 2) proposes:

With the purposeful disconnection of the cultures and worldviews, through the contrasting of their identities, the intent is to reconnect the entities with the notion of a bridging concept called the ‘ethical space’.

Using the Inquiry paradigm matrix in conjunction with Ermine’s ethical space enables the acknowledgement and resolution of the inherent philosophical tension between inquiry paradigms. That tension can be relocated to the local, immediate level, where differing belief systems need not be questioned or debated but are taken as givens. Relocating tension at the interface to the methodological – kaupapa rangahau level enables research not otherwise possible as shown in Figure 4.

Figure 4 Relocation of tension at the interface



In contrast to Patton's paradigm of choices, which does not address the fundamental tensions between two paradigms, the interface approach simultaneously accepts both paradigms and still facilitates methodological appropriateness (Patton, 1990). The practicalities and practices of locating tension at the methodological – kaupapa rangahau level can then be negotiated. The negotiation at the interface and implications for research are discussed in Chapter Three.

Importantly, in facilitating inquiry at the interface, Indigenous actors or scholars in Western countries have the capacity to move between the Western and Indigenous worlds. The lived experience of being Indigenous in the contemporary and often strongly Western influenced context provides the substrate for Indigenous actors who are able to work at the interface. Developing this degree of cultural readiness is in some cases a passive process where the actor is exposed to and operates within both Western and Indigenous world views on a daily basis. However, there is a continuum of experience of indigeneity. At one extreme there is full participation in the Indigenous world and Indigenous activities whether they be cultural, political, educational, economic or in other spheres. At the other extreme there is cultural alienation from heritage. Regardless, an Indigenous whakapapa secures the right to claim indigeneity. This is consistent with Durie's (1995) notion of a continuity of Māori experience, Matatini Māori or diverse Māori realities.

Indigenous researchers undertaking inquiry at the interface may operate at varied levels depending upon cultural expertise. Three levels of engagement at the interface can be identified – observation, participation, and composition. The capacity to operate at these three levels requires differing cultural expertise. Relatively minimal cultural competencies are required in order to carry out observational research (cultural expertise is still required to facilitate Indigenous analysis of data and interpretation) and a higher level of expertise is required in order to participate within the interface. A more advanced level of cultural competency is required at the level of composition. At this level, it would be reasonable to expect that the individual will be able to fully function within a Māori cultural context, and therefore cultural competencies such as fluency in the Māori language and knowledge and lived understanding of Māori custom. At the level of composition, the research contributes to the development of new Māori customary knowledge.

Non-indigenous actors are less able to engage at the interface in the same way as they are less likely to experience the lived reality of being Indigenous, and the accompanying experiential learning required to gain an in depth understanding of mātauranga Māori. This regulation of inquiry at the interface prevents what Said (1978) termed the ‘Orientalisation’ of the interface by non-indigenous ‘experts’, the successors of the 18th-20th century European adventurers and explorers (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999).

Positioning research at the interface of the Western scientific and Māori inquiry paradigms can only be successful if the researcher(s) explicitly accepts the legitimacy of both inquiry paradigms. This is in contrast to a strict Kuhnian approach whereby the two inquiry paradigms would be considered incommensurable (Kuhn, 1996). It is, however, consistent with the work of Durie (2005a) in regard to principles of working at the interface, and Ermine’s (2005) concept of the ethical space. The benefits that may be accrued from the generation and application of Indigenous knowledge are not limited only to Indigenous peoples. There is often a universal dimension that has relevance to all people. According to Stewart-Harawira (2005, p. 32):

... despite being devalued, marginalized, disenfranchised and frequently submerged throughout the history of Western imperialism, traditional Indigenous knowledge forms have a profound contribution to make towards... a just global order.

Locating Māori research approaches at the interface

The mātauranga Māori inquiry paradigm is underpinned by customary Māori constructs of knowledge that pre-date European arrival to Aotearoa and to use Royal’s (1998b) terminology hark to the ‘Hawaiki period’, before Māori forebears embarked on their settlement of Aotearoa. This firmly locates the mātauranga Māori inquiry paradigm as a customary Indigenous Māori knowledge system. Through whakapapa and its attendant narratives the link between the mātauranga Māori inquiry paradigm and its antecedent source is explicit. This is in sharp contrast to other attempts to articulate Māori ‘ways of knowing’ and Māori ways of undertaking research which employ non-Māori theoretical constructs and positions, such as critical theory. Here scholars tend to draw implicit links between Western derived theories and lived Māori experience. The inquiry paradigm matrix locates mātauranga Māori, te ao mārama, whakapapa and kaupapa rangahau in relation to one another. Further, it enables the articulation of the interface.

Summary

This study has developed Durie's interface approach to research and scholarship. The development articulated in this chapter presented an inquiry paradigm matrix that repositions mātauranga Māori, a form of Indigenous knowledge, alongside Western science. It is explicitly assumed that both knowledge systems are equally credible and relevant to research in contemporary New Zealand. The approach aligns te ao mārama with ontology, whakapapa with epistemology and kaupapa rangahau with methodology. In doing so this approach relocates tensions from the philosophical level to the site of application. The negotiation which takes place at the methodology – kaupapa rangahau level of the interface is explored in Chapter Three.

Chapter Three

RESEARCH PROCESS: NEGOTIATING THE INTERFACE BETWEEN MĀTAURANGA MĀORI AND WESTERN SCIENCE

Introduction

This thesis utilises the interface to distinguish between the Western science and mātauranga Māori inquiry paradigms and seeks to act as an exemplar of how the two inquiry paradigms can be employed simultaneously in the generation of new knowledge. The inquiry paradigm matrix presented in Chapter Two provides the framework that guided the selection of research techniques employed in the current study. At a philosophical level the inquiry paradigm matrix enabled delineation between Western science and mātauranga Māori. At the applied methodology - kaupapa rangahau level, however, determining which data sources, explanatory devices and which ethical considerations fitted within the boundaries of which inquiry paradigm was at times less clear. This Chapter documents the negotiation of research carried out at the interface.

The negotiation of boundaries, or as Jahnke (1999) describes the ‘pae’ between Western science and mātauranga Māori, was complex. In the contemporary context when research located within a Western scientifically based institution (such as the university) is carried out with (or on) Indigenous people the delineation point between the two knowledge systems is subject to constant negotiation (Ermine, 2000). That negotiation is unavoidable and it would be intellectually naïve to attempt to employ research techniques that belong solely to one knowledge system. For example, actively avoiding Māori language or custom during research with Māori participants to preserve Western scientific integrity would be a nonsense. Conversely, while undertaking research based on mātauranga Māori it is likely that tools from the Western scientific inquiry paradigm would be useful.

The key to the approach taken in this research is to relocate the site of tension from the philosophical to the methodological-kaupapa rangahau level. This relocation allows contextual factors such as institution specific requirements, norms and needs of the participant group, and

the researcher background to be taken into account, negotiated and addressed. Various Indigenous scholars have provided initial tools to successfully negotiate methodological considerations at the interface (Bishop, 2005; Durie, 1998b, 2004a, 2005a; Ermine, 2000, 2005; Jahnke, 1999).

Negotiation at the Interface

Having created the space at the interface where the two inquiry paradigms meet and negotiation between knowledge systems takes place, the question arises as to how that negotiation might be undertaken.

Foucault (cited in Stewart-Harawira, 2005, p. 33) points out that ontology should be considered in conjunction with the structures of power in society and not be blindly accepted as essentialist notions of universal truths. It should therefore be noted that power relationships between Indigenous knowledge and Western science are not equitable, and therefore when introduced to the interface this power imbalance must be considered (personal communication Fyre Jean Graveline, 27 March 2007).

Nadasdy (1999, p. 15) warns of some of the pitfalls of attempting to integrate Indigenous knowledge and Western science. In particular he describes the dangers of compartmentalising and distilling Indigenous knowledge:

The project of knowledge-integration also takes for granted existing power relations between aboriginal people and the state by assuming that traditional knowledge is simply a new form of “data” to be incorporated into already existing management bureaucracies and acted upon by scientists and resource managers. “Knowledge,” however, (whether scientific or traditional) does not exist in some pure form, independent of power relations; rather, it is constituted by those relations and draws its validity from them.

In order to successfully bring together two disparate bodies of knowledge Ermine (2000, pp. 121-122) asserts that:

The confluence where the two worlds of Indigenous and Western Peoples meet and where two sets of worldviews are brought to the encounter can also theoretically represent a space of flux where nothing is formed or understood. In abstract terms, the encounter of cultures at a space where no definitive rules exist to guide interaction can appropriately represent an opportunity for understanding and the place of negotiation for cross-cultural activity.

Using Friedmann's (1992) approach to empowerment which is directed toward redistribution of power in favour of the disempowered sectors of society, the current study utilises a set of principles developed by an Indigenous academic that can inform the ground rules in the space Ermine creates where negotiation takes place. Durie (2005a) has proposed four principles to guide research at the interface.

The first principle 'Mutual respect' recognises the validity of both inquiry paradigms. Related to this principle is the view that the tools and understandings of one inquiry paradigm can not be used to credit or discredit the tools and understandings of another inquiry paradigm (Durie, 2004b). The reason an ontological position or the subscription to the Te Ao Mārama view of reality cannot be deconstructed by Western science and vice versa is that both have validity. For this reason attempts at what might be termed cross-cultural deconstruction are fundamentally flawed.¹⁰

Durie's second principle 'Shared benefits' is aimed at ensuring that Indigenous communities gain meaningful benefits from involvement with research activity. Often Indigenous people have been treated as passive respondents to research. Edwards (2003) outlines how the mutual benefits to the researcher and researched may be determined. The third principle 'Human dignity' protects the cultural and spiritual beliefs and practices of the Indigenous community. The last principle 'Discovery' is about the innovation that is possible merely by drawing on two separate bodies of knowledge simultaneously. Tau (1999) describes Māori knowledge as a closed system of knowledge that needs to be open to critical discussion in the hope of continued vigour and relevance. The interface facilitates a negotiated interaction of Māori knowledge with knowledge from other persuasions. By locating research at the interface innovative approaches to research and scholarship can lead to new knowledge being generated in a truly novel way.

Bringing two separate knowledge systems together at the interface should not be confused with attempting to equate them. It is instead an exercise of recognising distinctiveness and

¹⁰ An example of this is an attempt by Marie et al (2004) to challenge the 'Te Whare Tapa Wha' a holistic framework to consider Māori health imbedded in a Māori world view using scientific methods is fundamentally flawed.

complementarity and their combined ability to provide richer insights into phenomena observable through disciplined inquiry, that is, research.

In the context of this study one research technique is seen as Western scientifically derived, another based in mātauranga Māori and a third draws on both systems simultaneously. This doctoral study seeks to act as an exemplar of how the two inquiry paradigms can be employed in the generation of new knowledge.

The current study is about Māori positive ageing. The investigation of ageing from a Western science point of view is most commonly referred to as gerontology. While discussion on gerontology will be provided later in this thesis it is useful to note at this point that gerontology is well-matched with integrating differing ways of perceiving the world and therefore with the interface. One of the field's foremost writers Andrew Achenbaum (1995, p. 268), in concluding his extensive analysis of the emergence of gerontology states that:

Comprehending the mysteries and problems of aging... requires a combination of metaphors, facts, theories, networks, methods and dreams...[investigators] should also consider a fuller repertoire of ideas about aging, including promising theories outside their specialities.... Gerontology will continue to open new frontiers of knowledge as long as highly trained scholars are willing to cross the boundaries of their own scientific training and appreciate the rewards of broadening their fields of vision.

Research Techniques

Within the tradition of Western science the term methodology refers to the process through which the inquirer (would be knower) goes about finding out what he or she believes can be known (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). Kaupapa rangahau, like methodology, determines the best means of acquiring knowledge to address a given research question. The research technique must be consistent and acceptable within the context of the research project's philosophical position and answers to wider philosophical questions – what is the nature of reality? What can or can not be known? The third question - what is the relationship between the inquirer and the known? In terms of Western science, the answers to these questions would be labelled the ontological and epistemological positions. From the Māori philosophical position of this study, the concepts of Te Ao Marama and whakapapa are central. A 'Research technique matrix' has been developed to make more explicit the research techniques employed in the current study

(see Table 7, below). The terms ‘evidential sources’, ‘explanatory devices’ and ‘ethical considerations’ are used in the matrix, and are based on work presented by Durie (2005).

Evidential sources are the processes through which both primary and secondary data are derived. These processes may include, for example, written literature review. Explanatory devices are the mechanisms by which data are analysed and thereby understood, and may include a number of individual analytical processes. Ethical considerations are concerned with guiding research practice to facilitate research that both protects and enhances the interests of participants (O'Brien, 2001).

Table 7 Research technique matrix

	Western Science	Mātauranga Māori
Evidential sources		
Explanatory devices		
Ethical considerations		

Evidential Sources

The evidential source drawn from the Western science side of the interface was the written literature review. On the mātauranga Māori side of the interface, the evidential source was a review of 42 Māori proverbs. A series of 20 qualitative interviews drew on both Western scientific and mātauranga Māori perspectives. The evidential sources are presented below in Table 8, and are discussed in detail within this section.

Table 8 Evidential sources used in this study

	Western Science	Mātauranga Māori
Evidential sources	Literature	Proverbs
	Qualitative interviews	

Literature

A systematic literature review was carried out. The literature included both international and local literature relating to the study. The broad topic areas reviewed included: philosophy of science, Indigenous and Māori knowledge, Māori development, gerontology, gerontological

theory and concept development, qualitative research methods and literary criticism. For each of these areas a search strategy was developed to define the scope of the literature search, search terms, search limits and searchable databases. Within each of these broad topic areas particular fields were more extensively searched. For example within in the broad field of gerontology, literature relating to the following areas was investigated: population ageing and demographics, history of gerontology, theoretical and conceptual development, research methods in gerontology, social gerontology, critical gerontology, successful ageing, positive ageing and public policy. Within each of these areas particular attention was paid to material relevant to New Zealand and Māori in particular.

The Massey University library catalogue was the initial tool used to identify texts. Other university and publically accessible library catalogues were also used in this exercise. Online article databases used in the literature search included Academic Search Elite, Web of Science, ERIC, JSTOR, Index New Zealand, PubMed and Google Scholar. With databases that had suitable functionality, citation alerts were activated for journal articles that were deemed to be of high relevance to the Study.

Generic searching of the internet was also undertaken. Emphasis was placed on locating major subject-related websites from academic institutions, government sites, as well as professional and national associations. Websites were investigated to identify relevant content and literature to complement texts and article databases. The legitimacy of websites and the veracity of their content were considered carefully before indepth analysis of material was undertaken. In most cases cross reference with verified sources was carried out if there was doubt around the validity of information found through the World Wide Web. Combinations of search terms identified above were used with the generic Google search engine. Blogs and social networking forums were not included in the internet search as the use and legitimacy of these practices in academic process is still under question.

Professional and personal collegial support from subject librarians, academic colleagues, public sector staff and professional associations was also utilized to assist in the identification of unpublished material.

Proverbs

Māori traditional literature, as it is used here, refers to oral and written sources that have been generated by Māori and is based within a Māori worldview. During the process of deciding that whakataukī or Māori proverbs would be the form of mātauranga Māori based knowledge utilised for the current study, two major considerations were taken into account. First was the pragmatic issue of access. The second consideration was the way in which the literary form conveyed Māori perspectives on ageing.

In keeping with the restriction on certain forms of Māori knowledge being used at the interface it was determined that only Māori knowledge already introduced to the public domain was utilised in this research.¹¹ According to McRae (1988) there are many forms of oral and written literature through which Māori knowledge is introduced into the public domain via processes such as whaikōrero (formal speechmaking), karanga (formal calling), waiata (song), and, whakataukī (proverbs). While there is a high degree of integration between these forms, whakataukī have been published widely over a long period of time. This ease of access to a wide variety of proverbs makes them particularly suitable for academic analysis.

The second reason for the selection of whakataukī is related to their density of meaning conveyed in very few words. McRae (1988, p. 137) suggests that whakataukī are texts that are used in transmission of traditional knowledge of Māori society and states:

A society's definition and espousal of standards of behaviour evolve in the course of communal day-to-day living. In an oral society one way in which these standards are advised and become 'written' in the people's minds is by the instructions or prescriptions expressed in sayings [proverbs].

Also in New Zealand, Pihama (2005) has investigated the use of Māori proverbial sayings in the judicial system. In other oral societies proverbs are seen as tools that can transmit values and lessons in life particularly to children (Penfield & Duru, 1988). Proverbs draw heavily on metaphor and as Lakoff and Johnson (2003) have argued metaphors are imbedded in the way people generally perceive and act in the world.

¹¹ The introduction of restricted knowledge such as materials held in private whānau manuscripts to the university setting requires a robust process to safeguard information. The establishment and maintenance of such protocols was beyond the scope of the current project. Further refinement of the interface approach to research, specifically articulation of the necessary processes, protocols and accountability mechanisms required to research such forms of Māori knowledge at the interface would be required.

Within gerontology there has been movement toward the incorporation of a humanities perspectives (Wyatt-Brown, 1990). Achenbaum's (1995) call for the fuller repertoire of ideas about ageing was consistent with Holstein's (1994) position on the unique contribution that literary analysis could make to gerontology. Holstein (1994, p. 826) concluded that:

The result of such an expanded, engaged dialogue between the form of knowledge developed through literary interpretation and more familiar scientific approaches can yield unexpected and undoubtedly fruitful results.

Weiland (1993), much like Achenbaum, sees that the use of literature in the study of ageing fulfils demands for pluralism in the way inquiry is undertaken. Weiland (1993) also queries whether epistemological scepticism or resistance from theorizing creates obstacles to the potential understandings of ageing that literary analysis could provide. The use of literary texts in researching issues of importance for Indigenous people is not new (Royal, T. A. C., 1998b). In gerontology work has been undertaken on the portrayal of Native American Elders in literary texts by a Native American author (see Erben, 1999).

For the current study the text '*Ngā pēpeha a ngā tīpuna*' by Hirini Moko Mead and Neil Grove (2003) was selected as the source of proverbs for analysis. The Mead and Grove collection provides discussion of 2669 individual 'sayings of the ancestors'. The proverbs cover a broad range of topics relevant to Māori society, knowledge and philosophy and draw on numerous published and primary sources. This collection was utilised for the current study because of the broad scope, Mead's recognised expertise from both Western science and mātauranga Māori, and the clear identification and categorisation of a substantial number of proverbs relevant to age and ageing.

Hirini Moko Mead is a widely acknowledged expert on Māori culture and has published extensively over a long period (see Mead, H., 1995, 2003; Mead, H. & Grove, 2003; Mead, S., 1969, 1983, 1997). Mead's expertise was recognised by academia when he was admitted to the Royal Society of New Zealand in 1990, regarded as one of the country's most prestigious academic institutions. Mead has at the same time been at the forefront of the establishment of Te Whare Wānanga o Awanui-ā-rangi, a tertiary institution premised on traditional Māori approaches to scholarship. As co-author of the volume *Ngā Pēpeha a ngā Tīpuna* his background

in both Western scientific pursuits and mātauranga Māori scholarship is apt considering the current study's employment of the interface approach.

There are a number of published collections of whakataukī available (see Brougham & Reed, 1963; Brougham, Reed, & Kāretu, 2001; Kawharu, 2008; Kohere, 1951; Riley, 1990). However none offer the number of proverbs contained in Mead and Grove's collection nor the depth of explanation. The *Ngā Pēpeha* collection includes 42 distinct entries categorised under 'agedness'. In contrast Brougham et al (2001) discuss five proverbs categorised under 'age' or 'old age' all of which are included in the Mead and Grove publication. Other collections only focus on a particular tribal region or provide very brief or no commentary on the proverbs.

Qualitative interviews

Qualitative data collection allows for the collection of indepth information relating to participant perspectives and experiences. Qualitative research is inductive and context sensitive. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2005, pp. 3-4):

Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world... qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings peoples bring to them. Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials - case study; personal experience; introspection; life story; interview; artefacts; cultural texts and productions; observations, historical, interactional and visual texts – that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals' lives.

Central to this study was the notion that the voice of older people as participants should be heard. As long ago as the mid 1970s Johnson (1976) criticised Western gerontology for the lack of research attention to older people's own subjective concerns and life experience. Social theories of old age up until that time had focussed on an objective, external approach to the individuals and groups being studied, and the common features of older people's experiences rather than differences and variations. Greater interest has been shown since that time in biographical approaches to the study of old age and the involvement of older people in the research itself (Jamieson, 2002). There is now increasing recognition that the 'inside view' of life as individuals experience it, and interpretation of their life is crucial to understanding the human experience (Schroots & Birren, 2002).

Bornat (2002, p. 118) reports there are many different methods of biographical inquiry and with the proliferation of terms and concepts that have emerged in the field, many are used interchangeably:

... some with disciplinary base, others attempting to carve out new territory between disciplines. Labels such as oral history, biography, life story, life history, narrative analysis, reminiscence and life review jostle and compete for attention.

Bornat further explains what is common to these research approaches is a focus on the recording and interpretation, by some means or other, of the life experience of individuals. The interface approach adopted in the current study which draws on Western science and mātauranga Māori informed an approach tailored to working within Māori communities and interviewing older Māori participants. That is, a localised approach to carrying out qualitative interviewing with older Māori which emphasises the importance of whakapapa, common experiences, shared identity and involvement in the community. These factors have been highlighted widely as important when carrying out research with older Māori (Kepa, 2006; McNeill, 2005; Reinfeld, Pihama, & Singer, 2007; Wenn, 2006). Wenn (2006) also recounts the vast amounts of evidence given in Waitangi Tribunal hearings where the story telling techniques used by older Māori participants draw on local contexts and pan-Māori historical narratives.

Indepth, semi-structured, qualitative interviews were carried out with a total of 20 older Māori participants. Five participants were interviewed in a pilot study in 2006. Following preliminary data analysis, it was decided that the overall study would benefit from the collection and analysis of additional qualitative data and therefore in 2008 a further fifteen interviews were carried out. The interviews took place in the Taranaki region. This area was selected because of the researcher's whakapapa and professional links to Taranaki. Access to Māori networks and credibility among local Māori was considered to be crucial to the success of the study.

The sampling technique employed was purposeful sampling. Interviewees were selected to provide a rich information source with regard to positive ageing among Māori. Patton (1990) notes that the strength of purposeful sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for study from which investigators can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research. Inclusion criteria were that at the time of interview, the participant was resident within the Taranaki region, could whakapapa (have genealogical connections) to iwi within the

Taranaki region, and were aged over 55 years. The Taranaki region was selected for two reasons. First the researcher descends from iwi within the Taranaki region and as Walsh Tapiata (1998) points out, although there are challenges to undertaking research with kin as participants, access to participants can be facilitated and rapport more easily built with participants especially when interview material may be of a sensitive nature. The second reason was because resource constraints within the context of the PhD programme dictated the need to minimise the geographical spread of participants.

Notwithstanding the concentration of participants from the Taranaki region participants selected were diverse in terms of gender, age groups over 55 years, iwi and hapū affiliations within Taranaki, Māori cultural participation, work backgrounds and life experience. The researcher's whakapapa, personal and professional networks in the Taranaki Māori community informed this process.

As stated in Chapter One, this thesis was carried out under the auspices of the Oranga Kaumātua Research Programme. During the initial consultation process for the Oranga Kaumātua Study with Taranaki kaumātua groups in North and South Taranaki, the possibility of this, smaller qualitative study was mooted. Both gatherings unanimously supported undertaking such a study, and several attendees expressed interest in participating in the research. Organisers of the kaumātua groups assisted in the identification of potential participants. Further, two elder cultural supervisors, (one male and one female) from Taranaki, provided critical input into the selection of potential participants through Māori networks and provided cultural supervision for the overall study (see below, this chapter).

Potential participants were initially approached by telephone or face to face if the opportunity presented itself during normal Māori community interaction, such as at hui. If the individual initially agreed to be interviewed an appointment was made at which further information was provided, informed consent sought, and the interview carried out.

Interviews were carried out face to face by the researcher at a time and place determined by the interviewee, usually their own homes. In some instances participants chose to have whānau members present during the interview. An information sheet (see Appendix One) was used by the researcher to explain the study and seek written or oral informed consent using a consent

form (see Appendix Two). Informed consent was also sought for interviews to be digitally recorded. All participants gave consent for the interviews to be recorded. During the interview, an interview schedule (see Appendix Three) was used to enable the collection of narratives and interviewee perceptions relating directly to the research question.

The main areas covered in the interview schedule included: participant profile; recollections of childhood; recollections from adult life; ageing and the home place; important issues as an older person; important issues for older Māori in particular; changes in ageing issues over time; older Māori as carriers of culture; and, whānau interactions. The interview schedule was developed through the review of literature, the researcher's own experience in working on the Oranga Kaumātua research team, and with critical input and review from the cultural and academic supervisors.

The length of the interviews varied depending on the individual preference of the participants. Initially it had been anticipated that interviews would last for two hours. The interviews 'proper' ranged from just under one hour to nearly four hours. In some cases the interview process (from the researcher's arrival to departure from the interview venue) took more than six hours. The length of the interview process was very much at the discretion of the participant, and it was explicitly decided to follow the participant's cues as to when it was appropriate to begin and end the interview proper. Enabling the participant to dictate the duration of the interview process is one way of consciously balancing the power relationship between the interviewer and participant (Rubinstein, 2002) and, as will be discussed below, necessary given the dynamics between the researcher and elder participants from his own tribal area. Interviews were carried out in both Māori and/or English, according to the preference of the participant. One interview was carried out completely in Te Reo Māori.

During all interviews field notes were taken. The content of the notes included topics to revisit later in the interview, reflections and comparisons from previous interviews and areas for further exploration in subsequent interviews. Therefore preliminary analysis was undertaken during interviewing. As Patton (1990, p. 377) notes "In the course of gathering data, ideas about possible analysis will occur. Those ideas constitute the beginning of analysis..." Notes were also taken (with the participant's permission) on relevant information that was shared prior to and after the recorded section of the interview process. Positive and negative coding of notes

(Tolich & Davidson, 1999) reflecting on interviewing technique and process were also made in the notes. Immediately following the interview, the researcher reviewed the field notes to elaborate any shorthand or abbreviated notes and to record further reflections on the interview material.

The audio recording was sent to a transcriber who generated a full transcript of the interview. All transcribers utilised were experienced in preparing bilingual (English/Māori) or Māori language interview transcriptions. A data checking protocol was established to ensure accuracy of the transcription and to assist clarification if required. All transcribers were required to complete a confidentiality agreement (see Appendix Four) to maintain the confidentiality and anonymity of the participants and their data.

Explanatory Devices

Historically Western science embraced the positivist view that researchers were objective observers and their beliefs and values did not influence data interpretation. However, more recently emerging theoretical positions within Western science have recognised that researchers' beliefs and values contribute to the construction of meaning throughout the research endeavour. In contrast, mātauranga Māori has an established philosophical position that requires a knowledge base grounded in Māori world views and built around the concept of whakapapa. That is, there is a whakapapa relationship, whether explicitly known or not, that cements the relationship rooted in the mātauranga Māori paradigm.

The whakapapa relationship, along with an in-depth understanding of the Māori context gained through experiential learning, is a necessary prerequisite to carrying out Māori analysis. Experiential learning as it is used here refers to the experiences that have occurred over the researcher's lifetime of active participation within the Māori world generally and with older Māori in particular (see Preface). Experiential learning is not bound by the time constraints of the current research programme. These types of experiences provide a basis for cultural learning that cumulatively inform a Māori analysis, and provide a lens through which data is analysed (Roberts, 1998).

Te Oru Rangahau, the Māori Research and Development Conference held at Massey University in 1998, identified the formulation of Māori frameworks for analysis as a Māori research strategic

goal (Durie, 1998b). This emphasises the importance of an analytical strategy which guides the prioritisation of data to be analysed, and provides an explicit rationale for the analytical approach.

In the current study the explanatory devices employed were grouped into two distinct levels. The first level of analysis was on data gathered from each of the three evidential sources described above. Then, after all three separate analyses had been completed the second level of analysis synthesised the data across the entire study. The explanatory devices used in this study and their grouping into two levels are shown in Table 9, below.

Table 9 Explanatory devices

	Western Science	Mātauranga Māori
First level analysis	Analysis of literature	Analysis of proverbs
	Analysis of qualitative interviews	
Second level analysis	Data synthesis at the interface	

First level analysis

Analysis of literature

As indicated earlier the body of literature reviewed for the current study was very broad in scope. Material ranged from philosophy of science and social gerontology to literary criticism. Therefore within the overall literature review several threads of analysis were undertaken.

In some cases the information was analysed and discussed using a chronological frame of analysis. Such an approach was necessary in exploring Māori development literature and the emergence and development of Western science. A thematic approach was instead used while exploring the literature relevant to Indigenous knowledge. A combination of chronological and thematic analysis (Hart, 2005) was required to gain an understanding of the historical background and main schools of thought within social gerontology.

While some sections of the literature review were completed in the early phases of the research programme, other parts continued during and after fieldwork. Patton (1990, p. 163) underlines that this approach “enables a creative interplay among the processes of literature review, data collection and researcher introspection”. For example the literature review not only guided

selection of the appropriate content of the interview schedule but also informed the conceptual framework for organising of data which comprised of 'ageing', 'the aged' and 'age' (see Chapter Four).

The main tools used in the literature analysis were concept maps and researcher dairies. As pieces of literature were read, notes were taken down in research dairies and conceptual maps developed. The main conceptual maps used were taxonomic and mind maps (Hart, 2005). Emerging themes informed further literature search and review. If particular literature resonated with identified themes where possible citing literature was identified using Google Scholar. The reliability of Google Scholar as a citation tool has been confirmed by Pauly and Stergiou (2005).

Analysis of proverbs

The analytical framework developed for the analysis of Māori proverbs was based on mātauranga Māori concepts of analysis in conjunction with fundamental principles of literary analysis.

The analysis of whakataukī undertaken during the study drew on the researcher's knowledge base of Māori language and culture. Mātauranga Māori analysis of data integrates experiential learning from observation and participation in Māori ceremonial and customary settings as well as formal training. During the course of the PhD programme the researcher undertook training in the analysis of Māori literature. In 2006 the '*Te Kāpunipuni Reo*' series of wānanga were held for advanced speakers of Māori language from the Taranaki region. A total of six intensive total immersion three day wānanga focussed on the analysis and composition of traditional Māori literature forms. The wānanga process involves deriving meaning from data generated through indepth group discussion and reflection drawing on the experiential learning of participants. The process involves the construction of meaning and the development of new knowledge.

A useful framework for the analysis of proverbs is provided by Nwoga (1975). The three analytical components used are the literal meaning, the contextual meaning, and philosophical meaning of the proverb. Although not directly based on the exploration of Māori proverbs the simplicity of the framework allows for its use across languages and cultures and directed research such as the current study's focus on ageing.

Firth (1926) published an early analysis into the use of Māori proverbs pertaining to economic activity. He postulated that gaining an understanding of a proverb is assisted when a translation

is accompanied by an account of the social situation, the reason for its use, its effect and its significance in speech. In essence context was a main component to understanding of Māori proverbs.

The analysis of the 42 whakataukī identified as pertaining to agedness in *Ngā Pēpeha a ngā Tīpuna* (Mead, H. & Grove, 2003) comprised of four components. First the literal translation from within the volume was provided. This retained a consistent translation style across all of the proverbs. In some instances further translations were made using the Williams' (1992) *Dictionary of Māori language* which is widely available. Second a concise passage regarding the context of the saying within Māori society was provided. Discussing the context is especially important to make the analysis accessible to audiences unfamiliar with Māori cultural norms and perspectives. Third, where relevant commentary was made on the literary features of the proverb and the effect of those features on meaning and interpretation. The fourth component of the analysis was the discussion of philosophical meaning or themes that were particularly relevant to the current study on older Māori experiences of ageing.

Analysis of qualitative interviews

The way in which qualitative data from the interviews were analysed in this study is made explicit by discussion of the analytical techniques used. The subjective nature of qualitative analysis is recognised, and the subjectivity that the researcher brings to the analysis is acknowledged (see Preface).

The thematic analysis was initially undertaken on a case basis, that is each interview transcript was analysed separately (Patton, 1990). The interview schedule itself was used as a descriptive analytical framework to organise data (Patton, 1990). Inductive coding of data was undertaken which involves labelling and categorising the data into key areas of interest which are identified as the data are being analysed. Through the coding process, general patterns are identified in the data which give rise to themes as data is interpreted.

Following preliminary case analysis a member check process was carried out (at a time and place of participants' choosing) to discuss the transcript and themes that had been identified. During this process the participant was offered the opportunity to elaborate further on transcripts, and review what themes had been identified in the preliminary case analysis.

Following the member check, cross-case analysis (Patton, 1990) was undertaken where all of the analyses of individual interviews were analysed together. This involved grouping together narratives from participants organised around common issues, and identifying themes of interest with regard to each issue.

Coding and analysis was carried out manually rather than using a computer-assisted analysis. While computer software has the potential to increase efficiency according to Rice and Ezzy (2002, p. 204) there is a tendency to “disembody interviews even further than transcripts.”

Second level analysis – data synthesis at the interface

The cross-case analysis undertaken within the qualitative study is an example of bringing data together from within one research technique. The second level analysis integrates the data from both sides of the interface from the three data sources employed in the current study. The evidential sources and explanatory devices and therefore the data they produce are intrinsically linked. The data were generated and analysed within the same overall inquiry to address a common research question by the same researcher. Further, the research was conducted within a concentrated period in parallel (Onwuegbuzie & Teddlie, 2003). Because of the linkages between the data sources, care was taken to avoid the ad hoc mixing of techniques in what Stern (1994) terms ‘muddling methods’. The aim of the second level analysis was to provide a coherent synthesis of data that addresses the central research question of the study.

Just as Durie’s (2005a) principles were used to guide research at the interface, another set of principles developed by Morse (2003) to conduct mixed methods research assists the synthesis of the data generated in this study. The first principle is “Recognize the theoretical drive of the project” (Morse, 2003, p. 193). This principle has two considerations. First it involves retaining the assumptions inherent in the paradigms which underpin the research techniques used. The current study accepts both philosophical perspectives of Western science and mātauranga Māori, and is therefore consistent with this principle. The second consideration is being cognisant of the overall inductive or deductive nature of the main thrust of the study. Morse states that it is acceptable for some components of an inductive study to be deductive and vice versa as long as the overall focus is retained. Overall, this study is inductive (i.e. it attempts to determine the characteristics of positive ageing for Māori). The inductive nature of the overall study was maintained even while it did employ a deductive technique where the *Positive Ageing Indicators*

2007 are explored (see Chapter Nine). The second principle is to “Recognize the role of the imported component in the project” (Morse, 2003, p. 194). In the case of the three research techniques used in this study the literature review and the review of proverbs, each from different sides of the interface, support and complement the qualitative study which draws on both sides of the interface. The third principle is “Adhere to the methodological assumptions of the base method” (Morse, 2003, p. 194). This principle is about the researcher being constantly aware of and retaining adherence to the methodological assumptions of all the research techniques employed. This principle is consistent with the interface approach which promotes not only awareness of methodological assumptions but also the negotiation of tensions at the methodological - kaupapa rangahau level. During the current study this principle was adhered to by retaining the methodological – kaupapa rangahau assumptions of the qualitative study and the review of literature and review of proverbs. The fourth principle states “Work with as few data sets as possible” (Morse, 2003, p. 195) and encourages incorporation of data from the supplementary research technique into the overall project. This was achieved in the current study through the data synthesis process which forms the second level analysis for the current study.

Ethical Considerations

In addition to Guba and Lincoln’s (2005) three philosophical questions discussed in Chapter Two, a fourth question ‘How will I be a moral person in the world?’ is relevant to the discussion regarding ethics and research. Internationally, and within New Zealand, four ‘universal’ ethical principles are accepted as underpinning research ethics. The principles are - beneficence, non-maleficance, justice, and autonomy. These principles provide the ethical framework for the Operational Standards for Ethics Committees in New Zealand (Ministry of Health, 2002). Previous research has indicated that these principles reflect Western philosophical beliefs and values but by themselves are insufficient to accommodate Māori ethicality (Hudson, 2004). For this reason, and given the location of the research at the interface, both Western scientific and Māori ethical concepts have provided guidance for this research. While there are clearly areas of overlap between the ethics of Western science and mātauranga Māori, the issues are articulated in different and culturally bound ways. One way in which this can be more clearly understood, is by identifying the ethical principles from both sides of the interface that have guided ethical

considerations within the current research. Some examples of the ways in which the ‘universal’ ethical principles are expressed in this research are described below.

The principle of beneficence is concerned with ensuring maximum benefits accrue to both research participants specifically and to Māori generally. Qualitative interview participants were presented with a compact disc containing the audio recording of their interview as well as a copy of their interview transcript. Many of the participants indicated that their copies of the material generated during the interview would be held in family possession for their children, grandchildren and other descendants. The data provided a contribution to a family oral history archive. This was seen by participants as an immediate personal benefit from their participation in the research. The overall findings of the research are intended to inform effective policy and practice for work to enhance and support positive ageing for Māori.

The principle of non-maleficence is concerned with reducing potentially harmful impacts of the research. A distinct ethical issue addressed in the study was ensuring that research tools and processes were culturally appropriate to older Māori. The researcher has an in-depth understanding of tikanga (Māori process) and te reo Māori. In the qualitative interviews, participants were offered the option of being interviewed in Māori.

Justice is a principle centred on ensuring fairness and equity with regard to the research. Ethnic inequalities in health between Māori and non-Māori older people have been clearly identified in the literature. Overall, the research findings are intended to contribute to reducing ethnic disparities in health for older Māori.

The principle of autonomy is about an individual’s freedom to make independent decisions in the absence of controlling influences. Therefore, people have the ability to decide, to act on their decisions, and they respect others’ autonomy (Edge & Groves, 1999). The process of informed consent enables participants to make a fully informed decision as to whether or not to participate in the research based on a clear understanding of the study and the implications of their involvement. In carrying out research with Māori, the level at which consent should be sought has been the topic of some discussion among Māori academics (Te Awēkotuku, 1991; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). That is, individual consent versus group consent. Individual informed consent was sought from all research participants. Given that the study was not specific to one iwi and

that there is no formally recognised pan-iwi group within Taranaki, the researcher took the opportunity to discuss the study with Ngā Ruahine Kaunihera Kaumātua and the Pukeariki Kaumātua Group as a mechanism to seek wider kaumātua input into the study to support individual informed consent sought from participants.

From a review of the literature, and informed by interviews with Māori members of New Zealand ethics committees, Hudson (2004) identified seven Māori ethical principles that facilitate the application of Māori values to ethical review of research. The principles are – whanaungatanga, mana, wairuatanga, manaakitanga, kaitiakitanga, kotahitanga, and take-utu-ea. These concepts have been used alongside the Western derived ethical principles in providing ethical guidance for the current study.

Whanaungatanga is primarily concerned with relationships. Historically those relationships have been genealogical in nature, although in more recent times the concept of whanaungatanga has been extended to include non-whakapapa or non-genealogically based relationships, such as bonds amongst those who are working together towards a shared purpose. In terms of research, whanaungatanga refers to the process through which relationships between the researcher and the participants are formed and maintained within a research project (Powick, 2002). The nature of researcher/participant relationships should be explicit. Within the current research the issue of insider/outsider relationships was apparent on two levels. At one level the researcher was an outsider in the sense that he was a relatively youthful researcher interviewing older Māori. However, on another level the researcher was at the same time an insider as a Māori and interviewing elders from within his own tribal region and therefore with a shared history and at times interfamilial relationships. Careful consideration was given to each of these issues, and initial consultation was carried out with Ngā Ruahine Kaunihera Kaumātua and Pukeariki Kaumātua Group. While discussions with these groups covered a wide range of research issues, advice was sought with regard to insider/outsider issues and was also sought from the research cultural supervisors.

A major issue identified was that in the Māori community context the difference in status between a younger researcher and an elder could provide a challenge in terms of focusing interviews while respecting a given participant's wish to discuss issues outside of the bounds of the research. The cumulative advice emphasised the need for a respectful approach and inherent

to that acceptance that 'time' is less important than capturing quality data in a way that is acceptable to participants and attention to researcher skill development in directing interviews in a flexible way.

The insider relationship was generally considered to be a strength in terms of access to participants, the willingness of participants to share their perspectives and experiences, and in understanding the local context to inform data interpretation. It did, however, raise some issues of confidentiality in that within a small and interconnected community it became apparent that some interviewees were identifying themselves to the community generally and other interviewees as study participants and discussing their involvement in the study. However, the researcher maintained confidentiality in not discussing these matters and the extent to which the individual participant chose to discuss their involvement with others was at their discretion.

Also of note, it was apparent during consultation with the kaumātua groups, that the opportunity for kaumātua to be interviewed in Māori by a culturally competent researcher was an important aspect of carrying out research with kaumātua. The researcher has cultural competencies, including fluency in te reo Māori, and therefore kaumātua were able to be interviewed in Māori and/or English. Generally, interviews were carried out bilingually, with one conducted completely in Māori.

The principle of mana is centred on ensuring that the dignity of Māori is not diminished in any way by the research (Mead, H., 2003). This principle requires that the research is carried out in a way that is consistent with tikanga Māori.

The principle of wairuatanga explicitly acknowledges a spiritual dimension, and that this dimension influences people's lives. The supervisory arrangements for this research reflected the need to ensure guidance could be sought not only on 'conventional' academic matters, but also broader Māori issues including tikanga and spirituality. This is a critical aspect of carrying out research that is consistent with Māori ethical principles.

Manaakitanga, which translates directly as caring, in the context of this study is focussed on reducing potentially harmful impacts of the research. Adequate cultural supervision is important

in carrying out safe and ethical research among Māori. Two levels of supervision were in place for the duration of the research.

The current study was carried out as a PhD programme at Massey University, and therefore an academic supervisory protocol was required. At this first level, two university-based Māori academic supervisors were appointed to the research. The second level of supervision came from two community based cultural/elder supervisors, independent from the University. Selection criteria were that the supervisors were elders with expertise in Māori process, with whakapapa links to the researcher, and were available to work with the researcher *kanohi ki te kanohi* (face to face). Selection of these supervisors was informed by the researcher and his immediate whānau. The two *kaumātua* supervisors a *taueke* (male) and *kuia* (female) were from the same tribal region as the researcher, were related through genealogy and were known to the researcher's family. From a *mātauranga Māori* perspective common whakapapa relationships are important in enabling the *kaumātua* to facilitate more ready access to networks, information and support. These links are also enduring, in that they are permanent and extend beyond the timeframe of the research.

Kaitiakitanga as a concept translates to guardianship. The researcher recognised the need to safeguard data and the importance of confidentiality. Typical strategies were put into place such as secure storage of identifying information and separation of consent forms from interview schedules and field notes. The location of the fieldwork also required sensitivity and awareness. After the interview phase of the study was completed the researcher continued to live within the same provincial town community and moved in similar Māori community circles as many of the participants. Therefore discretion was exercised when interacting with participants after the fieldwork. One approach was to refrain from initiating discussion regarding the research in the company of others or to politely decline requests from participants to identify other interviewees.

Kotahitanga encapsulates the notion of solidarity and the worth of people (Henry & Pene, 2001). While informed consent is a core concept within Western science and *mātauranga Māori*, the level at which it is applied may differ. Within Western science informed consent is sought at the individual level. Within *mātauranga Māori*, researchers are accountable not only to Māori individuals but perhaps more importantly to Māori collectives such as *iwi* and other Māori

community groups. Therefore, priority may be given to seeking 'collective consent'. For this reason the support of the study from local kaumātua groups was significant.

Take-utu-ea as a principle embodies the concept of perspective, and the need to maintain balance including the resolution of any breaches of Māori process (Mead, H., 2003). The ramifications of unethical behaviour differ between Western science and mātauranga Māori. In Western science, breaches of research process are censured by ethics committees and the implications are generally limited to the professional realm. Within mātauranga Māori, however, the implications may be more far reaching, beyond professional boundaries into the personal and well after the life of the research. Serious breaches of tikanga, for example, may lead to the intergenerational transfer of loss of mana. As long as the researcher remains engaged with the Māori world, personally and or professionally, they remain accountable for their actions as a researcher. Therefore, the time horizons for research carried out within the mātauranga Māori framework are much more extensive than within Western science. Another aspect of balance is the reciprocal nature of mātauranga Māori research. There is an expectation that there will be a two-way exchange of knowledge and therefore that research participants are not only a source of knowledge but will also directly benefit as recipients of knowledge.

Ethical approval and support for this study was provided in two ways, one emanating from each side of the interface. From the Western scientific perspective the current study was undertaken under the auspices of the Oranga Kaumātua Study, ethical approval and support was provided through the Massey University Palmerston North Campus Ethics Committee (See Appendix Five). From the mātauranga Māori perspective ethical support and monitoring was provided within the framework of the Māori community through the two kaumātua committees consulted and the individual participants, their whānau and hapū. These entities within the Māori community monitor and enforce ethical standards on an ongoing basis according to standards and processes relevant and appropriate to the Māori community.

Dissemination of findings

The audience for this research is primarily located in three domains: individuals and groups of older Māori and their whānau including research participants; applied settings (e.g. kaumātua organisations, mainstream and Māori health service providers, sector stakeholders, policy makers and funders); and, academic institutions. In order to reach these domains a range of

dissemination techniques were employed to ensure that research findings could be accessed by diverse audiences. Attention was also given to dissemination of information to international audiences.

The Western science and mātauranga Māori ethical principles that have guided the research are presented below in Table 10.

Table 10 Ethical considerations

	Western Science	Mātauranga Māori
Ethical considerations	Beneficence	Whanaungatanga
	Non-maleficence	Mana
	Justice	Wairuatanga
	Autonomy	Manaakitanga
		Kaitiakitanga
		Kotahitanga
		Take-utu-ea

Summary

This chapter has described the research process undertaken during this study. Various research techniques comprising of evidential sources and explanatory devices have been used to generate new knowledge at the interface between Western science and mātauranga Māori. As well, Western science and mātauranga Māori ethical principles that guide the research process have been discussed. Examples of the ways in which those principles have been applied within the study are provided.

Chapter Four

WESTERN SCIENTIFIC PERSPECTIVES ON AGEING

Introduction

This study employed an approach which drew on a Western scientific inquiry paradigm in concert with Mātauranga Māori, an inquiry paradigm emanating from an Indigenous knowledge tradition. The combination of both paradigms provided an interface where two knowledge streams interact. In this chapter perspectives on ageing derived from Western science are reviewed. Western scientific perspectives provide an ‘academic anchor’ and locate the research in terms of the central tenets of the selected field of study. From the Western science point of view, the current study is closely aligned with gerontology generally, but more specifically with social gerontology. New Zealand’s age-related public policy is also a major consideration from the Western scientific perspective. Social gerontology and New Zealand’s public policy context have universal dimensions that add value to other perspectives such as mātauranga Māori. The universal and Māori-specific approach reflects the dual lives that many older Māori live as citizens of New Zealand and participants in Te Ao Māori.

The emergence of gerontology

Philosophers of science such as Kuhn (1996) are mindful of the influence that societal forces have on the development of Western science. Major drivers in the development of gerontological knowledge have been rapid global population ageing, changing national-level age structures, dynamic family configurations and relationships, as well as demands on governments to provide for ageing populations (Achenbaum, 1995; Bengtson, Putney, & Johnson, 2005; Biggs, Hendricks, & Lowenstein, 2003; Ferraro, K., 2007; Hendricks & Achenbaum, 1999).

The issue of human ageing has occupied scholars, philosophers and health practitioners for centuries if not millennia (Achenbaum, 1995; Biggs, et al., 2003; Cole & Winkler, 1994; Hendricks & Achenbaum, 1999; Tibbitts, 1960; Wilmoth & Ferraro, 2007). As an example, mythology and literature from the classical antiquity period provide a record of the aged

experience at that time (Finley, 1984). This includes early medical records and sacred texts such as the Koran and Bible.

Hendricks and Achenbaum (1999) identified three hallmarks of the foundations of gerontological theory building prior to the 20th century. First, early models of ageing were reflective of societal worldviews but were not created through inductive reasoning. As an example, the ancient Israelites accepted as truth dictates about ageing from the Old Testament. Second, as tradition was valued, successive generations revised existing explanations of ageing to enable fit with new historical contexts. Third, ‘facts’ may be reported repeatedly, but the links between aspects of ageing and societal norms tended to be idiosyncratic and not widely disseminated. For example, the physical signs of ageing were described in the same way century after century. However, commentators did not connect explanations of ageing with their application to real-life societal circumstances.

While ageing has been documented throughout the centuries, gerontology has only recently emerged as a field of study. In 1903 Elie Metchnikoff, the famous director of the Pasteur Institute, coined the term ‘gerontology’ while describing the scientific study of old age (Achenbaum, 1995). Metchnikoff (1908, p. 261), widely considered the father of gerontology, argued that “Scientific study of old age and of the means of modifying its pathological character will make life longer and happier”. Metchnikoff (1908, pp. 297-298) also stated that work in the area will lead to “... great modifications in the course of the last period of life”.

In the following four decades gerontology attracted scholarly attention around the globe. Some important publications during that period include Nascher’s *Geriatrics* (1914) and Hall’s *Senescence* (1922). From the 1930s research endeavours in this burgeoning field greatly expanded. Institutional networks emerged prompting the rapid growth of the field (Ferraro, K., 2007). The Josiah Macy Jr Foundation in particular, through the guidance of anatomist Edmund Vincent Cowdry and John Dwey, provided support for gerontological research and forwarded a multidisciplinary approach. Further, with the Foundation’s aid, Cowdry edited *Problems of Aging: Biological and Medical Aspects* (1939) which was the first anthology for gerontology. At this point, gerontology largely still focused on biological and medical premises and approached ageing from a ‘problematic’ orientation (Ferraro, K., 2007).

Gerontology experienced its most rapid growth and emerged as a distinct field of study, at least in the United States of America, after WWII (Bengtson, et al., 2005). The Gerontological Society of America was established in 1946 and major programmes for the scientific study of ageing were initiated by the Gerontological Research Center of the National Institutes of Health and the Committee on Human Development at the University of Chicago.

In mainstream society, a distinct elderly population gained recognition through institutions, pensions and social surveys (Katz, 1996). New paradigm defining perspectives came to the fore in gerontology. For example, Leonard Hayflick, a prolific biological researcher in the 1960s, separated ageing from disease processes and defined what is now known as ‘normal ageing’ (Ferraro, K., 2007).

In the 1970s gerontology again experienced a period of rapid growth and refined its orientation from a field of study focused on ageing as a social problem to ageing as a topic for scientific research (Maddox & Wiley, 1976). The establishment of the National Institute of Aging in 1975 in the United States was considered a watershed for the development of gerontology and geriatrics. In the same period the *Handbook of Aging* series was published, and this too was considered groundbreaking. Gerontology continues to be a rapidly expanding field and is a recognised speciality in many other fields of study.

The status and theoretical development of gerontology

Despite its relatively recent emergence as a distinct field of inquiry there has been substantial progress in terms of the generation of knowledge. There is debate about the disciplinary integrity of gerontology. Cutler (2000) identifies three alternative approaches to understanding the status of gerontology. First, a ‘disciplinary’ approach is when theory, concepts and research design are based within a single discipline. Second, a ‘multidisciplinary’ approach describes work that draws on the body of knowledge and methods from two or more disciplines with investigators working in parallel on a common topic. As noted by Ferraro and Chan (1997, p. 374) “...disciplinary boundaries are maintained and the unique contributions of each are highlighted.” Third, an ‘interdisciplinary’ approach requires researchers to work collaboratively, and theories, concepts and methods of different disciplines are brought together to examine one

topic. Ferraro and Chan (1997, p. 374) also point out that "...disciplinary boundaries are often muted and the joint contributions of the synergy are highlighted".

Gerontology does not have a well developed theoretical base distinct to the field (Wilmoth & Ferraro, 2007). That is, there are no macro theories equivalent to those of the established disciplines, or well developed theories that have emerged from within gerontology itself. Rather, relevant theories have emerged in other disciplines and have been applied to gerontology. The theoretical underpinnings of gerontology are therefore drawn from a wide variety of disciplines ranging from psychology, sociology and political studies to medical science and civil engineering. The varied disciplinary contributions provide a variety of lenses through which to interpret and enrich understandings of the phenomenon of ageing. However, while Estes et al (cited in Achenbaum, 1995, p. 255) acknowledge this strength, they state:

The very strength of the field is also its weakness. We lack a disciplinary perspective or stronghold...The lack of a disciplinary stronghold means that both the theory and practice of gerontology is often fragmented among multiple disciplines, each with its own body of knowledge, traditions, theories, methods, and disciplinary prerogatives and parochialisms...

As a distinctive field of inquiry, gerontology is theoretically underdeveloped, and much research carried out in the field has been atheoretical (Bengtson, Burgess, & Parrott, 1997; Ferraro, K., 2007). The theoretical underdevelopment in the field of gerontology in its own right is largely a reflection of the relative newness of the field, difficulties in crossing disciplinary boundaries to generate multidisciplinary explanations of the phenomena of ageing, and the problem-solving focus of gerontology that tends to detract from the basic research agenda (which has a strong theoretical orientation) (Bengtson, et al., 2005). While gerontology is not able to claim the status of a discipline, some argue that it may be considered as an emerging discipline (Alkema & Alley, 2006). Most commonly, publications refer to the multidisciplinary nature of gerontology, rather than an interdisciplinary focus. However, the literature does indicate aspirations among some commentators for a strengthened interdisciplinary approach (Wilmoth & Ferraro, 2007).

Conceptual frameworks

While gerontology does not have the macro theories of more established disciplines, conceptual frameworks have been developed which propose various ways of understanding or organising

gerontological inquiry. Two conceptual frameworks that resonate with the current study are the ‘fountain of gerontological discovery’ proposed by Ferraro and Wilmoth (2007), and the three-part conceptual framework of ‘the aged’, ‘ageing’ and ‘age’ proposed by Bengtson et al (2005).

An interdisciplinary understanding of gerontology

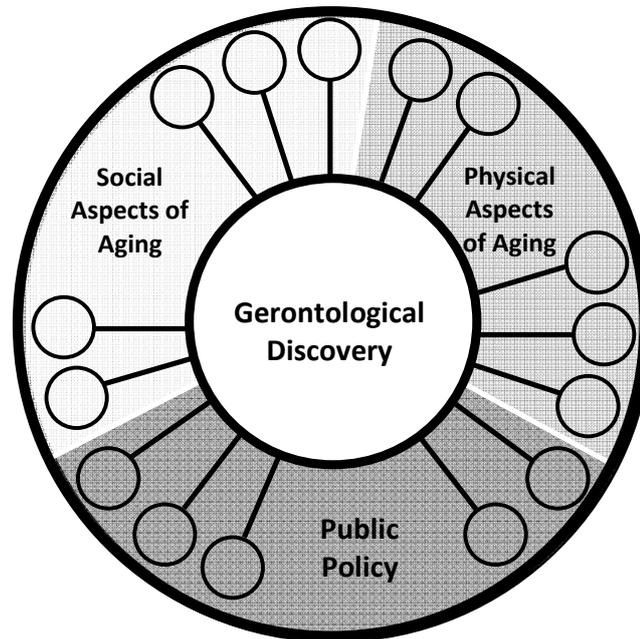
Ferraro and Wilmoth (2007) use the analogy of a fountain to describe an interdisciplinary conceptual framework for gerontology. Using this analogy, and referring to Picture 1 and Figure 5, there are a series of small fountains around the perimeter of one large fountain. The small fountains direct water towards the centre of the large fountain which in turn propels water upwards. The height of the large fountain’s upwards jet is dependent upon the combined strength of the flow from the individual small feeder fountains. Further, although each part of the fountain directs water in just one direction, in combination the fountains together are a system and water circulates to all parts.

Picture 1 The Loeb Fountain, Purdue University West Lafayette, Indiana USA



In this analogy water represents knowledge. The central fountain is the core of gerontological academic endeavour or discovery and represents the basic findings of gerontological research that are both fundamental and defining to the field. The small fountains that feed into this central core each represent a particular disciplinary approach to the study of ageing. Examples of the disciplines engaged in gerontology are; medical science, pharmacy, epidemiology, psychology, sociology, political science, philosophy, languages, history, law, and civil engineering. While each feeder discipline is distinct, some are more closely related than others.

Figure 5 The fountain of gerontological discovery



(Source: Wilmoth & Ferraro, 2007)

It has been widely acknowledged that the boundaries between the various fields, subfields and areas of knowledge in gerontology are somewhat blurred (Bengtson, et al., 2005; Biggs, et al., 2003; Schroots, 1996; Wilmoth & Ferraro, 2007). Wilmoth and Ferraro (2007, p. 6) suggest that the disciplines may be loosely grouped into three areas of inquiry:

1. *Physical aspects of aging.* Why do we age? How does aging affect the body and the mind? Can the effects of aging be mitigated?
2. *Social aspects of aging.* How does social context influence aging and life course development? How do history, culture and biography intersect to create the life course?
3. *Public policy.* What are the needs and interests of an older population? How are they created and addressed?

Wilmoth and Ferraro justify the separation of age-related public policy from the social aspects of ageing on the basis that public policy is driven by information relating to both the physical and social aspects of ageing. Together, the three areas of inquiry provide an indication of the breadth of the field, the wide range of questions that may be legitimately explored within gerontology, and the extensive disciplinary approaches, methods and tools that may be applied within gerontological discovery. A central premise of this conceptual framework is that no single

discipline is able to answer the core questions of interest to the field of gerontology. Instead, an integrated disciplinary approach is both optimal and necessary (Ferraro, K. F., 1997).

Investigating the phenomenon of ageing

An alternative framework for understanding the range of areas of inquiry within the field of gerontology is proposed by Bengtson et al (2005). They propose that gerontological inquiry, that is, discovery relating to the phenomenon of ageing, may be categorised into three domains – the aged, ageing and age.

‘The aged’ refers to that section of the population who are considered elderly due to their length of life lived or lifespan. Inquiry in this area has tended to focus on health and health care factors, as well as other barriers and enablers of independent living.

The second domain is ‘ageing’ as a developmental process. The central concern in this domain is the factors that impact cumulatively across the lifespan of individuals. These factors cannot be understood without reference to experiences and processes that occur over a lifetime. Gerontologists investigate the biological, psychological and social aspects of the ageing process in terms of variability in both rates and consequences.

The third domain is ‘age’. This domain involves inquiry that is concerned with how ‘age’ shapes social structures and behaviours. The influence of age-related patterns, such as role transitions, on societal structures are of particular interest within this domain. Research within this domain may investigate how social structures take into account and deal with ‘age’ and how ‘age’ may be a societal organising principle.

Relevance to the current study

In terms of Ferraro and Wilmoth’s (2007) conceptual framework, the current Study is less concerned with the physical aspects of ageing and gerontology generally. This study instead focuses on the social aspects of ageing, and public policy in New Zealand as it relates to ageing and Māori. The following sections of this chapter will provide the social gerontological and public policy context to the current research.

The conceptual framework presented by Bengtson et al (2005) is also of high relevance to this Study, as the inquiry cuts across the three domains of ‘aged’, ‘ageing’ and ‘age’. That is, this

research is concerned with older Māori ('the aged'), it acknowledges the relevance of cumulative impacts across the lifespan of older Māori people ('ageing'), and examines the role transitions of older Māori people and the influence of 'age' on Māori social structures.

Key theories, perspectives and concepts in the evolution of social gerontology

Many theories, perspectives and concepts drawn from diverse disciplines have informed social gerontological discovery over time. Bengtson et al (1997), in discussing theories in social gerontology, refer to Hendricks (1992) typology of first generation, second generation and third generation theories. First generation theories were published between 1949 and 1969, emerged from symbolic-interactionist and structural-functionalism roots and most tended to place a greater emphasis on the individual as opposed to social structures. Theories identified are – disengagement theory, modernisation theory, activity theory and subculture theory. These are among the first key sociological theories of ageing and have their antecedents in general social theory.

The second generation theories, developed from around 1970 to 1985, built on or rejected the first generation theories, or emerged from older sociological traditions. These theories tended to focus more strongly on social structure, and include continuity theory, exchange theory, and social breakdown theory.

Over time many second generation theories have been refined and reformulated, and new theories and perspectives also emerged. These theories and perspectives, referred to in terms of the typology as third generation theories, are concerned with social structure, and the link between social structure and the experiences of older people. Third generation theories include lifecourse perspectives, critical perspectives, and social constructionist perspectives.

The following sections provide an overview of some of the key theories, perspectives and concepts of social gerontology.

Key theories of social gerontology

Disengagement theory

In its initial formulation disengagement theory attempted to explain human ageing as an inevitable process where individuals and social structures withdraw from each other in

anticipation of inevitable death (Bengtson, Rice, & Johnson, 1999). Older people decrease their activity and interaction with others, engage in more passive roles, and tend to spend more time contemplating inwardly. This is seen as protecting the individual from the trauma of eventual death. Conversely society deals with the 'problem' of ageing through mechanisms of separating the individual from the collective. Disengagement theory proposes that this process minimises the disruption to society when older people pass away.

The theory's simultaneous focus on the micro and macro levels was one of its main contributions to the development of gerontology. Achenbaum and Bengtson (1994, p. 762) argue it was "...the first truly comprehensive, truly explicit, and truly multidisciplinary theory advanced by social and behavioural scientists in gerontology."

Disengagement theory was, at least at one stage, seen as the first 'grand theory' of gerontology. Like any attempt at overarching theory, a major limitation of disengagement theory was it proposed general laws that apply to all. This in turn raised the question of whether all people experience ageing in the same way (Bengtson, et al., 1999). Disengagement theory was widely challenged and discounted by most gerontologists (Achenbaum & Bengtson, 1994; Hooyman & Kiyak, 2005). Despite the loss of support for disengagement theory in the empirical literature its impact as the first attempt to provide an explicit multidisciplinary theory of ageing remains (Hooyman & Kiyak, 2005).

Activity theory

Activity theory seeks to illuminate how individuals adjust to age-related changes such as retirement, deterioration in health, and role transitions. The theory posits that older people attempt to retain their status in later life, through seeking to extend middle age (Havighurst, 1968; Hooyman & Kiyak, 2005). Therefore, activity theory starkly contrasts with disengagement theory. Rather than withdrawing from society, there is a transition that maintains involvements. That is, older people compensate for the surrender of the activities and roles of middle age by taking up other 'age appropriate' roles such as volunteering (Thorson, 2000; Victor, 2005).

According to Victor (2005), activity theory, like disengagement theory, is judgemental and prescriptive. Disengagement theory assumes that it is in the individual's and society's best interests that older members withdraw from society. Activity theory proposes that remaining

active, engaged and productive is paramount, and choosing to withdraw from society is to be discouraged. Activity theory also makes the assumption that all older people are equally able to remain active. This approach does not recognise the many barriers to remaining active and engaged in older age, such as disability and low income (Putman, 2002). Activity theory, like disengagement theory, has not been fully supported by empirical data (Victor, 2005).

Modernisation theory

Modernisation theory proposes that as societies become more technically sophisticated and urbanised the status of the elderly declines (Thorson, 2000). According to the theory, the modernisation process involves mass education supplanting intergenerational transmission of knowledge. This leads to a disconnect between younger and older generations, and a devaluing of traditional knowledge (Cowgill & Holmes, 1972).

Like disengagement theory, modernisation theory has been subject to substantial criticism. The notion that all traditional societies highly value their older citizens or that ‘modern’ societies universally do not value the elderly is simplistic (Blakemore & Boneham, 1994; Phillips, 2000). Empirical data has undermined some of the key assumptions of modernisation theory. Research undertaken in the 1970s – 1990s concludes that as societies have modernised the status of older people does not necessarily decrease. Further, research regarding rural communities in the 19th Century found that older people were not particularly held in high regard (Thorson, 2000).

Continuity theory

Introduced by Atchley (1989), continuity theory posits that as individuals age their likes and dislikes remain constant and they strive to maintain stability in the lifestyle developed over a lifetime. While various aspects of life, such as habits and preferences, are preserved there is an evolution of the types of activities that are undertaken (Atchley, 1999). Within physical limitations, those who have led active lives will endeavour to continue do so, while those that have characteristically had lower levels of interaction with society will continue that behaviour pattern (Thorson, 2000). Victor (2005) observes that while disengagement and activity theory highlight movement in a single direction, continuity theory holds that the individual will, for as long as possible, attempt to preserve the usual lifestyle. Then, adaption may occur in several directions depending on how changing status is perceived. Victor (2005) also argues that continuity theory is less rigid than disengagement and activity theory in that it does not prescribe

a particular action (i.e. disengagement or activity), rather what activities are maintained and any changes and the extent of change are determined by personal circumstance and other external factors. Continuity theory emphasises that understanding the individual's lifecourse is key to making sense of that individual's experience of later life (Victor, 2005).

Continuity theory has been difficult to test empirically as its underlying premise is that each individual will adapt to change in a specific way based on personal circumstances. Therefore, in order to test the theory empirically a prohibitive number of individual case studies would be required (Thorson, 2000; Victor, 2005).

Key perspectives of social gerontology

Critical perspectives

Critical gerontology is an approach to investigation of the phenomenon of ageing that is informed by critical theory (Cole, Achenbaum, & Jakobi, 1993) and denotes a wide range of ideas that challenge conventional gerontological knowledge and approaches. Critical theory, and therefore critical gerontology, is concerned with issues of social justice, the interpretation of the meaning of human experience, and understanding cultural factors that underpin and influence various spheres including politics, science and day to day life. In investigating the social aspects of ageing, critical gerontologists focus on issues of power, social action and social meaning (Bengtson, et al., 2005). Critical gerontology has, as a central concern, the emancipation of older people.

Critical perspectives, and its associated issues of power, control and social justice, are of high relevance to Māori from a Māori development viewpoint. Kaupapa Māori has been likened to a local theoretical positioning of critical theory (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). Compared to cross-cultural gerontology and minority ageing perspectives, critical perspectives are more in tune with Māori concerns as Indigenous peoples. Cross-cultural gerontology has a strong focus on comparison with Western societies, and also on the issues of cultures located outside Western societies. Minority ageing is focussed on the issues faced by ethnic minorities, though it tends to measure ageing against majority norms rather than through the minority's own lens.

Characteristically, critical gerontology is critical of traditional positivistic approaches to knowledge (Bengtson, et al., 2005) which have been prevalent in social gerontology (Moody,

1993). That is, that there is only one reality, and it can be investigated objectively by a researcher who is independent of the group being researched (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). Critical gerontology is suspicious of the claims that ‘value-free science’ is an approach that benefits all, and rather holds a view that there are dominant ideologies and that knowledge-building in the absence of critique perpetuates structures of domination (Cole, et al., 1993). By challenging the status quo, critical gerontology ensures that the concepts, ideas and approaches of gerontology generally are subject to constant reappraisal (Phillipson & Walker, 1987).

In the past 30 years, critical gerontology has developed in two parallel areas – political economy and the humanities (e.g. philosophy, history and literature) (Holstein & Minkler, 2007). The former approach views ageing in structural terms (e.g. structural dependency and ageism) and the later is located more at the individual level. Moody (cited in Bengtson, et al., 2005, p. 15) identifies four goals of a humanistic approach to critical gerontology:

1. to theorise subjective and interpretive dimensions of ageing;
2. to focus on praxis (involvement in practical change) rather than technical advancement;
3. to link academics and practitioners through praxis; and,
4. to produce ‘emancipatory knowledge’.

It has also been suggested that critical gerontology should generate positive models of ageing that emphasise strengths and diversity (Bengtson, et al., 1997).

Lifecourse perspectives

There is not universal agreement as to whether lifecourse is a theory or an orienting perspective. It is, however, the most widely used framework in social gerontology (Bengtson, et al., 2005). It has become apparent that ageing can only be fully understood through a lifecourse perspective (Elder & Johnson, 2003) through the substantial research evidence base demonstrating the impact of early developmental experiences on health status in later life (Singer & Ryff, 2001) and illuminating the interplay of social factors with individual ageing (O’Rand, 2002).

According to Giele and Elder (1998, p. 19):

... the study of the lifecourse has perceptibly moved from a tendency to divide up the study of development into discrete stages to a firm recognition that any point in the life span must be viewed dynamically as the consequence of past experience and future expectation as well as the integration of individual motive with external constraint.

The basic premise of lifecourse is that in order to understand the situation of older people, the key social and psychological forces that have impacted throughout their lives must be examined (Elder, 1994). The concept of lifecourse refers to an age-graded pathway of events and social roles located within and shaped by social structures and history. Those structures range from the micro-level, such as friendships and family relations, to the macro-level such as national government policies. Lifecourse therefore recognises the importance of social and historical contexts for understanding health and wellness throughout the lifespan (Bengtson, et al., 2005). Bengtson et al (2005) also report that greater attention is being given to examining the structural contexts of ageing, as there is a greater awareness of the effects of structural factors on processes of ageing independent of individual actions.

The lifecourse evolves over time, and is comprised of multiple interdependent trajectories in various spheres of life that are subject to transitions (Settersten Jr, 2003a). As an example, the work trajectory may involve various transitions including moving from one job to another, periods of unemployment and retirement. Similarly, family trajectories may include leaving home, getting married, child bearing and children leaving home. Asynchronous or incompatible trajectories may place pressure on individuals, when demands in one life sphere are at odds with demands in another, such as incompatibilities between work and family life. Life events (abrupt change), transitions (gradual change) and turning points (a significant shift in direction) influence life trajectories.

The concept of cohort is central to lifecourse research. As Settersten Jr (2003b, pp. 22-23) states:

Human lives are framed by historical time and shaped by the unique social and cultural conditions that exist during those times. This applies both to the course of individual lives and to the collective lives of larger cohorts of people born at similar points in historical time.

In gerontological terms, the implication is that different birth cohorts will age differentially due to the varied historical conditions within which they have aged (Settersten Jr, 2003a).

The issues discussed above are captured within the five theoretical principles of lifecourse perspectives proposed by Elder (1999):

1. Human development and aging are life-long processes (p. 7).
2. The developmental antecedents and consequences of life transitions, events, and behavior patterns vary according to their timing in a person's life (p. 9).
3. Lives are lived interdependently and social-historical influences are expressed through this network of shared relationships (p. 10).
4. The life course of individuals is embedded in and shaped by the historical times and places they experience over their lifetime (p. 13).
5. Individuals construct their own life course through the choices and actions they take within the opportunities and constraints of history and social circumstances (p. 15).

Life experiences accumulate over time. The concept of cumulative advantage/disadvantage is concerned with increasing disparities over time, as some groups experience the cumulative effects of lifelong advantage, and others experience the cumulative impacts of lifelong disadvantage. Therefore, there are developmental antecedents and consequences to the various life transitions, events and patterns in an individual's life, which themselves are shaped by historical and contextual factors (Elder & Johnson, 2003).

The cumulative advantage/disadvantage concept is relevant to social gerontology, particularly with respect to examining inequalities. It is apparent that systematic inequalities in areas such as health and access to socio-economic resources are features of ageing, and therefore understanding the forces that drive inequalities is central to understanding the phenomena of ageing (Dannefer, 2003). According to Marmot's (2004, p. 6) interpretation of the evidence:

... the causes of the social gradient in health are to be found in the circumstances in which we live and work; in other words, in our set of social arrangements. That is important. It is not the calamities that most determine well-being but the way we go about our daily lives, in offices, banks, factories, houses and neighbourhoods. It is about the fact that control over life circumstances and full social engagement and participation in what society has to offer are distributed unequally and as a result health is distributed unequally.

A further concept of 'intergenerational transfers' is also of relevance, in that these transfers contribute substantially to individual material wellbeing and tend to reinforce or amplify existing inequalities (Di Zhu & Yang, 2002).

Kahana and Kahana (2003) identify the role of proactivity in mitigating negative factors and enhancing positive factors that impact on the lifecourse. Proactive adaptations include health promotion actions, planning ahead and altruism, and are distinct from personal dispositions and external social supports (though they may build external resources). They also identify the concept of corrective adaptations, which are a response to stressors and act to diminish the impact of stressors. Corrective adaptations include, for example, gaining support, role substitution and environmental modification.

Key concepts of social gerontology

Successful ageing

Growing older populations in most countries worldwide has focussed increasing attention on geriatric health care needs and given prominence to the concept of successful ageing (Flood, 2002). The term 'successful ageing' was coined by R.J. Havighurst in 1961 in the introductory issue of *The Gerontologist* (Holmes, 2006) and has appeared in gerontological research at least since the 1960s (Baltes & Baltes, 1990). However, it is Rowe and Khan (1998) who are widely credited as being the pioneers of the successful ageing concept. In their publication, *Successful Aging* (Rowe & Kahn, 1998), they developed successful ageing into a gerontological concept.

Rowe and Khan sought to broaden the definition of successful ageing beyond the absence of disease and disability, to incorporate a focus on transitions in personal relationships and productive behaviours over the lifecourse. They defined successful ageing as the ability to maintain three key behaviours or characteristics, namely, avoiding disease, active engagement with life, and maintaining high cognitive and physical function (Rowe & Kahn, 1998, p. 39).

They note that it is the combination of all three dimensions that most fully represents the concept of successful ageing. Further, achieving each component relies upon a convergence of other factors. For example, avoiding disease is likely to be reliant upon avoidance of risk factors (such as smoking and drug misuse) and strengthening of protective factors (such as regular exercise and healthy nutrition). Engagement with life is concerned with activity in later life, in particular in the spheres of social relationships and productive behaviour.

Baltes and Baltes identified seven outcome measures of successive ageing; length of life, biological health, mental health, cognitive efficacy, social competence and productivity, personal control, and life satisfaction (Kahn, 2003). They acknowledged that value judgments are not relevant and that a systematic view is required. Kahn (2003) also acknowledged Neugarten, Havighurst, and Tobin as having laid some of the conceptual groundwork for the successful ageing concept. Flood (2002) contributed to the emerging successful ageing construct by applying concept analysis of successful ageing to create a more holistic understanding of successful ageing.

The successful ageing construct has been criticised for the lack of a clearly articulated and widely agreed upon definition. From the outset, in 1961 Havighurst warned that successful ageing is an affirmation of certain values and that caution would be needed in selecting measures of successful ageing (Havighurst, 1961). This view, nearly fifty years later, remains relevant.

The use of the term 'successful' has not been without controversy. It is contended that 'successful ageing' privileges those that have managed to age well while marginalising, blaming, and labelling others as 'unsuccessful' (Masoro, 2001). Khan (2003) acknowledges the inherent problems of using the term 'successful' and that the solution may be to avoid the term completely. He reiterates that he and Rowe (1998) intended to emphasise a multidimensional concept of successful ageing where most people would find themselves more successful in some dimensions than others. They cited exemplars of Franklin Roosevelt, Mother Teresa, and Stephen Hawking, all remarkably successful in their fields in spite of major physical disabilities.

Another central criticism is that successful ageing is not based on the views and real life experiences of older people. According to Holmes (2006, p. ii) analysis of data from interviews with 30 older people from New Zealand and the United States, the entire cohort would be

considered to have aged unsuccessfully according to the ‘successful ageing’ construct. All the while, she notes, these people “...showed resilience, resourcefulness, and often, great satisfaction with their lives.”

There has also been criticism that the role of genetics in successful ageing has been downplayed (Masoro, 2001). However, Khan and Rowe (1998), from studies involving hundreds of pairs of identical twins have demonstrated and acknowledged that genetics are a significant contributing factor to successful ageing.

Successful ageing models to date have been criticised for being monocultural and eurocentric, and for overlooking collective approaches to ageing. Holmes (2006) pointedly illustrates this fact in that Māori participants in her study reported high levels of wellbeing despite being more likely to have increased risk of poverty, poor health and early death. It was suggested that their ‘successful’ disposition was attributable to the high levels of respect accorded to older people within Māori culture.

Successful ageing has offered an alternative to the disengagement theory that was prominent in the 1960s. While successful ageing proposes that older people may retain their health and vitality, disengagement theory depicts older people as prone to illness and disability as well as being less productive than younger people. Disengagement theory therefore posits the need for older people to disengage from work and social responsibilities in favour of younger people to promote maximum productivity and avoid social disruption caused when older people in positions of power die (Ben-Sire, 1991; Tornstam, 1994). A product of its time, disengagement theory was popular as the world anticipated the entry of the baby boomer generation into the workforce and the need for older people to withdraw and disengage in favour of youth (Holmes, 2006). Today, the disengagement orientation has been largely discounted as a viable approach to health and wellbeing for older people (Goldberg, 2002; Sneed & Whitbourne, 2005; Thomas, Martin, Alexander, Cooley, & Loague, 2003). Further, with an ageing population worldwide and therefore decreasing relative proportions of younger people, older people are now encouraged to remain in the workforce and to be active in society (Holmes, 2006).

Some other theories, such as activity theory, have a similar fundamental premise as successful ageing. That is, that ongoing activity and engagement in life is highly beneficial for older people.

Activity theory proposes that it is neither beneficial, nor inevitable, for society at large or older people themselves, that older people 'disengage'. On the contrary, social interaction is considered to be highly beneficial for older people to counteract psychological regression, and maintain high morale and a high level of life satisfaction (Ben-Sire, 1991; Burgess, 1954; Havighurst, Neugarten, & Tobin, 1968; Lebo, 1953; Nussbaum, Pecchioni, Robinson, & Thompson, 2000). Weaknesses of activity theory are the expectation placed on older people to maintain a middle aged level of activity for as long as possible and that barriers to remaining active are not addressed.

There are many models of successful ageing that have been developed as the field of gerontology has evolved, each with strengths and weaknesses. To date there is no consensus in terms of definitions, and therefore not surprisingly debate continues regarding measurement. Bowling and Iliffe (2006) tested five models of successful ageing (biomedical, broader biomedical, social functioning, psychological resources, lay model) with a cross-sectional population survey (n=999) in Britain. The study found that what is termed the lay based, more multidimensional model of successful ageing, predicted quality of life more powerfully than unidimensional models and may be used to evaluate outcomes of health promotion in older populations.

Positive ageing

In a similar fashion to literature regarding successful ageing scholarship regarding positive ageing appears to lack definitive articulation on the core tenets of the concept. The term 'positive ageing' is commonly used interchangeably with successful ageing (Bowling, 2007) and a variety of other terms including 'healthy ageing', 'productive ageing', 'active ageing' and 'quality of life' (Davey & Glasgow, 2006; Peel, Bartlett, & McClure, 2004). Healthy ageing was promoted by the World Health Organisation in the early 1980s, and focussed on overcoming problems of older age through medical advances. Productive ageing developed thereafter with an increased focus on economic implications of population ageing, and conceptualising older people as a 'resource' emphasising their ongoing participation in society. Active ageing was promoted by the United Nations in 1999 counteracting negative stereotypes of older people and noting that older people were becoming more visible and active in society (Davey & Glasgow, 2006).

Albert (2004) identifies two types of quality of life measures, health related and environmental-based quality of life. The two measures are interrelated, although the former is considered most

relevant to research with older people because of the risk older people face of chronic conditions. Health related quality of life measures include indicators such as social engagement, energy levels, and individual reports of functional status. The environmental measure of quality of life includes, for example, the impact of personal resources or environmental factors such as housing, economic resources, and water quality, on daily experience.

Hill (2005) offers unique insights that distinguish positive ageing. He contends that positive ageing originates in positive psychology whereby a range of personal traits enable individuals to cope successfully with life crises and challenges. Further, social and community resources also assist the individual to function optimally. He notes that positive ageing differs from successful ageing in that the latter defines 'success' in quantifiable terms such as living beyond average life expectancy whereas positive ageing encompasses the qualitative aspects of ageing and ageing well. An observation by Bowling (1993) regarding successful ageing is equally applicable: that older people themselves are the most appropriate people to define the concept and to date they have largely been left out of the process.

Positive ageing is criticised for not acknowledging the reality for many older people. Opie (1999, p. 79) points out that positive ageing is intended to resolve problems of ageing but in doing so is "...rendering the aged body invisible." Moreover, she argues (p. 79), positive ageing relies on "...the very negativities which it ostensibly and ostentatiously denounces". Similarly, Katz (1996) and Cole (1993) comment that positive ageing is not sufficiently flexible to address critical elements in the ageing process including the inevitability of decline and death. Positive ageing is still based on 19th century morality that labels ageing as either 'good' or 'bad.' Its representations of desirable and healthy ageing processes denies, rejects, and misrepresents the ageing process and overemphasises the need for self management over ageing (Petersen & Lupton, 1996).

McFee and Rowley (1996) raise concerns about the emphasis on productivity and independence. They consider that positive ageing 'crudely' labels people (and reinforces stereotypes of the aged) as productive or dependent solely on the basis of age and "...has done much to harm the public perception of the health, deservedness, and the ongoing contributions that older people continue to make to society" (McFee & Rowley, 1996, p. 51).

In New Zealand, the positive ageing construct has been further criticised for its underpinning monocultural roots, being “...based on Western values of independence, productivity, and personal decision-making” (Holmes, 2006, p. 34; Schroots, 1996). Despite the lack of clear delineation from other closely related ageing concepts and a variety of other criticisms, the positive ageing construct has been widely adopted in New Zealand through the PAS (Dalziel, 2001a).

Public policy and ageing in New Zealand

New Zealand Positive Ageing Strategy

In 2001 the New Zealand Government launched the PAS. Positive ageing as a concept had already been in currency on the New Zealand public policy landscape since at least the mid 1990s (Prime Ministerial Task Force on Positive Ageing, 1996). According to Davey and Glasgow (2006) the development of the PAS was influenced by a number of factors. Public policy trends of the time demonstrated a shift from welfare and dependency to wellbeing and self reliance. Also, internationally the OECD warned of the fiscal impacts on the public purse of population ageing. Further, there was an increased focus in social policy on collective action by the State as well as by the community. The increased attention to the positive ageing concept was also evident in public policy in other countries such as Australia, USA and the United Kingdom (Holmes, 2006).

The PAS was one of a suite of strategies developed after 1999 by the then Labour Government in New Zealand (Davey & Glasgow, 2006). Related strategies include the New Zealand Disability Strategy (Ministry of Health, 2001), the New Zealand Transport Strategy (Ministry of Transport, 2002) and the New Zealand Housing Strategy (Housing New Zealand Corporation, 2005). The PAS (Dalziel, 2001a, p. 6) provides “...a framework within which all policy with implications for older people can be commonly understood and developed.” The Health of Older People Strategy (Dyson, 2002) is an example of a strategy that is a direct response to the PAS.

Notably, the PAS document does not include a clear definition of positive ageing, though the Prime Ministerial Task Force on Positive Ageing (1997, p. 7) noted that fundamentally ‘positive ageing’ is about ‘positive living’: “It is about people ageing confidently with increased richness of

life”. The PAS (Dalziel, 2001b, p. 9) states that the concept includes “...a number of factors, including health, financial security, independence, self-fulfilment, community attitudes, personal safety and security, and the physical environment”. The Strategy (Dalziel, 2001a, p. 11) further identifies the ‘obvious’ benefits of positive ageing as:

...good health, independence, intellectual stimulation, self fulfilment and friendship...(and) a happy, healthy, and confident ageing population (that) contributes a wealth of experience and skills to the community and the workforce, places less demand on social services, and provides positive role models for younger generations.

The Strategy has three components. First, a broad vision for positive ageing in New Zealand is articulated (Dalziel, 2001a, p. 13):

Our vision is for a society where people can age positively, where older people are highly valued and where they are recognised as an integral part of families and communities. New Zealand will be a positive place in which to age when older people can say that they live in a society that values them, acknowledges their contributions and encourages their participation.

The second component of the PAS is a set of ten Positive Ageing Principles to guide the development of public policy and services. Third, ten Goals and 36 associated Key Actions are provided.

At the launch of the PAS the Government instigated a corresponding annual Action Plan and Annual Report regime which enabled the assessment of performance by central, regional and local government towards the 10 Goals and the Key Actions. As a ‘whole of government’ strategy the PAS is influential on the New Zealand ageing landscape.

In 2007, the Ministry of Social Development released *Positive Ageing Indicators 2007* (Ministry of Social Development, 2007a). The report informs understandings of the wellbeing of older people in New Zealand. Together the PAS, the Ministry of Social Development’s *Social Report*, the Indicators Report, and the annual reporting regime provide a means to assess the wellbeing of older people in New Zealand over time.

The positive ageing concept, as adopted by New Zealand Government policy, has been criticised for its emphasis on economic activity and presenting an overly optimistic view of older age (Davey & Glasgow, 2006). From the perspective of the current study the PAS regime, that is,

the PAS and subsequent associated reports, has two fundamental weaknesses. The first weakness is apparent in the PAS, the second can be observed in the PAS and the *Positive Ageing Indicators 2007* Report.

The first weakness of the PAS is that the focus is solely on the 'aged' rather than explicit incorporation of a lifecourse orientation. The Strategy does, however, claim to take a lifecourse perspective, one which de-emphasises older age as a discrete life stage and instead focuses on ageing as a continuous process. That is, has an emphasis on the impact of earlier life experiences and socio-economic conditions on later life. The importance of the lifecourse is mentioned in the introductory sections of the Strategy (Dalziel, 2001a, p. 9):

Positive attitudes to ageing and expectations of continuing productivity challenge the notion of older age as a time of retirement and withdrawal from society. The focus is on lifetime experiences contributing to well-being in older age, and older age as a time for ongoing participation.

However, the lifecourse approach is hardly discernable in the Goals and Key Actions of the PAS. Of the 10 Goals and 36 Key Actions only Action 2.1 the "...promotion of holistic-based wellness throughout the lifecycle" (Dalziel, 2001a, p. 20) and Action 10.1 "Improving opportunities for education for all" (Dalziel, 2001a, p. 23) could be construed as consistent with a lifecourse perspective.

The absence of a clear lifecourse orientation in the Goals and Key Actions is at odds with the developmental work undertaken in the years preceding the PAS. The Prime Ministerial Taskforce on Positive Ageing placed high value on a lifecourse orientation to ageing. In its final report the Taskforce stated "...ageing is a continuum, with 'ageing' beginning at birth" (Prime Ministerial Task Force on Positive Ageing, 1997, p. 3). The lifecourse may have been omitted from the Goals and Key Actions because of the limitations of public policy to spheres of identifiable, measurable influence. However, the rationale for de-emphasising the lifecourse approach within the PAS is unclear.

In the context of the current study the Positive Ageing Strategy does not address inequities that may occur during the lifecourse and how these affect the state in which people arrive at old age. As discussed in Chapter One, significant disparities remain (though are reducing) between Māori and other groups in New Zealand across a wide range of indicators, including life expectancy. In

short, the fundamental issues of disparities throughout the lifespan and the resultant impacts on the experience of ageing, as well as the relatively small numbers of Māori surviving into old age remains unaddressed in the PAS.

While the *Positive Ageing Indicators 2007* Report does not in itself have a strong lifecourse focus, it is intended to be considered alongside the social report which provides a broader context.

A second weakness of the PAS regime is the narrow approach taken to recognising cultural diversity through Goal six, cultural diversity. This goal is concerned with providing a range of culturally appropriate service options to enable choices for older people. Seeking to address diversity through a limited focus on culturally appropriate services fails to recognise the diverse realities of older people, and the extent to which this impacts on the lifecourse of individuals and their experiences of old age.

Like the PAS, the *Positive Ageing Indicators 2007* document attempts to address Māori views on ageing through the inclusion of a Māori cultural identity indicator. The Report also acknowledges there are other ethnic minorities in New Zealand, and that their cultural practices should be addressed. However, there is a lack of reference to Pākehā cultural identity. The absence of a Pākehā cultural identity speaks to the 'invisible culture' approach whereby dominant majority cultures assume their culture as 'normal', and other cultures as different and novel (Consedine & Consedine, 2001). This 'othering' (Said, 1978) is unhelpful in that it risks judging Māori culture according to non-Māori standards and expectations.

Despite its weaknesses, the PAS remains the dominant policy framework with regard to older people in the New Zealand context and includes a range of universal indicators that are likely to be of high relevance to both Māori and non-Māori.

Summary

This chapter reviewed perspectives on ageing derived from Western science. The emergence and theoretical and conceptual development of the field of gerontology and social gerontology was discussed. As well, two conceptual frameworks for understanding or organising gerontological inquiry were also introduced. Wilmoth and Ferraro's (2007) fountain of gerontological discovery, in particular the focus on social aspects of ageing and public policy,

alongside the conceptual framework of the 'aged', 'ageing' and 'age' (Bengtson, et al., 2005) were identified as relevant to this Study.

In the local context, the PAS is the overarching framework for New Zealand public policy concerning ageing, and is therefore likely to impact on real people's lives. For this reason the PAS and the associated *Positive Ageing Indicators 2007* Report have been highlighted for consideration in relation to this Study. The extent to which the positive ageing indicators address Māori positive ageing is explored later in this thesis.

Chapter Five

MĀTAURANGA MĀORI PERSPECTIVES ON AGEING, THE AGED AND AGE

Introduction

In keeping with the interface approach adopted for the thesis, this chapter draws on a mātauranga Māori evidential source. An analysis of 42 proverbs is presented to elicit Māori views about age. The rationale for the use of proverbs as an evidential source has been outlined in Chapter Three. To structure the analysis the three part conceptual framework presented in Chapter Four comprising of ageing, the aged, and age is used. The current chapter begins with an explanation of different types of Māori proverbs. The proverbs are then presented and discussed in three sections and the main themes are explored.

Pēpeha, whakataukī and whakatauākī

There are a variety of terms for proverbial sayings in the Māori language. The most common terms are 'peha' or 'pēpeha' (as used by Mead and Grove), 'whakatauākī' and 'whakataukī'. The distinction between whakatauākī and whakataukī is based on context. In whakatauākī the circumstances in which the proverb was originally made and the identity of the person who coined the saying is known. In the case of the whakataukī the information regarding the specific context or individual is not known (Milroy, 1994) and the proverb has become part of the collective literary commons. There are also a number of terms that are preferred in specific regions such as 'whakawai' in Taranaki (Hohaia, 2001). In the following discussion the generic terms proverb and whakataukī are used to describe the sayings unless there is explicit evidence that they could be classed as whakatauākī.

Ageing

1. *Ka eke anō i te puke ki Ruahine.*

The person is ascending the mountain at Ruahine.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 152)¹²

This proverb evokes the image of the Ruahine mountain range. Ruahine is located in the Manawātū region of the North Island of New Zealand and during winter is capped with snow. A comparison is made with growing older. As a person ages he/she is seen as ascending to the snow-covered peaks of Ruahine. Although the Ruahine mountain range is identified, and in Māori terms particular tribal groups implicated, this whakataukī is still widely applicable. According to Mead (2003) adaptation and application of localised knowledge between tribal areas occurs frequently.

The metaphor can be seen in two ways. The first and most obvious implication is the snow may represent a person's hair whitening with age. A more oblique meaning could be that the summit of life is being approached. A person may be perceived as approaching the height of potential. The less positive implication is that there is a decline yet to come.

2. *He pakaru ā waka e taea te raupine mai.*

Damages of the canoe can be repaired.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 106)¹³

The use of the waka (canoe) in traditional Māori society was extensive and therefore many proverbs incorporate waka analogies (see Mead, H. & Grove, 2003). Because waka were used so frequently repairs would be made to address wear and tear.

Many Māori proverbs use balanced sentences to present two opposing ideas that give emphasis to a point. Dichotomous sentence patterns such as the affirmative 'taea' (can) and the negative 'kāore e taea' (cannot) are a common proverbial format. This particular proverb relies on

¹² Mead and Grove cite: Brougham, A. E., and Reed, A. W. *Māori Proverbs* 1963, p. 3; Brougham 1975, p. 3; Grey 1857 p. 35; Williams 1908 p. 7.

¹³ Mead and Grove cite: Brougham, A. E., and Reed, A. W. *Māori Proverbs* 1963, p. 79.

implication for its effect, that is, what is not being stated is actually the point being made. This cryptic proverb states that a damaged waka can be repaired and implies that something else cannot be repaired. The strong image of a damaged canoe is used to illustrate that physical attrition of the ageing human body cannot be repaired, the process is irreversible.

3. *E mōkai tupunga rua, kawē ake, kawē iho.*

O foolishness of two growths, one upwards and the other downwards.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 39)¹⁴

4. *Ka tūhoa te rā, ka warara, ka hinga.*

The sun comes to its zenith, then declines.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 190)¹⁵

While proverbs 3 and 4 employ different metaphors, their underlying messages are similar. Proverb 3 refers to the development of a plant, which grows upward then downward. In Māori philosophy the origin of the universe is expressed through genealogies. In some tribal areas pre-human stages of genealogy include terms relating to stages of plant ageing and development (Royal, T. A. C., 1998b). Similarly traditional narratives recount the stages of Tama-nui-te rā, the sun's, daily passage through the sky (Kāretu, 1993). Proverb 4 invokes the image of the moving sun rising to its highest point in the sky before descending, and finally setting.

Both of these proverbs use metaphors from nature to illustrate differing phases of the human life span. Both use rising and falling to symbolise change. The underlying message is that like plant growth and the celestial pathway of the sun the human life span can be broken down into stages. Early life can be seen as a phase of development and increasing strength towards a peak period. Then having reached this crest physical capacity will inevitably decrease.

¹⁴ Mead and Grove cite: Grace 1959, p. 175; Shortland 1980, p. 197; Te Manukura 1923:9.18.

¹⁵ Mead and Grove cite: Taylor 1870, p. 296; 1974, p. 129.

5. *Ka hia ngā kuikui i hoki ki Toitoi?*

How many old women return to active life?

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 153)¹⁶

As with any civilisation Māori society has over the centuries developed numerous divisions of labour, some assigned according to age. The use of two repeating syllables i.e. ‘kuikui’ followed by ‘toitoi’ provides rhythm to the proverb mimicking the mirrored pattern of the lifecourse described.

The term ‘toitoi’ has been translated by Mead and Grove above as ‘active life’. Williams (1992, p. 431) provides further illumination through two explanations. First, one translation for toitoi is “Tip, point, summit”. This presents a strong metaphorical and thematic link to proverbs 3 and 4. The second translation from Williams (1992, p. 431) opens another avenue for consideration where toitoi is translated as “Origin, source of mankind” (p. 431). This leads to the conclusion that the proverb is a reference to human reproduction, and therefore commenting on older woman having completed that part of their lifecycle.

6. *Te toa taua, mā te taua, te toa piki rākau, mā te rākau; ko te toa mahi kai, mā te huhu, mā te hanehane.*

The warrior meets his end in war, the tree-climber is killed by the tree, but the cultivator dies without violence to be eaten by worms and rot away.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 392)¹⁷

7. *Ko te toa taua i mate ki te tarāwhare, ka mau te toa o tēnā; ko te toa taua i riro i tētahi toa, he toa hekeheke tēnā.*

A warrior who dies of old age keeps his reputation always; a warrior who dies at the hand of another is a short-lived one.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 261)¹⁸

¹⁶ Mead and Grove cite: Turnbull n.d., p. 26; Williams 1908, p. 18; 1971, p. 154.

¹⁷ Mead and Grove cite: Stowell 1913, p. 130; Williams 1971, p. 33, p. 292.

In a similar vein to proverb 5, over the centuries Māori society developed numerous divisions of labour. This proverb suggests a direct correlation between the role that an individual performed and mortality. In addition, the success or failure attained during a vocation would also have longer term ramifications for the wider whānau, even beyond the individual's lifetime.

The first of these two proverbs imply vocation can determine ultimate destiny. This infers that decisions made and courses of action taken at a young age can have major consequences for outcomes later in life. The theme is similar in meaning to the expression 'live by the sword - die by the sword.' attributed to Jesus Christ in the Gospel of Matthew (Matthew 26:52) in the Bible.

The second proverb has a slightly different connotation in that the effect of an individual's actions, success or failure, would influence that person's legacy. In the given example the warrior who survives a career in warfare and dies of natural causes will be held in high regard for posterity. This sentiment illustrates the importance of legacy and transmission of mana through generations where an ancestor's deeds strongly influence the wider collective's perception of descendants (Ratima, Matiu, 1999).

8. E maha ngā rangi, ka tautau te remu ka taikuiatia ki te whare.

As the years pass, the hem of your garment will sag and you will have become an old woman.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 37)¹⁹

Mead and Grove have opted to translate 'remu' in this passage as the hem of a garment. Thus as the garment ages the hem will tend to sag. On first assessment the allusion of the hem sagging due to wear and tear is moderately effective to illustrate human ageing. However on closer consideration a more physically explicit illustration is rendered when another translation of remu as "buttocks" (Williams, 1992, p. 335) is employed. This is much more direct and may not conform to other ways of observing ageing. However this difference is celebrated in some quarters as supported by Tīmoti Kāretu's (1993, pp. 22-24) proposition in his haka 'Tāne-rore'

¹⁸ Mead and Grove cite: Mead 1981, p. 17.

¹⁹ Mead and Grove cite: Grey 1853, p. 19; 1857, p. 5; White 1887:IV.233; Williams 1971, p. 363.

“ Ki ō tātou tīpuna, kāore he huna o te kupu e,... Ngā kupu horetītī, ngā kupu nohunohu, e...
Our elders were never afraid to say what they meant...Descriptions were explicit and graphic...”

In the second part of whakataukī 8 is the phrase “ka taikuiatia ki te whare”. The term ‘whare’ is also mentioned in proverbs 27 and 7 in the Mead and Grove collection. The whare is a significant symbol associated with the older person as a “stay-at-home” (Brougham, et al., 2001, p. 101). That is, older people are associated with the home place and they should have the choice to stay in close proximity to their home if they so desire.

Mead and Grove also report that Brougham (1963, p. 78) records this whakataukī as an admonition warning youth to treat elders well as they will eventually grow to be old.

9. He horo ki tūparimaunga, he hewa ki te tangata kotahi.

A landslide of a mountain cliff is like the baldness of a man.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 71)²⁰

10. Horo maunga ki tua, pākira ki tangata kotahi.

As a landslide denudes the mountain so baldness comes to a person.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 142)²¹

According to a Māori world view geographical features such as mountains, rivers and lakes are seen as more than landmarks. Instead they figure in a wide range of considerations from identity linked with cosmological origins, actual ancestors, intertribal rivalries, artistic expression and historical narratives to the more practical issues such as food security (Durie, 2005b; Marsden, 2003). Therefore changes in characteristics of geographical features are noted, be they day to day or seasonal cycles or longer lasting changes of appearance such as landslides on mountains.

When discussing proverbs 9 and 10 Mead and Grove (2003) make reference to the Māori ability to see connections between apparently unrelated phenomena. However, it becomes obvious that these whakataukī are reminders of the influence physical geography has on Māori thought.

²⁰ Mead and Grove cite: Grey 1853, p. 324; 1857, p. 13; Williams 1908, p. 21; 1971, p. 61.

²¹ Mead and Grove cite: Turnbull n.d., p. 33; Williams 1908, p. 17; 1971, p. 147, p. 254.

The perceived loss of beauty through mountain slips is likened to the loss of elegant hair grooming of a man due to baldness. Further to Mead and Grove's interpretation these sayings highlight the difference between the human and geological timescale. Human life can be seen as a fleeting moment compared with the permanence of mountains, yet change still does occur over extended periods.

11. Te taru nei a te rūtawa te ara o ninihi.

This thing, grey hairs, is something that comes stealthily.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 390)²²

The use of the term 'ara' is of symbolic significance in this whakataukī. Ara, simply translated as "way or path" (Williams, 1992, p. 13) is used extensively in the Māori language to denote processes or journeys. As an example, 'He ara tāpokopoko' is mentioned in the waiata tangi 'Poua' from the South Taranaki region. Tāpokopoko, translated by Williams (1992, p. 384) as "soft, boggy" represents the trials and tribulations a deceased person encountered during the journey through life (Waikerepuru, 2001).

This proverb therefore suggests that ageing can be a gradual process that may not be obvious from day to day. But when considered in the context of the journey of life, ageing is conspicuous. While this proverb comments on ageing as a process it also refers to the physical manifestations of ageing much like proverbs 18, 19, 20 and 21.

12. Rākau papa pangā ka hei ki te marae.

A weapon discarded can be an ornament on the marae.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 348)²³

Mead and Grove (2003, p. 348) explain this proverb as "...a broken whalebone weapon can be made into an attractive neck ornament." In the past weaponry, 'rākau a Tū', had physical utility in times of warfare. Specific weapons such as those made from scarce materials including whalebone or greenstone were of particular value. Some weapons may have taken on added

²² Mead and Grove cite: Williams 1908, p. 14, 1971, p. 353.

²³ Mead and Grove cite: Downes 1914, p. 224.

significance if brandished by an individual of high rank, or if used on important occasions. Such weapons were frequently named individually and their histories retained. Ornaments on the other hand usually had very limited physical utility but their value was aesthetic and a major part of their value was garnered through the history of the ornament.

The contrast between a disused weapon and a precious neck ornament described in this proverb is potent. Mead and Grove suggest the weapon represents the physical strength and agility of youth while the neck ornament with limited physical application illustrates the intangible and accumulated qualities of old age.

This proverb is a comment on the transformations that occur during life as people age. Ageing affects the ways in which people are able to contribute and is fundamental to how people are valued. It could be suggested that the deeds carried out during the life span can directly relate to outcomes in latter life.

In this instance weapons used in significant battles, or that had been used to slay notable enemies would be valued highly. The resulting ornament fashioned from the broken weapon would carry with it the narratives and history and therefore be of significant value.

Table 11 summarises the themes arising from the proverbs considered so far.

Table 11 Proverb themes - ageing as a process

Proverb number	Proverb	Themes
1	<i>Ka eke anō i te puke ki Ruahine.</i> <i>The person is ascending the mountain at Ruahine.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Snow is an analogy for white hair • Region specific circumstances can be applied widely • Ageing is a climbing metaphor which includes ascent, summit, and descent
2	<i>He pakaru ā waka e taetae te raupine mai.</i> <i>Damages of the canoe can be repaired.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Old age is an irrevocable state • Physical attrition is inevitable • Ageing as a process occurs over time
3, 4	<i>E mōkai tupunga rua, kawae ake, kawae iho.</i> <i>O foolishness of two growths, one upwards and the other downwards.</i> <i>Ka tūhoa te rā, ka warara, ka hinga.</i> <i>The sun comes to its zenith, then declines.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ageing is a phenomenon that predated human existence • Ageing is the sun's cycle; rises, peaks; then sets • Human ageing is grounded within naturally occurring cycles
5	<i>Ka hia ngā kuikui i hoki ki Toitoti?</i> <i>How many old women return to active life?</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ageing is an irreversible process • Implication of ascent followed by descent • Illustration of physical changes during ageing process
6, 7	<i>Te toa taua, mā te taua, te toa piki rākau, mā te rākau;</i> <i>ko te toa mahi kai, mā te huhu, mā te hanehane.</i> <i>The warrior meets his end in war, the tree-climber is killed by the tree, but the cultivator dies without violence to be eaten by worms and rot away.</i> <i>Ko te toa taua i mate ki te tarāwhare, ka mau te toa o tēnā; ko te toa taua i riro i tētahi toa, he toa hekeheke tēnā.</i> <i>A warrior who dies of old age keeps his reputation always; a warrior who dies at the hand of another is a short-lived one.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decisions and actions made early in life effect later life • Occupation during one's youth has implications for old age • Ageing involves the intergenerational transmission of legacy
8	<i>E maha ngā rangi, ka tautau te remu ka taikuiatia ki te whare.</i> <i>As the years pass, the hem of your garment will sag and you will have become an old woman.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Māori observations of physical ageing may not coincide with Western norms • Connection to the home place in latter life highlighted • Advice to young people to treat elders well as they too will grow old
9, 10	<i>He horo ki tūparimaunga, he hewa ki te tangata kotahi.</i> <i>A landslide of a mountain cliff is like the baldness of a man.</i> <i>Horo maunga ki tua, pākira ki tangata kotahi.</i> <i>As a landslide denudes the mountain so baldness comes to a person.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use of metaphor from physical environment • Physical appearance changes with age • Difference between geological and human timescale
11	<i>Te taru nei a te rūtawa te ara o ninihi.</i> <i>This thing, grey hairs, is something that comes stealthily.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ageing is seen as a gradual process • Acknowledgement of human conceptions of time
12	<i>Rākau papa pangā ka hei ki te marae.</i> <i>A weapon discarded can be an ornament on the marae.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ageing is seen as transformation • Utility and value change with age • Deeds carried out early in life have implications for old age and beyond

The Aged

13. Kai Hawaiki noa atu au e noho atu.

I am sitting far away in Hawaiki.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 158)²⁴

Hawaiki is considered the ancestral home of Māori prior to the migration to Aotearoa (Walker, 1996). It is also widely regarded as the spiritual homeland where Māori return in the afterlife. During ceremonial farewells the deceased is implored to return to Hawaiki. ‘Haere ki Hawaiki-nui, Hawiki-roa, Hawaiki-pāmamao’ (go then to big Hawaiki, long Hawaiki, distant Hawaiki) (Mead, H., 2003). Importantly the phrase ‘noa atu’ is translated by Williams as “denoting absence of limitations or conditions, to be translated variously according to the context” (Williams, 1992, p. 222). Mead and Grove (2003) relay that this proverb suggests that on occasion people prefer their own thoughts rather than the conversation of others.

The importance for older people to have time and space for contemplation is highlighted in this saying. Although Hawaiki is regarded as the spiritual homeland of the afterlife the connotation here is more about a non-physical, a mental or spiritual space to reflect on the deep philosophical questions in life as opposed to engagement in trivial banter.

14. Waiho mā te piraui kainga a Te Winirehe.

Leave them for the rubbish heap of Te Winirehe.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 418)²⁵

Proverb 14 is an example of a whakatauaikī. Te Winirehe of the Tūhoe tribe uttered this saying in response to a request that a visiting delegation should be served the choice portions of preserved birds. Mead and Grove (2003, p. 418) recount that “Te Winirehe was concerned that the elderly of his community should receive quality food.” This proverb is an excellent example of Māori society’s (and societies generally) need to find balance between the competing demands of day to day life and caring for those that have made prior contributions to the collective. In

²⁴ Mead and Grove cite: Brougham 1975, p. 31.

²⁵ Mead and Grove cite: Best 1977b, p. 273; 1977c, p. 408.

this case the demands in question were the obligation to provide appropriate hospitality to visitors, and uphold the mana of the home place while addressing the needs of older members of the community who may have had special dietary requirements.

15. *E rere tonu ana te toretore o te kanohi.*

The eyes are continually watering.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 44)²⁶

16. *Heoi anō, tā te tangata e haere ake ana, he harahara wai ngā kanohi.*

Never mind, when one is aging the eyes water.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 103)²⁷

Both of these proverbs comment on a physical manifestation of age. Mead and Grove (2003) contend that a long history of smoky sleeping quarters (from internal fires) in the past may have caused an eye affliction in older Māori. Therefore watering eyes became associated with older age.

The second, more detailed proverb extends the meaning further by underlining the need for people who observe the physical manifestations of ageing to do so without remark, to avoid causing offence. Mead and Grove (2003, p. 103) surmise that:

The message is that old age is marked with certain characteristics, one which may be the tendency for the eyes to water. Others should accept the signs without comment which might hurt.

17. *Kua pakoā te tai.*

The tide is low.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 273)²⁸

²⁶ Mead and Grove cite: Grey 1857, p. 103; Williams 1971, p. 337, p. 437.

²⁷ Mead and Grove cite: Grey 1857, p. 103; Williams 1908, p. 11; 1971, p. 36.

²⁸ Mead and Grove cite: Turnbull n.d., p. 17.

Knowledge of tidal rhythms were fundamentally important in traditional Māori society (Walker, 2007). Seafood gathered at the foreshore provided dietary sustenance to coastal tribes. Prediction of tidal movements based on observation were also important. Launching and landing canoes for tasks such as deep sea fishing, general transport and warfare all necessitated in-depth understanding of tidal cycles. It is therefore of little surprise that many proverbs are associated with the tidal movements of the sea.

The use of low tide to symbolise ageing is also not surprising. The low tide, which is less physically imposing (when compared to the preceding high tide), is an appropriate metaphor for Māori ageing. Mead and Grove (2003) take this proverb to be an analogy for decreased strength in old age. However, because the low tide is the time when seafood is collected it could also be contended that the low tide can also be seen as a time to reap benefits from proceeding times. It may also symbolise the rewards of old age that can be attained after a lifetime of contribution.

18. *Ka tata ki a koe ngā taru o Tura.*

The weeds of Tura are upon you.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 188)²⁹

19. *Ko ngā taru a Tura.*

The weeds of Tura.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 238)³⁰

20. *Kua tau ngā taru o Tura.*

The weeds of Tura have appeared.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 275)³¹

²⁹ Mead and Grove cite: Brougham 1975, p. 107; Grey 1857, p. 44.

³⁰ Mead and Grove cite: Ngata and Te Hurinui 1970, p. 64; Stowell n.d. b.

³¹ Mead and Grove cite: Best 1905, p. 226.

21. *Ngā taru o Tura.*

The grey hairs of old age.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 331)³²

According to Mead and Grove (2003) Tura is said to have lived in the same era as Kahungunu, the eponymous ancestor of the Ngāti Kahungunu people, in the area now known as Hawke's Bay. While the exact details of the narrative vary somewhat between the versions given above, the 'weeds of Tura' are said to be signs of physical ageing including grey hair. Other associated physical signs of Tura listed are: warts, moles and excrescences on the skin; boils; and mucous discharge.

Like proverb 8, the explicit traditional Māori portrayal of the physical characteristics of old age are evident. Mead and Grove's (2003, p. 275) interpretation of proverb 20 goes as far as to state "The weeds of Tura are grey hairs and signal the slow but inevitable approach of death." The tone of this passage along with the graphic list of features above suggests a matter-of-fact description of physical ageing and eventual death.

22. *He kaha anō ka motumotu.*

Like a worn out mooring rope.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 78)³³

23. *Ka ruha te kupenga, ka pae kei te ākau.*

When the old net is worn out, it is cast upon the beach.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 184)³⁴

In traditional Māori society ropes and nets were highly prized for their utilitarian value, but also because of the amount of time and resource required to produce them (Buck, 1950). Therefore, the decision to discard a net or rope due to wear and tear would not have been taken lightly.

³² Mead and Grove cite: Williams 1971, p. 392.

³³ Mead and Grove cite: Brougham 1975, p. 121; Colenso 1879, p. 141; Grey 1857, p. 15.

³⁴ Mead and Grove cite: Brougham 1975, p. 73; Colenso 1879, p. 141; Grey 1857, p. 43.

While using the same metaphor of the net as seen in proverb 35, Mead and Grove (2003) relate the above two sayings to the specific situation of an older women feeling that her physical attractiveness to her husband declines with age. A broader explanation of this proverb includes reference to the loss of physical strength of a rope that is unable to prevent a canoe being swept down-stream by the current (Brougham, et al., 2001). Another interpretation of the rope/net metaphor would replace the so-called woman's physical attractiveness with the durability of the relationship between the older couple. The worn rope being under strain to secure the canoe against the current is recognition that over long periods of time a couple's relationship faces many challenges and without care, it may weaken and be disrupted.

24. *Kei hea aku hoa i mua rā, i te tōnuitanga?*

Where are my friends of bygone days when we were vigorous and productive?

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 200)³⁵

This proverb originates from the widely known waiata mōteatea (traditional Māori song) '*E pā tō hau*' (Ngata & Jones, 2004). In their description of the song Ngata and Jones classify *E pā tō hau* as a lament. The song was composed in memory of Te Wano a leader of the Ngāti Apakura tribe originally of the Waikato region. However, the wider historical context of the waiata (and resultant whakataukī) adds another fundamental layer to its meaning. Te Wano passed away during the forced exodus of Ngāti Apakura from the Waikato region as a result of the land wars at Orakau in 1864 and subsequent confiscations by the Crown (Anderson, 2001; Ngata & Jones, 2004). His last request was for his people to ascend a mountain at Tīraupenga so he may look over the land toward their forsaken homelands (Anderson, 2001; Ngata & Jones, 2004). It can therefore be seen that the composer's lament was also driven by loss of land and displacement.

This whakataukī gains much of its effect by posing the rhetorical question 'Where are my friends of bygone days?' Rhetorical questions are a device used by exponents of whaikōrero, formal speech making, to engage the audience. This literary device produces an image of a lone surviving aged person contemplating the loneliness of outliving his/her peers.

³⁵ Mead and Grove cite: Williams 1971, p. 436.

25. Kua pae nei hoki te kōputunga ngaru ki te one.

Masses of foam have been cast up to lie on the sand.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 273)³⁶

26. Me he ika kōharatia i te rā.

Like a fish split open in sun.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 293)³⁷

As with many proverbs in *Ngā Pepēha*, imagery from human interaction with the natural environment is employed. Proverbs 25 and 26 contain symbolism from the foreshore and sea. Proverb 25 invokes the image of the residue of sea foam left on the sand. Mead and Grove report that the imagery of Saying 26 uses the simile of a gutted fish left to dry in the sun. Both of these images are seen elsewhere to emphasise the perceived loss of physical ability associated with the aged. For instance Tīmotu from Ngāti Ruanui in South Taranaki includes both symbols in his waiata mōteatea '*Whakarongo e te rau*' (c.1835) to express his dismay at being unable to join a war party due to his old age and asthma (Ngata & Jones, 2004).

An important common theme of the imagery of these two proverbs and *Whakarongo e te rau* is the self-perception and feeling of inadequacy of the older person. In all of these cases the older person is expressing a sense of loss of physical strength, ability or attractiveness.

Table 12 contains the major themes from proverbs 13 to 26.

³⁶ Mead and Grove cite: Brougham 1975, p. 27; Grey 1857, p. 63; 1853, p. 302; Williams 1971, p. 139.

³⁷ Mead and Grove cite: Williams 1971, p. 124; White 1887:V.164

Table 12 Proverb themes - the aged

Proverb number	Proverb	Themes
13	<i>Kai Hawaiki noa atu au e noho atu.</i> <i>I am sitting far away in Hawaiki.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hawaiki is a metaphor for mental and spiritual reflection Older people may need space and time for contemplation Trivial matters of the day may not be of interest to older people
14	<i>Waiho mā te pirau kainga a Te Winirehe.</i> <i>Leave them for the rubbish heap of Te Winirehe</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Balance required between caring for older people and other responsibilities Recognition of past contribution of older people Importance of maintaining mana
15, 16	<i>E rere tonu ana te toretore o te kanohi.</i> <i>The eyes are continually watering.</i> <i>Heoi anō, tā te tangata e haere ake ana, he harahara wai ngā kanohi.</i> <i>Never mind, when one is aging the eyes water.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Physical attributes of the aged Correlation drawn between physical signs of the aged and context The need for sensitivity by younger people regarding challenges faced by older people
17	<i>Kua pakoa te tai.</i> <i>The tide is low.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Decreased physical strength of the aged Parallels between environmental cycles and descriptions of the aged Reward for past contributions by the aged
18, 19, 20, 21	<i>Ka tata ki a koe ngā taru o Tura.</i> <i>The weeds of Tura are upon you.</i> <i>Ko ngā taru a Tura.</i> <i>The weeds of Tura.</i> <i>Kua tau ngā taru o Tura.</i> <i>The weeds of Tura have appeared.</i> <i>Nga taru o Tura.</i> <i>The grey hairs of old age.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Physical manifestation encountered by the aged Association of impending death for the aged Matter of fact perspective on concerns of the aged
22, 23	<i>He kaha anō ka motumotu.</i> <i>Like a worn out mooring rope.</i> <i>Ka ruha te kupenga, ka pae kei te ākau.</i> <i>When the old net is worn out, it is cast upon the beach.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Effects of physical changes on the aged The cumulative effect of time results in challenges for the aged If aspects of one's life are not actively maintained then strain built up through the passing of time will eventually prevail
24	<i>Kei hea aku hoa i mua rā, i te tōnuitanga?</i> <i>Where are my friends of bygone days when we were vigorous and productive?</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Experience of loneliness through surviving one's peers Feelings of loss of vigour and productivity by the aged Perceptions of the aged are connected to historical context
25, 26	<i>Kua pae nei hoki te kōputunga ngaru ki te one.</i> <i>Masses of foam have been cast up to lie on the sand.</i> <i>Me he ika kōharatia i te rā.</i> <i>Like a fish split open in sun.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Effects of physical age Experiences of aged expressed through environmental imagery Self-perceived decrease in physical characteristics

Age

27. Nā wai te kōkōmuka tū tara-a-whare i kiia kia haere

Who said that the shrub standing beside the house should go.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 320)³⁸

The kōkōmuka is a plant species that often grows against the walls of buildings (Williams, 1992). It has therefore become associated with the practice of remaining near one's home.

The metaphor of the kōkōmuka shrub as a 'stay at home' is similar to the references to home place contained in proverbs 7 and 8. The older person's desire to remain at home is important, to be respected and indeed expressed in the tone of this rhetorical question which begins with the interrogative 'Nā wai'. The older person's right to assert the wish to remain at home is balanced by past and ongoing contributions to the wider collective. In the contemporary situation a significant function is undertaken by the person who stays at home. Within the context of urbanised and globalised Māori society, the 'stay at home' older person not only provides a cultural link with the past but also provides a physical link to the wider collective's sense of 'home'.

28. Māku tēnei, mā te rā e tō ana. He aha kei a koe? Kei te rā e huru ake ana.

Leave this for me, for the setting sun. And what is for you? The glowing sun is the rising sun.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 280)³⁹

29. Kāpā he rā e huri mai ana; tēnā he rā e heke ana.

It is not as though it were a sun rising, but rather a sun setting.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 177)⁴⁰

The daily rising and setting of the sun had a fundamental bearing on activity in traditional Māori society and the natural world generally. The rising sun was compared to new life, potential and

³⁸ Mead and Grove cite: Brougham, A. E., and Reed, A. W. *Māori Proverbs* 1963, p. 78.

³⁹ Mead and Grove cite: Brougham, A. E., and Reed, A. W. *Māori Proverbs* 1963, p. 79.

⁴⁰ Mead and Grove cite: Taylor 1855, p. 131.

anticipation. The setting sun, however, signified a time of reflection on past deeds and past activities. The contrasting sentiments are seen in the style and content of karakia, or prayers, traditionally recited at the beginning and end of the day (Waikerepuru, 1998). The use of the term ‘māku’, the singular possessive, denotes that the older person is associating him/herself with the setting sun.

The metaphor of the sun and in particular the collocation of sunrise and sunset in proverbs 28 and 29 allude to the contrast between older people and young people. In both cases the older person is compared to the setting sun and the connotations of reflection and winding down. The younger generation is likened to the rising sun and the heralding of a new day.

30. He rākau ka hinga ki te mano wai.

A tree that will fall to the flood.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 113)⁴¹

31. Mōku anō ēnei rā, mō te rā ka hekeheke, he rākau ka hinga ki te mano wai.

For me these remaining days, for the setting of the sun, the tree that falls in the flood.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 310)⁴²

32. Mōku anō ēnei rā, mō te rā e tō ana, mō te rākau hinga.

For me these remaining days, for the sun that is setting, for the fallen tree.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 310)⁴³

All three of these whakataukī refer to fallen trees. The two latter proverbs (31 and 32) also allude to the setting sun. In contrast to other proverbs that mention the sun, no allusion has been made to the rising sun.

Comparing fallen trees to people dying is common in Māori imagery. One popular example is contained in the widely known whakataukī “Kua hinga te tōtara o te wao nui a Tāne” which is

⁴¹ Mead and Grove cite: Grey 1857, p. 73; Williams 1908, p. 26; 1971, p. 176.

⁴² Mead and Grove cite: Brougham 1975, p. 30; Colenso 1879, p. 142; Grey 1857, p. 73, p. 103.

⁴³ Mead and Grove cite: Best 1901b, p. 151; 1977b, p. 385.

translated as “A tōtara in the great forest of Tāne has fallen” (Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, pp. 471-472). The comparison is with the loss of a leader, whose passing has left a gap in society.

The absence of the rising sun and use of the fallen tree metaphor suggests a focus on death and dying as the natural progression from old age, but with a connection to successive generations implied. The reference to trees eventually falling to flood waters gives the sense that death is powerful and it will eventually prevail.

This sentiment is captured in the waiata tangi ‘*Poua*,’ referred to earlier. In farewelling the deceased person the waiata comes to a point of acceptance of death as part of the natural order of the human life cycle. The phrase “Kia pai ai he nohoanga mō te tama nei mō tūtenganahau” (Waikerepuru, 2001) can be translated as ‘To make room for the following generation for the ongoing survival of humanity’.

33. Ka pai anō au ki te tihotihoi, ki te makihoi; ka te pakitua i aku ringa, ka whakaihi ki te hihi o te rā.

I indeed enjoy wandering and meandering about with hands clasped behind my back, basking in the sunshine.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 178)⁴⁴

34. Māku te kai, he maha āu kai ki muri.

Give me the food, you will have plenty afterwards.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 280)⁴⁵

Proverbs 33 and 34 employ different symbolism and focus on time tense but share the same theme.

According to Williams (1992) the terms ‘tihotihoi’ and ‘makihoi’ contained in proverb 33 mean to wonder about aimlessly. The concept being conveyed is that an older person is entitled to

⁴⁴ Mead and Grove cite: Grey 1853, p. 88; Ngata and Te Hurinui 1974, p. 12; Te Rangikaheke n.d., p. 137; Williams 1971, p. 170, p. 254, p. 416.

⁴⁵ Mead and Grove cite: Shortland 1980, p. 201; Te Manukura 1923.9.18

leisure time and they are no longer always expected to meet the demands of society as they did in youth. Older people have earned the time to relax; their past contributions have been valued.

In contrast to considering the past, proverb 34 anticipates the future. The most common translation of 'kai' is 'food' (Williams, 1992). However, alternative meanings provided by Williams further illuminate the underlying implication of this proverb. Kai is also translated as the transitive verb 'consume' (Williams, 1992, p. 85), thus broadening the scope to lend weight to prioritising resource allocation to older people ahead of the younger people.

It denotes the allocation of resources for older people based on the understanding that younger generations will be taken care of in the future. This theme is acted out at Māori gatherings where older people are accorded priority in being served food (Salmond, A., 1976).

35. *Ka pū te ruha, ka hao te rangatahi.*

When the net lies in a heap, a net goes fishing.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 181)⁴⁶

36. *Kāore e tae te waewae pakiaka ki te waewae kai kapua.*

Never will the foot stumbling on roots overtake the one touching the clouds.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, pp. 174-175)⁴⁷

37. *Tū ana he rākau pūwhāwhā, haere ana te rākau wharemoa.*

The partly decayed trees stand but the hollow tree goes.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 407)⁴⁸

All three of the above proverbs contrast the abilities of youth with the attributes of old age. Proverb 35 uses the same imagery of the net or rope as proverbs 22 and 23. Mead and Grove state that this whakataukī is concerned with succession of younger generations into roles currently held by older people.

⁴⁶ Mead and Grove cite: Best 1899, p. 637; Shortland 1980, p. 201; Williams 1971, p. 35, p. 300, p. 323.

⁴⁷ Mead and Grove cite: Best 1977b, p. 33.

⁴⁸ Mead and Grove cite: Best 1907a, p. 237; Williams 1971, p. 318, p. 490.

According to Mead and Grove (2003) proverb 37 is a whakatauākī attributed to Pouwharekura, the 5th and last wife of Kahungunu, when she was comparing her ageing husband to the ephemeral attributes of a younger man. This saying implies that although a person's physical strength may wane with age, he or she can still be more reliable than a younger person who lacks fortitude.

All three of the above sayings demonstrate the importance of the relative status of the speaker and the audience of whakataukī. For instance an older person uttering the proverb “Ka pū te ruha ka hao te rangatahi” (Proverb 35) to a group of younger people would be seen as a gesture of passing the mantle of leadership onto the next generation. However the same proverb spoken by a young person to an older person in succeeding his/her role could cause great offence.

These three proverbs are also examples of the ‘matarua’ or the double-edged sword nature of whakataukī. There are many instances of proverbial retorts to whakataukī. Following the above example a suitable response to a young person conveying ‘Ka pū te ruha ka hao te rangatahi’ to older people would be ‘tamariki wāwāhi tahā’ which literally means ‘children breaking calabashes’. This insinuates that children (young people) disregard the lessons of their forebears and are reckless with possessions and resources (Mead, H. & Grove, 2003). Proverb 36 could also be seen as a matarua retort to proverb 40.

38. He rākau tawhito, e mau ana te taitea i waho rā, e tū te kōhiwi.

An ancient tree with sapwood just adhering on the outside and only the heartwood standing firm.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 114)⁴⁹

39. Nō te mea rā ia he rākau tawhito, e mau ana te taitea i waho rā, e tū te kōhiwi.

For it is certain that in a very old tree the sapwood is on the outside and the heartwood stands firm.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 321)⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Mead and Grove cite: Ngata and Te Hurunui 1974, p. 61; Williams 1908, p. 10.

⁵⁰ Mead and Grove cite: Brougham 1975, p. 109; Grey 1857, p. 79.

Over centuries Māori developed an extensive knowledge base of the native trees, their characteristics and potential usage (Best, 1910). This is reflected in the large body of Māori traditional literature concerning trees. *Ngā pēpeha* for example, contains over 100 proverbs about trees. Proverbs 38 and 39 are almost identical but are presented by Mead and Grove with differing interpretations of the dichotomous metaphor of heartwood and sapwood. In proverb 38 the pairing is used as an analogy for two simultaneous characteristics of older people; a weakened body but a strong will.

In the second proverb the metaphors of sapwood and heartwood of a tree highlight the differing contribution older and younger people can make to the collective. Mead and Grove (2003) point out that the metaphor represents a battle formation where older experienced chiefs remain in the centre of the formation providing advice and support for the younger warriors stationed on the outer defences. The formation requires forward planning, co-ordination and engagement by the leaders and individuals involved. Together proverbs 38 and 39 highlight the experience, dependability and continuity older people can potentially make to collectives.

40. He tira kaumātua, tēnā te haere nā.

A travelling party of elders travels yonder.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 125)⁵¹

41. Ka haere te mātātahi, ka noho te mātāpuputu.

Youth rushes in where age deliberates.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 153)⁵²

42. Hohoro te kai mā tātou, ākuanei tū ana Raeroa, noho ana Raepoto.

Let us hurry the eating. Then Raeroa will rise and Raepoto will sit.

(Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 140)⁵³

⁵¹ Mead and Grove cite: Williams 1908, p. 19; 1971, p. 106.

⁵² Mead and Grove cite: Best 1977a, p. 15; 1975b, p. 11; Williams 1971, p. 190, p. 191.

⁵³ Mead and Grove cite: Brougham 1975, p. 124; Colenso 1879, p. 133; Grey 1857, p. 31.

Similar meanings are shared by proverbs 40 and 41. Williams (1992, p. 106) suggests that proverb 41 refers to “anything slow and sure”. Older people who may, with the benefit of experience, prefer to spend time on a slow steady approach in their endeavours. The older person’s tendency to deliberate before action serves as a foil for the exuberance of youth.

The words *mātātahi* and *mātāpūputu* as seen in proverb 41 are metaphors for young and older people. Williams (1992) translates ‘*mātā*’ as “heap, layer”, ‘*tahi*’ as “one” and ‘*pūputu*’ as “lie in a heap one upon another”. Therefore, *mātātahi* or youth is a small heap and *mātāpūputu* represents a large heap. The connotation is with age comes a sense of accumulation, this may be of years, resources, and in the case of this *whakataukī* it represents accumulated experience. It is this experience that leads an older person to deliberate whereas an eager youth may ‘rush in’.

Proverb 42 employs the terms ‘*raeroa*’ and ‘*raepoto*’ which literally translate as ‘long forehead’ and ‘short forehead’ respectively. The figurative meaning of these terms provides a much richer understanding. *Raeroa*, denotes holding the head high (so that the full forehead can be seen); proud, and aware of the surroundings and wider context. *Raepoto* on the other hand, suggests a person whose head is bowed (with only a small part of the forehead visible), who only considers what is directly in view. The implication is that older people represented by the *raeroa* are more likely than youth, or *raepoto*, to prioritise or at least balance the needs of others against narrow goals and instant gratification. Table 13 summarises the themes identified from proverbs 27- 42.

Table 13 Proverb themes - age

Proverb number	Proverb	Themes
27	Nā wai te kōkōmuka tū tara-a-whare i kīia kia haere. <i>Who said that the shrub standing beside the house should go.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Older people should have the option of staying at their home place The older person has a right to assert the wish to remain at the home place Older people act as a link to the home place for whānau
28, 29	Māku tēnei, mā te rā e tō ana. He aha kei a koe? Kei te rā e huru ake ana. <i>Leave this for me, for the setting sun. And what is for you? The glowing sun is the rising sun.</i> Kāpā he rā e huri mai ana; tēnā he rā e heke ana. <i>It is not as though it were a sun rising, but rather a sun setting.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The setting sun is like older people The rising sun represent younger people Older people may liken themselves to the setting sun.
30, 32, 31	He rākau ka hinga ki te mano wai. <i>A tree that will fall to the flood.</i> Mōku anō ēnei rā, mō te rā ka hekeheke, he rākau ka hinga ki te mano wai. <i>For me these remaining days, for the setting of the sun, the tree that falls in the flood.</i> Mōku anō ēnei rā, mō te rā e tō ana, mō te rākau hinga. <i>For me these remaining days, for the sun that is setting, for the fallen tree.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Focus on death as natural progression from old age Falling trees and setting sun represent death and dying Growing older and dying makes way for successive generations
33, 34	Ka pai anō au ki te tihotihoi, ki te makihoi; ka te pakitua i aku ringa, ka whakaihi ki te hihī o te rā. <i>I indeed enjoy wandering and meandering about with hands clasped behind my back, basking in the sunshine.</i> Māku te kai, he maha āu kai ki muri. <i>Give me the food, you will have plenty afterwards.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Older people have earned rest through previous contribution Older people may use resources now with the expectation that succeeding generations will have access to remaining wealth Importance of intergenerational transactions
35, 36, 37	Ka pū te ruha, ka hao te rangatahi. <i>When the net lies in a heap, a net goes fishing.</i> Kāore e tae te wae wae pakiaka ki te wae wae kai kapua. <i>Never will the foot stumbling on roots overtake the one touching the clouds.</i> Tū ana he rākau pūwhāwhā, haere ana te rākau wharemoa. <i>The partly decayed trees stand but the hollow tree goes.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Intergenerational succession planning is important Abilities of youth contrast with the attributes of old age Māori views on age utilise metaphors for skills, roles and physical wellbeing
38, 39	He rākau tawhito, e mau ana te taitea i waho rā, e tū te kōhiwi. <i>An ancient tree with sapwood just adhering on the outside and only the heartwood standing firm.</i> Nō te mea rā ia he rākau tawhito, e mau ana te taitea i waho rā, e tū te kōhiwi. <i>For it is certain that in a very old tree the sapwood is on the outside and the heartwood stands firm.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Despite physical frailty older people can be very strong of character Complementary contributions of older and younger generations Planning, co-ordination and engagement by leadership and community enables synergy between generations
40, 41, 42	He tira kaumātua, tēnā te haere nā. <i>A travelling party of elders travels yonder.</i> Ka haere te mātātahi, ka noho te mātāpuputu. <i>Youth rushes in where age deliberates.</i> Hohoro te kai mā tātou, ākuanei tū ana Raeroa, noho ana Raepoto. <i>Let us hurry the eating. Then Raeroa will rise and Raepoto will sit.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Older people's perception and appreciation of time differ to younger generations Older people's tendency to deliberate counterbalances the exuberance of youth Older people are more likely than youth to prioritise the needs of others over instant, personal gratification

Summary

The whakataukī and whakatauākī analysed originated from the 19th Century and earlier, and capture the views and values offered by Māori of the time. The lives and circumstances of Māori have undergone rapid and radical change since the proverbs were conceived and many of the metaphors (such as waka, fishing nets, and ropes) feature less often in the lives of contemporary Māori. However, the underlying values of Te Ao Māori continue to be transmitted through the ongoing use of these proverbs, in formal Māori gatherings by orators, through song and artistic expression or in day to day conversation. Analysis of the 42 proverbs examined in this chapter provide an insight into Māori views on ageing, the aged and age. From the analysis a number of recurring themes can be discerned and are summarised below.

Natural phenomena ranging from celestial elements such as the sun and moon or terrestrial features such as mountains, the sea or trees were referred to extensively. It is apparent that a close affinity with nature fundamentally influenced a Mātauranga Māori and Māori ways of interpreting the world.

The importance of relationships, both in close proximity to the older person and with wider social groupings, were evident in the whakataukī. The wellbeing of the collective was frequently indicated.

A further theme is concerned with the interaction that takes place between generations. This interaction may involve, for example the transfer of roles and responsibilities between generations or relate to the fair allocation of resources. This theme is apparent in the common representations of older and young generations within the same proverb. Related to intergenerational interactions is the notion of legacy, that is, one's actions during life may have implications not only for old age but also beyond the individual's lifetime for that person's descendents.

The contribution made by older people to the collective and society in general was another key theme. In some cases the prior contribution of older people earlier in their lifetime was noted. In other cases the complementary contributions by older and younger generations was highlighted. There were also indications of the unique contributions that older people make.

A commonly expressed notion in the proverbs was of ageing as a life-long process. Several of the whakataukī alluded to the implications of actions and decisions made earlier in life to later years and the legacy of future generations.

The proverbs analysed in this chapter express two views of ageing. First, an acknowledgment that in some spheres ageing may represent a decline in physical capacity, represented in metaphors of fallen trees or the sunset. Second, through metaphors such as ascending mountains or the sun reaching its zenith, whakataukī also underline the importance of human potential. Old age is a time when the achievements over a lifetime may culminate in the fulfilment of potential.

Chapter Six

AGEING - LIFE EXPERIENCES OF OLDER MĀORI

Introduction

This chapter is the first of three data chapters that present findings from interviews with 20 older Māori resident in Taranaki. Data is organised in the three chapters according to the framework for investigating the phenomenon of ageing proposed by Bengtson et al (2005)– ‘ageing’, ‘the aged’ and ‘age’. This chapter presents narratives related to ‘ageing’, that is ageing as a developmental process and factors that impact across the lifespan of individuals. The next two chapters present findings relating to ‘the aged’ (Māori perceptions and experiences of old age) and ‘age’ (roles in older age).

This chapter begins with a profile of participants, including demographic details. Participant responses follow that relate to ageing as a process and therefore have a broad focus on experiences throughout the lifecourse, from early childhood and through adulthood. The chapter recounts participants’ recollections of everyday experiences as well as significant events during their lifetimes.

Profile of participants

Interviews were carried out with twenty Māori aged over 55 years resident in Taranaki. Of those participants who were able to provide their date of birth (18 participants), ten were aged 65 years or older, and eight were younger than 65 years. The oldest participant was 83 years old. Thirteen females and seven males participated in the research. Seventeen participants were born in Taranaki, and the remaining three were born in Porirua, Taihape and Gisborne.

All participants identified affiliations with at least one of the ten Taranaki region iwi⁵⁴ and in addition, a number of participants identified multiple local affiliations. Participants included

⁵⁴ The iwi are Ngāti Tama, Ngāti Mutunga, Ngāti Maru, Te Ātiawa, Taranaki, Ngā Ruahine, Ngāti Ruanui, Ngā Rauru, Tāngahoe and Te Pakakohi. It should be noted there is debate within Taranaki Māori as to the iwi status of Tāngahoe and Te Pakakohi.

representation from Ngāti Maru (one), Te Ātiawa (three), Taranaki (five), Ngā Ruahine (13), Ngāti Ruanui (six), Tāngahoe (three) and Ngā Rauru (three). As well, participants identified affiliations with 14 other iwi from outside Taranaki and throughout New Zealand.

One participant identified Māori as their first language, though almost all had some degree of Māori language competency. A number of participants were raised speaking the Māori language to some degree, but generally language competency diminished over time. Many participants had made, or were currently making, efforts to enhance their Māori language fluency.

Participants tended to have received most or all of their compulsory school education in Taranaki. Four interviewees attended Māori boarding schools outside the region for at least part of their secondary school education. Eleven participants indicated that they had undertaken some form of tertiary education. The level of study varied, and included community based short courses, undergraduate certificate and diploma, bachelor and one post graduate qualification. The tertiary institutions they attended were diverse and included polytechnic and trade training organisations, universities and wānanga. Eight of the participants indicated that they had completed courses or qualifications.

Nearly half (8) of the participants had spent an extended period of time living outside the Taranaki region. Only three indicated that they had spent ten or more years living in other regions (10 years, 15 years and 35 years respectively). Three participants had spent between five and ten years living in other regions, and two had lived outside Taranaki for between two and five years.

All but one participant had children. The number of children ranged from one to 12, and for some participants this included whāngai⁵⁵ or step children. Most participants (14) had at least four children, and only five participants had three or less children (three had three children, one had two children, and one had one child). Almost all (18) had grandchildren, ranging in number from two to 15. Four participants had great-grandchildren. One participant had one great-grandchild, another had three great-grandchildren, and two had five great-grandchildren.

⁵⁵ Whāngai is a term used for a child who is raised by relatives other than their birth parents.

Ten participants indicated that they lived with their spouse and/or other whānau. Other whānau included siblings, children and/or grandchildren. One participant did not state living circumstances, and the remainder lived alone.

Experiences over the lifetime

Family composition

Participants indicated that growing up as part of large families with more than 10 children was common, and families often included whāngai. It was also not unusual to have siblings who were whāngai to other families, that is, brothers or sisters who were informally adopted out to other families. Further, it was reasonably common for siblings to be unaware that they had brothers or sisters who were whāngai to other families. Children conceived outside marriage were often not spoken about.

“...Dad...fathered twenty three...we adopted [name of a sibling]...there’s twenty three of us...there’s about thirteen of us that lived there and plus all Dad’s other ones popping in now and again. We didn’t know that they were our brothers and sisters...until Dad was sixty years old and then they all came to his party and we all said ‘Who are they?’ We only knew some of them and Dad said, “Oh that’s your brother...” (Participant 14)

“...in the old days, they never used to talk about those sort of things. My Mum didn’t even know that...her mother had sisters and brothers because they were born to a different...mother or something like that and they never spoke about it...But the thinking’s a bit different now.” (Participant 12)

The size of families often led to some overcrowding.

“I had a cousin who came for the school holidays, whilst his parents were back in Waikato, Dad’s brother and his wife, and this was a child, their older son. He come for a fortnight’s holiday and he stayed for six years...we had cousins who were not cousins to each other. They were cousins to us... they didn’t come for a little while, they come for a long while. And we just had, we had a marae, that’s what I always said. Always did, but we had a big house... I remember one of the bedrooms had two double beds and a single bed and you could still walk through it, you know, through the other room because it was kind of a commuting room and it was the boy’s room, and then in our room, we top and tailed.” (Participant 7)

Sometimes a large number of children from a family would be whāngai to other families, though the arrangement was not always permanent. One participant’s father made the decision as to

which babies would be whāngai to another family. When that same participant was later approached to whāngai out her own son, she refused.

“My Mum and Dad had thirteen children, but they only raised at home from babies...four of us...people came and asked for your babies and my Dad gave them away...Never knew that until my Dad had died but that’s what happened...Mum never ever told us anything or said anything against him...he was the ruler and she just obeyed anything he said...they came back as they got older...Mum used to cry and cry after she had babies because they were all getting taken away from her...she came to our house in [place name] and said that she’d come for my son...she told me that I should be honoured that she wanted my son. I said “Well, I’m not. Go away.” (Participant 18)

Within the whānau, children were given a variety of responsibilities that were necessary to the functioning of families. For example, older children provided care for younger children.

“We had a family where the big one had care of a little one...The one I looked after was [child’s name] and he was a big baby. I will never forget. I couldn’t carry him, you see I had to lug him, drag him and my brothers used to have to lift him out of bed for me.” (Participant 7)

Material wellbeing

Generally participants came from families with low levels of material wealth and for many living conditions were very basic, even by the standards of the time. However, due to home gardens, local cultivations and food gathering from the natural environment, food security appeared to be addressed among many participants’ families.

“...the whole time I was with them [grandparents] and that could be the holidays too, we were weeding carrots and mangels and things...” (Participant 7)

“...we were the only house in the basin and everybody had to go to...draw the water from the spring...I was the mōkai...every morning...I was only a little fella, little with two billies to bring down, soon because a bucket...that was the only water that we had to wash and cook...no running [water], no power...had candles...a tin house, it was timber lining inside...very, very drafty conditions and we had a big open fire to do our inside cooking and that smoke went inside, whenever we lift the thing there was always downdrafts...filled the place, but you had to cook...All our kai was gathered...whenever my kui went to collect her rents...we went and brought butter and bread...Everything else was off the sea, the river...you picked watercress...there was plenty of kai...paua...rori...sea snail...mussels...fish...always plenty kai...white baiting...we traded our māra [vegetable garden items], all the good stuff had to go into town because we trade for meat...groceries, the Indians come down and they bid amongst themselves for the māra...mostly kūmara.” (Participant 16)

Some participants explicitly mentioned the gaps in material wellbeing between Māori and Pākehā. One participant recalled bartering blackberries for second hand clothing with Pākehā families.

“...played rugby...when I was at school...I was the only one didn’t have boots...My feet cut to ribbons... weren’t a lot of Māori and couldn’t afford boots...I went into the backs afterwards, so bare feet was alright.” (Participant 12)

“...we used to go piho...go out on the gig to the Pākehā homes...they’d give us clothes, we’d give them...blackberry...we thought it was nice...cos we never...had anything...We always had second hands...that’s how we were brought up. And we were happy with that.” (Participant 8)

In some large families children needed to contribute to household incomes.

“In our household, when you turned fifteen, that’s when you left school...you needed to go out. Mum didn’t tell you had to but...we needed some money back in for the young ones, so the ones younger than us they could go [to school]...” (Participant 20)

One participant commented that despite the poverty she saw in her job as a midwife in rural Māori areas, families always expressed manaakitanga.

“...we used to deliver babies...we had to ride on horses that they kept for us...some of them [houses] were so wild that they had no floors and their huts were made of tin and there was no windows, there was just a sacking on them. But you know they were so clean...and they had the best food waiting for us. Here they were, pregnant, just about birthing, they got you that kai ready....” (Participant 15)

Further, that even in times of hardship, the children’s needs were prioritised.

“Our old people were dirt poor and yet he [grandfather] would bring me to town...and I was dressed from the shoes right up...And I always had a lace frock.” (Participant 7)

By the standards of the time some participants’ families were comfortable in material terms.

“...he [father] used to get me to order the food for home...we didn’t live on a budget, we were able to go to the shop and buy whatever we wanted...because of the farm...we had porridge...during that time...we had that restriction and it was coupons, so sugar, you had to have a coupon for sugar...so he would use golden syrup in his porridge....” (Participant 10)

Responses indicated that Māori were not able to access financial resources in the same way that they were available to Pākehā, and that this impeded efforts to better whānau financial circumstances. Some whānau were able to, to some degree, work around these difficulties through cultivating relationships with the Pākehā community.

“...when I was a child...my Pākehā neighbours would get a loan and they were handed promises you know what, and Dad was lucky that he got onto the school committee, and then you got to know the school committee members who were also farmers and lent him their tools and Dad of course would take his nephews and brothers to payback, for the use of them...go and do the hay and...flour as well.” (Participant 7)

Assimilation and racism

Early experiences of racism in the community were common, and memories of those experiences stayed with participants throughout their lives.

“In those times they [kuia] were not allowed in to the lounge bars...we all used to...meet outside the National Bank by the street, they had seats there and we used to sit around the gutter in the corner, all waiting for everybody to come, arrive into town and do their business...I remember back then they were not allowed in the bars...they were not allowed to use their public toilets and that’s why...Tahu Pōtiki was built. Because there was a place that didn’t need to sit on the streets and...they had a place for a toilet...Mum became very active in those times too and they protested...not allowing the use of public toilets...I remember all that...” (Participant 16)

“There was a lot of racial segregation in Taranaki, and a lot of that had to do...with the land...because Dad’s family being English...we got away with a lot more than other Māori children at our school. They were hammered and I mean, he was a very, very angry headmaster...but he never ever treated us like that. I believe at one stage he strapped my brother and left his hand swollen and Dad went down and thumped him, and he never ever touched any of us. But...people like the ...family...they were strapped within an inch of their life. One of the things that used to anger me was that Māori people weren’t allowed to get their mail on the same day and when I was talking to Dad, well he said “Well, why do you let it bother you?” I said “It does. Why should I have to stand outside and wait to be told, come back tomorrow, Māoris are not served on Mondays.”...So he stormed down there “My daughter gets the mail when I send her down, not when you’re ready.” They said “Māori are not served...,” and he said “And it’s Māoris like us that let Pākehā like you in here, give her the mail!”

...Māori women weren’t allowed to go into the pub, they had to sit outside on the lawn out the back with all the boxes to have a drink...I don’t forget...we weren’t used to segregation, we weren’t used to being classed like that. We were brought up by Dad to believe that we were not only as good as other people, we were just a little bit better...so I couldn’t understand what was going on.” (Participant 15)

One participant referred to the exclusion of Māori children from education on the basis of their ethnicity, and of her father's efforts to teach local Māori children outside the formal school system.

“...he [dad] comes from a family of school teachers...he was English...he chose not to work with the local authority because they wouldn't allow Māori children to come in...So he utilised this, it was like a tool shed and he taught the Māori children...” (Participant 15)

Racism and assimilatory practices were a common feature of school life for Māori children.

“I was six...and you know how you run to meet your mates...when they arrive...one of the girls...she hopped out the car to come and then her mother called her back, she was a Pākehā girl, and then she came in...she said, “We're not allowed to play with you...because you're a Māori”...and I thought, well what's that mean, you know, I had a Pākehā father and a Māori mother so you didn't really know the difference. And she said and the other girls said “Nah, you know that's so unfair,” so I got home and I told Mum...and Mum said, “they're ignorant...just don't take any notice.” But my father was mad, and he was a Pākehā...he went absolutely burko.” (Participant 20)

It was not uncommon for children with Māori names to be 'renamed' by Pākehā teachers in schools, who refused to say Māori names. There were immediate consequences (such as physical punishment for not responding to the English name) and possibly longer term consequences of being 'renamed'.

“...at [place name] School and the teacher was an...elderly lady...all my older brothers and sisters were at that school and they had...Māori names but they were called by their Pākehā names...because [Rangi] was [Helen] at school, but she's called Rangi at home and Andrew's name was Hare, but he was called David...Tina was called Tina because that seemed to be easy for them to say, you know, but when I started school...this is my mother who told me this, she enrolled me, she asked what my name was and Mum said “[Aroha],” because that's what I was always called at home.

[Aaraahaaa] [phonetic spelling]. What's that, I [the teacher] couldn't say that.” It's not a hard name to say is it? And so she [the teacher] asked me to ask my mother if I had another name and my mother said “Yes, Sarah,” which was my saint name, because we were all very devoted Catholics then...for my first few months at school...the teacher would say [Sarah], you know how they'd draw your attention, and I never used to take any notice because...that name wasn't familiar for me, so I used to get a smack with the ruler for not answering the teacher. But you know that went on for a while before I became accustomed to being called [Sarah]...” (Participant 18)

A number of participants recalled that as children they were physically punished for speaking Māori at school. For some participants, speaking Māori was also discouraged at home due to the view promoted by the educational system that speaking Māori would inhibit children's educational progress. The school system emphasised Pākehā values and had a major influence in assimilating Māori children.

“Although my parents were fluent in Māori and spoke Māori, because of that particular time, Māori was not allowed to be spoken in the schools. We were smacked...We understood it [Māori language] as children, but we weren't encouraged because Dad felt that education was important.” (Participant 15)

“...we used to have to stand up to the queen every day...you know and all this sort of thing...and of course you never knew that, you know what you were doing, you just followed the leader. That's how things were...” (Participant 4)

“Mind you, we weren't allowed to speak the reo. From what I understand, Dad was thrashed within an inch of his life for speaking the reo at school, and he never forgot it and he said that...we were to learn English and my message from Dad was, you will learn English...you will use it. What did that mean to a 5 year old? But I still remember it. So I really stuck with English.” (Participant 7)

“Āe, me kī ake ahau, āe, i...oti anō, nā te, nā te kiri kau mātou i ako ki te kōrero...tērā reo nē?”

“Yes, I should say, shouldn't I, that it was cow hide [the strap] that taught us to speak the other language.” [Translation] (Participant 17)

For some participants, the sense of injustice for being strapped for speaking Māori at school persists.

“...ēngari me kī ake ahau tūturu hoki to mātou whakawa ki te reo [Pākehā] ā mōhio hoki mātou tahi ki te kōrero to rātou reo ēngari ki mōhio rā tētehi [ngā Pākehā] to mātou reo – kore rawa.”

“...we mastered their voice, but they didn't master ours. I need to say we really made efforts to learn [English], and we do speak their language, but absolutely no one [of the European community] learnt our language.” [Translation] (Participant 17)

Some participants indicated that parents actively encouraged children to speak English and discouraged the use of the Māori language in order to enhance their integration with Pākehā society, as they believed that this would strengthen children's educational and other opportunities

in life. It appears that for similar reasons some children were not encouraged to participate in marae activities.

“Āna, me ki ake au kāore mātou tahi i wiri ka haere mātou ki te kura ka kōrero Pākehā, ka kōrero Māori, kua patua mātou! Ka hoki mātou ki te kāinga, ka kōrero Pākehā, ka patua anō hoki mātou!”

“Yes, certainly, we lost both ways, we went to school, spoke English, but if we spoke Māori, we were strapped! On going home we spoke English, and we were strapped again!” [Translation] (Participant 17)

“Dad never took us to tangi...he never taught us the language...we were breaking through that barrier of Māori and Pākehā and so he wanted us to be educated. He wanted us to have the Pākehā education...he didn’t teach us the language and so that perhaps is our greatest failing because when [husband’s name] and I had our children, although he was fluent in the reo, he never taught our children the language...I think he [husband] had a vision of how he wanted his children to grow and to be accepted inside the community and of course, he was a good member of the Church and so I guess that through his dealings in the Church also, that that could have made him want to see his children understand better... [husband] took me out into the community. He became a member of the town board...That’s where I understood what my dad was about when he wanted his children to know how Pākehās live, because it wasn’t hard to go out into the community and interact socially with people.” (Participant 10)

“But you see... in those days, I must also say that...Dad was also gearing us to be very Pākehāfied...but Dad was also one of those that never spoke the reo in front of us...We never had anything to do with anything Māori. Only, if someone died down on the marae we weren’t allowed to go...only cause Dad always said and so did Kui that you looked after the people first. You know and there’s no room for kids there. So how would we have learnt much? ...about marae stuff...and like I say we became... very Pākehāfied.” (Participant 4)

Participants indicated an awareness of the impacts of institutional racism experienced as children in schools on opportunities throughout life, and in particular engagement with wider society in a variety of domains including education.

“Ēngari, māku e kī, ō...we did come a long way! O mātou hoa nāianeī, o mātou hoa i...riro ake iho o mātou iwi ngā, ngā Pākehā, ko te kī mai ki ahau, “E hia o tau?” Ka kī atu au ō, “e whitu tekau mā ono.”

“You went to the same class as me!” I’d say “I know that... but you didn’t have to learn the two languages like me!...But if I was in your shoes I would probably be at university.” Nā kua whakakata mātou ki a mātou. Āe.”

“Well, it ‘s true...we did come a long way! Our friends now, our Pakehā friends, say to me, “How old are you?” I say, “Seventy six.”

“You went to the same class as me!” I’d say “I know that, but you didn’t have to learn the two languages like me!...But if I was in your shoes I would probably be at university.” And we all laughed at that. Yes.” [Translation] (Participant 17)

One participant expressed his disappointment at the lack of opportunities at school to develop fluency in te reo, and noted his discomfort at school when students were taken into Māori contexts and there was an expectation that Māori students would be comfortable and conversant in Māori contexts.

“...I went there for a term to [a Māori boys’ school]...they didn’t teach us Māori...but we knew all the Mass in Māori...we knew all those prayers in Māori...I didn’t really like it because I really sort of thought that...we could learn te reo and things like that, but it wasn’t until the 5th form...you wouldn’t...converse with anybody saying prayers...a couple of times I can recall going to maraes and...I didn’t know anything...you don’t know what to do or what to say...With Boys High I suppose, we’d always been brought up...in a Pākehā environment...they [teachers] just took us there and ...because we were Māori they expected us to know these things....” (Participant 12)

Some participants referred to a degree of segregation between Māori and Pākehā in communities. However, one participant remembered efforts at her school to integrate Māori and Pākehā students and that this was also a characteristic of her local community and that this was an unusual approach at the time. In contrast to other participants, one participant indicated that she experienced harmonious relationships between Māori and Pākehā locally, and only experienced racism when her family relocated outside of Taranaki.

“...we were fortunate that we had a headmaster who tried to...integrate people, because I found it difficult when I left school to find other people were not like that. Up in our area the Māori and the European would play together, they would work together in school, we sat together in desks, and we didn’t have any difficulty relating to Pākehā....” (Participant 7)

“[place name] was a fabulous community...we were one...the Pākehās, Māoris...when we went to school...each family had a sibling from our own age groups...so we all went to school together...and the community life was centred around the tennis court...we’d go and play tennis...[in place name-outside of Taranaki] my boys came home from school...their first day and they said to me, “Are we Māoris?...cos the kids at school were saying we’re Māoris”...I never ever noticed that sort of thing here in Taranaki....” (Participant 18)

Access to the environment

Participants commonly referred to their interrelationship with the environment as a central part of their experience of growing up, and that human activities are integrated within the physical environment. One participant recollected that she was born outside beside the family gardens, and that at that time babies were birthed by adults in the community.

“...ka rongō aia kei te haere mai ahau ana haere ia ki tahaki nō reira i reira ahau! [I te taha o te māra]...Kua mōhio koe i whānaunga au i te taha, i te māra! Ko ō mātou matua tonu hoki rā ngā...ngā midwife, nē? I tērā taima...”

“...he [my father] realised I was coming so pulled off to the side of the road, and so I came forth (was born) there [at the side of the garden]...Did you know I was birthed off to the side of the garden! Our parents were also...the midwives, eh. During those times...” [Translation] (Participant 17)

According to participants, as children they had high levels of outdoor physical activity. Walking was a means of transport, and outside play and work activities dominated the day.

“...we lived right at the far end of that road and if you wanted to go to town, we used to walk for blimin’ miles to go up and catch a tram or something like that...We used to...walk along the railway lines and go through a cutting...we even walked to school in those days. Kids they can’t do it today, too many paedophiles....” (Participant 12)

“...a lot of adventurous things...raid orchards...spend a lot of time on the river and...down the beach...I’d play any sports...all the time. Every opportunity we had we’d have a ball and just play, play, play, whether you went to tangi, or hui, or I’d go home and the kids would always have a ball in their hands...you’d set up a game...” (Participant 19)

“...we still had family gardens like the big acreage of potatoes growing, where several families...all got together and we had our little jobs as kids putting the potatoes in the sacks. I actually hated it, it took up too much playtime... Even making pickles we all had our jobs and I’m talking about when I was about eight, nine years old. I had the job of shelling the peas...” (Participant 2)

One participant recalled that the beach was a significant part of her family’s life when she was young.

“There were five of us actually, in the family...brought up along the beach, the beach was our playground...That was our playground...So that was our life really rural and on the beach like. Our social activities were all at the beach and we grew up there....” (Participant 2)

The natural environment provided the opportunity for the extended family and neighbours to socialise.

“..... we used to swim, we used to have wonderful places to swim...we had all that...and we had this big river -... and everyone on the road used to come down and swim in it. So we had a, a swimming hole... It was wonderful...” (Participant 4)

Importantly, the environment was not only a place of recreation but provided for many of the needs of families, such as food. However, changes in the environment over time have led to changes both in access to places for recreation and as sites for food gathering.

“We used to go down to the bridge and swim... lot of trees in those days...they’re all...gone....” (Participant 16)

“...even down the drains at home...we used to get the little crayfish...they go bright [when cooked]...today their drains have just been dug...They’re not there no more...” (Participant 8)

Participants emphasised the importance of whānau land, and land retention, within the historical context of land confiscations. The links between land and whakapapa, and the importance of intergenerational knowledge transmission were also apparent.

“...we’d go to our land meetings...I got to learn about the...mana whenua [tribal land tenure]...the old man always used to say “...if you ever come up here. This is part of your land.” And when I did come up here to teach, the first place I went to was there...our land, and I’m still in love with that now. So the first thing I did when I came up here I took control of that on behalf of our family...it’s part of our history, of our family’s history, it’s part of our whakapapa...and with the land goes all the names of all the people in terms of ...[their] relationships...to me...was important that I know and let my kids know before I go...not ever let it get out of our hands...Because I’m aware of all the land confiscations....” (Participant 19)

Interactions between children and kaumātua

The roles and responsibilities of kaumātua within Māori communities were wide-ranging. Knowledgeable kaumātua were held in high esteem, and individuals would defer to them.

“...you were very conscious of those sorts of people, when they knew something.” (Participant 16)

The knowledge held by kaumātua was extensive, for example, one interviewee recalled his grandmother's interactions with and interpretations of the sea.

“...if a wave sort of wasn't right, she'd...read the sea so well...she'd talk to the sea.”
(Participant 16)

One participant described the clear boundaries that were in place for children and recalled the delineation between children and older people, particularly on formal occasions. According to the participant, children were expected to keep away from the front of the whare and therefore the more formal aspects of marae affairs. Despite the boundaries that were placed on children in terms of physical areas that were prohibited and behavioural expectations, the processes employed on marae demonstrated that children were highly valued.

“...clear delineation between tamariki...and kaumātua...you did not move in certain areas...talk at certain times otherwise you get to know because they tell you, sometimes quite abruptly...everybody else knew and everybody behaved within their boundaries and the behaviour of the marae was like that too. You never saw children around the front [of the whare], never, not those days...we all had our area that we need to be. Heck, I got told off many times wandering...I always remember, a lot of maraes really and they always concentrated on feeding the kids first...once the kids were fed, then everybody got looked after equally well if not better, but you know, we were always looked after, I can remember that...that's a good tikanga that one...we used to be special children, kids were special.” (Participant 16)

“...as a kid...we weren't allowed to go...to a marae...Only when we were of any use were we allowed to go there to do work...and be the slaves...” (Participant 18)

Sometimes communal living meant that for practical reasons different generations usually ate separately.

“Te noho tahi. I [marae] hoki...te meatanga kotahi noaiho te mea, te whare i reira ko [whare] noa iho. Oti anō me [wharau]...he shed. [Kakarua] ana ko reira mātou e kai ana a ko te mahia mai he kai mā mātou ngā, ngā tamariki, ēngari ngā pahake te haere ki roto i [Mapuna] kai ai. Nā ētehi taima ko te aroha o o mātou kuia te haere mai ki reira.”

“We all lived together. At [the Māori community centre]...that is, there was only one house there named [name of house], besides [name of shed]...which was a shed. [Kakarua] was where we the children were fed, and meals were prepared, whereas the adults went into [Mapuna] for their meals. Sometimes our kuia felt for us and would come to [name of shed].” [Translation] (Participant 17)

While there were at times separation between kaumātua and children, participants provided frequent examples of kaumātua providing care for children and young people in a variety of contexts. One participant referred to the role of kaumātua as midwives, and another recalled her experiences of attending Māori dances and being chaperoned by kaumātua.

“Me a mātou tauheke hoki...Ētehi kua haere atu ki raro ki te...tiki kai mā mātou... Kina...pupu...ērā kai katoa. Kua whakahokia ake ki mātou, i reira o mātou... kuia kei te tiaki i a mātou, oh kei te tiakina mātou i a mātou, ēngari kei reira o mātou kuia e noho mai ana.”

“And our older men...Some would go down to collect kai for us... Sea urchins... cats eyes...all those sorts of food. The food would be brought back for us, our older women were there watching us, oh, we looked after ourselves but our female elders stayed back with us.” [Translation] (Participant 17)

“...we...had aunties that were midwives...there was an old kuia...she was...delivering pepi [babies] all around.” (Participant 8)

“...Dad would let us go on the bus...each marae...there was a kaumātua there that would take care of us and because they knew that our dad expected us home at 12 o'clock, half past 11 they'd come and get us...girls and take us to the bus...no boys could walk us to the bus...” (Participant 10)

Participants reflected on the intergenerational transmission of knowledge, including how they were taught Māori-specific knowledge and skills from parents and kaumātua. Children often learnt through being around their elders, as opposed to a being trained in a structured sense.

“...kaumātua living on the next farm...taught me about rongoā [Māori traditional medicine], plus Mum and Dad of course were exponents of Māori arts and the medicines and he was the local midwife and so was she...[learnt] About the rongoā [Māori traditional medicine] [from her kuia]...my schooling in Māori came from my kuia and my mother....” (Participant 15)

“I mean, I used to sit down in front of [a particular aunty]... she'd come to our place, we'd sit down on the floor, every time she comes, we'd sit down and she'd tell us a story, or stories. So all sit down like this, you know how you sit in the primary schools you know, in the old days, fire crackling away there, kai on the stove, Mum's at the back, you know, here's our kuia telling us about the white eels.” (Participant 9)

“Kāore au e kī i poipoi rā tētehi i a mātou ēngari i noho tahi mai i mua i a mātou, nē?”

“I'm not saying we were actually trained, but they [our elders] were with us, eh?” [Translation] (Participant 17)

“...we’d go to our land meetings [the participant and his father] and so...I got to learn about the mana whenua [tribal land rights] that we had...Yeah, and all that stuff and we always talk about it. “One day, boy”...Oh they’d just say, “Well this is part of your land...”. We used to come up to the muru raupatu [land confiscation] meetings about our land up there...And the old man always used to say, “You know, oh well, if you ever come up here. This is part of your land.” So when I did come up here to teach, the first place I went was there...As soon as I went to that place, at...[place name], I knew then it was right what I’d heard as a kid...” (Participant 19)

Participants also referred to practical lessons in observing tikanga that were reinforced and retained throughout life.

"...the Pa [Māori village] site...Never walked over it because...it was tapu...so you had to go right around the swimming pool, never went. I did that once...I took a short cut over there once, me and my mate and my kuia saw me. Oh my God, I didn’t know she was watching us...we went down there swimming away...she must have waited. She must have seen us swimming, and as usual we sort of lie in the sun, you know, and face down and she come out, out of the lupin and...there was a heck of a wack on my back with a rakau [stick], oh a hiding I never forgot.” (Participant 16)

“...she [a kuia] used to walk around the block and she used to call into our home and my Dad, he said to me, ‘Now when that lady comes to your house, you make sure you give her a hot drink...If you’ve just got bread, butter and jam, give her bread, butter and jam’...that became a learning for me that when anyone came to the home, that I had to give them a drink...it didn’t matter if you had no sweets or anything...so that’s become a habit and it’s become a habit in my life...and my children do the same thing.” (Participant 10)

One participant remarked on her grandmother’s first-hand accounts of wars and injustices perpetrated against Māori. Some interviewees, therefore, had a close connection, through grandparents, to what are often considered historical disruptions and injustices.

“She remembered all the [land] wars and we used to ask her, “Nan, did you eat Pākehā and...?” and she’d [say] “Ah, erangi ngā tamariki nei,” [“Aw, you kids,”] and I said, “Well, what did it taste like?” She said, “No, it was only the warriors.” (Participant 15)

“...our Mum’s grandmother had lived up there during the...land wars...they ran ahead of all the things that they [colonial troops] were burning out there, and that’s where they settled...it must have been a safe haven.” (Participant 1)

Community interactions

Several participants described their childhood communities as active and referred to frequent informal and formal community activities.

“You know and I used to go to church down the marae, we had a lot of sport stuff going on down there,...we had a lot of dances in those days... A lot of kapa haka...[Toirua] used come here, too. We all used to join together...for kapa haka... Yeah, we did a lot of things there though we had classes for teaching the young women like my eldest sister how to sew...and so you know we did everything; we played a lot of sport, a lot of kids we used to bike to school to play a lot of - what did they call it in those days - not basketball, not netball, they called it whatever they called it – but it was netball they’d play. We used to play...the whole... road. We used to all get on our boots or walk...to the school to go and play tennis, to play baseball in those days we were...even playing that....” (Participant 4)

“We used to go out to Aotea a lot...all the houses were still around then...papakāinga...their wharenuī, used to be a dirt floor...they bring in hot ashes for warmth....” (Participant 8)

Food gathering and cultivation

Many participants recalled the gathering, cultivation and preparation of foods as everyday activities. Families enjoyed, from their own efforts, a wide variety of foods. Further, both gathered and grown foods were sufficient to meet the needs of families.

“We just fished, fished around the bays, got all the kaimoana there even in our little bay pupus and cockles and around, ... pauas, kina, mussels, crayfish, tuna, they did all that, they had to do all that because it was there for the taking and I think we were brought up that way....” (Participant 5)

“We used to take parāoa [bread]...we did have the cream, used to milk...she [Mum] used to make the butter...and, of course, miti tahu [meat cooked in a pot]...when it’s cooked it stays in that...hinu [oil]...with the lid on top...they were preserving...lasts for ages...go and get the greens, pūhā or watercress...that was our kai [food]...we might have something a bit different...but we always went back to it...they used to have a big garden too...kānga [corn]...potatoes...planted pūhā...kūmara...taewa [potatoe] and the gourd.....a lot of tuna to catch...blackberry...buckets of it...Mama used to cook...the jam...kinas. Pauas....” (Participant 8)

“Potatoes, corn, carrots, he [father] had a garden of everything, lettuce, cucumbers, pumpkin and he had fruit trees...Peaches, applies, chinese gooseberries....” (Participant 10)

“...we had all our meat, we made our butter, and we had our own chickens we ate the kai from off our farm. We were never short of meat, never short of vegetables, pūhā, cause Dad in those days they went fishing down at [place name], in those days...they also went fishing at Ngāti Haua..., and so we were also had a lot of mataitai [seafood] with pauas and things. We were never short of that sort of thing in...those days...” (Participant 4)

Besides the staple foods, a diverse range of other foods were also grown or gathered.

“...taro, and we used to grow taro...And ... ah... we used to eat the leaves...And we ate the root. Beautiful! Beautiful! Kui used to, used to also do...ahh..well...ah rotten corn, you know...We used to do a lot of that...Since on the farm we had flowing rivers...We did...bags of that...So you lived on that sort of thing...You live on ...crabs... I can remember even having... I think I was about...six...I can remember Koro, that's dad's...father....they had the ashes... you know they had the fire going so I quite young and they had all these ashes and they threw a tin [from the] roof, I think it was a tin and they threw all these huhu bugs on... And I can remember them popping.....We had a lot of river crabs. Those were beautiful, black ones, fresh water river crabs...Yes...they were beautiful...” (Participant 4)

“Ētehi kua haere hoki ki te moana, kua haere atu...ki runga i ngā waka ki te tiki mangō...i ēra kai katoa ka whakahokia mai.”

“Some went to the tide, got into boats to go fishing for sharks...and all those sorts of fish would be brought back.” [Translation] (Participant 17)

One participant noted that because the family gathered, cultivated and prepared the majority of their food, it was fresher and therefore of a higher quality than the food she was later able to provide in the urban situation for her own children.

“But, we were bought up very, very well...I think we ate better as kids then, than what I might have been able to feed my kids at that age you know...I didn't know until I was about eighteen-nineteen years old what frozen goods were, frozen beans and peas...Yeah, we always ate fresh stuff.” (Participant 2)

Participants stressed that the collection of traditional foods was not a cultural activity, rather it was necessary for survival.

“But the pūhā and watercress...that was a survival thing. We needed it. Mum grew a big garden...well cabbage only sort of grows so long, so you had to have other greens and pūhā and watercress are there all the time...So that was just something...you eat about four times a week.” (Participant 20)

“...we also learnt how to fish...that was customary...with all our people you had to learn how to go to the beach and get kai. And those early war [WWII] years it was very important that you did because food wasn't all that readily available...” (Participant 3)

According to some participants, food was sometimes grown by families on a large scale and for some whānau food was plentiful.

“...the boys milked, we lived on the farm with Mum and Dad...what else can I say...a wonderful childhood...wonderful childhood, where in those days you were actually in the garden with big huge gardens of growing corn and potatoes and all your own vegetables....” (Participant 4)

“...any fish you wanted, any crayfish, he had, and we used to get sick of it...we were lucky I think because we were on a farm...whoever was old enough...would kill a sheep or...a cow...we had geese and we had fowls...and ducks...that's something about my life as a child is that we never wanted for anything...Everything was always there and so you miss heaps now that are not available anymore...without having to pay a heap of money. She [mother] had acres of garden...everything possible [was grown]...potatoes...watermelons, the pūhā...gooseberry bushes...grapes...passion fruit... carrots, parsnips, leaks...radishes, lettuces, silverbeet...cucumbers... every labour weekend we plant spuds....” (Participant 18)

Food harvested in plentiful seasons was preserved for winter months, given that at that time families did not have access to freezers. One participant also noted that no part of the food source was wasted.

“...she [mother] used to salt them [beans] in stone jars...she grew a lot...mainly the storage food, that could last...corn and stuff like that. Those days you didn't have big freezers...we bottled it, she salted it...or you dried some stuff...nothing at all got wasted....” (Participant 20)

Food gathering and collection was a communal activity for whānau and communities. Whānau communal food gathering reinforced the value and importance of family structures.

“...we were always at the beach...because that was where our food used to come from...pauas and kinas and crayfish...we all were [there], the whole family...I think probably it was one of the amazing values that we had, like the value system was family, so everyone had to work, everyone had to put their bit in....” (Participant 14)

“Oh we all as children...did the job...we all did it as a family...We all...grew the potatoes and we had machinery that could actually...make furrows,... we all had to go and do the job, of actually planting and then the... harvesting...” (Participant 4)

“...different ones would come down, family coming down and help, when she put the word out [to dig up the crop] they’d all come out. We had to get it up and I think most times within the three days...a lot of those family would take part of the crop too...there was always portions...give away...” (Participant 16)

Participants indicated that community and family life was centred around food gathering and cultivating activities.

“...we were frequently...down and get kai moana, but it wasn’t just us, it was the community in [place name], probably around...a dozen or so people...Mainly paua...Whitebait of course...It was just part of living life. I mean, we were always doing something in relationship to gathering kai...So if it was mushroom season, March-April, we go out and get mushrooms because that’s just what you do...blackberry season, that was just before mushroom season. I mean the whole calendar was related around kai... I remember...my old brother going off duck shooting...gathering eel...it was throughout the whole year...That was our sort of recreation. We all had gardens and that was just part of our life.” (Participant 11)

Many participants referred to the role of children as workers in the growing, gathering, preparation and storage of food.

“...That’s where I learnt to milk cows. And other little bits of work I was only a youngster then....But we were made to work. That was the thing with the young ones in those days...you had to work...” (Participant 3)

As children grew to adulthood they would take over the responsibilities for food gathering and cultivation, and older people would provide care to infants and young children.

“Ēngari ka rarahi ake mātou, ka tipu haere mātou, ko mātou ngā mea ko te haere ki te kohikohi pupu mā o kuia ka haere mātou tahi...Ne he pepe mā ko ō mātou kuia. He pai tonu a mātou kuia ki mātou.”

“As we got older, it was us who went out together to collect cats eyes[a type of shellfish] for our kuia... Our kuia would have the babies. Our kuia were so good to us.” [Translation] (Participant 17)

Food gathering practices were adapted to environmental change.

“...at that factory they had a dam...which fed the turbine going into the factory...they release...about once a year and then all the trout would come down...and you would just collect them in whitebait nets...you would scoop them just like that, like whitebait.” (Participant 19)

Some participants reflected, with regret, on how human activities and resultant environmental degradation has led to spoiling areas that had been food sources during their childhood.

“Those days, low tide you could go out to the rocks and get a crayfish off the seaweed...and...big paua...in the ‘40s, late ‘40s...we spent a lot of time down that beach, we used to catch little fish...little cockabullies and go down the rock pools, it was good then although all that beach has been reclaimed hasn’t it...we used to go out there and get paua and kina...You go between the wharfs...used to go spearing for flounder, John Dory, get big pauas off the rocks. You don’t get them now...he’d dive down and get a paua off the rocks and that, and they were big paua...you don’t get them now...we’d take them home...then we’d eat them up...at least once a week I guess we would have done that...because we used to be able to fish off the wharf in those days...I used to spend all weekend down there fishing, catching mackerel and herrings and in those days, there used to be a lot of kingfish...You don’t see them now. I think when they started dredging for the new wharf, I think is when they chased everything away and you can’t go fishing off the wharf now, not allowed to...” (Participant 12)

“...he nui tonu a mātou kai i era taima. Tērā pea ētehi kua haere ki te...rapu tuna ko ētehi kua haere ki te...uwhiuwhi ki te awaawa haere atu rā ki [Toirua]...Ko Raoa te ingoa...te nui o te kai o reira i tērā taima ... ngā tuna, ngā he aha ano? Ngā koura...ae, era kai...Nā kua kore ināianei...ka haoaho inanga rā tētahi i era taima.”

“...oh we had loads of food back then. Some might go...eeling, others would go to...bathe in the river at [Toirua]...Raoa it’s called...there was lots of food there then, in those times...eels, and what else? Crayfish...yes, all those sorts of food...but now, nothing...whitebait would be caught in those days too.” [Translation] (Participant 17)

Redistribution of food

Participants reflected on food gathering and cultivation as a non-commercial community venture, whereby those who were able to catch, gather or grow food redistributed the food within the community.

“He [Dad] used to bring all this trout home...all bottled...they’d go shooting and come home with...goat...he was a provider of food, fishing, out at the beach...on his way home...he’d drop off fish and crayfish or whatever to every house...that he knew and he did that all the time...he always provided for everyone...” (Participant 18)

“...the boats used to go out...Once a month, maybe twice a month...they’d tally up...they’d help clean [the fish]...then they had a feed...There was so many for the marae, but the fishermen in the boat...it was their fish, the others were just helpers, so they decide...sometimes if there was something on, there’d be a raffle in the pub...it wasn’t a commercial thing...to other people around, families...it wasn’t sold, you know how nowadays they will sell it, but to cover whatever the costs...that’s when they had raffles...” (Participant 20)

“Back in the young days we used to have a big boat down there manned by sixteen oarsman or two, two boats. And they used to come back with two or three hundred snapper and they never sold any. They gave all of the whole beach and some even from up here and the district used to come down there and they used to get fish and just hand it over.” (Participant 3)

Comments indicated that in times of adversity and impoverishment communities took care of each other. Further, practical demonstrations of caring through sharing food were norms.

“...from a very early age, he took down his rifle and we’d go shooting, right and he stopped, apparently the only who had a gun and he shot birds for the neighbourhood...whoever you know, he left birds there for them...he left birds on the gate...they all did share with each other...That happens when people have nothing. It doesn’t happen when people have things, you noticed?” (Participant 7)

“...we used to have kuia coming to visit all the time and they were bringing it [watercress]. But these kuia...she used to come across the paddock and she always had kumara in her kete or she always had something...always have something...oranges or lemons...there was always something that she took out of her kete and she gave to us...I think that’s just how they thought...” (Participant 10)

Even when peoples’ circumstances were such that they had very little, there was still generosity in sharing food despite the personal costs.

“...Dad had a huge garden in the paddock next door...corn, potatoes, pumpkins...watermelon...carrots and peas and all that kinds of stuff...every vegetable he kinda had growing there and he took great pride in it. But we didn’t necessarily get it though, he gave it away to everybody...Like he’d go to the factory and he’d have his jalopy truck there and he’d give it away...and anybody that would come, they’d walk in the front door and he’d go “Hello,” and walk out the back door and he’d be in the garden digging up vegetables for them...to take home...it was just generous...it wasn’t like...we could afford it because...we weren’t wealthy people...I used to see...my Mum and Dad give a lot...not monetary forms. Dad used to give away the vegetables, Mum used to bake all the time for everybody else. We’d get the smell of it in the house, but never the taste of it on our lips...but they would always be doing some act of kindness to help others...they were lacking so much themselves but they always gave.” (Participant 14)

However, the system of reciprocity did not always work.

“...we would have to weed the gardens and do all the and he [dad] wouldn’t ask the local whānau...there’d be about ten, twelve whānau who’d help themselves, but as he said, “If you want any my vegetables, you have to come and help,”...they weren’t too forthcoming...anyway they would come and in the morning, he’d go and check all the fences to make sure no cattle were getting into his garden and there’d be cabbages half cut and things...Dad was a fantastic fisherman...He would...ask them to come down...but nobody would go with him, but my word when the boat came in, they were all waiting...within half an hour of him being in there, they were down like vultures. But he shared his food, he never let them forget it, but he shared...” (Participant 15)

There was some indication that new technologies and innovations relating to food would be shared within whānau and communities.

“...they all had orchards on their farms, and so they have that resource but they didn’t know what to do with them other than eat them in season...she [participant’s mother] noticed all these Pākehās used to come and take all the fruit...in her very forthcoming way said, “That’s the end, you’ve never given the old kuia any money for what you’ve taken, that’s the last.” She said, “I’ll show you how to preserve,” so that’s what she did...She said that once it got to the table...it was so delicious they would eat a bottle at a time...they built a special store room and put all the bottles up and they invited all the hapū...to come and have a look. She said, “I was too busy milking cows, so they eventually all learnt...make those resources out of fruit trees that they grew.”” (Participant 1)

Working as children

Work ethic was instilled in children through participation in family and whānau work activities and role modelling.

“...I used to get up at about 6 o’clock in the morning and light the fire...because we had a coal range...there was the making the beds and cleaning the house...order the food...that’s how I learnt to work, was as a child, my Dad taught us and he taught us well. He didn’t growl, he didn’t tell you what you had to do, but he sat there and he watched you, and you felt you had to do it and do it the best you knew how. Can you imagine that being done today? A Dad sitting and watching his children and hoping that they would do well.” (Participant 10)

“...housework before we went to...school, cos there were so many kids there was always lots of washing and everything else to do...one thing I used to do before I went to school was, we used to have to go down the factory and get the milk, in the billy...we all had turns...I remember I was only six years old and I had to carry home this huge billy of milk and it was heavy and Dad was saying “and don’t you spill it on the way home.” And I was so scared and I was saying “Please don’t fill it right up” because I knew it was so heavy and because he knew if you’d spill it because he would see it on the road...have to go down and get the watercress...that’s another thing we used to do after school...So...cleaning and getting food was really what I remember as growing up.” (Participant 14)

“...even though I was at school I was actually still working...I would go along to school to sit my examinations at the end of the year, but the rest of the time I was working...work has always been a part of me, even as a youngster. My job was making haystacks, my father wanted me to make haystacks...I had to go up the top cos that’s where the young fellas...you rake the hay out...but always working. Every morning we would go down to the factory at Pihama, my job was to wash the milk cans out, but I was too small and I couldn’t get down to the bottom of them and when I did lean in, I would fall into the...things, but work was just part of our ethics, so it followed me all through my life. So even when I was at school, I was working...it was not uncommon for people at my age and work came in different forms, because there was heaps of it about.” (Participant 11)

Some participants were assigned high levels of responsibility from an early age.

“...when my dad got real sick and my brothers and sisters had to work ... So, that was when I was going to high school and me and my younger brother, I was in charge. Get up, milk the cows, take the milk to the factory, bring it home, clean up, dress, hop on my bike and bike to school, after school bike back home, and back into the shed...” (Participant 5)

Some participants identified gender based division of roles for children and for other age groups.

“I was at home with my Dad all the time and...I learnt...to take care of the home, I learnt to cook, my dad taught me all of those skills because my mother dies when I was 12...my Dad didn’t believe that young women should garden, should work outside...they should prepare themselves for marriage...” (Participant 10)

“The girls had to do all the washing and breakfast...had to clean the house and everything before we went to school.” (Participant 14)

One participant expressed her frustration and confusion that despite imploring, her father would not take her out fishing but would take her brother who was reluctant to go. She could not understand her father’s attitude given that his own mother was a fisherwoman.

“I [female participant] used to want to go fishing. “Take me out, Dad.” “No, you stay here and help Mum cook kai.” He’d take [brother’s name]. And he never wanted to go, but that was because he got sick...yet his [her father’s] mother had her own little boat...Kui would usually go out and probably show Dad...where all the fishing places were...” (Participant 18)

Urbanisation

Some participants recalled that families were actively encouraged by kaumātua to leave rural areas and move to cities to seek greater employment and educational opportunities, and that at the time this perspective was the norm. Further, that there was an expectation that urban Māori would integrate into Pākehā society, and be familiar with the Pākehā way of knowing the world. One participant referred to the satisfaction gained in doing well at school in ‘someone else’s world’. This comment indicated the extent to which the Pākehā based school system was foreign to Māori.

“...not very many Māori...but we were sort of ingrained in us...we’re not there to be Māori, we were there to learn the Pākehā way. So we were sort of actively encouraged to...it’s not just about Māori, this is about getting these other peoples’ way of living in the world...School, it was no reo, nothing to do with things Māori at all was taught. We tried to achieve as best we could in this Pākehā system, so to be able to learn geography, to learn history, to learn all those sorts of things and to achieve was a special bonus to us because we had achieved in some else’s world...” (Participant 11)

“I left here [Taranaki] when I was five...we were encouraged to go to Wellington for two reasons. One, that’s where the jobs were, and two, it was for our education. And we were encouraged by the old people...but that was what the general vibe was...there was no future back here...So they said go to the cities...this is in the early 1950s, so that’s where the pots of gold were so to speak...our kuia would always talk that way. There was no future here in where I was living...We were encouraged to follow the Pākehā way of life...” (Participant 11)

A number of participants reflected on their experiences of moving as children or young people from a rural to a more urban situation, and the fear and loss of security after living in a small community where people and families were known to one another.

“When we moved from [place name] to Hāwera...I was...really really scared, because you had the protection of that little community...we were here, Aunty...was over there...Aunty...and Uncle...were down there...we’ll all [local families] go to school together and...stuff like that...but when we moved into Hāwera, there was none of that. Like all around us were strangers and the houses were closer, so that was really scary...I remember my first experience going to Hāwera Intermediate after [place name], freaked me out...it was like I’d gone into this huge forest and I couldn’t find my way out...So there was a huge transition that had to happen.” (Participant 14)

Another participant noted that there was a loss of freedom in terms of access to the physical environment, but that children showed a high degree of adaptability and made use of local natural areas to maintain some former practices. Also, in the urban area, others forms of identity became important – such as identifying with the street people lived in.

“...the biggest loss to me [moving from a rural to urban area] was being taken away from that free range environment. We were sort of living in...a state house type environment...we didn’t have much money...we never had a car and we just made our own fun, given the limited resources we had but we were reasonably fortunate because we had access to a river and we had access to bush...We all lived in different streets and your identity was the street that you lived in...I lived in the street that was called ‘[street name]’...we had our own...sort of group. We would go to another street that would be called whatever...and we would play marbles, or cricket or rugby against one another and the status was, who won the game...but it was very much street oriented...” (Participant 11)

While many families who relocated to urban areas sought out the companionship of other Māori families, one participant referred to an experience of limited interaction with other Māori households. This experience may have been due to his Māori mother’s alienation from Māori culture.

“...they [other Māori families] used to put crayfish pots down. I’d say most of the Māori families would...we’d never mix with a lot of the other Māori families, we were pretty sort of isolated...Mum, although she’s Māori, she’s very Pākehāfied and...maybe...they didn’t like her or something. I don’t know.” (Participant 12)

As young adults many participants relocated to cities to seek educational and employment opportunities. Generally they had few financial resources.

“...we got an allowance [government study allowance]...every fortnight and it wasn't much...one week was everything and the next week you were kind of starving...”
(Participant 13)

Participants experienced abrupt changes in many aspects of their lives when relocating from Taranaki to urban areas, and required a high degree of adaptability. Participants referred to the disconnection from the physical environment, the experience of entering the cash economy, and the change from acting communally to an individualised way of living.

“...she [kuia] was instrumental in getting me away...I applied to Wellington to go down and start training and I was accepted. I moved to Wellington...I was in a very big class, I was the youngest...[I felt] lost, absolutely lost...we had never bought vegetables. That was one of the things that really used to make me mad, a cabbage would cost something like the equivalent of \$2 nowadays. We've never bought a cabbage. Dad had an acre farm....” (Participant 15)

“We were all moving away then it was, the buses stopped going to pick up people for work, the public transport and you were buying cars, they were able to buy cars, so we became individualised very quickly there also at that time.” (Participant 2)

Some participants referred to the difficulties of the transition to urban life, such as: the loss of security and the sense of being cared for by the community; a feeling of not being able to relate to others, isolation from other Māori, and a sense of personal insignificance; experiences of racism; and, practical living changes such as less individual living space than in rural areas.

“Everything cost there [in the city], and paid money. Whereas here [in rural community] you had your cousins, your aunties or your brothers, and if you were thirsty or you wanted a coffee you went there, you took your mates there or if you wanted a feed...well you could take them home. If you didn't want to go home, you took them somewhere else...you felt safer in [place name]...if you were out at night, someone would stop...everyone looked out...” (Participant 20)

“I did go to College, that was disastrous for me because I had never been away from home, and I couldn't relate to the people because they lived in close proximity...I felt smothered all the time.” (Participant 10)

“...they [the whānau] put me on this train, this little girl from South Taranaki...I went off to Wellington...Wellington station...there were nine platforms and the stations were full of people. God, I've never felt so small in all my life...I can remember the first morning and we got to the corner in Willis Street and I just stood there and I was looking up at all these high buildings around me and I'd never felt so insignificant in all my life.”
(Participant 13)

Participant 7 reflected on her experience through her work with Māori who had no understanding or respect for European ways of thinking. In hindsight she understood that this attitude was a response to the racism and marginalisation Māori experienced at that time.

“I was working in a totally Māori situation [for Māori Affairs]... And I saw people who had no idea...about the European concept about anything. We’re too different, and they had no respect for it either and after all these years I’ve realised why, you know. Well they’ve been down trodden most of their lives...being Māori you just don’t measure up as a European. You’ve got to be an exceptional...it’s different now, people are being accepted.” (Participant 7)

Many participants who had moved to urban areas sought the company of other Māori. There was a sense of camaraderie among Māori, and participants felt that Māori looked after one another, brought many of their familiar practices from home to the city and shared resources.

“...I went down to Wellington...your kai changes...we had macaroni...We didn’t have boil up...So weekends sometimes you’d go out to your Māori mates and...someone would get pūhā...so you’d go have a proper feed...it’s your type of people...they were the same as you I think...if you didn’t have something and I did, you’d think nothing of giving them...the sharing. And they were fun too...when they came down there they shared clothes because they didn’t have enough...but their tarau [trousers] was the only thing they didn’t share, but everything else...once we were flatting, you had turns. One paid the rent, one paid the power, and one paid the kai...everyone looked after one another...” (Participant 20)

“...when I got there [Palmerston North Teachers Training College] I met three Māori...we just hit it off...cos we were in the middle of the quad, first day, we were the only ones who didn’t have ties on and we got called over by the DP... “You Māori boys come with me,” and he lectured us...“The thing around here boys is to wear ties.”” (Participant 19)

Even Māori who had relocated overseas continued to seek out the company of other Māori and be involved in customary Māori practices, at times for financial benefit. One participant indicated some discomfort with the commodification of Māori culture.

“...all around Sydney...we got involved with kapa haka on a professional basis...to get paid for kapa haka was quite new...we’d go scuba diving for kaimoana [seafood]...we had that whanaungatanga [connectedness] and our children, our kai, and we’d take our kai out to the beach...you got your family involved.” (Participant 9)

“...we got involved with...kapa haka on a professional basis...to get paid for kapa haka was quite new for me and not only that, but it was good money...but what I thought was unnatural was...our wahine...put the makeup on, get their hair done, it wasn't natural.” (Participant 9)

For some participants, their vocational training programmes enabled them to become part of a cohort of Māori who had moved to the city and to take advantage of systems that were in place to ease the transition. One participant referred to the sense of freedom experienced in leaving their small provincial hometown and arriving in the city.

“...I went to this hostel...Pendennis Māori Girls Hostel...[girls were from] Kahungunu, Ngāti Porou...all over...we had Ngāti Poneke just down the road, that's where we went on Saturday night...[a named kaumātua], I was in his kapa haka group...there were dances on Saturday night...Our first night there, [the kaumātua] came to the hostel and we had karakia and stuff and he would sit there and he would give us...a whole lot of information and some talk about how we should take care of ourselves...all those things that country girls don't know...there are certain areas where you don't go in the cities...” (Participant 13)

“Freedom...None of us drank [woman in training course]. By the May holidays...the first term's over, all smoking, all drinking...we were country girls...in the big smoke...” (Participant 18)

One participant indicated that hearing from other Māori about the history of their tribal regions instilled in him a desire to know more about the history of his own home area.

“I learnt all the stories about the Mist People from the Whanganui perspective...and it made me sort of want to know...what's our stories back home...Taranaki must have their own.” (Participant 19)

In contrast to the more generally held view, one participant recalled that there was a high level of integration between Māori and non-Māori, and referred specifically to cross-cultural relationships.

“...there wasn't a differentiation...in [place name]...there were a whole lot of mixed marriages, it wasn't unusual...you'd see this blond Pākehā woman pushing this little...brown baby in the pushchair, and it was her baby.” (Participant 13)

Participants reflected on the negative impact of urbanisation on rural Māori communities due to the movement of skilled people to other areas and the loss of young men to urban areas.

Participants' comments indicated that urbanisation removed a skill base from local communities and as a result placed additional responsibilities and strain on those that remained in the home place.

Workplace experiences

It was apparent that efforts by the Department of Māori affairs to stimulate Māori participation in adult education had an impact locally. A number of participants referred to Māori affairs training schemes that they had benefited from. The schemes tended to involve relocation to urban areas for training, during which time accommodation and other support was provided. Those participants who were involved in the training indicated that they enjoyed the camaraderie of being with other Māori with whom they had much in common.

“...you could see the enjoyment on peoples' faces, you know the young ones who arrive in the city for a start and then arriving to have real training that was...meaningful to them...you had the kind of pastoral care that you wouldn't receive in any training these days...the culture was very much part of that their lives ...the training was hugely successful...first of all programme inspired, culturally and spiritually and in terms of where people wanted to be at that time, it was reaching their goals at that time...living conditions were probably you know up four or five notches of what home experiences were probably...Rural living in those times were still pretty...the whole thing was a way of life um that suited...a community minded individual...” (Participant 16)

One participant, however, raised the concern that the Māori Affairs trade training schemes removed young Māori, and in particular young Māori men, from their home areas. These people did not return to the lands, which as a result were leased out and alienated.

“...when I came home I found that I was in a lot of committees. Now, I've tried to cut a lot of those off...my sister...said that there were very few that can do financial books...when I looked around and tried to teach people, they weren't ready...with the drift away from rural into cities, it took away the base of people that had the knowledge...But the people that had it obviously moved out and went working away...never to be seen again and if they'd remained here, you would have had that little power base that could do the books, could write the minutes and could type up things and organise things, but they weren't here. It was like coming back into a third world...so the cream either went to Australia or wherever...” (Participant 1)

“I often think back on that and think did we do the right thing ...many male, young male Māori left their home lands to be taken up by in the main...lessees who were not Māori...then many of them in their absence went on to buy those blocks to sell...They lost their land...They gained training but they lost them [the young men] ...land was being turned over into huge chunks through the Māori Trustee in those times...a lot of people were after Māori land...Māori contributed hugely to the economy of the country because they were [a] cheap, cheap, cheap resource that was being turned over.” (Participant 16)

Participants referred to experiences of racism in the workplace.

“I did an apprentice, apprenticeship with [company name]... Oh no, it was an experience. I didn’t enjoy it all that much... I saw racism when it was really rife, rife, rife and I didn’t enjoy that... it was my first experience in the job, and there were only a few Māori in town working those days... you know you’re sort of a, whatever reason you were singled out.” (Participant 16)

One participant referred to her experience of not fitting in with other Māori and being castigated by her peers in the workplace because she was different.

“I went shearing, and...I tell you that was an experience and a half...my first night out there. Horrific...I’m thinking...”Oh gosh, these people are rough...”...I jump in my [bed], it was full of thistles. They’d apple-pied my bed so I put my feet in and they went straight into this bunch of thistles...I didn’t swear all these years until I went there...They used to all call me ‘Lady’...because I smoked tailor made cigarettes...they all rolled theirs...I felt isolated, so you had to join in...it was a few months before I swore...they [the shearers] grabbed me and pulled my jeans down and painted me with black polish. And I cried and cried...our boss...he came and got me and took me out of the gang...paint my bum with black polish, and man it burnt.” (Participant 18)

Access to kaumātua in adulthood

Kaumātua fulfilled multiple informal and formal roles within Māori society, including providing guidance on community business activities. One participant described a visit from kaumātua who were interested in his innovative business operations, and how his business model might be applied more widely among local Māori.

“...[kaumātua] wanted to know this sort of thing [about an exporting business] and...how could [to] get Māori interested in what I was doing...There was a lot of land blocks around that could lend itself to that...they came back several times...” (Participant 16)

The participant described the way in which he was co-opted by kaumātua into a leadership role through a particularly Māori process. Kaumātua observed his success in his farming venture, and identified him as having the potential to take a role in iwi [tribal] affairs.

“...when kaumātua saw me doing this and building this [an innovative farming and exporting business]...lining me up to kind of help with iwi stuff...all those people that came to the house here...all those kaumātuas...at least two cars...they just felt that I should be doing a bit more for the people...they had this big kōrero...a kōrero for about...an hour amongst themselves...I was just sitting amongst them...they got me to sign these forms and I’m trying to really read these things before I signed it...I just saw [tribal] Trust Board on it and they were lining me up for the Trust Board...that’s where I ended up...with the Trust Board....” (Participant 16)

“...they [kaumātua] came back several times...they wanted me...I just...tried to explain...that I’d had a very young family...a hefty mortgage, doing the farm...I can remember “Kati. kati rau, waiho tērā. Me whakaaro tātou. Me karakia tātou.” [Translation: *Well then. Stop, leave that. We had better reflect. We had better pray.*] And that’s all, that was it...did a karakia [prayer] for me...they’d made the decision...that’s when I went into doing [iwi/tribal] stuff...[they recruited me] in their own way...I was trying to settle down and raise a family and the farm, but I...had to let all that go...I don’t know why it was...you know when the kaumātuas move like that you know that...just do as you’re told...they told me to turn up at the ...[Local] Marae and ...there’s a hui...then blow me down, it was the nominations for the Trust Board and I was one...I had no idea what the process was or what the kaupapa was, I just go along....” (Participant 16)

The same participant also noted that kaumātua chose when and to what extent they would be visible, that if they had selected an individual to be active in Māori community matters they would provide support, and that older Māori women often provided leadership from the background.

“They [kaumātua] didn’t come to too many meetings that were formal...they were just...around...just the old way, always had a kaumātua. And if they knew that it was kaupapa Māori..., usually that spells difficult, and they would know to be around....Every time we went to...attempt to do something, we were always short of something...money...facility...but kaupapa wise...they always knew that we were kaupapa driven...when there was the call to come in and have kai...it’d be about...what’s happening in town...Wasn’t anything structured...But the kuia were always in charge...because we were scared of them...It’s the old way of doing things. If they put you there...[aunties] always doing the karakia, always karakia.” (Participant 16)

Despite a lack of fluency in te reo which she found limiting, one participant, at her mother’s request and with her mother’s guidance, had spent a significant amount of time collecting and

collating family whakapapa as a resource for the whānau. This participant recognised that transmission of whakapapa was important in referring to herself as ‘the keeper’, and expressed the view that Māori draw strength from knowing their whakapapa and connections to both land and people.

“I had no record of whakapapa and Mum was the last survivor of the family of nineteen kids and so she said to me, “You’d better do this...it’s got to be correct...you must have whakapapa blessed in our little church...” Mum has told me to give each child, probably the oldest one...of her brothers and sisters a copy so that it’s not lost...then Mum would get phone calls from people saying, “...could I have whakapapa because...there’s some land”...We’d never heard of them...I said “...just give it to everyone.” Mum said “No, you don’t do that...as long as you’ve given to...all the family.”...if you know your background...that’s your strength...all I am is the keeper...your roots is your land, where you belong...connection to the people too...when I say land I don’t mean you own this or that...I mean where you lived, where you...know your ancestors lived...” (Participant 20)

Religion

Several participants referred to the importance of religion in shaping their values and guiding them to live a good life.

“...we were influenced...by church families...we committed and dedicated...to those values...along [with] Pākehā values...you kept up what we think was our Māori values too...cos that was the only thing going...the marae did not really want us to be in competition with them and...I managed I think to convince Māori that we needed to be seen to be living Māori everyday not just the weekend or when there’s occasion for tangi.” (Participant 16)

“...hāhi [religion] taught us to spend more [time] now as a family, they call a family home evening...my own views too through my hahi, and it’s all about...loving one another and Io too, Io Matua Kore [supreme creator – God]...” (Participant 9)

For one participant the desire for their children to be raised with particular religious values outweighed the fact that their church was uninformed with regard to things Māori.

“Nā, mai i tērā taima, pirangi hoki au kia mōhio aku tamariki ki tēneki mea te aroha o te hāhi, te aroha o te Atua. Ka haere mai tētehi ki te Sunday School Pākehā. Nā ngā Pākehā rātou tahi i ako...E rua noa iho māua ngā Māori. Ngā Māori e haere ana ki te hāhi Māori. Kāore i te tino mōhio ki te kōrero Māori, kei te pai. Kāore au e kino ana i tēra. Ēngari i a au e kī nei waiho mā te aroha tātou e arahi nāianei. Tērā te mea nui ki ahau ināianei.”

“So from that time I really wanted my children to know the love of the church, of the Lord. One came to the Pākehā Sunday School. The Pākehā taught there...Only two of us were Māori. Māori went to the Māori church. If you didn’t know much Māori [language], that was okay. I wasn’t upset about that. But I believe we should let love path the way. That’s the most important thing to me now.”
[Translation] (Participant 17)

Returning ‘home’

Some participants returned to Taranaki in their early or middle adulthood for various reasons. Some interviewees went home due to family obligations (e.g. to provide care for her elderly parents), others referred to preferences for the local geography, and one participant returned to fulfil a long-held career ambition (Participant 11). One interviewee who had experienced domestic violence as a child growing up in South Taranaki chose to return despite negative experiences in the region. She described her reason for returning as ‘a calling.’ Similarly, another participant referred to the spiritual connection with her ancestors at her home place, and how her ancestors provided guidance to her to return home.

“...in [place name], I was working up there and no way was I going to live up there you know - I just couldn’t get used to the mist around the river, eh...It didn’t move until lunchtime then by three o’clock it was back again, ...and cause having been brought up by the, at the beach you find that you get quite suffocated when you’re, inland, you know... can’t breathe sort of thing. Just this fog all the time. So I gave him the ultimatum, you stay up here on your own or else move back home with me. So he came back, yip. We got married down here.” (Participant 2)

“...my Mum got sick...my husband took demotion to get up here...Mum was just around the corner, so within about five or six months we got her well...then she was out...we blackberried...mushroomed...she went back to her normal—you know—healthy, picking pūhā, watercress...” (Participant 20)

“I think it’s what I’d call – I had a ‘calling’. And I didn’t really know what that calling was.” (Participant 13)

“...I’d been having these different dreams telling us to come home, and [sister] was having the same dreams in Auckland... we arrived [at the family home] put my picture on the wall...Grand-dad...his picture and Nana’s picture and my other grandmother...and her sister with my great grandmother, they had to be up on the wall...Because the essence of their energy had to be something more practical than just within me. It had to be, it was almost like an omen that they were watching, that things would be right. They were bringing in the mauri [life force] that was here in the house when they were here. The house belonged to our grandparents in 1883.” (Participant 15)

Some participants referred to the ease of returning home, in terms of fitting into familiar surroundings and routines. For others it was a difficult transition requiring very hard work, a lowered standard of living, and the adjustment to a less socially active environment.

“Easy [to return to home town]...you flick back to your normal...” (Participant 20)

“...couple of brothers had tried the farm...it didn’t work out...Mum and Dad...wanted to go into town...bought a house, put them in town. Bought the land...you really knew what it was like to struggle...it was really hard, you know, compared to the social living that I had experienced....” (Participant 16)

However, decisions about which part of the country to live in were often dictated by employment opportunities. One participant indicated that she moved to the South Island to join her whānau, who had relocated there to secure employment after Taranaki cheese factory closures. The participant also indicated that for kaumātua, having whānau living at a distance was very difficult.

“So we went to [place name]...Down by the rest of the whānau, were there for work because all the factories had closed down...an aunty and an uncle were down there and they had started to work in one of the freezing works...ran the cook house...they came back and told...the whānau about it...lots of the whānau went down there...Kui hated her son-in-law for doing that to...her whānau.” (Participant 13)

Child rearing

Often participants referred to their desire to improve their situation in life for the sake of their children. For some this meant career advancement, for others it meant relocating, and for some it meant role modelling good values and instilling positive life habits.

“...I haven’t been ambitious other than that I have wanted the best for my children and so... [husband’s name] and I tried to be good examples for our kids and so, the things that we did, even in the home speaking. I just can’t stand foul language and my children know that and so if anyone uses it when I’m around, they correct them quickly...I think that teaching good speaking habits and um, courtesy and manners all come into that.” (Participant 10)

“...my wife was a good a greens lady...clean eating, healthy eating...Well you see a fruit bowl over there, our kids were brought up with Weetbix and all that sort of stuff. I mean porridge in the old days, that was good, but I guess the eating was the greens and regular meals...that was discipline...exercise, working hard...” (Participant 9)

Similarly, some participants referred to the importance of fostering ambition in their children in order to support them to fulfil their potential.

“I guess ambition is what we have to foster in our children...if they didn’t have ambition, they wouldn’t be able to achieve anything in life, they won’t even have a vision if they don’t have any ambition.” (Participant 10)

One participant acknowledged the importance of education to the future success of Māori, and at the same time raised concerns that schools failed Māori children by having low expectations of them. She gave the example of the personal experience of the low expectations her son’s teacher had of his capacity to achieve academically.

“Education’s important...school has failed them. I think of my children’s attitudes...I went to [son’s] first...parent interview and his form teacher had told me that [he] and the rest of his form would never be capable of passing School C...Now [son’s name] going for his Masters.” (Participant 7)

In some parts of the country where the Māori population was low, there was also a low level of politicisation around Māori-Pākehā relations. One participant noted that this impacted on her children when the family returned to Taranaki. Further, that children who grew up in urban areas were alienated from Taranaki, and one participant mentioned her efforts to instil a Taranaki Māori identity in her children.

“There was a culture shock for them [her children] when we came back [to Taranaki] and they were a little bit older, still going to...secondary school...everything was so easy down there [South Island place name], I don’t think they even realised they were Māori when they were down there because everybody just got on with everybody else...we came back North this particular year and it was like a culture shock to them because I think that, at times things were starting to brew up in terms of Māori-Pākehā things in the North Island, but that hadn’t even hit the South Island...even when they were kids, “Oh no...we’re Southlanders.” “Oh no you’re not. We’re not from down here, your Dad’s from...so and so and I’m from Taranaki. That’s where you belong.” So it took them a wee while to get used to that.” (Participant 13)

For many participants, everyday family activities were an opportunity to express and instil in children Māori values.

“...we’d go scuba diving for kaimoana out at [place name] Bay...so we had that whanaungatanga [connectedness] and our children...and we’d take our kai out to the beach...you got your family involved...you’re relaxed in a foreign environment, but the environment around you, the korowai around you is your environment from home...Wherever you go.” (Participant 9)

Some participants referred to the importance of taking a proactive approach to parenting and grandparenting, for example, to closely monitor children’s activities to encourage them to keep safe and to instil risk avoidance attitudes.

“I look at my daughters you know, they take their children to their basketball, they don’t want them to stay and watch them. They take them there, they take them to their netball, they take them to their football...[a granddaughter] has a party that she has been invited to go to tonight, so she asked her mother if she could stay with a friend, it’s a disco party at a home, and so, her mother said to her, “Are there going to be boys?”, she said, “oh I don’t know”. Of course she knows there’s going to be boys there if there’s going to be disco, but she wanted to go and stay at a friend’s house instead of coming home and [her mother] said to her “No, we will take you there and we will pick you up”. And so you know, that is, that is the kind of thing that parents have go to be doing, not leaving their children to their own devious little ways, but to always check on them...”

I know that um, we allowed [our daughter] to go to a party with friends ah about ten o’clock, she rang up to her Dad and she said, “Oh they’re drinking here”, and she said, “Will you come and get me?”

Her Dad said, “Where are you ringing from?” She said, “At a phone booth”. She had seen the environment wasn’t good for her, so she had rung home, and that’s what we have to get into our children, is if things don’t look right, to ring home and we have to be always there to pick them up, and so that’s really what we have done with our children, that’s probably what your parents have done for you. (Participant 10)

Whānau priorities

For many participants, whānau strongly influenced life directions. Whānau priorities were sometimes valued higher than educational aspirations. One participant gave up her dream of a university education for over forty years. Another participant indicated that it was not her decision to move to Wellington, rather, an older member of the whānau had decided that her training interests were best served in the city.

“...my aunty...put my name forward to go to Wellington because they had the trade scheme...she decided that it would be good for me to go and do the secretarial course...which was really quite aimless...because I'd been doing commercial at...high school..anyway...for four years...when I finished high school that year...I actually had a position [at the freezing work's office]...so I'd already started work...Aunty...came in and...told my boss that I'd be leaving...I ended up leaving then and that's how I left Taranaki...” (Participant 13)

Sport and recreation

A number of participants referred to dances that were held when they were young adults, and the enjoyable opportunities provided for social interaction.

“...we had nowhere to go, until the dance times...a lot of dances...Cos a lot of fundraising in those days...different bands...We used to fill the bus...The majority were [Māori]...Saturday after Saturday...I can remember helping making sandwiches...for supper....” (Participant 8)

Some participants reflected on their enjoyment in middle adulthood of sport and recreation activities, and the transmission to less physically demanding physical activities with age while still enjoying intergenerational competition.

“...when I was about forty I played soccer...I played soccer for about ten years...I got Player of the Year for our club one year...I was only playing table tennis [before taking up soccer]...my nephews all played soccer...I've got a nephew...he played for Taranaki Soccer Team over 100 games...we just sort of used to do a lot of mucking around...playing soccer amongst ourselves, me, nephews and...kids and...we had a sort of a social team [at work] and so I thought, oh you know this is pretty good, quite like this...I was playing table tennis as well and I found that if I took a knock at soccer, I couldn't play table tennis very well...I had to give one of them away so it had to be soccer....” (Participant 15)

Maintaining strong social networks developed through sporting and other connections were considered to be of high value throughout life, for both for social and political reasons.

“...all those connections [through rugby]...they've been good strong connections...lifelong...it's those networks again...it's an extension of those school networks where you live and all those connections...over time...they become important politically and otherwise.” (Participant 19)

Proactive measures

Many participants had experienced adversities in their lives, and had taken proactive measures to improve their situations. Some responses indicated that participants had learnt from experiences in their past, and applied those learnings to guide decision-making to improve their life prospects.

Ending a restrictive marriage

Participant 18, having grown up feeling dominated by her father and observing her mother being dominated by him, ended her own similarly restrictive marriage in order to regain her personal and financial freedom.

“... all my life I’ve had a male telling me what I have to do and what I can’t do. And I...always vowed that I was not going to be like my mother... when my dad died, she didn’t know how to handle money, anything...so [the family accountant] sort of had to be her financial adviser and...deal with everything for her. Yeah and I thought...I’m not gonna have this male saying what I can’t do....you know that was a bug bear with me for years and years and years was never having control of money that I’d earned... now...I can buy what I want when I wanted. And...that’s like feeling under foot, a horrible feeling... I had to ask for money...for personal things...I’m my own boss and it’s been...heavenly and I can do for whomever, whatever, however. I mean even to go to a tangi I’d have to ask, it was whether [participant’s spouse] said I could or not...”
(Participant 18)

Employment

The desire for personal and financial freedom also motivated Participant 18 to avoid applying for government benefit assistance and to seek employment when her marriage ended and she became a single parent.

“I haven’t really stopped working... I’ve never been on the dole...I have never been willing to live off anything like that... Because you’re not your own, they’re on your back aren’t they, all the time if...prying into your life. That’s why the DPB [Domestic Purposes Benefit – government benefit for sole parents with one or more dependent children] was out for me when I left [spouse’s name.] I wanted a job and that was it...”
(Participant 18)

Another participant was able to transition from blue collar to white collar work by, among other things, enlisting the support of peers with similar aspirations and working hard in her new role to learn on the job.

“...well the job was advertised, I thought I'd throw my hat in. It was at a time when there were about four of us...that had got together and wanted to make changes, just small changes, and the main thing was, that we said to each other we will apply for these jobs and support each other, you know...Because we just didn't want to keep on being cleaners and factory workers and what not and so we did. So it was more of a dare if anything and...this was my turn... to apply for the job... and I got the job. I thought well now that I've got the job I had to do it. And it was...being thrown into the deep end...Here was the [person] that talks about being a cleaner...doing this work...without any training at all. It was hard!” (Participant 2)

Self improvement

A number of participants identified a variety of self-improvement opportunities that they had taken advantage of. One participant's desire to attend university after high school education was thwarted by her father. Rural life and child raising further delayed studies until an opportunity arose for tertiary education with a Māori education provider some decades later. The interviewee enrolled in tertiary education late in life.

“Dad pulled me straight out of school. That was my fifth year at New Plymouth, last year at New Plymouth. Never explained and I never forgave him either. I wouldn't talk to him, I was so angry... I wanted to go to university you see...So I was denied that, but I knew that the first opportunity that I got, I was off back to kura [school]. Meantime I had children, forgot all about it. We were farming, forgot all about it, had no opportunity. But as soon as I heard that [Māori tertiary education provider] was here at [marae name] I went down. And be dashed if they...[Māori tertiary education provider] asked me would I get in touch with those in charge at [marae name] to start...So I did. But I wasn't going to [marae name], I was going to university, so I did, and that's how I got to university.” (Participant 5)

One participant who lacked public speaking skills, which were necessary for both career advancement and leadership roles, undertook self improvement in this area. While uncomfortable in leadership roles, personal development training enabled the participant to prepare for those obligations.

“... I suppose of nature I tend to be in the background and that's where I prefer to be, although I have noticed that coming into the role that I do now, I've sort of got to be a wee bit more up front. So I've done some of that self development stuff as I say...I mean I Chair national Māori committees and things like that...being the Chair, I mean you're in the seat...and I'm not particularly comfortable with it, but I know that it's just a role 'cause others who put me in that role certainly didn't seek it or want it or anything like that. You just end up there, and yeah, and possibly that will increase.” (Participant 11)

Many of the participants did not learn te reo Māori or tikanga Māori growing up. Therefore, as older people in Māori communities they have not been adequately equipped to fulfil customary leadership roles (e.g. as kaikōrero and kaikaranga) normally assumed by older Māori people. Some participants learnt from their feelings of inadequacy and took the initiative to learn te reo and tikanga Māori in order to enable them to participate more fully in Māori contexts.

“... it’s something that I’ve always wanted to learn, te reo...Once we sort of knew who we were or once I knew who it was, who my people were and all that sort of thing, I thought it was a good opportunity at that time because I sort of retired from work and so I thought yeah, go to school...There’s a lot of others that know less than me, you know, know a lot less than I do...and they’re quite comfortable with it too, and I know what the majority of the kōrero is...” (Participant 12)

Responding to tragedy and trauma

Several participants described strategies they used to move forward following the death of family members or trauma, and how in some instances they used those experiences to motivate positive actions in their lives. Participant 14 turned to her faith in God to gain the strength that eventually enabled her and her family to move through the grief of losing their infant child.

“... if we didn’t have God in our life now, I don’t know where our kids would be and that’s the truth. Well actually I do know where [my husband] and I would be because when we lost [our infant child] that was the most devastating time in our life and it ripped [my husband] and I apart. And...it really tore our family, just that whole loss thing, that sense of loss, it was just like too much. And I went through crazy grief—just crazy.” (Participant 14)

Another participant recalled how not having grandparents as a youth (they had passed away) instilled in him a passion to be a strong support for his own mokopuna.

“I offer them myself. I’m always available. They mightn’t come and ask you for anything but what gives them the strength is that you’re there, and this is what I missed out on as a young one because my grandparents died when I was only a little wee fella and I had no one to call on and I sort of missed that, and I’ve noticed other families during my younger years if they’re in any kind of mix up they go to the grandparents. But I couldn’t do that and I thought I am not going to deny my grandchildren that. I owe it to them that I should be here as long as I possibly can. They mightn’t use me, but the thought of me being there I think gives them strength and security that yes, we’ve got family, we’ve got a father and a mother and two grandparents. What more can a grandchild want as far as whānau is concerned, great support that gives them encouragement. I believe that makes them want to further themselves on in life.” (Participant 3)

One participant grew up with a violent father. She observed that growing up in a home where her mother was regularly assaulted over many years had made her strong, intuitive and a vocal advocate for addressing domestic violence.

“I see things and I can pick up things that the rest of the whānau can’t, because I was there, I’ve been there... I’ve gotten over...all that childhood stuff, and...it’s given me a real appreciation of the life that I’ve had, and of the people that are around me...Because when I look at, especially men, because I’ve seen the eyes of a person, of a violent person, there is no way that a man can lie to me. You know, he can be as nice as pie but if he’s a violent man, I can pick it by just looking at his eyes because I’ve seen them. It’s also taught me...when I’m around people who are actually violent people, or who have a history of violence, it’s taught me to come straight out and start talking about it and letting them know that I will not stand for it, and that’s one of the beliefs that I have now is that, if every single one of us would just stand up and let people around us know that there is no way that...we’re going to, tolerate that sort of behaviour, you’ll find that those people will not behave in that way anywhere around you.” (Participant 13)

Relocating from destructive environments

One participant and spouse decided to move their family away from their neighbourhood to escape an unhealthy environment.

“...we were still very much...into the alcohol...and there was only one way to leave it...I can understand when I worked for [an organisation] about the women saying we have to move to get away, because we had to as a family to get away from it, to get away from the alcohol...And I wanted to get out of the street because I knew staying there was going to limit the kids.” (Participant 2)

Health

Some participants identified smoking as an aspect of their lifestyle that had led to negative health consequences for themselves and/or their whānau. One interviewee discussed her decision to quit smoking and the impact of smoking on her health.

“Health wise is not good for me to a certain degree and that’s through smoking. I’m really sad about that now you know, it’s too late to be sad about things like that but I finished smoking about 8 years ago when [participant’s brother] was quite ill in the hospital...I’m really pleased I have [quit smoking] but a year ago I was waking up in the night coughing up blood and it frightened me. So I went to the doctor ...She said to me what it is, when you stop smoking it takes about 7-10 years for the nicotine to come off your lungs and she says and sometimes you’re fortunate enough that it will come away, she said “...you’re at the very early stages of emphysema...”” (Participant 6)

Responding to prejudice

Some participants provided examples of the strategies they used to confront prejudice.

Participant 13, when faced with racist remarks in a work context dealt with the issue immediately and directly to the extent that despite these issues occasionally arising she enjoyed her work environment.

“They were very careful with the way they spoke, and then when they got used to you they kind of loosened up a bit, you know, but if they’d ever, if they ever said anything that was a little on the racist side, then I would certainly stand up and tell them. Um, no I found, I found that I quite liked that environment really.” (Participant 13)

One participant noted that older people with physical disabilities often can be confronted by ignorant and hurtful behaviour. In that situation, Participant 15 addresses the situation directly and assertively.

“... I know I get a bit mad at people...often we are in a circle where maybe you’ve been...a speaker...and suddenly, talk is taken away from that particular subject and they ignore you completely. And ignore you because I think, “Oh she can’t hear anyway and so we won’t bother.” And I would have to remind them, “Turn around and let me see you so I can read your lips” you know. I said...is very lucky that I am not stone deaf because you would have to speak to me...so they apologised, but it’s such a natural thing for people to do. (Participant 15)

Overcoming a childhood fear

In a somewhat unconventional move, one participant decided at an early age to overcome a childhood fear of a particular occupational group by joining that profession himself.

“And then I at a young age, I remember being scared of two people, one was the [person in occupational group being discussed]...and the other one was the nun because they used to have a convent there. And I didn’t like that internal thing of being in fear and so I thought I’d conquer this. Well, I couldn’t become a nun—challenging yeah so, perhaps that’s just some unconscious sort of reasoning that motivated me...it was always a dream and the sense of being a young fella that I’d return back here and [join that occupational group]...I was quite young and thinking about that. I may have been about seven or eight at that stage, and so it turned out to be that way.” (Participant 11)

Reactive measures

Some participants who experienced adverse circumstances in their lives responded in a reactive, rather than a proactive way to their situations. That is, they accepted, at least for a lengthy period, the status quo of their situation which led to suboptimal outcomes.

Health

One participant accepted that her smoking had adversely affected a family member's health.

“I'm at a point now where you have to work really fast, I wish I started thinking like this ten years ago, hasn't happened—no time for regrets. Just the struggles, ...we weren't prepared to give up those similar things like the smoking until much later. It could've saved us... lots of money and [participant's daughter] ever having being born with a respiratory problem, but its happened....” (Participant 2)

Deliberately not taking medication led to one participant having a serious health problem.

“...I didn't throw it away [medication]. I just left it aside. And I knew afterwards that I should have been taking it. It's mainly rongoā [Māori traditional medicine]. And that's what triggered me off... it's a blessing that I'm still here today... It didn't get worse. That was only a few months ago...it started off as slurring... and I picked it up in a supermarket...And I knew straight away. Hello. This is going into a stroke.” (Participant 8)

Māori knowledge and leadership

One participant, who is very active in local iwi politics, acknowledged that he had not made the most of opportunities to learn te reo, and that this has been a source of regret.

“I am very disappointed that, and I did it on purpose, I had ample opportunity to learn the reo from some of the best...and I didn't want to take the opportunity and I felt that you couldn't mix te reo, my personal opinion nobody else's, that you couldn't mix te reo with positive farming I guess, well that's how I felt...if you had to go there with them all the time then you had to learn and practice...” (Participant 5)

Some participants who did not learn te reo Māori or tikanga Māori used avoidance tactics or delegation in order to abstain from taking on leadership roles in Māori contexts that are usually assumed by older people.

One participant who has a major leadership role in the local mainstream community, but does not speak te reo Māori, delegates her leadership rights to others with te reo in Māori contexts. She also acknowledges the opportunity her lack of competency in te reo has created for someone else to step forward.

“Here I don’t push it because one of ladies, [woman’s name] is brilliant. So when I see someone who has a gift for it I don’t do it, because it’s about them and equipping them to achieve. So Auntie [person’s name] gets invited to do it all...So when she’s speaking I’m speaking and so hey that’s sweet with me because there’s an open door for her...they always say to me, “Would you like to say anything.” So they give me a choice, whether I do want to or I don’t want to so I can refer it on. And so I send my son up to talk... when there’s a tangi she [Auntie] will ring me up, because I don’t go to all of them, and she’ll go “Oh dear, so and so’s died so I just want to get a word [in te reo Māori] ready just in case they ask.” And so she’ll give me the word over the phone and we will go over it and stuff, and I’ll go, “That’s brilliant, Auntie.” (Participant 14)

Another participant spoke of undertaking leadership roles to a limited extent, and then delegating to others (often youth) who were more skilled. The participant also saw this arrangement as positive for both her and the youth involved.

“You’re expected to [karanga [ceremonial call], perform waiata [song]]. If you’ve got white hair, you’re expected to get up there whether you want to or not. Ah I don’t mind. I don’t mind with a karanga but I’m not as well versed in all the waiata, the ancient waiata...I don’t even try. I know my limitations with Māori so what I do, it was usually when I go in with a crowd, there’s usually those who have those particular attributes, I say “Come on.” “But Kui, I can’t”...I said, “You’re with me, kōrero. I’ve done the karanga.” And that’s that and they do the waiata as well and they...do it very well...I take great delight in doing that especially when I have with me somebody who is absolutely well knowledged...Better to do that than to make a fool of yourself...I think that’s a safe strategy rather than allowing young people to go forward on their own back doing their thing, upsetting a lot of kuia and koroua. And I’ve heard them being very vocal, “Hoatu ki a ia, ki a ia te whaea ki te karanga.” [Translation: *Give it to her, the old woman to perform the ceremonial call.*] Oh right, you give them permission that wipes all that out and that is the ideal, plus you have given them an extra standing and you got a devoted slave for life. (Laughter)...you’re giving back their pride and in being able to extend their own...and they are doing it with the permission of kuia.” (Participant 15)

One participant directly declines opportunities to speak formally in Māori contexts.

“Oh I don’t mind if they ask me, but I would tell them, you know. I’d tell them...“Ehara au i te mea tika mō te momo mahi.” [I am not the right one for that type of role.]...But I’m quite comfortable with that, but I couldn’t get up and do a big kōrero.” (Participant 12)

A few other interviewees expressed a willingness to take on leadership roles, making do with their limited knowledge base given that there are few people able to take on formal roles.

“There’s less people to do the work. And there’s more demands, to karanga and waiata. And you just got to humble yourself and if you’re going to sing the same song for each ope [group] that comes in so be it, just to cover a base...I notice that the men are starting to whaikōrero a lot they turn around and say it in English and I had a bee in my bonnet about that because its not far from the day I think when we do karanga in English... Not me anyway I’ll get someone else to do it....” (Participant 2)

“And I look for something simple. And I said, well righto, we’re, we’re going somewhere...You know. Just to be prepared. I tried and be prepared. But as soon as I see somebody there that’s a bit much more...than I...pull back...I know there’s a lot younger than me behind, and they would go, “Oh, Aunty’s there,” you know...I prefer not to...I’d sooner be in the back or behind. (Laughter)” (Participant 8)

A major customary leadership role is for kaumātua to transmit Māori language and cultural knowledge in the language to younger generations. An interviewee who is a native speaker was not permitted by her husband to speak Māori with their children. The interviewee expressed great regret and shame that their children did not learn Māori from them.

“...nā taku tane kāore aia i pirangi kia mōhio ana tamariki [ki te kōrero Māori]...haere mai ana te roimatatanga ki roto ki ahau, te aroha hoki ki aku kuia, te whakamā i kore hoki i ako i aku tamariki. Ka haere mai te puku tangi ki ahau he aha au i...nā i pēhea te hoki ai?. Ēngari ne i whakaae hoki taku tane āe, ka mōhio katoa rātou ki te kōrero Māori.”

“...my husband did not want the children to know [how to speak Māori]...tears well up and feelings for my kuia, I am so embarrassed I didn’t teach my children. I feel really choked up, why didn’t I? If my husband had agreed, they would all be able to speak Māori.” [Translation] (Participant 17)

Fears

An inability to overcome a fear of driving resulted in one participant’s dependence on others for transport.

“They need to learn how to drive, because I never learnt how to drive and if I’d learnt how to drive, I wouldn’t have to wait around. If I want to go to [place name], I’ll walk. Yeah, but if I want to go to Hāwera, I wait for [participant’s daughter] to take me. But um, I think that it is important to learn to drive, ‘cause I never learnt. When [participant’s spouse] used to put me on the wheel, I used to cry.” (Participant 10)

Summary

Participants shared a range of experiences of everyday life and significant events from early childhood and throughout adulthood. The narratives provide a rich source of anecdote about

ageing, particularly in relation to factors that impact across the lifecourse, adaptability, whānau dynamics and participation in society, and preparation for the years ahead.

The narratives reflect participants' realities of living at the interface between the Māori world and wider society, and negotiating the inevitable tensions that arise. It is apparent that throughout the lifecourse wide ranging factors have impacted on and shaped the lives of participants, and that many of these factors were beyond participants' direct influence. At the same time, however, they gave examples of proactive measures they had taken to improve their own and whānau circumstances, and reactive measures that enabled them to cope with adversity but did not enhance their longer term life prospects.

The narratives provide an indication of the knowledge, experience, relationships and values accrued over a lifetime. It is this combination of factors which, to a large degree, underpins older Māori peoples' experiences of old age and the roles they fulfil in older age.

Chapter Seven

THE AGED - MĀORI PERCEPTIONS AND EXPERIENCES OF OLD AGE

Introduction

This second data chapter presents further findings from the interviews with 20 older Māori resident in Taranaki. Whereas the previous chapter described the experiences of older Māori throughout their lives, this chapter contains the participants' narratives related to 'the aged'. Specifically, participant's views on the concept of 'kaumātua', their perceptions and experiences of old age and their priorities as older people.

The concept of 'kaumātua'

The concept of 'kaumātua' was discussed by participants. Generally, comments indicated that there was a distinction between being a kaumātua and being old. The status of kaumātua was not automatically achieved at a particular age, but was related to ability and endorsement from others.

“...some rather ridiculous information came across which was judgemental, and they [participants at a tribal annual general meeting] said...a kaumātua can be accepted at the age of sixty five, and I thought “What is the age of sixty five...” And so I said, “...it didn't mean that they have to be of an age. If they have the knowledge and they were the people who had the wisdom, and that person may have been very young. That person was chosen and the people chose them.”...it just floored me that they really didn't know what the status of a kaumātua...” (Participant 1)

According to Participant 11, age should not be the factor that determines whether an individual has attained expertise in particular areas. There is a risk of knowledge degradation when less competent people, no matter their age, take on formal knowledge roles and transmit incorrect information to younger generations.

“I have some concerns about this assumption that when you reach a certain age, all of a sudden...you are the oracle of knowledge, whereas in actual fact you may not be...I’ve been in hui...I’ve seen some real bastardised versions of what’s...being described [tribal history]...that person will go on and continue to recite incorrect information...instead of throwing a generic blanket of authoritative persona over our kaumātua...we’ve defined them as being...the repository of all knowledge because they’ve reached a certain age in their life. It’s not...whether they have acquired wisdom and knowledge or anything like that, it’s their age that is the determiner, and I have difficulty internally with that one.” (Participant 11)

There was, however, an alternative view. According to Participant 15 any Māori person who has lived to an old age has achieved the status of kaumātua, as they are a survivor, are unique, and have a contribution to make.

“I think all elderly Māori people have the right to be called kaumātua regardless of their status, regardless of their importance to other people. Having attained that age is in itself a passport...the praise of just having survived for that long because everybody at that age...has some little snippet that nobody else has.” (Participant 15)

Some participants referred to differences in discussion styles between older Māori and younger Māori. Participant 10 identified that older people are more adept at listening during difficult or confrontational situations, and less likely than younger people to engage in discussions in a negative way. Further, that this is an approach that is acquired over time.

“...being loving and kind is an important phase...if you are at a hui and there’s anger...you shouldn’t lash out, you...it might differ from how you think and how you feel, but we should be able to listen and disagree quietly without having to be rude and objectionable and I think that...where whānau is concerned...I can’t understand how there is so much quarrelling because we’re all one whānau...but you can disagree quietly and nicely without being angry...I remember when I was young and I think it was the younger ones that become hostile quickly...I was quick to become angry and...I was quick to ask why and...I was quick to criticise someone else. But now I’m older...I hesitate a little bit now and I think and I listen...with age we...listen more. We’re not as quick to judge as when we were young.” (Participant 10)

Priorities in old age

Participants’ comments indicated that there are a wide range of factors that are important to them in their old age. Key factors are described in the remainder of this chapter.

The 'home place' and housing

The notion of 'home' was often considered to be much more than the house that the participant happened to be residing in. For many of those interviewed the Taranaki region was home and major geographical features, such as Mount Taranaki and the sea, were seen as important in the individual's felt connection to the region. One participant spoke of her strong connection to the South Taranaki area and Mount Taranaki in particular.

“Because it's really home...the first thing I can think of...is that maunga [mountain]...there's this thing that I'm really attached to and there's no way I'm gonna leave here. I mean look, I've been back here just about eight years now and still when I go out that drive and I'm waiting for the traffic to clear before I pull out, oh I still can't believe that he's [Mount Taranaki] right there. I never missed them before...I don't know what it is...All I know is that it's strong and even if the rest of the whānau moved out I would still hold to here...For me home is South Taranaki...I don't mean particularly this house, just South Taranaki...I don't tie myself to houses...Building is a building is a building...” (Participant 13)

For some participants, having ancestors or close whānau buried in Taranaki provides a tangible and enduring link to the region, and contributes to the feeling of home. This was the case for Participant 13 whose koroua and kuia were buried locally, even though she was very young when they passed away and does not have memories of them.

“...when I go to our urupā...it's for my koro. When I go to [another local urupā], it's for the kuia...when I say it's not even the whānau that makes me feel that I belong to home...it's those two...” (Participant 13)

In a similar vein, another participant stated that she would not leave the region because her husband had been buried locally. She also felt an added cultural responsibility to remain in the district because her husband, who was from another tribal region, had relocated and spent his life locally and was buried in her tribal area.

“I brought my husband here, I buried him here, and I won't leave him here by himself.” (Participant 10)

Participant 2 noted her preference to spend her latter years in a similar physical environment to that which she grew up in.

“...it's by the beach...Because I like the smell and the sound of the beach. I hear the waves and I even now, I can find it soothing.” (Participant 2)

After living away from Taranaki, one of the interviewees spoke of a calling to return and the feeling that he and his wife were needed in Taranaki.

“...But then Taranaki started calling me back. We felt that we were needed back here. And so we come back here...” (Participant 3)

Some participants felt a particular responsibility to remain within Taranaki and on whānau land, referring to a strong ancestral connection to the home place, a responsibility to care for the land for the benefit of future generations, and the importance of having an inalienable place to call home.

“...I am pleased to say that we have still got our properties that were left to us when I was left in control and I am quietly pleased with that. I believe that if any of my brothers and sisters were left in control they would have been all sold and we would of had nothing...I don't doubt that if I never had control of the property I would have gone back to [former home outside the region]. I don't doubt that for a minute. (Participant 5)

Family, and in particular mokopuna, were identified as a strong reason to remain living in current locations.

“I've got the mokopunas...if they're around I'm happy...it's just...being around...just to see them running around.” (Participant 8)

“Especially in this day and age you know a lot of them can't get accommodation even if they are married, a lot of them [the participant's mokopuna] can't afford to or whatever, so at the moment, I have often talked about this to [participant's daughter] and [she's] of that opinion now. You see we've got two sheds at the back of my home. One of them is going to be made into a bedroom, the other's going to be made into a office. I need that too for me so, you know, it's about, and got room enough there for...it's a four bedroom house so...you know it's about having somewhere for them to come and that's all I've got in my mind at the moment.” (Participant 4)

Some participants expressed a strong connection to their homes. One participant noted that she felt connected to the house where she and her deceased husband had spent much of their lives because of the memories the home contained.

“Well I'm in my own home...for four years now...So, I know my daughter...wants to buy my house. I'm not ready to leave it yet...cause I can't let it go yet. It's too soon. I don't know when I'm going to leave it.” (Participant 4)

“...because my home...[husband] and I have lived in...There’s still memories there...”
(Participant 8)

One interviewee listed a combination of factors that motivated him to remain in his current home including, links to the mountain and sea, the ability to stay active, and proximity to ancestral land.

“...I’d be quite happy to die there [in current home], but probably when I retire, I’d probably...fiddle around...build an upstairs so I could see the sea and out to the mountain...I’ve got the family farm, as long as I’ve got that up the road...I don’t need to shift to a little farmlet, you know, I like a bit of space. I’ve got...a shed where I can muck around and build things and weld...” (Participant 19)

For some participants their homes were too small to accommodate expanding whānau which included, for example, mokopuna. These participants indicated a desire to increase the size of homes to accommodate visiting whānau. As well, some participants appreciated comfort in the home.

“...to enlarge it...for whānau...coming home...[have] a whānau room...” (Participant 8)

“I’m not worldly, but I like comfort [in my home].” (Participant 10)

Some interviewees identified practical concerns that might motivate them to shift, such as moving to a warmer home or having easy access to facilities and services.

“[where I would like to live] it would be a place where I could shut all the doors,... where you can close the lounge off and close the kitchen off. That’s what I don’t like about this place, it’s too open. It gets too cold...” (Participant 12)

“That house will be a house, easy access...easy to clean...easy to manage...have things at my level not too much...furniture in it...I like to make it look nice and comfortable and warm...that’s what I believe...I don’t know whether I’m going to buy one or...just get a flat...I’ve been looking at it for quite a while...where I could have...easy access to shops that I like to go to. So I’ve been looking at that I don’t know whether I’m dreaming or not...you’re allowed to dream until you wake up I suppose.” (Participant 4)

A participant distinguished between the importance of securing a long-term home for his whānau, as opposed to a ‘house’. He indicated the value of a cultural connection to the place and the importance of having control over that domain.

“...‘the home’, not ‘a house’...that’s what I’m trying to work towards too, is to try to develop an asset. I call it that, but it’s actually part of us and not just a house...you bury the pito [umbilical cord stump] of your moko [grandchild], it’s those sorts of things, you plant, in our case, you plant trees or we have things which are just more than a tree, they’re just more than a beautification...There is a purpose in amongst the tree that attracts the tui or whatever it will be...we lived in a house prior to the one that we’ve got now that had a lot of those factors and we tried to buy it, but it didn’t happen for different reasons, but I used to look after it...in a sense that tuna were in the stream down there, and I used to be in conflict with myself when I see twelve year old kids catching the tuna...to me they were the kaitiaki [guardians] in that sense. So I did have some internal conflict, but that’s what makes ‘the home’ as opposed to “Oh it’s just another house.”...we were renting...we didn’t have control over it...There’s more meaning, there’s a purpose in things...” (Participant 11)

Given that generally participants expressed a strong preference to remain living in Taranaki, it is not surprising that when asked about burial place preferences they indicated a desire to be buried in the region. As well, participants expressed a common desire to be buried near whānau.

“I’ve got a sister who’s buried there and a lot of my relations are buried there who I have had a lot of time for and that’s where I would like to be, yeah.” (Participant 3)

Participant 13 indicated that she would like to be buried at her mother’s whānau urupā [family cemetery], because her mother couldn’t be buried there.

“...my part in wanting to be at [a local cemetery], apart from feeling close to the kuia, is that my mother couldn’t go there.” (Participant 13)

Another participant wanted to be buried at an urupā [cemetery] that was owned by her whānau and where members of her whānau were buried.

“Out at the urupā on the farm. It’s ours. It’s where my people are.” (Participant 1)

Participant 9, who anticipated some tension between various groups to claim burial rights when he passes away, indicated that he would like to be buried somewhere neutral.

“I know that [a group] will tono [make a formal request] for me, I know that [an iwi] will tono...it’s gonna be... probably be buried at somewhere neutral, so if they all argue, they can come and see me in one place, though it will probably be the Hāwera Cemetery.” (Participant 9)

Whānau

Whānau cohesion

Maintaining quality relationships with and within whānau was identified as a very high priority for most participants. Participants' comments indicated that losing contact with children or mokopuna, or having them live at a great distance is painful for older people.

"My family is the most important part of my life..." (Participant 10)

"My kids have had myself and my wife right through and we're still here...And that's pretty special. And for our mokos too, you know, get to know us...keep contact with their family..." (Participant 19)

"...never to lose...contact with their whānau, never. Well it's like looking at yourself when you see your children and mokopuna. To lose contact with them is like losing half of yourself, so that makes you less feeling alive..." (Participant 15)

"...our children...one's in London with his wife...And our daughter, she lives in Sydney...our hearts have gone over to Australia, our hearts are drawn over to London..." (Participant 9)

"I've got two [great grandchildren] that have just gone back to Hamilton to their mother, and I hope will come back again." (Participant 10)

According to one participant, being included in whānau events and being respected as a kaumātua is important to older Māori.

"...a closeness with extended whānau, an inclusion in important Māori occasions...being in the midst of it and feeling that aroha...It doesn't have to be an important occasion, it just has to be important to the person concerned...it could only be a family dinner...there's something you want to be able to pass on...that's probably far more important than being known within the group of society...to be accepted in the right way as a kaumātua...and to have them believe what you say is right. I think every kaumātua I know would like that, and it doesn't always happen..." (Participant 15)

Some comments indicated that whānau cohesion is an active process requiring effort in order to maintain relationships. Further, older people have roles in facilitating whānau cohesion through role modelling and support.

“That’s important to me - relationships, vital...I think that if we can get that [cohesive relationships] in place for the young and the old and how we see a few things for the future. We have to be looking at relationships...and understanding each other. Oh I think it’s vital and really that’s what I’m talking about...family...iwi and their relationships with one another...better relationships and having more patience with one another no matter what we do or say.” (Participant 4)

“You must have family in...I think they must come in or ring...I just expect that...when my mother lived there, like every day...I’d be up and carting her here and there and taking her out and...she’d ring for two or three hours...” (Participant 20)

“One of the first things I’d like is to keep families together. And you can only do that by example. As well as encourage them to look past their differences...it can’t be measured, but there is real value in togetherness and...in bonding a family.” (Participant 7)

The importance and joy of spending quality time with whānau, and in particular mokopuna, was emphasised by interviewees. One participant made the distinction between time spent with mokopuna as a carer, and quality time spent with them simply to share experiences and enjoy one another’s company. That participant referred to her proactive approach to requests for babysitting, whereby her children are required to plan in advance and to meet certain conditions.

“...acrobats and circuses, things that the children talk about, often Nana would love to go around or Granddad would love to go with them...the joy of enjoying something with the children...not to be used as built-in babysitters but somebody who is very special...My children are not allowed to use me as a babysitter...If they want something special, they have to ask me a good fortnight beforehand and if I’m free, I will, but the conditions are you pick them up. If you’re going to be late and you’re going to be drinking, don’t come near me till the morning, but if not, come and pick up your baby and take them home.” (Participant 15)

“...I like to be there for the babies...and the kids when they’ve got things at school...I went up to Stratford to do some square dancing with a moko up there and I thought “Oh my God...do I really have to do this?” and we danced our little legs off. She loved it.” (Participant 1)

One participant expressed the view that it is possible to both invest time in mokopuna as well as concentrate on individual needs in retirement.

“And the reason being is that I’d like to spend more time with my mokopuna and also probably live the life that I’ve never had. Meaning worrying about me, where to from here.” (Participant 6)

Comments indicated that participants continue to maintain relationships with their own elders. Participant 14 specifically identified the investment of time in older people and whānau as a critical and tangible expression of love.

“We need to give them time because you know sometimes we go, “Oh hurry up, Auntie it’s a bit late now. Come on,” you know, because we don’t give them time. What we do is say, “Okay, I’ll pop in and see Auntie when I’ve got five minutes.” Now we know that aunties need more than five minutes and so yeah, when I go visit the old people I give time because I think that’s such a valuable asset that they have that we, I don’t know if we’ve forgotten about it. I don’t think we’ve really understood it that we need to understand because like even when they talk about children and when they talk about love, what is the word love? It’s T- I- M- E. The way you love your children is time. The way you love your old people is time, is to give them time. I think that’s a quality we need to adopt.” (Participant 14)

There was an acknowledgment that there were differences in the nature of the relationships older people had with their children versus their mokopuna. That is, that they are more flexible and accepting in their relationships with mokopuna. Further, that relationships with children changed as they grew into adulthood.

“...it reverses...the role...I’m seeing that now with one daughter, likes to mother me...whereas the other one’s still my friend among other things...she wants me to be the mother there for her children...the boy’s easy...it is that transition...one daughter has become the mother and is also bossing the mother around...I just love the mokos for what they are whereas with my own children it was – this is the way it is...there’d be no negotiation...on certain things, just no negotiation. Other things we might negotiate or talk about...there was discipline...” (Participant 1)

“...they’ve all grown up now [participant’s children]...I still let them know I’m the boss...But then at the same time...I have to try and adapt with them...I would tell them how I would think...But then they’ll come out how they would think...I’ve learned to give...You know. I had to have them with me...now...they would keep an eye on me. They way, if I say I am going out...“Oh, where are you going?...what for? What are you doing?” And I tell them.” (Participant 8)

One participant gave a specific example relating to the use of communication technology to illustrate the difference in their relationship with mokopuna compared to relationships with children. Mokopuna believe that older people can use these technologies, reflective of a general faith that their grandparents can do anything.

“I don’t know how to use it [email and Beebo]...But my grand kids think I can do anything...My mokos trust me because I’ll tell you what, I’m always there for them if they need me...my grandchildren look to me because their parents both work and for security reasons...they look to me.” (Participant 10)

Whānau wellbeing and the wellbeing of older people

Many interviewees referred to the sense of pride and satisfaction they derived from the wellbeing and achievements of children and mokopuna. Participant 18 described her satisfaction in the accomplishments of her children and grandchildren, in hearing their aspirations and what they have been doing, and in supporting them.

“My children...and my grandchildren, being able to do what they want...togetherness and...listening to what they’re doing...and what they hope to do and how I can help them...I like being involved in their lives, the kids’ lives...” (Participant 18)

Some participants indicated that in their old age, their aspirations in life focussed more on the holistic wellbeing and betterment of their children and mokopuna rather than on themselves. Further, they emphasised their role in supporting their children and mokopuna to achieve their ambitions. There was also an acknowledgment that the actions of individual whānau members reflects upon the whānau as a whole.

“...I have no ambitions anymore for this life other than to see my children succeed in whatever they do, my grandchildren to grow up and do the things that...will bring them a good life...I think that is the feeling of all Māori...that was the feeling of my dad, that is the feeling of my children that they want to see good things happen for their children and a life like they have lived and it reflects on the whānau... a good name...I want good things for my children...they’ve got good friends and they work hard in their jobs...makes me feel good...and they did get a good education....” (Participant 10)

“That my children are well...I don’t mean just in health, I mean...holistically...that they are all functioning well and...independent, because if they’re well and independent, then the mokos are fine...that I’m well enough to always be there for them when they want me. There’s no use...them coming to me for money, things material, because I just don’t have that and it’s actually not what they need.” (Participant 13)

“...you look forward to...their [whānau and mokopuna] development and hope that...you have some influence in that development. Just for example, you take them and you know and...e noke [worm]...they discover...play with the worm and...you tell them as much as you know yourself...” (Participant 16)

Some participants explicitly referred to the direct link between the wellbeing of whānau and the wellbeing of older people. That is, when whānau are well the older people are well, and when whānau are unwell this impacts negatively on the wellbeing of older people. Further, some comments indicated that having whānau instils in older people a felt responsibility to look after their own health in order that they continue to be around to support whānau.

“So the concept is for me in regards to...making elders happy, is when the whānau are happy then he’s happy, when they’re sad, he’s sad.” (Participant 9)

“I think we owe it to them. I’m talking about both of us we were responsible for them being in the world. So we owe it to them to be available to them as long as we possibly can. Not just to give up because we got an illness or anything like that. If we fall ill we should be fighting to get back into good health because we’ve got family and we owe it to them because we were responsible for them being in the world and that’s how I look at it.” (Participant 3)

One participant noted that in their later years it is important to them that their children are able to ensure the continuation of the whānau.

“It might change a little bit but you know what their expectations really [are]...and that’s how I want it to be here too because we know that as parents and getting to the age that we are that they’re sustained, they can sustain the family.” (Participant 2)

Reciprocity of care

Interviewee comments indicated that there is a reciprocal caring relationship between older people and their whānau. Many participants referred to the support and/or care provided to them by whānau, including spouses.

“I can tell them what I want...them to do for me, like I want [daughter] to take me to [participant’s husband]...so I can take those flowers and put them on him, because those were my birthday present...” (Participant 10)

“...good health is paramount...we are starting to...enjoy older...years, like beyond...60 years...that’s good family care...good wives.” (Participant 16)

As well, examples were given of the ways in which older people were contributing to meeting the needs of whānau. One participant referred to the importance of achieving a balance between whānau needs and the needs of the older person, and another acknowledged the need to respect the privacy of her whānau while maintaining close connections.

“...I’m setting myself up and consequently the whānau are setting themselves up for their needs later on...I’m where I am at the moment...because it’s able to allow me to provide for my needs and those needs are to set things up for the kids and the moko...we are looking at trying to figure out how the whānau’s needs will be okay as far as the house is concerned, covering the mortgage...whether we can put another granny flat thing along there if the kids might want to come in as well as enjoying your own quality of life...we’re not totally dominated by what their needs are, but somehow rather making sure that they are okay in the first instance.” (Participant 11)

“...well I’d want to live in a granny flat next to my kids cause I can still scratch around in the garden, look after kids before and after school so they can continue working...I think the Chinese do it, look after, like that. I can still make the pickles, put a kai on you know, still be a very valued member amongst the family.” (Participant 2)

“...they [her children] were an extension of [husband] and I...have complete contact with all my mokos. Every generation. Because I love them...we share without having to intrude on their privacy. If they’ve got...a birthday coming up, we will make sure we get there even if we don’t stay...there is that commitment to a whānau...that if you can’t help your own, no one else will.” (Participant 15)

Negative whānau interactions

Not all whānau interactions are positive in nature. Participant 15 drew attention to the problem of elder abuse.

“...they [older people] are all dominated by their children...I’ve noticed the scaring and bruises on some of them...some of them are so noticeable...they will refuse absolutely to tell you where it came from because they mightn’t see their moko again...and I’ve known that to happen...loneliness is a weapon often used with older people...people can be so cruel...” (Participant 15)

Health

Good health was accorded a very high priority by participants. Māori concepts of health are holistic in nature, and it was not surprising that participants referred to a variety of interacting factors that underpin good health, such as a healthy lifestyle, having variety in life, and remaining mentally and physically engaged.

“Well you’ve got to eat well, you’ve got to...keep yourself occupied, you’ve got to have a break from the usual once in a while, you’ve gotta use your head, that doesn’t go to sleep and something I’d missed out on lately, is exercise. I must get back to that.” (Participant 7)

Consistent with the views of participants, a well recognised Māori model of health is Te Whare Tapawhā (Durie, 1994), which likens good health to the four walls of a house. According to the model, each ‘wall’ needs to maintain its integrity and be in balance if the house itself is to stand strong. The four dimensions of health identified in this model are te taha wairua (spirituality), te taha tinana (physical health), te taha hinengaro (intellectual and emotional health) and te taha whānau (whānau wellbeing).

Te taha wairua (spirituality)

Responses indicated that spirituality is an important dimension of overall wellbeing.

“... one of the things that’s been most important in my life has been my spirit...it is something that I had taken care of because to me it’s the governing body. If I hadn’t got that right, I don’t think anything goes right.” (Participant 7)

“Me pēnei pea taku kōrero atu ki a koe...Whakaoho wairua. Ko te māmā tō wairua. Ki te māmā hoki tō wairua, ana kua māmā katoa ō whakaaro.”

“I guess I should say it like this...Uplifting spirit. So that your spirit is light. If your spirit is light...so too is your mental state.” [Translation] (Participant 17)

“First and foremost you’ve got to feel safe within yourself. I always go back to the wairuatanga, if you’re safe in yourself, then you’ll find, you’ll put yourself in a safe environment.” (Participant 9)

For some participants, formal religion provided a spiritual basis and was considered to be central to their lives.

“...probably like our walk with God is very important to us. And we see that as a real go forward...I just see the benefits, even spiritually, in going forward. There’s a huge future, in God, and so that’s very important to me, in pursuing, making sure that I’m pursuing my relationship with God and it’s got nothing to do with church...we don’t see the specific dead God, you know. He’s alive and he’s active...he says “Follow the plans I have for you”...give you hope in the future and so...I see in our future is locked up in our relationship with God and I see our children’s futures...I think that our relationship with God is going to release a whole lot of stuff, that’s gonna benefit not just us as a family, but it’s affecting also other people’s lives in this community. It’s affecting our community...Yeah, so I think that Māori are really starting to look at their spiritual things, and that too is also to do with identity. Because...I look at this whole thing, and I look at God and I look at our Māori heritage and stuff, very much linked, you know. Like I look at the culture and I think, and I read the Word of God and can see our Māori culture in the Word of God. That’s why you have to get past church...it’s about getting a relationship with God, getting his word, getting his word to get to know him so you get to know you.” (Participant 14)

Participant 13 noted that older people value their past, and reflect upon their memories and draw spiritual sustenance from their past experiences.

“I think that for older Māori people the past is really important...That older ones that I know of now, sometimes it’s only the past that they can remember and understand...you don’t hear them talking about plans for the future...about what’s gonna happen tomorrow either unless they’re very active...and mobile. And I think that when you...look back in the past like that, I think that there’s a lot of wairua in there.” (Participant 13)

A few participants expressed an awareness of their own mortality and the need to make the most of their time. When discussing death, some participants expressed a positive acceptance of death.

“I’m at that freaking time where you realise that...time is precious...life is but short and you [have] got to make the most of it...” (Participant 19)

“I just see beauty in death, it doesn’t frighten me...” (Participant 10)

“They [grandchildren] are just so happy being able to show me something new, and...often the phrases are started with “Before you die, Nana, can we do...” and the acceptance of death with Māori children is fabulous...we talk about this not as impending doom but as another adventure...I always say to them “It’s like opening another door and walking into another world.” And they ask me, “Is that door open yet?” And I say “Not yet, not for a while yet.” So that’s something that is there as Māori. We accept that and the children accept that.” (Participant 15)

Two participants, in particular, gave examples of their acceptance of the existence of life after death, in retelling of the guidance and strength they had received from deceased ancestors.

“...in one of [deceased] grandfather’s comments when he, he always came through in our meditation to let us know what was gonna happen, who was gonna do this...’
(Participant 15)

“...But I’ve done that all my life since my Dad passed away, I go down to the urupā and even when I need a hand, if I need a hand I talk to him. I’m not a church man although I’ve been baptised...and I said, well I do pray in my own way but I go down and talk to the old people...I’ve been doing it for years and I’ve done alright out of it...’
(Participant 5)

Te taha tinana (physical health)

There was a high level of recognition among participants that a balanced healthy lifestyle, in terms of nutrition and physical activity, is important throughout life and particularly in later life as a foundation for good health and a long life. Further, that there are opportunities on a daily basis to make choices that promote good health.

“There’s the health aspect...to keep you fit and to give you longevity, better than eating pork bones, eating pūhā, and having all those traditional kai, it might put a bit of weight on and make you obese...So those are the decisions you’ve got to make on a day to day basis...’ (Participant 19)

“I think the most important thing, to live well, to make sure that you have the basics at least. To eat good things, proteins and things like that and try to even it out.”
(Participant 1)

“It’s really important that I live to 107...just an age that I’ve picked out of the sky...keep taking my USANA [supplements]...keep active...’ (Participant 18)

Remaining fit was a priority for some interviewees. Participant 12, who was aged over 70 years, maintained a high level of physical activity.

“I’m still playing table tennis... I’ve been for a walk this morning...I’ve been about 10 kms [kilometres]...I’m only just starting getting back into it now [after being prohibited by ill health]...sometimes go for a ride on my bike. I’ve got an old ten-speed bike. They don’t even make them anymore...I’ve had it for thirty years...part of trying to stay fit...’ (Participant 12)

One participant acknowledged an increased awareness among Māori communities of the importance of being healthy, in referring to the positive changes she saw in food preparation and provision at marae.

“...a lot of the maraes...you don’t see greasy meals anymore. The boil ups laden with fat and things like that, so they’ve obviously scooped off and done the cooking well.” (Participant 1)

Some participants acknowledged their expectation that as they aged their physical limitations would likely increase. However, participants generally indicated that they would address those issues as they arose and expressed a reasonable level of confidence in their capacity to cope.

“...somewhere down the track that may be there will be some mobility factors that I can’t get up the stairs and all those sorts of things, well we will just have to deal with those as they come.” (Participant 11)

Te taha hinengaro (intellectual and emotional health)

The importance of staying intellectually active and engaged was emphasised by some participants as part of a holistic approach to good health.

“You’ve got to stay active with a healthy mind...if your mind goes then you’re basically bugged and so you’ve got to...keep that good frame of mind...keep a healthy body, healthy mind...From participating with other people, lots of talk, lots of good times, lots of fun times, lots of sharing their experiences...so there’s commonalities that keeps your mind active. Having the odd party, having a good blow out every now and then, and having a good sing song. You know, remembering the old days, singing the old rude waiatas they used to sing...as old as they are...they still can think as good as...You’ve got to stimulate the mind as well as your body....” (Participant 19)

“I also need to do a lot of the work myself, looking after myself, keeping the brain working and keeping active and keeping in line as much as I can and helping as much as I can with, with our people, our iwi people...” (Participant 14)

Some participants expressed the importance of lifelong learning, and described formal and informal learning opportunities that they continued to enjoy and why these activities were stimulating.

“...they [a Māori tertiary education institution] give you new ventures to think about...new arguments to chew on and the opportunity to answer them.” (Participant 7)

“Do something new. Learn. I’m always writing to find out about something new, I’m nosy. If something is going on and I’m interested in it, I’ll go to it and it doesn’t matter if I go on my own, I will go to it. I don’t hesitate to find out...I don’t think it’s about curiosity. It’s just wanting to know...keep up your knowledge base...Just about anything that goes past my vision...if it interests me I will join in.” (Participant 1)

Many participants referred to the importance of a positive attitude generally, and in particular a positive attitude to ageing. Participants’ comments reflected that many interviewees themselves had a positive disposition and enjoyed life. Comments also indicated that there was some level of acceptance of the physical and other limitations of old age, but interviewees made adaptations to their lives to accommodate changes and a slower pace of life. Furthermore, those changes need not be considered negatively. Acceptance of the past and oneself were identified by one participant as central to achieving emotional wellbeing, and this acceptance is something that older people are better equipped than younger people to achieve. Participant 7 also noted that having a purpose in life is imperative.

“You have to be positive about most things, to age, to go get to an age. I think you’ve got to have an aim...I’ve always felt that the need to grow older gracefully...there’s just no point. You’re signing your own death warrant. Cos growing older really for me, it only means getting more wrinkles, getting slower, so I’ve always been running too fast, so getting slower is quite a help...Life’s good....” (Participant 7)

“...just slowing...not like when I was...five or ten years ago...just slowing down. It’s probably what they call arthritis...I try and ignore it and carry out...part of the growing old...a lot of things as you age you can’t do...I was able to lift a...big bag of potatoes...I don’t get big ones now...I’m just weary...like bending...It’s a thing of mine...bend the knees.” (Participant 8)

“You talk and joke and laugh...that makes you feel good...even sort of smiling and laughing....” (Participant 20)

Some participants felt their chronological age was out of step with how they felt about themselves. Age was more of an attitude than a ‘state.’

“I never sort of considered myself being old...My nephews always say that I haven’t grown up yet...it’s good to have...a laugh. I go over to my Mum’s and we have a few jokes and have a good laugh...Mum likes to have a good laugh, ninety-one you know and she still tells jokes. And we sit up and play cards, Mum and my sisters and myself...it’ll be three or four o’clock in the morning and Mum is still there with us.” (Participant 12)

“Not many of us left...I mean people that are older than me...I don’t think I’m seventy...I don’t think of myself as old...” (Participant 18)

“I might look seventy but I feel twenty...Well, age has nothing to do with how a person is or feels...” (Participant 1)

Accepting oneself, feeling confident and making peace with the past was seen by Participant 13 as necessary to achieving emotional wellbeing. Furthermore, the comment indicated that with age people are better able to achieve this state.

“...when one gets to an age and one is able to deal with all the stuff that has gone on in the past and when you’ve dealt with that, you become really comfortable in your skin and there’s a certain freedom to that...If I’m well and comfortable in my skin, then I am free to go and help other people and learn on the way...means forgiving those whom they think have hurt them...” (Participant 13)

Te taha whānau (links to whānau)

As discussed earlier in this section of the chapter, many participants discussed the centrality of whānau cohesion and opportunities to interact with whānau as fundamental to the wellbeing of older people. Also, to a large extent the wellbeing of older people is a function of the wellbeing of whānau.

“Because also what helps my health a lot...is my own family. Being able to come together with my family and have a good time with them to me that is very important because naturally I love my own family, my own children, my mokopunas, and great mokopunas...I’d do anything for them and they’re the same with me. So to me that is very important. A lot of them live far away, or all of them live far away, but to be able to keep in touch with them. The same goes with my brothers and that, I wish that they were a little bit more communicative but I still think of them a lot... and my relations who I see quite often I enjoy that, I’ll try and see them as often as I can. It gives me great pleasure.” (Participant 3)

“...whakawhānaungatanga...being together, so it was healthy for us, whānau and their connections is healthy for us older people...to have your...brothers and sisters and mums and dads and uncles, aunts and nieces and nephews and pepi...it helps preserve, I guess extend your life...if you’re happy inside, your family are happy to have you around...It’s that korowai, you[re] embraced by all and you embrace all...If you’re happy then you’re mentally, physically, psychologically, you’re well. You’re...relaxed in a foreign environment but the environment around you, the korowai around you is your environment from home.” (Participant 9)

Financial security

A number of participants described financial security, and the piece of mind that is achieved through feeling stable financially, as important to older people.

“You’ve got to know that you’re secure and that you’ve got to know that your health is good. And I mean secure is you’ve got to have the financial security but that’s not even guaranteed to you anymore. You can be a CEO of a company today and you can have nothing tomorrow, you know. So I think it is peace of mind. Peace of mind I think is a crucial one.” (Participant 14)

Those participants who expressed the importance of financial security, were generally not aspiring to be wealthy but rather to be in a position to meet basic needs and to have options in life. One participant expressed resentment at the extent to which society is focussed on money and wealth.

“I think financial freedom... and that doesn’t mean having a lot of money but it means to have something other than just the benefit, to sustain good health...and not necessarily these things in this order, good health, housing, transport, good friends...are really important.” (Participant 2)

“Financial stability...have enough to live on and be able to do what you want to do, obviously you can’t have everything...the basic things...your needs are usually to be healthy, not wealthy but enough to get by on...to have financial stability, your warmth, your family around and keep interested in everything...” (Participant 1)

“I’d like one of those older places where you can close the lounge off and close the kitchen off...be just the normal house, but it wouldn’t be open plan...my needs are quite simple, I don’t sort of go in for material things or anything like that...material things don’t sort of bother me too much...I’ve got clothes there that I’ve had for forty years that I...still wear...as long as I can have a decent feed at least once a week, I’m alright...I still got a walkman. I still listen to my walkman.” (Participant 12)

“But none of them they are over-riding the fact that money is the basis for everything that’s going now, and that upsets me. It really does...The acceptance from a lot of people that you have to have money to survive. Money is a necessity in some things but it’s become a God with our society, a standing in our world today. If you’re a millionaire you’re somebody.” (Participant 15)

One participant noted that it was important for her to be able to continue to be in paid employment so that she is engaged in worthwhile work, stimulated and able to retain her financial independence.

“I really want to keep working until I’m unable to...and people get on my back about this, that I should be retiring...I don’t know what they think I should be doing...I’d be bored if I had to stay home and not do anything...I couldn’t, not earning...where am I gonna get my money...for me to go to housie and to go drive around in my car...buy petrol and food...” (Participant 18)

In discussing material wellbeing, specifically what she would do if she were wealthy, Participant 7 identified four Māori community initiatives she would like to put in place before mentioning personal needs.

“I would finish [marae name]...I would give a good dollar for [hapū/subtribe name] to finish theirs... [place name]...get a good dollar because they’ve got a marae down there... one thing I do want, a whare wānanga is what I want down there...” (Participant 7)

Participant 11 expressed a desire to better organise his personal affairs and take a greater degree of financial responsibility for himself in order to avoid burdening others.

“...in a financial sense, I don’t want to be a burden financially and place other people at risk because I haven’t put things in place as far as not having a will and those sorts of things. Whereas I probably, in the past, I’ve always worried about other people making sure they’ve got their things in place and haven’t looked at things for myself. So I’m taking that learning on board about sort of re-orienting my focus.” (Participant 11)

A few participants noted that they enjoyed the opportunity to treat themselves within their budgets.

“Every month I go to [beauty parlour]...and have...[a] facial and a pedicure...I pamper myself and every month I go and have my hair dyed and cut and have a blow wave...I have the money to do it...and so I do pamper myself in that way...it’s my day of indulgence ...[a] facial...it eases all the tension out of you...” (Participant 18)

“...it’s my comforts which I deserve, being warm, having proper—and I do like clothes, I also want to look after my body, I want to be able to have massages. I can afford those. I want to afford facials. I want to afford someone to cut my toe nails, you know I want people to pamper me, I want to be able to afford to be pampered and I’m going to.” (Participant 4)

Some participants acknowledged that the implication of investing resources in their children and mokopuna was that they themselves were struggling financially in later life. They did not express regret in their decisions to invest in their children and mokopuna, but rather considered that this was the right approach. Participant 9 stated that if they did not invest in their children and

mokopuna, they would not be happy and that it would be selfish to do otherwise. Further, that they would rather take on the struggle themselves and relieve their children and mokopuna of financial burdens.

“...we’re not disciplined to save on our own. We’re drawing [on financial reserves] to feed our mokopunas and our children, we’re drawing to pay for their schooling...If we saved, we’d feel selfish if we are not feeding our children with kai [food]...If we’re not making things easier for our children, like give them money to pay their way here, there, to be selfish would be that we would be seeing them suffering, so we don’t let them suffer. We’ll take the suffering for them in their context...And so at the end of the day...some of us that virtually ended up with nothing...some of us have put away a bit, unfortunately some of us haven’t...so it’s gonna catch up with us some stage, at a later age where there is nothing you can do about it....” (Participant 9)

Participant 1 feels that the degree of financial security between Māori and Pākehā older people is very different with, in her experience, Pākehā much more financially secure.

“...there were a few friends that I had that were Pākehā, but were poles apart financially...in Māori terms I most probably would be comfortable, in Pākehā terms I’m not even on the back doorstep...beautiful cars, nice clothes...but that isn’t my focus...I...admire and enjoy looking and that’s it....” (Participant 1)

Transport

Access to transport was identified by some participants as a priority for older people.

“Transport is really important...” (Participant 14)

“I think mobility is important...” (Participant 13)

Access to services and facilities

One participant noted that access to community facilities and services is important for older people.

“But I think that what the older people are looking for is a whole lifestyle thing, you know, where all their needs get met...They have a doctor...or anything that they need, a shop, a supermarket, a post office, they don’t care if they’ve got no bank or got an ATM machine. I think what older people are looking where there is good health care, because people get concerned about their health.” (Participant 14)

Further, some comments indicated that services and professionals should have a respectful and caring attitude toward older people.

“...those who are in the [health] profession, need to treat their clients with care...Aroha costs nothing...they’ve also got to be non-judgemental, that’s probably the biggest barrier I would think and it’s not only in health, it’s in social welfare, when some of our people go to a place like WINZ [Work and Income New Zealand, a government provider of financial assistance and employment services]...you’ve got people in there who would look down their noses at anyone who goes in for a benefit...”(Participant 13)

Health services in particular were considered to be a high priority for older people. Some comments indicated that support to navigate health services is necessary in order for older people to receive quality care. One interviewee identified kaiawhina [Māori community health workers] as a key resource to support older people in accessing health services, and suggested that people in those roles should not be too young as this may lead to communication difficulties.

“...professionals on the medical side...are really important, but...even more important than that is...the kaiawhina side...because in the health system people just get lost...our people still don’t want to be a bother...when you take some of our people to the doctor...they give the doctor the answers that they think the doctor wants to hear ...with professionals, even with registered nurses (RN), they don’t tell them everything and it doesn’t matter how good the RN or the doctor is, they won’t and so...as we get older...we need in the community people...to ensure that the professionals in medicine understand exactly what’s going on because frankly, a lot of them aren’t...people persons...you can’t afford to have those kaiawhina in the community...to be too young...we don’t like to be told what to do by a young kid.” (Participant 13)

Aged care was a particular concern among participants. A view was expressed that Māori are more likely than non-Māori to tolerate and provide care for older people whose condition has unsocial aspects. However, Māori do acknowledge their limitations in providing care and will place older people in aged care facilities if there are problems such as incontinence that are difficult to manage. According to Participant 15 homes for older people could be a good option if family are not able to provide the level of care required, but it was important for family to maintain regular contact through visits with their older family members. In contrast, Participant 18 had a strong resistance to living in a rest home.

“...one thing you can say about Māori families, it didn’t matter whether they [the older person] was capable of mingling socially or otherwise, it was like a feather in their cap...Nana is dribbling and needs to be fed and that sort of thing...people are more giving and want to go over and help to do it...not with the European families...that’s probably a sweeping statement to make...but I have seen so much of it...but if Grandad’s getting a little bit difficult and a little bit incontinent and a little bit violent and things, our Māori people are putting them in homes...If it’s going to be a case of taking care of them better...I think it’s the wisest thing for a lot of them, providing they remember where they are and they turn up to visit them often...” (Participant 15)

“...I find independence is really important...I would hate to be put into a rest home...and lose my independence in that sense of not being able to be in my own home...we’re a shy people...having to have things done to you by nurses...caregivers, I think as a Māori that would affect me, being unable to do things for myself...my personal hygiene and my health...that’s about the main thing for me is being unable to care for myself.” (Participant 18)

Some participants expressed a preference to live in a rest home rather than place a burden on their families, and a few participants had explicitly informed their children of that decision. The view was expressed that there is no longer the same level of expectation, as in the past, that family will provide care for older family members. However, some other comments indicated that a decision to place an older person in a rest home due to work and other commitments causes tension and guilt within whānau. Further, some whānau, despite outward appearances, are not caring for their older members.

“...I said to them “When I can’t live in my house on my own...[have] me in a rest home...you’ve got a life to live...I’ve worked in rest homes...you got company...I know they have stuff to do all the time in there, they’re not lonely, they’re looked after...If you have spare time you can come in and visit”...The daughter-in-law goes “Oh, I can look after you”...I said “Don’t say that. You’ve got kids.”...But my kids know I’m strong willed and they know I mean that...there was a stigma to it before if you were Māori and you put someone in a rest home, but they don’t look at it like that now...[in the past] Your parents, grandparents they looked after you when you were growing up, so it’s your responsibility...to look after them when they couldn’t look after themselves...nowadays...both have to work to survive...that stigma’s gone now...” (Participant 20)

“The conflict is within your family structures, they know that there is a train of thought that says that the elder should be looked after by the whānau. But they’re all working, they’re all busy and for whatever reasons...that doesn’t happen and so there’s a lot of guilt goes on in the decision making time...” (Participant 11)

“...there are very loving families, and they talk whānau, but sometimes they don’t behave like a whānau, and of course they, they [are] not gonna tell you...you gotta find this out for yourself. There’s a pride, false pride with Māoris that it’s not obvious with other people because apart from feeling that they’re letting the side down, nobody wants the whānau to know that their whānau is not taking care.” (Participant 15)

Participant 8 indicated her preference for a rest home where she was able to be with other Māori people, and with people with similar values.

“...I wouldn’t want my kids to be nursing me...if things came to where I can’t manage myself...I’d rather go into the home...just to make it easy for whānau...I wouldn’t want to go in a rest home where I haven’t got my own...like, more Māoris...I would love to be where Māori is...I still want that Māori feeling...we seem to have a different...the aroha...They give that aroha to you...with cuddles...” (Participant 8)

One interviewee held the view that those who provide aged care for Māori should have a good understanding of the lived realities of older Māori, so they are able to empathise and address the lifestyle preferences of older Māori. She gave an example of having come to that realisation when she herself had been a rest home carer for older Māori, and spent an evening socialising with clients.

“...they [older Māori] need to be cared for by these people who understands...the lifestyle they need...[as an example] we [staff at a rest home] came out and I mean I hadn’t played pool for...years but just so that I was there and they could see me there I thought, a friend of mine got some money out and we started playing pool and then my name came up for the karaoke and I had seen that there was a Māori disk...So the first one went across and it was quite funny because the different old ones are looking out like this...The second one a couple of them came up and took the mike and away they went. The third one I started and it was actually ‘Putiputi Kanehana.’ I started and one of the old girls called, not facing me, called out “Kopekope, kōtiro” [move your hips, girl], and there was a roar because I started to do the kopekope [a dance that involves swaying one’s hips]. Well! She [got] off her seat came over to challenge and then she went right around the hotel and challenging all these people and I then I knew what they meant. Unless you work with them you are not going to know what they miss and what they’re really missing is their lifestyle. How do we give that back to them?” (Participant 6)

One participant referred to changes over time in the way that older people are cared for. In the past older people remained in the community, later the state-provided institutionalisation through the system and throughout life (e.g. state housing, schools, geriatric wards in the public health system, old peoples’ homes). More recently there is a move to private enterprise replacing

the state system. However, there was a perception that the individual must have resources in order to be able to be well cared for within the private system.

“[older people]...just remained part of the community...now...institutionalisation that the state will provide...state housing and it came through with schools...geriatric wards in the public health system...some churches...old peoples’ homes...the system provided...I’m seeing now is that private enterprises now replace the system...you’ve got the resources, you will be looked after, but if you haven’t...we are sort of looked after...” (Participant 11)

According to the same participant, Māori need to consider the future needs of the ageing population and plan for those needs, through for example the development of Māori aged care facilities. The interviewee considered that Māori cannot rely on the State to meet the needs of older Māori, and that Māori need to lead their own development in this area.

“If we as a society of Māori don’t put in place whatever those...facilities are that cater for that need [the needs of older Māori], I’m not so sure whether they will be looked after very well...I’m not completely confident enough that our young people will have the best options available to them. I think the solution lies within...our own hands. Previously...we placed the solutions in other peoples’ hands, like the state and I don’t think that’s going to continue, in fact it doesn’t to this day.” (Participant 11)

One participant noted a need for the development of Māori rest homes that are people centred and organised in a way that is consistent with Māori values, such as aroha and manaakitanga. While the interviewee considered that health professionals would still have an important role, it was suggested that there would be value in developing parallel Māori training systems to better ensure that Māori health professionals retained Māori values.

“...it would be absolutely wonderful, even now...we can start planning for a Māori run rest home where patients aren’t looked after by the clock...It would be run kaupapa Māori...the clients in there would be treated like people...instead of whether they’re...capable of walking or whether they’re not...because it makes such a difference in the end. What’s so hard about treating people with...aroha, manaaki?...you hear those sort of words all the time, but you don’t often see the action and that’s one thing that can be quite disappointing...you would still need the professionals, but...they would have to go through the training...but please don’t be brain washed whilst you are going through your training and come out the other end and forget all about the things that are good in Māoridom like awhi, manaaki, aroha and all that...start thinking about Māori training systems you can run in parallel to the tauwiwi, but do it our own way.” (Participant 13)

Participant 11 took this position a step further in suggesting that older people should have more active roles in taking control of having their own needs addressed and in delivering services for older people. Further, there is the potential for older people to form powerful collectives that could advocate for and deliver services for the aged.

“Older people should be determining their own means rather than being a recipient of something which someone has shaped up for them...start to have input in things that might affect their own future. I think that requires an attitudinal shift at the moment, of the decision makers in our society...those people aged...between sixty to seventy...might want to think about, rather than just running down the clock until they get to a certain age, they might want to think about empowering themselves and delivering some services which is relevant to that age group, rather than another age group delivering to them...[forming collectives] gives them some sort of status in the community...utilising their collective skills and capacities...big gaps...in our daily lives...where...collectives of...sixty to seventy five year olds or whatever it may well be, but if they banded together they could be a force to reckon with...whatever they want to do, whether it is in health or social services or business or whatever.” (Participant 11)

Social interaction

Generally, opportunities for social interaction, to spend time with like minded people, and to enjoy companionship were considered to be a high priority among participants. This includes the chances to reminisce and share memories, to express themselves and be stimulated.

“...to have interesting people around you...join groups that you find that you can get along with well and they are of like minds.” (Participant 1)

“I love being with people...and around people...and I think that’s why I like being at work...We’re whānau orientated and...I reckon we all love being around people...even if it’s not family? We love being with people don’t we, all of us?” (Participant 18)

“...bringing back all those memories so that other people could share part of their lives, and they [older people] loved it, they absolutely loved it...afternoon tea outside so that they could enjoy...go for walks down to visit parks...just that little outing, somebody cared...people being themselves, being allowed to. If the families didn’t appreciate them, there was always somebody outside who did...learning how to cope with the loneliness, having that part of their lives because there’s a lot of lonely old people out there.” (Participant 15)

“I think companionship...is pretty important...having the ability to communicate with others, to touch base...it’s never been an issue for me because we’ve always been part of the whānau type structure...but possibly for...others it could be a barrier because they may for whatever reason live some isolated lifestyle. So I think companionship is important in whatever shape or form it comes about, I understand people seek companionship through the net...I think that concept of companionship, that ability to be able to participate in community affairs. It seems to me from what I’ve seen as pretty important for anyone.” (Participant 11)

It was noted that for some Māori, ongoing opportunities for engagement with Māori society would be of particular significance. As an example, kaumātua groups provide social contact and an opportunity for mutual support.

“...especially if they are Māori who are very involved with things Māori...with the hapū...including them in anything that’s coming up or somebody pop in and say hello and give them the latest bit of gossip, have a cup of tea and so on...they need that stimulation....” (Participant 15)

“...they’re grouping together more now, the kaumātua. Like we had a meeting...and they said, “Now what we got to do...If you hear if anyone’s sick or anyone’s a bit lonely, doesn’t matter if they don’t belong here, but if they’re a bit older...bring it back here and we’ll go and visit them”...that’s sort of not part of what our thing was supposed to be but that’s what they’ve decided...the prevention of loneliness, so some sort of social thing. Some of them...look forward to going to...the kaumātua [group] no matter what you’re doing each week....” (Participant 20)

According to Participant 11, marae are not being fully utilised as centres for community interaction, and therefore by implication marae are not serving communities as well as they might. The interviewee expressed the view that there is a need to proactively work to attract people back to the marae.

“...I don’t...think we’ve...fully realised the potential and capacity that exists within our marae...I’d like to see that the marae becomes the focal point of a lot of activities and part of those activities would be to...go out and ‘sell’ the marae. Attract some of those people and find out who they are...The marae in my understanding of things is the focal point of where we come to meet. So even though those people who have been divorced from their culture and know nothing about it and don’t know te reo and all those sorts of other things, it’s a matter of the marae reaching out for them and trying to attract them back, and I know that happens, because I’ve just seen some of our kaumātua just recently and a couple of them have got over that gap and are learning the reo....” (Participant 11)

One participant was of the view that older Māori people want to socialise with one-another, but they have a preference for apolitical gatherings where people can express themselves freely.

“But what [iwi leaders] need to come to terms with is they [older people] want it to be without any hang-ups. They want to be together because they want to be together as the people that they are, you know?” (Participant 6)

The importance of thoughtfulness and consideration in interactions with older people was emphasised by Participant 15.

“One of the most debilitating attitudes I find for elderly people is, without a doubt, you lose your hearing, you lose your sight, mobility is...difficulty...but to have it accentuated by careless remarks is so hurtful...being able to continue a conversation without somebody going “Didn’t I tell you that before....”” (Participant 15)

According to participants, being involved in community affairs provides not only benefits for the individual but is a mechanism to strengthen the cohesion of Māori communities and should be encouraged among older people.

“It’s a good thing to go out and meet people, to associate with people but I wish a lot of our older people would do that instead of withdrawing themselves because of health reasons. To me that’s a poor excuse, “Oh I got a crook leg or..I’ve got sore arm or shoulders or my hip.” I tell them that should not stop you from going out to meet other people, visiting. I said, that’s what used to make our social lives amongst us Māori when we were young. The old folk used to hop on their horse and gig and the used to travel miles just to go and see somebody, just to go and have a quick lunch or a morning tea or afternoon tea. Now, we can get to these places quicker but don’t do it. If we’re going to have a strong Māori community we got to be coming together all the time or as often as we possibly can.” (Participant 3)

Being valued

Some participants noted the importance of acknowledging the skills and contribution of older people, and also, that collectively, older people have a wealth of knowledge and skills that are a largely untapped resource for the community.

“...the appreciation for older people is when they’re being recognised, when they might have certain skills, whatever they might be...it’s not a matter of financial reimbursement for those skills. It’s a matter of just those skills being acknowledged and appreciated. I think that means a lot to older people and the crime is, we’re not tapping into a whole wealth of skills and ability which I’m sure exists within that...sub-structure in society, we’re just not linked into it and I think maybe as a community we’re probably worse off for it...I think older people especially like to be recognised for their abilities...”
(Participant 11)

“...that they get to feel that they are still important, that they are of value that they have something of value to still give. You know, that they’re not just pushed aside. You see I’m always conversing with my older ones, you know, that their opinion is important.”
(Participant 14)

Participant 11 expressed concern at the practice of age determined retirement, whereby there is an expectation within the workforce that at age 65 an individual will retire. Rather, the participant’s view was that this approach is inconsistent with a Māori worldview whereby the role of an individual is a function of ability, and perhaps whakapapa, and not simply chronological age.

“...we live in the society that has been designed primarily by another culture, and...sort of created these silos...which creates our society...You reach a certain age, I don’t know why age is the determiner, which said you are now superfluous to the workforce...I understand it but I know it’s not consistent for my understanding of the way we as a society of Māori will make some determination of whether the person is a participant or not. It’s not age, it’s your ability or it may be in fact your whakapapa...in... the society of Māori age is not a determinant. It’s who you are, whether that’s measured by ability or capability of whichever way...in the society we are sort of pushed out to pasture...you’re 65...taking up space in the work force...belonging to a society where it’s on ...who you are and how you contribute to the collective rather than being processed along the chain and out to pasture. “Next one!”...[would prefer to see that] there are opportunities available for people as they are to fulfil a purpose as a function, depending on the fact that they are capable of doing that and wish to do it.” (Participant 11)

An additional concern raised by Participant 17 was that even after many years in the paid workforce and contributing to society through other involvements, activities undertaken in retirement are not viewed in the same way as participation in the workforce. That is, activity in paid employment is more valued than non-paid activity in retirement. Further, older people were sometimes labelled as lazy in retirement and there was a degree of acceptance of that label.

Ana, ngā pō ka mātakitaki atu i te pouaka, kua werowero ngā ngira [tuitui] ki ngā [wuru]... koinei ngā mahi a 'Ngā Māngere'...Kore hoki a maua mahi nē? He mahi hei whakamahi i a maua ringaringa...heoti anō to maua...Ko te kīngia mai, "E Mā, kei te māngere kōrua." Kei te tika hoki tā rātou kōrero. Kei te māngere maua.

Ngā mahi a Ngā Māngere. Kei te marama noa atu ki tēnā, ki a taua kōrero? ... Ngā mahi a Ngā Maia, kei te tū, kei te mahi. Ana, ko maua ko Ngā Māngere, kei te noho kei te mea noho ngā ringaringa...Tēnā pea...Ko ēnei mahi hoki rā mātou kua haere maua ki ngā mahi ka utua e te Pākehā. Nāianeī kua noho maua ki te kāinga; kua haere aia ki roto i tana māra kua ngaki aia ngā taru, ka mahi atu aia he taewa, he aha rānei, he kapeti, he kākano. Ki te kore tērā kua noho ia ki te mahi i ana paua..."

"Well, nights I'm watching telly, and the [knitting] needles are going at the [wool], these are the activities of 'The Lazies'. We don't have jobs, eh? Sure, we are doing things with our hands but...We've been told, 'Ma, you two are lazy.' And what they say is true. We are lazy.

The activities of 'The Lazies'. Do you know what I mean by that?...The occupation of 'The Steadfast', they're up and about, really active. We, 'The Lazies', just sit around and our hands are idle... Perhaps...Well, yes, for years we were in paid work for Pākehā. But now, we are at home, he goes into his garden and weeds, does the potatoes and what have you, cabbages, seeds. If not that, he stays put and prepares paua..." [Translation] (Participant 17)]

Participant 14 reflected on how she herself supports other older people to see the value they have to offer as older people.

"Well just using these two ladies [as an example], I've sung them on how much they've got to offer people, like their experience, their wisdom. You know, they have insight that younger people don't have. They have knowledge. They have...wealth in the sense of just not money terms, but they have a wealth of treasure that needs to be unwrapped. And so I think it's about encouraging them to see themselves in a different way." (Participant 14)

Service to others

A high priority was placed on serving others, and this was apparent through the many examples participants provided of their activities in communities. According to Participant 16, the status of rangatira is measured in the capacity to give.

"...rangatira is...not the ability to get, but to...give, that rangatira status. It's what you're giving to your whānau, what you're giving to create the hapū." (Participant 16)

Interviewees' comments indicated that service to others can be personally rewarding.

“I’ve been involved as a Māori warden [volunteer community warden], but with rangatahi [youth] for years...I know that underneath all that yucky stuff...there once was a beautiful spirit, so it’s up to us, all Māori young and old...to get into the wairuatanga [spirituality] of these rangatahi. You do it through whakapapa [genealogical links], you do it through tikanga [Māori process], kawa [Māori protocol], you do it through the reo [Māori language]...that’s what these young people are asking me, are asking of us. They’re asking it, then you need to see it, as you get older you have that spiritual life where you can see under all the mamae [hurt], whereas others see it from the surface. ...that’s a bad kid, you don’t want him back in school, you don’t want him back in society...so from tauivi [a non-Māori] perspective they think that we are condoning their actions, but kao [no], it’s all about aroha ki te tangata [a deep caring for people]. All those beautiful values and concepts.” (Participant 9)

“Oh, one of the greatest ways of meeting people in the community is during the whitebait season. I go down white baiting, especially at Ohawe and it’s such a lot of people go down there and it’s more not so much white baiting but it’s a social affair. We all get together and have a good talk and have good fun and we’re getting something out of it as well and why I like it is its supplying us with food and I love giving it to people who can’t go out especially our old people who can’t go out and catch whitebait, it gives me great pleasure in giving them whitebait. Just to see the look on their faces makes me feel very happy about it.” (Participant 3)

“You know, sixty-two, make the decision as to whether to retire [from a career in education] now or...do these other things. But...there’s still some things I want to do for our kids...I don’t intend moving anywhere else...I’ve been here what, six, seven years now, so another couple of years won’t hurt... finish up a few things. I just want to establish a good base for a lot of these kids who haven’t had the opportunities probably that I had, so I think I got that in place.” (Participant 19)

“...that’s something I love, being with young people, and working with them and...they ask me what they should do or something, and so I don’t mind telling them or else they do [it] the way they want to...you know, you might have a better way to do it. And I love being out there with them and having fun with them.” (Participant 18)

Comments from Participant 3 indicated that for this participant, a good life relies upon genuinely caring for others and having positive relationships within the community. Part of that involves being readily available to serve others.

“I think well to be able to enjoy life is to be able to live happily with your neighbour. Without that life is not worth it really. I like meeting people and I have a great love for the community that I live in but to make that possible you’ve got to love the people that are living in that community with you. I like to make myself available for anything, any help that is required regardless. If I can do it, I will do it.” (Participant 3)

Participant 9 acknowledged that long term commitments Māori make to working for the community impacts on families. Further, there is a need to balance heavy community responsibilities with the needs of one's family.

“I guess I have had all my time spent out in the community...Mum's [wife] left home [with] the kids...we all know it's selfish, but we do it because...if you've...been skilled by the old people, it's that obligation that you want to give it...to...help others...and sometimes we don't look back and see how it's affecting our wahine...but sometimes we wonder why they are still with us...my wife...she's my pou [pillar of support], without her I would be unwell and I'm sure without our wahine, we would be unwell...she understands sometimes because...she knows my whakapapa, she knows ...who taught me, who nurtured me, who skilled me up and things that I've gone out to improve myself...it would be sad if I held it in and she...said “you go”...at the same time, we keep going and going and going and we don't actually reserve some time for us...We are struggling in two ways...meeting our financial needs...if we had saved all our money and not spent it, invested in our children, we'd be...comfortable financially, but we wouldn't be happy...So the sacrifice is prioritised.” (Participant 9)

There was recognition by some interviewees that looking after the needs of others should be balanced with caring for oneself. Participant 11 noted that a key motivation in looking after himself was so that he would be in a better position to serve others.

“I've always held the philosophy that what I do is to service others, and that's reflected...in the work that I have been doing...What I'm just starting to be told is “Look after yourself because unless you do that, you'll be of no value to others”, so I've had to change my whole philosophy of how I view life and I'm starting to take that on board a little bit, because I accept the notion that if I'm not okay, then I'll never be able to be okay for others...” (Participant 11)

Similarly, Participant 13 described the notion that if one is at peace with oneself, there is a greater capacity to provide support to others. The participant also noted that she had a calling to return to Taranaki to help others.

“If I'm well and comfortable in my skin, then I am free to go and help other people and learn along the way...I was called back here and I know I was to help people whoever that might be.” (Participant 13)

The same participant chose to avoid involvement in tribal groups, as she considered that it may impede her capacity to provide support to others due to a perceived political bias. That is, if she is involved in one tribal group, those from other tribal groups may not accept her assistance as they perceive she is aligned to the values and activities of another group.

“...I won’t go to any of these hapū and iwi hui and things because...I won’t be able to do what I want to do...to help people whoever that may be. That if I started going to all this other stuff and you happened to be on the other side of the fence [from another tribal group], to people who may need that help, you’re never gonna be able to do it because you’re on the other side of the fence for a [issue]...that’s just how our people are here.” (Participant 13)

Some participants acknowledged the contribution that older people make through voluntary work in the community. One participant noted that while he would take payment for some of his involvements, such as being on a health sector board, he and other older people generally did not expect or want to be paid for community involvement.

And that doesn’t naturally say that I want to be paid [for commitments such as board memberships], I’m not a one for that because I’m too old for that, I never actually wanted to do that. A lot of our old people don’t want that anyway, they just want the satisfaction of being with the people for us to be together, you know that’s what it’s all about, to me that’s what its about. Oh don’t worry, I will accept [payment if appropriate]...I went on Tuesday to [a health sector board meeting]. We can [get] pay for that, I take that, it doesn’t worry me, I’m not silly as far as money goes, but I can also not bother about it, eh? (Participant 4)

Cultural identity

Some participants’ comments indicated dissatisfaction with attitudes in New Zealand society that do not recognise the distinctiveness of Māori and the validity of Māori perspectives, and where little effort is put into respecting Māori culture. Further, New Zealand society operates within a Pākehā worldview that limits the capacity to express Māori identity freely in public domains. Participant 12 reflected on his reluctance to re-enter mainstream society after spending a few days in Māori contexts on marae, and feeling comfortable in that environment with other Māori who share a common reality.

“...when you’ve been down there [at the marae] for...three days or whatever it is, and then you don’t really want to come back into the Pākehā environment...it’s the atmosphere you know, being amongst your own people...a lot of them are in the same boat as you...it’s just the togetherness...kotahitanga...just being with your own people for that length of time...they [Pākehā] think different...they think that...the way they see things is the right way, they don’t realise there are different ways of seeing things...if they got their pronunciation right of different places that’d be nice...but they don’t try...they say “We’re one people”, but we’re never gonna be one people if they’re gonna keep saying ‘Maari’ [phonetic] this and ‘Maari’ that...if they just got the word right, that’d be a start....” (Participant 12)

The capacity to express Māori cultural identity such as interactions with whānau and spirituality in public domains was important to many participants. Some participants made specific reference to the importance of developing cultural knowledge, including upskilling in te reo, tikanga, and rongoā, and in being actively involved in Māori contexts, particularly given the very limited number of people with these types of competencies living locally.

“Make them go and learn more...you must have your wānanga and learn more and be interested in doing that and actually getting out there and doing it...I can pull it off by just doing the karanga, the waiata and for the women, I think we can survive, but it’s the position of the man that I’m really worried...that is just hanging on in there...you can count on your hand the amount of men that go back to our marae.” (Participant 1)

“...I want to learn as much as possible about this rongoā...” (Participant 15)

One participant expressed her aspirations that each generation of her whānau may improve their situation, and in particular strengthen their cultural identity.

“...as you go along, well in our family, if you’ve come from where it’s really hard...where there’s been no money...as you go along it’s a bit better...so hopefully the next generation, it will be just that much easier, just sort of step up...I’m happy with what I’ve got but I think some of them [her descendents] are aiming for a bit more...it’s good to better yourself...and I don’t really mean that financially, although I suppose that comes into it...A better understanding of their backgrounds...I don’t speak Māori and I feel...sort of embarrassed...” (Participant 20)

The same participant, who described herself as having limited competence in te reo and tikanga, recalled her mother’s advice that when in a position of needing to fill formal roles in Māori contexts, fulfil the role and then focus on opportunities for skill improvement in order to do a better job in the future. The participant identified a need for increased learning opportunities locally for te reo and tikanga, particularly on marae, as well as greater support when fulfilling cultural roles.

“...that’s what Mum said, “If you’ve got to do it [fill formal roles in Māori contexts], you have to do it, and just learn better for the next time...”...More training really at home in our own marae...encompasses the realm of reo...You should have other people with you...It’s the karanga outside as well as inside, and the dining room and the koha and all those sorts of things. It just doesn’t end with one karanga.” (Participant 1)

A number of participants mentioned the importance of providing access to Māori foods for older people who are no longer able to gather customary food themselves.

“The other things is I also believe when they go into places like that [contemporary Māori gatherings] they don’t want to forever in a day see nutritious food. Because they don’t have their Māori kai as often they really appreciate seeing Māori kai. Now when we used to have our day programs, I would go out and get pūhā or watercress or whatever, I’d go to the butchers and I would tahu all the meat up and I’d actually water down the tahu meat. Now they would really enjoy that, then I used to get some of our local boys, because I saw a lot of things happening, but I used to get some of boys to go get kai, pauas, mussels, whatever they could get they would bring back and I would with a handful of other ladies get down and prepare them.” (Participant 6)

“...if you’re used to kaimonana and things...if you can’t go...I’ll go and pick pūhā and that for me and the kids... it’s the taste you don’t lose...” (Participant 20)

Being active

A number of participants referred to the importance of maintaining interests, being active and fully engaging in life.

“So for me...life is for the living and it doesn’t really matter what I do in life I will do it to the very best that I can and nine times out of ten I like new things that I enjoy and get a lot out of life...for me when I do do anything however big or small it may be, it’s because I want to do it. It’s not because I see something at the end of the tunnel, because that’s not the way I know life to be.” (Participant 6)

“Get a life, get a life, don’t vegetate for goodness sake, eh. Get out there that’s what I reckon, you know. Get out there and do it, whatever it is, do it.” (Participant 18)

“...the topic [of discussion] could be anything and if I feel the need to have my tuppence worth, I will do so...whether they like it or not...” (Participant 1)

“The most important thing for anyone who is getting older...is that they...should be allowed to have their interests, they should be allowed to foster something that has been with them for a long time regardless of the cost or time.” (Participant 15)

Interviewees referred to a range of activities they engaged in and the tangible contribution these activities made to their quality of life. As an example, the benefits of doing crafts for pleasure, relaxation, contemplation, to express one’s creativity and discipline were noted by some participants.

“...design and art and weaving I found was the best medium for calmness, and I love it because I can get into that world and dream...You know how people just...do their own planning...well I do that when I’m weaving, and so you’ll just opt right out...creating, and your mind’s in that. That’s what I enjoy about it...that takes over...a person that’s agitated won’t last long...It’s a disciplinary thing...It takes a long time to learn to control the harakeke.” (Participant 1)

“I love my craft...tapestry...the korowai’s in here...knitting...” (Participant 7)

“There is always something to be done. Another interest I’ve got into is...I’m a collector of things...although I’ve got to do my shed up to do it all but I’ll collect old furniture, do them up anything like that, bottles, old bottles, I haven’t done that for awhile but I’ve got all the old bottles out there and another one is every time I go down the beach I’m looking for different shapes of driftwood, when they’re polished up they can look very attractive especially in a garden, even in a house, and stones and pebbles, I’ll polish them. I thought “Oh should I do it?” I hesitate about all these things but it keeps me busy, I’m doing something and I know in the end that a lot of people will benefit by it and that gives me great satisfaction.” (Participant 3)

Participant 12 discussed the enjoyment he derived in being able to be competitive with young people in table tennis.

“I’m still playing table tennis...a lot of laughs...I like taking the young ones down you know. Those young ones are all full of blimin’ smash bash and crash, but without technique...being an older person, you know, it’s just good to take the young folk, especially the young teenage boys, they think they can play you know, but as I say, they’ve got no technique...they just want to bash everything. Doesn’t always work...” (Participant 12)

Having access to the arts was identified by Participant 15 as important.

“Have access to music at all times...on occasions to be offered to go to see some of the...ballet...” (Participant 15)

Participant 8 referred to how other older people inspired her by being physically active and proactively maintaining their mobility.

“...to get themselves motivated...exercise...just moving...ninety three year old...she’s independent. She’s saying to this person wanting to help her up...”No, I want to do it myself.” She was sitting on the floor...So I thought to myself if I can do that at her age, I’m happy.” (Participant 8)

Participant 5 expressed his concerns that his work life had always been very full, and that he was struggling to adjust to retirement and take up common retirement activities. In his experience, it was easier for him to have a full and active life than to cut back on his activities. He considered retirement a struggle in that respect. Similarly, Participant 17 noted that remaining active in retirement was energising, and that being inactive tended to be draining.

“Well I’ve always liked working outside. I was bought up on the farm as well I worked on the railway, in various capacities I worked on the railway and I was in charge of forty guys on the rail and I found things quite easy but at my age now, I don’t know. I dread retiring...I used to do a lot of things...It wasn’t hard too, it appears the more you do the easier it is. Now that I am doing nothing, I’m struggling...but to retire and expectations I don’t know. I haven’t thought about it. I don’t want to think about it. I can go up on the farm and just walk around, just walk and not get tired. I can walk around all day. I can go...down to the bowling club for two hours and I get tired. I can go... and sing and sit down there and I can get tired.” (Participant 5)

“Āe, te kore hoki au e noho ko te mātakitaki au i te pouaka. Nā wai kei te haere mai a Ngāti Ngēngē. Nā, kua hiamoe noa iho mō te kore take noa iho. Nā ko te mahi i o ringaringa ana, kua ora to wairua, nē kei te mahi tonu, te kore kua haere mai a Ngāti Hiamoe, kua haere mai a Ngāti Ngēngē, a Ngāti Māngere...era mea katoa...”

“Yes, I just can’t sit and watch TV. Soon Ngāti Tired comes along. And one becomes sleepy over nothing. So keeping one’s hands busy keeps one’s spirits up, keeping busy keeps Ngāti Drowsy away, followed by Ngāti Tired, Ngāti Lazy...the whole lot of them...” [Translation] (Participant 17)

In contrast, Participant 3 found that life as a retiree was busier than when in employment. However, interviewees’ comments indicated that a proactive approach is required in retirement and this is important if individuals are to enjoy a fulfilling old age.

“I think once a lot of them have retired from work they lose interest. But goodness me when I retired from work I got busier. It doesn’t only happen to Māori, it happens to all people. If you retire don’t sit in the sitting room all the time and just watch TV or whatever, get out and do something. There is always something to be done.” (Participant 3)

“...I want to retire to do some more fishing...and bowling...Leisure activity...I realise you’ve got to keep active...I know that a lot of my mates have retired, done nothing, and died not long after...it’s in their system...requirement to work is still in them and if they don’t...they go downhill fast...” (Participant 19)

Participant 3, during the course of the interview, identified the need for older Māori to individually take the responsibility on themselves to encourage other older people to be more active.

“I’m to blame. Or anyone that keeps themselves busy doing these sorts of things, they’re to blame. I feel ashamed now, why don’t we go out and encourage them and talk to them? Even individually, instead of trying to bring them into a group. It’s only just come to my mind when you were just speaking that I thought “Yes.” They’re sitting in their sitting rooms because no one is trying to encourage them and this is what we should be doing.” (Participant 3)

Self determination

Participant 11 expressed the view that in order for the ageing process to be positive for Māori, Māori should be able to engage in ageing in their own terms rather than according to the terms of non-Māori. That is, older Māori people should not be measured against the standards of non-Māori, but should instead have the opportunity to determine their own priorities and what it is that constitutes a positive old age for Māori. Further, this approach is an assertion of tino rangatiratanga.

“...I would hold more hope I suppose...in the ageing process being a positive process if...we as a society of Māori, do something about it as opposed to any other sector in our society...we use the present terminology...called equality, and I always have difficulty in understanding that as a principle of what we should be trying to achieve...that’s only measuring it up against someone else. It doesn’t allow us to be ourselves and attain excellence. It mutes us, so all we’re doing is saying...“Well you can join the race and you can start at the same time that we can start. Previously we have always started long before you have even arrived at the event, so let’s say that we will try and achieve that we will both start at the same time, as a rather crude way of my definition of equality.

What I’m saying is, “I don’t want to join your...race, I actually want to go and catch some tuna, that’s what I want to do. Why do I want to go and join your race?” And so that I’m not being allowed to live my life in the environment that I chose. You’ve chosen for me. You chose me to join this hundred metre race and I know you’re fitter than me, I know you’re faster than me, I know you’re gonna win and I’m gonna be last, but you’re just striving to make sure that we are both on the start line when the guns go off. That’s just my crude definition of what we’re talking about and we’re talking about inequalities. So I take a step back from the society that I’m involved in and say, “Well, bugger your 100 metre race, I’m just not into it...I want to do something else with my life and, I’ll just measure myself up with whoever else is in that environment”...I’d just like to think that wherever and whatever I do will be my choice and I don’t want to be forced into this thing here, because I’ll always come second...asserting my tino rangatiratanga....” (Participant 11)

The importance of maintaining control over their own lives was highlighted as a priority by many participants. A diverse range of areas were identified over which interviewees sought to maintain control. Specific areas identified by Participant 18 were owning a home, financial independence, and maintaining personal privacy.

“...I find independence is really important...I would hate to be put into a rest home...and lose my independence in that sense of not being able to be in my own home...I also mean independence monetarily and ownership...the main thing for me is being unable to care for myself...independence is being, you know, free...”
(Participant 18)

One participant spoke about the importance of her music and singing, and the need to be able to continue these interests and not have her family try to restrict her participation due to ill health.

“I love singing...I like music...Even with my little episode [a health incident]...my family says “Well, that’s enough of that, Mum.”...when I heard that...“Kao, don’t you dare take that away from me...”

“You got to slow down, Mum.” I said, “I know when to slow down...this is what I love....” (Participant 8)

Participant 6, in considering her upcoming retirement noted that while she intended to give up work and some responsibilities at the marae, that she would still maintain some level of participation but on her own terms.

“Although I will say to you that one of the things I thought about before I turned sixty is that, once I am sixty I would probably give up [working in] health, I’d probably give up my involvements at the marae, not so much that I don’t participate but I go when I want to go.” (Participant 6)

Resilience

Many participants’ comments indicated that they live between two worlds – Te Ao Maori and Te Ao Whānui, and that a high degree of resilience is required to manage the tensions between the two worlds.

“...we have to survive in a dual cultural environment or a multi-cultural environment, so while we might be Māori, we have to be receptive and learn to embrace the whole environment, all that it has to offer us. We have no choice. [We] Can’t be tūturu [staunchly] Māori and stay in our own world, you know what I mean? That would be unhealthy. It would be healthy if we were in our own world, but kao [no]...Once upon a time, āe [yes]...” (Participant 13)

“...we have to remind ourselves altogether that we must keep balanced and I’m not sure whether my balance is somebody else’s balance. It might be two different things...so there’s all that sort of balancing up without losing the values either here, tauivi [non-Māori] [Western values]...or losing your values at the marae [Māori community centre] [Māori values]...Now people are diverse in their thinking, even to...who they think they are, you know, so it’s balancing the people, balancing the asset, balancing out just what...is the cultural direction... what is this word ethic, what are the values...” (Participant 16)

It was recognised that there are opportunities in both Te Ao Maori and Te Ao Whānui, and that Māori are able to achieve concurrently in both worlds.

“No question in my mind, whereas [at] one time we weren’t all that fussed about the education side of things. We still, you know the...[sacking] of Parihaka still being part of us...through my generation, that was still part of us but now...we’ve got [a] new generation...coming back to the Māori to have that valued as something that they don’t want to leave behind, so...comes first and the knowledge and education at a high standard and then receiving very, very good Māori knowledge too at that high level.” (Participant 16)

More generally, the capacity to adapt to change was considered by some participants to be a vital to older people, given life transitions, such as retirement. Participant 11 acknowledged that these transitions are times of vulnerability and can be difficult.

“...it’s the issue of adapting to change and I’ve known the experience of other people, that when they reach certain points in their life they have to go through change...I think I’ve managed that up until now. I’m not sure if I can actually handle retirement as an example, I’m not too sure what...I would do I do know of instances in the past that guys who have been [employed] all their life and all of a sudden they reach that golden age and they no longer have to go to work...Many of them pass away because many of them can’t manage the change...that was a very vulnerable period” (Participant 11)

Comments from the same participant indicated that older people have the capacity to adapt their lifestyles in order to manage change, while at the same time retaining their interests. Further, in

the participant's experience it is possible to adapt to whatever limitations or situations might arise.

“...change of lifestyle, whatever that might mean, would be pretty important...it's being able to realise you can't run up and down the rugby field or whatever it is, but you can go along and watch...I think they ought to be able to switch to the appropriate lifestyles given that particular life span that you're in...Some people may have difficulty doing that. I don't tend to have difficulties, although I do...know that those changes do take place and I think I can sort of reasonably cope with them...getting old doesn't sort of worry me at all, whatever I have to change to, I will do so and I seem to cope with that okay...” (Participant 11)

Participant 7 expressed simply the need for older people to be resilient in the face of the inevitable adversities of life.

“...to me living is common sense, you live simply, you live well, you live happily no matter, you are bound to have a few hiccups and some of those hiccups can be dramatic, but you have just to pick yourself up and keep going.” (Participant 7)

Participant 17 indicated the need to let go of and not hold on to old hurts.

“Kaua e waiho te kino kia haere ana i ngā wā katoa. Kāhore. Tērā taima i a au e kī atu nei ka patua au e kōrero Māori. Ko te pērā tonu tātou. I kīngia ana me mutu [te kōrero Māori]. Kāti rawa. Waiho nāianeī mā te aroha koe hei arahi. Kaua e waiho mā te kino ki te kino. Utua te kino ki te pai. Ki ahau nei ko ahau tēneki.”

“Don't let negativity take over all the time. No. Like when I spoke about how I was beaten for speaking Māori. We are still like that. We are told, stop, don't [speak Māori]. Now, let love path the way. Don't retaliate bad with bad. React to adversity with goodness. This is just me.” [Translation] (Participant 17)

Some participants expressed a view that older people, following many years of experience in dealing with the practicalities and adversities of everyday life, are able to transcend their circumstances. That is, in the sense that they are able to think at a higher level beyond whatever practical limitations they may be facing.

“...When you get older I think you’re more like[ly] to think more deeply and that’s where...the wairua values become a higher value in, you know, your direction and activities. Whereas before, you’ve gone through all the phases of...having family, building assets, making money, building [a] house and that sort of thing, and that could continue on too, but I think when you...age, you tend to take more time about what it is that you’ve done or doing...the thinking is sort of geared at possibly a bit higher, if not different, you know.” (Participant 16)

Māori development

Many of the participants were conscious of Māori aspirations for social and economic development and of past injustices. This awareness and concern was often founded on exposure as children to either historical injustices or to kaumātua who had had first hand experience of land wars and other injustices. Interviewees tended to be personally connected to grievances.

“See we know that Dad’s father was in the whare wānanga at the time [that European soldiers were burning whare wānanga down]. He was only a little boy and it [whare wānanga] took them from early childhood, his father was in there too and this little fella wanted to go home...to play with his brothers and sisters. So his father took him home and that’s how they missed, it burnt down.” (Participant 7)

Concerns were raised that Taranaki Māori have been disenfranchised through loss of land and other resources, infrastructure and leadership, and that this has impacted on all aspects of Māori life including attitudes to living, health and education. Participant 7 described the connection between historical forces, lost opportunities and unmet potential.

“...our people have been disenfranchised. Why? First of all, Europeans decided they would settle in this part of the country, it was fertile and it suited their need. They didn’t pay for it, they took it. They haven’t yet paid for it. Neither have they considered that Māori were people. And then, when it comes to...the so called Māori wars that we didn’t have, they didn’t have them in Taranaki, they had already taken what they wanted in Taranaki, there was no such thing as a war, they just burnt out the whare wānanga, which burnt down our...area and our governorship...Just burn out whether they were in them or not and they did it before dawn...why do they have what we’ve got...because they’ve [Māori] been put down, put down, put down, they just can’t see a way of getting up...so now what have we got?...A make do situation...It has affected their health...their attitude...their learning...” (Participant 7)

One participant noted a basic example of the impact of colonisation on Taranaki Māori families. She observed that families who were assimilated into the majority culture had a higher economic status than those families who retained Māori cultural norms.

“Well, he Pākehā tērā [he whanaunga Māori]. I tipu ake ai i roto i te Pākehātanga, eh? Nā, kāore hoki ia i ako ana ki ērā mea [Māori] nē rā? Kei te pai tērā. Ēngari ko mātou i tipua ake nei mātou i roto i te oneonetanga...i te poharatanga ka pēraka ai!...Kāore i a mātou tētehi kai i kainga ngā kai rangatira. Ngā kai o te moana, ngā kai o roto i te awa, ngā kai ērā ka kai katoa. Nā, ka noho ake he kai rangatiratanga i mua i a mātou. Oh, he pata! A mātou kai he paraoa ka paruparu ki te hinu.”

“Well, he [a Māori relative] is a Pākehā. He grew up in the Pākehā way, eh? He wasn’t taught those [Māori] ways. That’s all right. But we who eeked a subsistence living...were that way because we were poor!...We didn’t have any fancy, classy food. Seafood, food from waterways, those were our staples. Now, when high class foods were put in front of us, “Oh, wow, butter!” Our food was bread smeared with lard.” [Translation] (Participant 17)

Some participants identified particular issues which were of high concern to them. Participant 7 expressed exasperation at the ongoing injustice of ‘peppercorn rentals’ in Taranaki whereby Pākehā farmers were able to lease Māori land at below market rates in perpetuity, and were also able to access capital to operate and benefit from the land. This participant emphasised the need for collective action to consolidate resources, such as Treaty settlements.

“...if you don’t keep it in one piece [the fishing quota], it’s not worth anything...How do you make people understand that if you keep it in one piece...They could make something grow...They’d want their bit...As a collective...you could get a whole slice of land....” (Participant 7)

Participant 2 was critical of streets being named after the late 19th century colonial soldiers that were active in Taranaki.

“Well we could just side with Normanby I suppose [about] the street naming. We’ve come closer to home you know. Do we really want to be living on streets named after murderers?...Chute Street, Cameron [Street] all those names...during the time of Von Tempsky, Te Ngutu o Te Manu.” (Participant 2)

According to one participant, her ‘passion for injustice’ kept her young.

“A passion...for injustice...it could be anything. It could be nuclear...whatever is going on, because I used to join in the marches in Auckland...Sadness in a lot of cases...I suppose it’s to see our own people with the lack of know how, maybe on parenting....” (Participant 1)

Some participants were concerned that there was insufficient awareness among younger generations of local history.

“...there are...not enough people who know their history, who can deal with their history and can stand up and confront...” (Participant 7)

More generally, a number of participants expressed strong concerns for the human impact on the natural environment and Participant 15 was also concerned about the capitalist system.

“...much of the stupidity that goes on with mankind at the moment is manmade, and much of the danger that surrounds us, like the ozone layer, like the pollution is manmade...I’m not very fond of...knowing that we had done this to our own mokos and we’ve had the time, we’ve given the chance to right a wrong, for them to clean it up, but because of the greed for money, that’s been ignored and there’s been wonderful excuses put up...but none of them...are over-riding the fact that money is the basis for everything that’s going on now, and that upsets me, it really does...money is a necessity in some things, but its become a God with our society...More awareness of the spirituality and listening within themselves [is the alternative]. I think people are afraid to face the fact that there is a better world that they can share.” (Participant 15)

Some participants indicated a high level of commitment to Māori development.

“I’m just so wrapped up in the total health and wellbeing of Māori in all its concepts, whether it’s tikanga or whether its...rongoā...that is my one aim at the moment.” (Participant 15)

Participant 16 expressed a desire for Māori to improve their standard of living through benefiting from education, being successful in business while maintaining a secure cultural identity as Māori, and by strengthening the capacity to care for whānau as a basis for wider Māori society.

“Use our marae and be Māori, but I believe that we have a right to be in business...we have a right to be able to...be in a position to employ ourselves and so that we’ll keep ourselves sustained in a way that...we can live modern times as Māori...we were craving for my generation...to have that ability to care for our whānau...all the stats said otherwise, so we were gonna do something about that, to have mātauranga systems, so we did something about that, pre-school and kura...the whānau care...how do you care around these major areas of need of good health and good education...good employment and good housing and so you had to start there...we were learning more about ourselves and also about, what really was justice for Māori...if you aren’t strong there [whānau]...then you can’t get concept of hapū correct....The iwi was about protection...it protects the hapū...” (Participant 16)

However, not all participants had an interest in politics or tribal affairs.

“Politics isn’t on my agenda...” (Participant 18)

Legacy

Some participants referred to the importance of leaving tangible resources for the benefit of their descendants, such as financial resources or land in trust for mokopuna to support their education and ensure they always have a place to go.

“To make sure that I have something in the trusts that will support my mokos’ education. So what monies that I don’t have while I’m still living must go back to my mokopunas in the trust. So my interest and my husband’s interest will all go to them...and making sure that they have a place to come back to. Especially in this day and age you know a lot of them can’t get accommodation even if they are married, a lot of them can’t afford to or whatever.” (Participant 4)

As well as financial or physical resources, some interviewees aspired to leave their children or grandchildren in a more informed and knowledgeable position than they themselves had been at the same age.

“Well I want to leave my kids with security in terms of knowing that...they will be in a better position than I was...whether I leave them the whare or...they’ll be a lot more knowledgeable than what I was at that age in terms of...sustenance, self-sustaining, being independent...want to ensure that...she [mokopuna] gets the best...education so that she can become independent and make her own decisions for herself...for the future.” (Participant 19)

The transmission of knowledge and the integrity of knowledge were further points of concern.

“The most important thing for me at the moment is to get as many people as I can to learn what I’m doing. Not necessarily family, although the whole of my whānau has got a little bit of something, so that it’s not lost when I’m gone...I tried to take small groups so I can work on a one-to-one basis...Being able to see that it’s[the knowledge] being used correctly [is important]...” (Participant 15)

One participant indicated that the degradation and changes in te reo can be unsettling for older Māori who feel caught between older ‘authenticity’ and modern approximation. However, increased intergenerational communication may be a way to overcome the disconnect.

“...one of the things that probably would...upset a lot of Māori people is...when Māori was spoken in a different way to what it is nowadays...More contact, more communication often and then they would get...used [to]...the phrases that you’re using nowadays...become more accommodating in their acceptance. It’s the hurt that goes with it, even with the understanding that suddenly you’re speaking a different language. (Participant 15)

Summary

Participants discussed a range of interrelated areas that were of importance to them in their old age. Not all participants shared the same views and, for example, opinions varied with regard to the merits of rest homes, the balance between helping others and caring for self, and about involvement in marae and iwi affairs. There were, however, sufficient commonalities to enable the identification of areas of high priority to participants that may inform understandings of what constitutes a positive old age for Māori. Those areas included a felt connection to the Taranaki region, whānau cohesion and wellbeing, good health, financial security, access to facilities and services, social interaction, the capacity to serve others, being active, and being valued. While a number of these areas are universal in nature, in that they are relevant not only to Māori but also to non-Māori, others included elements that were closely linked to Māori identity. For example: the importance of links to tribal homelands; the interrelatedness of whānau wellbeing and the wellbeing of older people; the high valued placed on interaction with other Māori, Māori collectives, and Māori institutions; and, the value attributed to Māori-specific competencies.

Chapter Eight

AGE - ROLES IN OLDER AGE

Introduction

This is the third of three chapters that present findings from interviews with 20 older Māori resident in Taranaki. This chapter investigates *age* as a dimension of structure and behaviour, with a focus on the roles of older Māori people within their whānau, Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Whānui. The participants also described the similarities and differences between the opportunities and challenges faced by their elders and themselves and speculated on the future challenges for their grandchildren.

Expectations and demands

High expectations are placed on older Māori by Māori communities.

“...the expectations are high...I’m...teaching rongoā...it’s almost expecting me to be a guru to provide what the doctors cannot provide...You’re expected to [take on formal roles in Māori contexts]. If you’ve got white hair, you’re expected to get up there whether you want to or not...I don’t mind with a karanga, but I’m not as well versed in all the...ancient waiata...” (Participant 15)

Older Māori themselves also have expectations of their own generation. One participant expressed frustration that many of her age group who are competent in te reo Māori do not uphold the language or tikanga in Māori environments and especially in ceremonial leadership roles.

“Taku whakatipuranga? Ētehi taima e haere mai ana te tau pōuritanga ki ahau ki taku tipuranga. Ka haere mai ki te...me i haere mai nei ki ngā uhunga ka tomo pēnei i ahau te pahake ka tono kau mai kāore he karanga e haere mai ana te pōuritanga ki ahau ki a rātou. Ko te hou mai kāore i peneki a “Tēnā koutou...e kui mā, e koro mā...Tēnā te pouwhare e awahi nei i ngā roimata me ngā hupe.” Kāore. Oti anō kua tae mai, “Hello! Hello!”...Nui tonu rātou tahi ka hou mai, ka “Oh hello. Oh how are you? Haven’t seen you...” No, haere mai ana te pukuriritanga ki ahau. Ehara i te mea kāore rātou i te mōhio, kei te mōhio.”

“My generation? Sometimes sadness comes over me about my own generation. They arrive...if they come to a customary Māori funeral, my own peers just walk in, with no ceremonial calling, I am overwhelmed by sadness over that. They just march in, without formally addressing “Greetings to you all, our female and male elders...Acknowledgement to this ancestral house embracing the tears and mucous, [of grieving].” Oh no. It’s just “Hello! Hello!”...Many of them just march on in, “Oh hello. Oh how are you? Haven’t seen you...” No, the anger rising in me. It’s not that they don’t know, they know.” [Translation] (Participant 17)

Participant 18 described how she thought older Māori that fulfil formal roles should manifest grace, dignity and competence.

“...they were just stately...always elegantly dressed and always...just exude...stateliness...” (Participant 18)

The lower numbers of older Māori people actively fulfilling hospitality and formal roles, especially on marae, has led to great demands being placed on those who are involved. Participant 2 talked of feeling the strain in upholding roles at the marae.

““God, next year I’m not having anything to do with the marae” and you say that because you get tired and you’re getting run down and a bit burnt out...But you can’t keep going on at this speed, well I can’t.” (Participant 2)

Spending many years on various Māori community committees resulted in Participant 7 experiencing compromised health, and the need to take a break from some commitments. However, she reported that it was difficult to avoid community commitments because of her several affiliations.

“I’ve had the flu since [person’s name] tangi”, and that was a terrible flu...I told my sister I was going to go on my big OE. “What do you mean?” I said, I’m not moving from the house...I’m stopping, you know...I’m not gonna come to your meetings [whānau, hapū, marae meetings] any more. I said I’m going to come to what is important and then she sticks this, what’s the name, ah, this Waitangi Tribunal thing right in front of me, so here we go again...I try not to get involved but I am often dragged into things.” (Participant 7)

Those interviewed identified different ways of coping with community expectations and demands. Strategies included: avoidance, self development, maintaining a cautionary distance from over-involvement in community roles, participating in limited roles, practical changes made

at marae, and relying on spouses to take greater responsibility for child rearing and family matters.

“...I see the strategy of avoidance...I see the strategy of self-development so that people are in anticipation...I’d better learn some waiata...making efforts to...empower themselves...as a result of that I see confidence...I see strength coming out in those sorts of things...self accountability...I do know people of my generation or a bit older who deliberately don’t go to these functions where there could be that expectation...I know a lot of people, for example, going to tangi, they actually won’t go into the whare...they’re sitting on the fence outside...so they’re there doing that, but they’re not in that position where there is something more or other than their attendance being asked...the important thing is...that they were there. The fact that they weren’t in a particular position or a place...it’s of no relevance...” (Participant 11)

“Not only are we few and far between.... It can be hard work, you know, it’s heavy work. That’s why when we built the wharekai we bought plastic chairs, plastic tables. So we’re not lifting those...heavy things and we had to really educate everybody, leave the table up, don’t pack it away, do you do this at your place, pack your table away when you’ve had a kai? Well don’t pack ours away...So when we go in we just got to wipe them down and they’re ready to be used again...and then it’s all ready. One job less to do.” (Participant 2)

“I will join in the waiata, and if I’m pushed to...I will karanga, but I haven’t got that expertise, I haven’t got the reo completely, so that’s not my role, but it’s becoming the role because we haven’t got them...you’re it...it becomes a problem...we actually put forward a programme to claw back on the tikanga roles...in our marae because of these things...and being involved in it has been pretty traumatic when you’ve got a big...roopu coming through and people of status...couldn’t find a man anywhere. So something drastic has to happen...You can’t expect to make them [people with skills] come home and they have no living, they’ve still got children...” (Participant 1)

“Āe, well I guess perhaps myself as an example. I guess I have had all my time spent out in the community and but um, Mum’s left home to keep the fires burning and the kids, well you know what I mean.” (Participant 9)

One participant felt a very strong affinity and affiliation to her marae, but did not feel comfortable fulfilling formal roles as a kuia. She preferred to provide support in catering and hospitality roles. The participant expressed the desire to stay involved in traditional Māori institutions but on her own terms.

“...I can’t be a kui there...I can’t be in the front...because I wouldn’t know what I was saying...I love the marae, I’d do anything for it...I don’t ever feel like a kui and I don’t ever want to feel like one, that just sit there and cry and that sort of stuff that they do. I am not one of those I’m afraid...my Mum wasn’t either, she always said “I’m a...at the back person, not...out the front.”...I want to be a kui to my mokos but I don’t want to be a kuia...a professional mourner...I want to be there [at the marae] and do things there...I love being part of the marae trustees...Working out there [out the back] with the young people...having fun with them....” (Participant 18)

Despite limited abilities some older Māori feel comfortable fulfilling formal roles in Māori contexts, and have confidence in their capacity to contribute within their skill set and facilitate the participation of the younger generations.

“I know my limitations...so what I do...usually when I go in with a crowd, there’s usually those who have those particular attributes. I say, “Come on.” I said, “You’re with me, kōrero...” and...they do the waiata as well, and they...do it very well...once they walk with you, you can tell anybody to do anything...I take great delight in doing that, especially when I have with me somebody who is absolutely well acknowledged...they [young people] love it because a kuia is allowing them to do something that they really want to do, but they can’t do because the kuia has the first say...you’re giving back their pride and in being able to extend their own knowledge and their own mōhio...they are doing it with the permission of kuia, then to get up in public and probably sometimes that’s the first time they’ve been considered worthy enough...I enjoy seeing them because they are coming into their full potential...pride is something that makes them really extend themselves....” (Participant 15)

There was some concern that younger people were not accepting the roles that earlier generations may have undertaken at a particular age.

“I thought they might [roles may change with age on marae], but they haven’t really because where, once upon a time as a young person, you always did that sort of stuff and that was...good, that was a training ground when you were at high school...as you got...to a certain stage or age and then you were allowed inside to go and help with the grownups...and then you started washing the dishes or perhaps helping to set the tables or whatever...and then as you got older then the jobs got bigger and bigger and that’s how you kind a got to know how to work around things on the marae, but kids don’t do that anymore...It’s still the older ones that are doing it...they’re a different breed altogether...kids just don’t have the stamina...I think a lot of that is to do with the parents.” (Participant 13)

The cultural expectation of hospitality at an individual household level was also identified as important by Participant 2.

“...and it’s about so you can keep your independence but without having to feel embarrassed about not having enough milk till the next time or hoping friends and relatives don’t come around because you’ve got nothing for them... That’s part of the manaakitanga in not being able to give it aye and the whakamā...I can remember during my kui’s time we never cleared the table completely, we weren’t allowed to. You left the bread, the butter, the cheese and the jam there with bread knife and the board. Cleared all the dirty dishes but you just threw a towel over the other things because there was always someone else who was going to come for a kai. And let them know that there was something on the table, eh.” (Participant 2)

Participant 5 speculated that older Māori who are involved in the Māori community have a much higher demand on their time than other older people in New Zealand.

“Pākehās don’t go to tangi in a sense like we do. They don’t go to meetings that last all day. At their age they don’t go to meetings but what the Pākehās do do is they go out to enjoy themselves even though it might be for an hour or two then go back and have a rest, whereas we go for day and night, two days, three days and the old people are expected to sit there and the koros are expected to sit up the front, not for one hour, three, four, twelve hours or more, irrespective of the weather conditions and the kuia are expected to sit there alongside them too.” (Participant 5)

Roles within whānau

Leadership

Some participants indicated that they had leadership roles within whānau. Having carried leadership positions within his extended family for a long period, a major focus for Participant 5 was the retention of whānau land.

“I promised my Mum and then my Dad that I would sell absolutely nothing. I’ve had all sorts of pressures, lawyers and everything for thirty two years and I’ve just chucked them in the rubbish.” (Participant 5)

However, Participant 5 felt that having to provide leadership for the whānau can be taxing on the immediate family.

“I’ve hated being in charge, I say it’s been to me and my wife and my kids’ detriment to be in charge. We’ve slugged our guts out to keep all the properties and ... you become very blunt and you think, “What the hell am I doing here.”” (Participant 5)

One participant described how as a young woman, her mother gave her an ultimatum that prompted her to step forward to undertake customary leadership roles normally the reserve of older women.

“...kua 25 pea aku tau, ka kī mai taku whaene, “Me kua koe e haere me kore koe mōhio ki te karanga. Mehemea kua koe e haere, me kore koe e karanga.”...I’m not to go if I’m not going to let my voice...be heard. If I don’t call at all, so stay home! I wanted to go to a tangihanga... and I wanted to go and she said, “No, kua koe e haere mai.” That was a punishment on its own...”

“...when I was about 25, my mother said to me, “Don’t go if you don’t know how to karanga. Don’t you go if you don’t karanga.” I’m not to go if I’m not going to let my voice...be heard. If I don’t call at all, so stay home! I wanted to go to a tangihanga...and I wanted to go and she said, “No, don’t you come.” That was a punishment on its own...” [Translation] (Participant 17)

Guidance

Some participants referred to the advice and guidance they provide to their children and mokopuna. One participant recognised the importance of letting mokopuna make their own decisions, while being on hand to provide guidance but not to railroad them into particular fields or career pathways. The important thing is to encourage mokopuna to make use of their time and to contribute to their family, community and society.

“We’ve said to all of them you take on what you want to do. We’ve never tried to influence them to do what we want them to do. I refuse to do that but we may have emphatically told them you’ve got to do something, you’ve got to get something behind you and I said “What do you want to do?” Make sure you do it properly as long as it’s something good, as long as it’s something that’s good for the community, that’s good for the public and I said to them, most of all good for the family.” (Participant 3)

Another participant felt that she could assist her mokopuna but could not make decisions for them nor always ‘make things right’ for them.

“...but I can’t make it right for them, I can awahi them but I can’t stop them from doing the things that’s going to take them to places like this.” (Participant 6)

Role models

Some participants believed that older Māori can contribute to their family by providing a good example to them.

“I was thinking if I learn something it can be used as an example to the family, to be able to prove to the family that it can be done. We never used to have books in our house and then when I did these silly university studies and we started having books...you had to read them and then it started kids were able to see books in the house. So yeah, to keep the challenge for the family up.” (Participant 2)

Participant 10 spoke of the high importance her and her late husband placed on instilling good values into her children.

“...I haven’t been ambitious other than that I have wanted the best for my children and so... [husband’s name] and I tried to be good examples for our kids and so, the things that we did, even in the home speaking...I just can’t stand foul language and my children know that and so if anyone...uses it when I’m around, they correct them quickly...I think that...teaching good speaking habits and...courtesy and manners all come into that...I think it’s because as a race of people...it is part of our lives you know, our parents have taught us to respect everyone, not just each other but everyone, and their parents likewise have taught them and so it’s just been a continual [process].” (Participant 10)

Comments indicated that participants believed that if they had instilled good values in their children, this would be reflected in how the children behaved towards them in their later years.

“I guess financial security is important for us...we don’t put our hands out, but if we’ve taught our children well, I see that flight or ticket over...” (Participant 9)

Another participant expressed the view that the level of whānau support given to a particular older person reflects how that older person raised their children and what values were instilled in them.

“I don’t know why people...do what they do. I only know that in the past, the kids were expected to do certain things and do them properly, and as they got older, it depends on them as to whether they would...keep their distance, cos we are not all perfect...people are different, people will look at things differently, people do things differently. But I also know that if you’re not caring yourself, then you can’t expect your children to be caring of anybody.” (Participant 7)

One participant found that individualism had not only affected the wider community but also families.

“...and it was customary that when you come back with fish you give it to the people. That was missing when I went back there, when I went back to live. I can understand them wanting to sell some to make it easy on their pockets but they never even gave any away. I found that very hard, even my brothers used to go out. My brother had a boat and they would give me a snapper or two or whatever but that’s as far as it went.” (Participant 3)

Intergenerational contributions

One of the most important aspects of growing older positively is to be available for grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

“...that is an obligation to stay alive as long as you can for your grandchildren. I said your grandchildren look forward to seeing you and coming to stay with you and all that.... Yeah. I think we owe it to them. I’m talking about both of us, we were responsible for them being in the world. So we owe it to them to be available to them as long as we possibly can. Not just to give up because we got an illness or anything like that. If we fall ill we should be fighting to get back into good health because we’ve got family and we owe it to them because we were responsible for them being in the world and that’s how I look at it.” (Participant 3)

This particular participant felt that by contributing to the care of her mokopuna she was enabling her own children to pursue careers and better themselves.

“...I make sure that the basics are always done so that the likes of [participant’s daughter] can just come in, drop things and take off...I make sure that I’m always there to, oh not always, there’s time when [participants son and daughter in-law] have to just stay home, but you know the children are always going to be able to get to school in the morning, they can just drop them off here.” (Participant 2)

She believes that her contribution to her whānau is repaid by them succeeding and realising her aspirations for them, even if that occurs after her lifetime.

“And what do they do for me? They help me get my dreams realised. That they will be able to take their place at the marae you know, and if they don’t it won’t be because I didn’t do anything. It’s because other things have happened...I’m actually dependent upon them to be able to have that happen in ten years time. Like we have ten year goals...our family does. In realising your dream, even if I die the dream can still be realised, eh. There’s no reason why they still can’t be realised.” (Participant 2)

Examples were given of family characteristics transmitted through generations.

“...we were a family of workers, mum more so than dad. Mum was a tireless worker and I mean to say, you will see streaks of it in the family.” (Participant 7)

An intergenerational commitment to community service was apparent in the comments of a number of participants. For example, Participant 7 referred to her father’s membership on the local school board during her childhood and her own memberships on local Māori community committees.

The role of older people in knowledge transmission within whānau was raised by participants. As an example, particular whānau retain and develop certain skills. It is often up to the older members in the whānau to ensure this knowledge is maintained and transmitted. This is in contrast to the classic progression during the lifespan of learning and mastering tasks in the areas of hospitality and provision of food before moving into formal oratory roles.

“...anybody can speak te reo, but only certain people in Māoridom whaikōrero, need to speak for us, that’s how I understand it. And they come down in lines of families cos as I’ve understood it, there are people in the whole whānau that do the cooking, there are people who get the kai, there are people who go dig graves, there are people for front of the house, there are people who clean up the house, and they are all, all in their allotted areas and they know their areas. So for me, whaikōrero is exactly the same.” (Participant 7)

Comments indicated that participants have an important role in the transmission of whānau genealogy. That is, they have knowledge of the membership of whānau over time (including whāngai) and the relationships between whānau members and place importance on passing this information on to younger generations.

“And with the land goes all the names of all the people in terms of your relationships, your whakapapa. And so I was able to trace all that and, you know, as I traced more, I got more access to land and you know, so that to me, was important that I know and let my kids know before I go, you know. And a lot of those haven’t been written down so I compiled our whakapapa as a result of that...our kids need to know that for their own...strength in the future in terms of you know, what’s happening.” (Participant 16)

One participant noted that there may be some knowledge that older Maori are reluctant to share due to the sensitive nature of that information. She gave the example of whakapapa relating to the parentage and identity of whāngai, where there were complicating issues such as incest.

“...a lot of them don’t share it [the knowledge of whakapapa] because the scandal was terrible...though illegitimacy wasn’t considered a scandal, but maybe the conception was because there was...incest...they want to keep that quiet...” (Participant 15)

Roles within Te Ao Māori

Leadership

The role of older Māori as cultural leaders was discussed by a number of those interviewed. This function takes place within the context of language and cultural disruption described by participants when recounting childhood experiences of being discouraged or severely disciplined for speaking Māori.

The degree to which older people have cultural skills, such as te reo Māori, can determine the extent to which they are able to participate and feel comfortable in formal roles. The formal roles often referred to as ‘around the front’ are complementary to catering and other hospitality tasks ‘at the back’. Participant 13 expressed her preference to undertake the latter.

“...I keep getting pushed to the front and I don’t like the front...I don’t have te reo, so when that happens to me, then I become the grumpy nanny...I watch for a while to see if the parents or the grandparents of the kids that are running around in the whare...if they’re going to stop them from jumping on the pillows and the mattresses and all of that, I’ll let it go, but the next day, watch out, all guns are open or I’m the one that will tidy up the mattresses and that before the manuhiri come in...I see that as my front room job, but where I can, I will go to the back.” (Participant 13)

When fulfilling cultural roles at marae Participant 3 takes part in food preparation without hesitation or being asked to do so, and if asked is comfortable to be involved in more formal tasks of hosting visitors at gatherings.

“I haven’t been asked but I just go and do it. I don’t get much comment from it although one or two did say, “Come on, [name] take a rest you’re getting a bit old. I say, “I’m not getting old.” (laughing). Oh goodness me. But I just go in and do it... like preparing for a hāngi and cutting up the meat and all that after a hāngi...most of the time and this was even before anything like that comes along, the early part you know. But when it comes to anyone wanting to be on the paepae I wouldn’t hesitate to going along.” (Participant 3)

Participant 8 expressed reluctance to fulfil formal roles at hui, but would if required. Participant 11 indicated not being completely comfortable in fulfilling formal speaking roles in a Māori

context, but if there were no other options would be prepared to take the lead. They were not roles that the participant sought.

“I look for something simple...I try and be prepared...But as soon as I see somebody there that’s...much more [culturally competent]...I pull back...I prefer not to....” (Participant 8)

“...there have been occasions where the expectations have been placed on me to speak and it’s not something I’m particularly comfortable in fulfilling. But I realise that...if there is no one else here, then I am letting down everyone. So I try to do the best that I can and I don’t think I am the only one who faces that conflict at times...if you don’t develop yourself in preparation for those things, then that’s...letting yourself down, that’s how I see it...in all those occasions...we have got through those events. I’ve never known a hui to stop because no one could speak...I’ve never known people to wait at the gate forever because no one did the karanga. Somehow we get through and maybe part of that somehow, is that individually someone or some peoples may have been confronted with the cold hard reality – well you’ve got to do it...just by personality I suppose...I tend to be in the background and that’s where I prefer to be. Although I have noticed that coming into the role that I do now, I’ve sort of got to be a wee bit more up the front, so I go to some of that self development stuff...Toastmasters and that sort of thing....” (Participant 11)

Some participants are active in hui, such as tangi, but do not undertake formal roles, nor aspire to leadership.

“I’ve been to plenty of tangis...[formal speaking is] not my thing really...I probably wouldn’t be able to do it anyway...I don’t mind listening to everyone else...I don’t mind if they ask me [to speak], but I would tell them... “Ehara au i te mea tika mō te momo mahi,” I am not the right person for that sort of task ...probably just follow everybody else...I’m quite comfortable with that, but I couldn’t get up and do a big kōrero...I know what the majority of the kōrero is....” (Participant 12)

Participants referred to feelings of inadequacy or discomfort in Māori contexts due to a lack of Māori language and or other Māori knowledge and skills. Often participants who have lacked or have limited Māori language competency have made efforts to develop their fluency. Many participants referred to their parents and/or grandparents actively not speaking Māori to them, so that they would become fluent and competent speakers of English as this was considered to be in their best interests in terms of education and life chances.

“...Ngā Puhi came down. It’s more of knowing that...you haven’t been taught, you’ve never been through that process, you say go cook for a couple of hundred people, that’s no sweat for me, I’ll do it in a half hour. So, that’s not nice to not be able to stand and kōrero te reo. It’s not nice at all.” (Participant 5)

“I have made attempts to go to classes [to learn the Māori language] and do different things...because I think perhaps some of us are in...the lost generation...because we were brought up at a time...where our parents and grandparents didn’t speak to us in Māori. Kui never spoke to me in Māori. Mum and Dad never spoke Māori, and when they spoke Māori, it was so that we wouldn’t understand.” (Participant 13)

“...when I was young and it was just a bit embarrassing when you didn’t know things Māori...like in my Dad’s time when they got smacked for speaking Māori and that sort of thing, that’s when they decided...kids should be brought up as Pākehā... I was glad to pick up a little bit of Māori...I haven’t...reached the tangata teitei o te mātauranga...still hanging in there...it’s something that I’ve always wanted to learn te reo...” (Participant 12)

Some participants during their upbringing and early adulthood were not secure in their cultural identity, and waited a long time for opportunities to make sense of their identity.

“...it wasn’t until about...1990 before we...found out who we were [through a family reunion]...I’ve always wanted to know...my Dad wanted to talk to us when he got drunk and you couldn’t be bothered listening to him...it was only over the last twenty years we’ve ever known anything about who we were...It has come and it’s been a long time.” (Participant 12)

Participant 5 expressed that if he got to live life again he would learn te reo Māori. He strongly regretted not being able to speak and found performing formal Māori oratory at marae and pōwhiri takes him out of his comfort zone. However, this was a challenge he was willing to meet.

“Possibly if I was given the opportunity to go around again the first thing I would do is learn the reo. Thinking about it now only for that particular reason of being very embarrassed at my age and that’s the only thing possibly that I haven’t done well and yet three times I’ve had to stand up and oh well, a challenge is a challenge. Let’s have a crack.” (Participant 5)

On the other hand when Participant 2 had developed the required skill set she enjoyed a sense of personal pride in being able to fulfil formal Māori roles for her family, hapū and iwi. She also expressed a commitment to continue learning te reo.

“To keep their family, hapū and iwi proud. It’s wonderful to be proud. It’s wonderful to have your family proud of you...It’s proudness, it’s satisfaction...Self satisfaction I think. Got no control of the others...Self satisfaction is a wonderful thing to have. My immediate needs would be to continue in learning te reo. Yep that’s my immediate goal.” (Participant 2)

The participant also enjoyed fulfilling these roles alongside the younger generation as well as learning with them.

“...yeah to continue learning...having that interaction between the next generation and keeping that alive...because you’re going to be learning alongside, you can communicate with the rangatahi [youth] like I see them as the poutokomanawa [mainstay] of all this and I can interact with them better.” (Participant 2)

With regard to formal roles on the marae, according to participants, the right to carry out those roles is not just a function of age. However, some caution was expressed that if a vacuum were left, young and less experienced and perhaps less suitable people may put themselves forward.

“What I sort of look at twice, is people who go into a place who you may feel shouldn’t be there...they just self-appoint themselves into these different positions...that’s mainly in the speaking roles, they probably take up that role because they think they have that capacity or whatever it is and you know, in that environment there are possibly others who don’t seek that sort of limelight...” (Participant 11)

Participant 13 expressed her concern that some older Māori were reluctant to make room for younger people to take up leadership roles.

“...I think some of the older ones just need to let go, step down and let the young ones get on with it...they won’t let go... “I’ve been here all these years”...that sort of thing impacts on your health. It ain’t doing anything for your wairua, that’s for sure.” (Participant 13)

The importance for kaumātua of having Māori learning needs addressed in a comfortable and safe environment was emphasised.

“...I think one of the biggest barriers for us as Māori is the taking away of the reo...so I see that there are strategies in place already...I’m seeing people in our Kaumātua Kaunihera who have actually been quite distant from their culture...they are coming into this safe environment...you’ve got people...who have that ability to [teach kaumātua]...” (Participant 11)

In providing leadership within her hapū Participant 6 described feeling reassured because of support from her people, and also referred to her determination to stand up for the interests of her hapū.

“And so as you would realise the load is very heavy and in saying it was heavy it was very easy, because I had their total support. I also had their total respect, and if ever I went home for a decision they would make it. All I really had to do was take it and deliver it...And to me my hapū is very important...” (Participant 6)

Intergenerational transfers

The interviewees recognised that older Māori play a critical part in ensuring various forms of knowledge, practices and values are passed on appropriately to younger generations. The areas of knowledge discussed ranged from formal oratory and genealogy to food gathering.

One participant acknowledged the enthusiasm of younger generations to learn from her. This participant felt confident about sharing customary knowledge with young people.

“Ēngari kua kite au te whakatipuranga o nāianei. Kua pīrangi tonu rātou kia mohio rātou. “Please, Auntie, akona mai mātou tahi ki te karanga.” Me mea māmā noa iho. Kei te pai, kei te pai tēnā. Ēngari kia mōhio koe ki tēnā, kia taūnga koe ki tēnā, ka hoatu ai e au he mea anō.”

“However, I see today’s generation. They really want to know. “Please, Auntie, teach us how to call ceremonially.” A simple one will do. That’s good, really good. But understand, when you are comfortable with that [call] I will give you another.” [Translation] (Participant 17)

Participants observed that older Māori people who have been involved in the Māori community have a major contribution to make in terms of sharing local history and knowledge of genealogical connections. One participant commented that this is the case regardless of whether or not they have fluency in the Māori language.

“...No, it is there because I’ve listened to you lot kōrero [speak] especially with the manuhiri [visitors] from outside Taranaki and that you can only go so far and they become inquisitive, they drop names, and I know that the younger ones don’t know who they are talking about and I noticed things like that and although you lot can talk the reo when it comes to who is who in yesteryear, I know who they are talking about. I know who they mean and this I suppose comes with walking with the old people and listening to their conversations, going onto different marae and being called out and knowing who those people are over there, wherever you go.” (Participant 5)

“I’ve been working with iwi now since what since 1989, 1990 our people, awe how satisfying it is to actually get to know the people and you get this connection, and when you get to know people that’s when relationships become closer and you’re able to say “Oh well he’s always like that but kei te pai”...As you get older you sort of get to...understand people more and it’s wonderful, I think it’s wonderful.” (Participant 4)

In addition to the knowledge of relationships Participant 11 shared the view that many older Māori inherently have the ability to understand the nature of relationships and thereby build relationships between people.

“...it’s that capacity of inclusiveness...understanding the social structure that everyone understands as to where your role is in that collective setting...It’s understanding the values which are important to that collective...they may be behavioural values and things like that...” (Participant 11)

According to one participant kaumātua are carriers of knowledge that modern day formal educational alternatives cannot match.

“Like history, I think history is something that our older people in our community have and yet we are going to universities, and we go to books yet all we need to do is sit down with an older person and they will tell you everything that you need to know. (Participant 14)

Many participants referred to the importance of the intergenerational transfer of Māori values. Participant 9 noted that older Māori have a role not only in transferring knowledge, but also in reinforcing a Māori world view and instilling Māori values in younger generations.

“It’s that connection, it’s that korowai, that embrace and inclusiveness that aroha, everything, everything, your whakapapa, tikanga, kawa, everything. All those cultural perspectives, values, it’s like tihei mauri ora, the breath of life, that flows through your koroua, to your kuia, but with that doesn’t, not only the touch, it’s the kōrero.” (Participant 9)

Participant 10 recalled her kuia using whānau networks as an indirect yet effective method to teach necessary life skills.

“...I guess she was wanting to teach me something...they’d come and visit you to see what you were doing and... if they liked what you were doing they went away happy, and if they didn’t like what you were doing, they would tell someone else and that someone else would come to the house and tell you, well you know kuia so and so said that you weren’t doing this, so I guess they were looking after us because we didn’t have our mother.” (Participant 10)

Participant 15 expressed that transmission of her knowledge to whānau and the Māori community, and the integrity of that knowledge was a priority for her in later life.

“The most important thing for me at the moment is to get as many people as I can to learn what I’m doing. Not necessarily family, although the whole of my whānau has got a little bit of something, so that it’s not lost when I’m gone...I tried to take small groups so I can work on a one-to-one basis...Being able to see that it’s[the knowledge] being used correctly [is important]....” (Participant 15)

One participant referred to both the importance and the challenges of ensuring Māori identity and customs survive in the long term.

“...it you’re wanting Māoridom to go into the next millennium...there’s going to be changes, but if you want to take what are the basic things of tikanga and whatever...it’s coming back slowly, like the reo and...the arts of Māori. That’s an easy one to claw back on, but the reo’s a very hard one, and getting people back to marae and hapū, iwi things. Because the generation of today, like me when I left couldn’t really see where the old part of Māoridom fitted in my life...but you had to come back to it...I think that was her [mother’s] main aim in life was to push that ambition back into you to see that Māori would not die and that was her thirst.” (Participant 1)

Participants raised the concern that when older people with specialised knowledge die without passing on their expertise, there is a loss of culture and heritage.

“...with [a particular kuia that passed away], something died, that’s the end of an era, she was asked several times to train [younger people in karanga]...we’ve kind of lost something, something that’s very precious to know...that’s just another one in a whole scheme...the loss of our heritage is the biggest blow a race of people could suffer.” (Participant 7)

“...it’s our duty as kaumātua...not to hold that knowledge in, but to give it out, to share. You hold it in then it dies with us and what might have made a change in someone’s life has been lost....” (Participant 9)

Environmental protection

Participants recalled frequently, throughout their lives, gathering food from the natural environment and becoming very familiar with local ecosystems. Many participants were holders of localised environmental information.

“And going down to the beach, and things like that. Going with the older ones, going and picking pūhā [sow thistle]...and watercress, when you went for pine cones...going down and watching...Dad whitebait. He didn’t really fish, but the boats used to go out so he’d cart the stuff down and food and that for the fishermen, and then...help drag the boats in...” (Participant 20)

“Well we were living down by the beach for a time, down by Ngāmotu Beach, so we spent a lot of time down there. Those days, low tide you could go out to the rocks and get a crayfish off the seaweed, you know...back this way where the...break water is now, you know, low tide. Could be crayfish sitting on the...seaweed and...big paua.” (Participant 12)

Some participants commented on the special nature of the relationship with the natural environment, and on a felt responsibility to protect land and other natural resources from degradation and alienation for the benefit of future generations. As well, some participants discussed activities they shared with their grandchildren that reinforced valuing the natural environment.

“And I’m still in love with that [the whānau land] now. So the first thing I did when I came up here, I took control of that on behalf of our family...its part of our history, of our family’s history. It’s part of our whakapapa basically...[my aim is] preferably to keep it [the land] within our own family...for him to use it or for his kids to use it and benefit from it, but not ever let it get out of our hands, you know, because I’m aware of all the land confiscations...I know a lot of...my own relations who have had mixed marriages...because they’ve sort of had...internal...[disagreement] with their own whānau, that that land’s gone out of the family ownership, and it’s gone to the other side, if you like, forever lost, and then capitalised, or sold off or, you know, for capital benefit and then it’s gone, you know. It’s gone from all our mokopuna and all those down the road.” (Participant 19)

“For now, one, I don’t want to move. Two, I’m not allowed to move. And three, this is a papakainga [extended family collective housing complex]⁵⁶ and it was given to me to take care of for whoever comes after us...at first I did not think that I would like to live under those conditions, but the land holds you. There’s an energy from the land...This house...belonged to Granddad and Nana. That’s where my mother was born, my mother got married...we always feel their presence...” (Participant 15)

⁵⁶ Papakainga are usually located on ancestral land.

“...the whānau and the whenua, the whenua, whānau, that’s got to be a unit, a uniting concept. And so, if you [have] got those two then you strengthen[the] hapū [subtribe]...if you attach yourself to the whenua there’s a responsibility...Yeah teaching my mokos [to grow food at home], man do we have some fun! We got a tunnel house out there...[we] grow tomatoes and that, and then the beef...They [the whānau] all help...collect pine cones, chop the wood, I mean that’s all whānau. This is whenua, whānau you know, there’s no difference...” (Participant 16)

Some participants expressed concerns about the implications of environmental degradation and a weakened connection with the environment on future generations. Concerns had led some participants to take on environmental protection leadership roles at the community level.

“...issues in terms of the effects...on the environment from carbon dioxide...we don’t even know the major implications of that...with all that ice that’s gonna be melted by 2020. What the implications of all that is going to be on them [mokopuna] and with all this technology that’s gonna be around for them...over fifteen years the introduction of these Xbox, and kids are inside more, instead of outside playing and doing those things that I was doing...Climbing trees and raiding orchards...” (Participant 19)

“...it used to [be] [place name] but [it was] a bit contaminated. I had the great pleasure in being part of the correction of all that when I was in the [named tribal organisation]...I actually started all that off with [person’s name]...the contamination was always something that they [local people] talked about...we started the first...challenge really and it didn’t take much to convince the new sort of local [council] bodies that were forming...And I can remember [person’s name]...when I first came back from...[a named city], we were both...at the [named local company] Annual Meeting and...he was concerned about their effluent going out and spoiling the paua out there. I remember talking about that and I backed him up and we were...booted out of the place...we already had these results from the then Water Commission, so you know, the state of the foreshore was shocking plus the contamination of our waterways. And that was all new talk, it was sort of kind of revolutionary talk [at that time]...” (Participant 16)

Gender issues

Participants reflected on the roles of women and men in maintaining marae activities. Two participants discussed the pragmatism and the ability of older Māori women to multitask while upholding simultaneous catering and oratory roles on the marae that under ideal circumstances would be carried out by different people.

“But you know she could be finished the karanga and you could still hear it was still going and I used to see her come from the kitchen, taking off her apron and going out to karanga, so having to be multitask has been in for some time... Yeah, men don't multitask eh, well it's happening but with this age group they come and they sit on the paepae and they wait for the people to come... it's almost like extracting teeth trying to get [some older Māori men] to do something other than wait for the manuhiri, [they] can grate the cheese for us, you know.” (Participant 2)

Participant 1 recalled that even in her childhood older women also having to perform both front and back roles through necessity. In some cases those older woman undertook physical work now usually prescribed to males.

“...people are comfortable out the back and you feel you are doing something really worthwhile and you are...just as important out the back as being in the front, but in the days...you were the back person as well as the front person...used to run from the back to the front...aprons still on...They used to do the hāngi too, those old ladies...The whole lot.” (Participant 1)

Participant 2 felt aggrieved when men attempted to dictate her attire while fulfilling formal roles, she also believed the men's position on that issue was borne of Victorian English influence rather than Māori custom.

“The new phenomenon is about men telling women what they should be wearing. Oh that [brasses] me off. I've often said...“you...tell me what to wear. You fellas getting on the paepae wearing jeans, so don't tell me to wear my black skirt”...Oh Victoria eh, Victorian influence.” (Participant 2)

One participant noted that there are potentially some tensions between older Māori men and women and their participation and respective roles in Māori society.

“When we have our kaumātua meeting hardly anybody comes along. Especially the men which I am very disappointed in. The women are good, we've got a lot of women coming along and this is what the Māori men have got to be very, very mindful of. They're going to be in the background and the Māori women are going to run things. It's heading that way and what's going to happen? The Māori men are not going to like it. The time when it comes to kōrero on the marae the women are going to be doing most of it and you know what a lot of the men are going to say, “Oh, that's not on,” you know. So, we've got to attempt, get together, especially the men, get together and do things together.” (Participant 3)

Changing roles

Some participants noted that their roles on the marae have changed with age, and that this was often a demonstration of respect for kaumātua. One participant explained that previously she had always worked in the marae kitchen during events, that now she was no longer 'allowed' by the younger generation to work in the kitchen and was expected to be present at the formal proceedings.

“...they don't allow me into the dining room now, because when I was younger, I was always in the dining room...I think it's the age, and respect, they say, “You go and sit by aunty or uncle so and so”, and so I think that is...the respect that is shown you for your age and that's good.” (Participant 10)

Although Participant 10 did not usually participate in formal oratory roles, she indicated that she was participating simply by being at hui and providing support. Attendance in its own right may be an important contribution for older Māori, in that their presence adds mana to an occasion.

“No, because I can't do it [fulfil formal roles], I have never learnt...I had no confidence, but now and again I will stand up and sing...I just sit there because that's what I used to do with uncle...I never used to wai for him...he just wanted me to be there...with him and so you know, I was always there and it felt good...” (Participant 10)

With age comes a measure of status, and members of the community allowed participants to state their views without challenging them in the same way as if someone younger said the same thing.

“...when you get of an age you can actually say whatever you like and people will just take it, so there's a certain standing that enables one to be quite frank, to anyone and you know what, they listen. But if a younger person were to say exactly the same thing, they'd get a totally different response...I would like to think that maybe there's a ring of truth in what we say.” (Participant 13)

Participation within Te Ao Whānui

The involvement of participants in society is not limited to interactions with whānau and Te Ao Māori. Participants frequently referred to their engagements with Te Ao Whānui in wide-ranging realms including, for example, work, religion, access to community facilities and services and sport and recreation. Many narratives relating to participation within Te Ao Whānui have been presented in the previous two data chapters. Only a few participants referred to leadership roles they held within Te Ao Whānui.

“...[participant’s spouse] and I built this church. We pioneered this church...” (Participant 14)

“One thing I learnt about being a principal is that you’ve got a lot of power...To make changes...if you’re just a general teacher, you can’t. You know, in terms of, oh all sorts of things, you know, like challenging the system...If I wasn’t a principal, I couldn’t do that.” (Participant 19)

“...I was getting close to retirement and the church was beckoning me...I went to the [name of religion] Church and got training, I got training through them and I took over the Church in [place name] and I pastored that.” (Participant 3)

Opportunities and challenges over time

Participants perceived that the opportunities and challenges they have experienced have in many respects been different from those experienced by their own elders and are different from those of their mokopuna.

Opportunities for participants – distinct from their elders

Health

Participant 12 felt that the perceptions and experiences of old age are different today than it was for previous generations. That is, the onset of physical and other limitations associated with old age begin later for the current generation than for previous generations due, for example, to labour saving devices and lifestyle differences. As a result, generally people do not consider themselves to be ‘old’ until a much later chronological age.

“...I never sort of considered myself being old. I know I am old...age-wise, but...most people my age...most of them probably wouldn’t be quite as fit as what I am...maybe they’ve worked harder than me or something like that...they’ve had a harder life or something...in my Nana’s time when you were sixty years old...cos they worked hard, they had...none of these sort of washing machines...things to help them...these days I think...sixties and seventies, that’s not all that old...we’re just a bit luckier than a couple of generations ago...bit luckier than our Nana’s time...we have got a lot of labour saving devices, don’t have to work so hard...my Nana, that generation sort of worked hard...they just didn’t have the things that we’ve got...you know today, lady she can put her washing in the washing machine and go off for a run somewhere...” (Participant 12)

Some participants noted that former generations of older people did not complain about ill health, but stoically accepted illness and disability.

“...my Māmā and Pāpā...with them and māuiui...they never, never, were open about it...they just suffered...quietly...but all the time. They were mamae but they never said. But like today, now if we are sore, we can go off to the doctor...they kept away from the tākuta...a tohunga, they called him.” (Participant 8)

There is a different attitude towards self care now than in the past. Formerly, older people were resigned to ill health, whereas in modern times there is an increased focus on taking preventative measures and self-management of chronic and other conditions.

“I think there’s gonna be a lot more attention on the individual as they come through into their old age, and that’s happening now. But more importantly, it will be the individual attention on themselves where, you know, it wasn’t regarded or...rated very high ‘what will be will be.’” (Participant 16)

Gender roles

The roles of older Māori women have greatly diversified in only one generation, and this is reflected in a greatly increased participation of older Māori women in the paid workforce. It is not uncommon for older Māori women to be in active full-time employment, whereas their mothers may never have entered the paid workforce and may instead have focused on child raising and homemaking roles throughout their lives.

“...with me I worked to the degree I have now and I’m not really sure that I’m going to be happy not to be working. You know the difference with them was they were happy to stay at home and live this lifestyle...women, if you have children, you stay home and look after them and men, you go out and work. That was the lifestyle of that day. Today in my age group, I love my grandchildren dearly and my children, and I also like my space...I can offer more today than they could but they never really wanted to because they have a lifestyle, that lifestyle was to keep the home fires burning and that was with both men and women, although, men were more prominent then the women in those days...When I say they were more prominent the opportunities were greater for men then they were for women.” (Participant 6)

Challenges for participants – distinct from their elders

Access to the natural environment

Māori older people today have limited access to land and natural food resources compared to their forbearers.

“There was lots of supplejack...the resources...here...were rich...Spraying the sides of the rivers, some things like that have killed, depleted a lot of the natural bush...supplejack, you can barely find it now...a lot of the resources, even pūhā [is] hard to find...they all had their farms at that time, now even prior to that they must have lived off the natural bush and the birds and things like that...They had their fruit trees...Mum used to bottle and preserve...used to do the bees wax...on top of the preserving...they all had orchards on their farms, and so they have that resource...” (Participant 1)

“And they’ve got stuck in the system, that now they don’t know about. See I mean the old Māori was self-contained and they had everything out here...he lived on the bush, the rivers and the sea, had his food, the medicine, the lot, all there. When that was taken away from them, what did he have as an alternative, European kai which in the beginning was quite staple, it was quite simple, but now we’ve got into luxury stuff, that’s not good for us.” (Participant 7)

Leadership

In the past, older Māori were raised within Māori contexts and acquired Māori competencies that enabled them to fulfil customary roles on the marae and in Māori society generally.

“Different world. I don’t know how I can compare...because they were confident in the reo, they had no problems in their place...they knew how to do everything the front and back...you just did it...It became our problem because I fell into that part of the generation that was taken away from having to do anything like that but the work out the back...” (Participant 1)

According to participants, life was less complicated in the past with more limited options. People were expected to fulfil their responsibilities on marae and at home, and if required, take on formal roles. Today, fewer people have the same range of competencies.

“...some things were hard, some things were easier...the way they did things, it wasn’t complicated for them. Today you have choices, whether to be there or not to be there. In the past you have to be there taking up your responsibilities. If someone threw you the gauntlet and said, “Well, you’re on the paepae,” you were it. You were asked to be there and they did it...they all spoke the reo, but not everyone did it [took on formal roles]...The benefits in the old days is that you lived it and you did it...today you’ll be lucky...if you can do it, so you have to go and learn. If you’re interested in Māoridom, you will go and learn...” (Participant 1)

One participant noted the changing nature of modern leadership compared to leadership in the past. Formerly, kaumātua leadership was less structured and fluid. By comparison, Participant 16 observed that the role of kaumātua has been ‘codified’ and leaders are expected to competently engage with both mainstream structures and organisations and Māori equivalents.

“I think it’s a very different [kaumātua] role today. I think that the roles that are being played out now are very, very formal and very, very stringent...they have a lot to do with the professional way...you have to have very keen minds, articulate in the way that reflects that structure...There’s no regard for feelings, unless...you are thinking wairua.” (Participant 16)

Work

Previous generations of Māori elders viewed ageing very differently. Many were physically active as a matter of necessity until death, unless they were prohibited by ill health. Typically their working life was characterised by extremely hard physical work, there was limited access to technologies to ease workloads and there were clear gender roles. Increasingly, however, older Māori people are retiring to rest homes.

“The older people that I was influenced by never stopped working, and that was this concept of age...from my recollection, this didn’t mean anything to them...they just continued to...carry on whatever that role was. They certainly didn’t go into rest homes, they certainly weren’t institutionalised, they just remained part of the community...” (Participant 11)

“They worked hard...just thinking of my mother, my dad never helped her with her children, she took care of the children herself...my dad never came in the house and washed dishes and or cooked food...whereas in today’s world, well the husband helps in the home as well as outside of home, but you see there’s two working...they had a hard life...” (Participant 10)

Participant 2 reflected on her grandparents’ and parents’ hard working lives and the relatively short life span of her parents.

“Both of my grandmothers were very old women at a very young age, I think—yes. And my parents even died far too early, forty two and forty eight... something like that... and for anyone saying that hard work didn’t kill anyone then they’re lying... because it does.” (Participant 2)

Social interaction

Compared to today, there was much more limited interaction between older and younger people.

“...my Dad and my uncles...didn’t mix with us kids, you know they didn’t do things with us, like we do. You know, we do everything virtually with our kids.” (Participant 18)

In the past, in Māori communities, caring for older people in practical and informal ways in everyday life was normal. Comments indicated that this approach is less apparent in modern times.

“...there were a lot the older folks that couldn’t drive. They couldn’t get into town. No one would offer them...a ride into town...or wherever. I found that very, very, very strange because in our young days anyone who wanted a lift into town, “Yes...I’ll take you in. I’ll go into town too!” Although they had no intentions to, but “Yes, let’s go in,” and back in those days it wasn’t so much by a motor vehicle it used to be a horse and gig or a cart you know it was quite often.” (Participant 3)

Participant 3 expressed sadness at the individualism now apparent in the community in terms of the gathering and distribution of seafood.

“Yes, you know also I found it sad used to go out and get some kaimoana. They used to go out and they’d keep a lot for themselves. I used to go out and I used to struggle through...my age and through my health and I used to enjoy going out to get it. But I used to bring it back and I used to give some, a lot of it away. But a lot of the others they didn’t do that.”(Participant 3)

Participant 19 reflected on changes to the social structure of Māori society that have led to increased social isolation for older people.

“...not participating in Māori kaupapa hui where there’s that sharing...where they’ve lost all those aroha sort of support...isolation from their own people, not knowing themselves...getting to the stage where they are basically on their own, and have to work...That social structure of our people has changed quite remarkably.” (Participant 19)

Opportunities for mokopuna – distinct from participants

Interaction with elders

The increasing life expectancy of older Māori gives many of today’s young people the opportunity to interact with their elders over a longer period of time than the participants’ generation had.

“I offer them myself. I’m always available. They mightn’t come and ask you for anything but what gives them the strength is that you’re there and this is what I missed out as a young one because my grandparents died when I was only a little wee fella...I thought I am not going to deny my grandchildren that. I owe it to them that I should be here as long as I possibly can.” (Participant 3)

One participant who had lost his own parents at a young age recognised the value to his children and mokopuna of spending time with and learning from himself and his wife.

“I wanted to ensure that I have time to work with my moko and to be with them so that they can reflect off a lot of the things that I might have that they might want, might not too, but you know I never had that opportunity.” (Participant 19)

Technology

The benefits of access to new technologies for young people was noted.

“...technology is exciting for Māori, it is brilliant, that’s how I look at it, it’s exciting when you can get on board and utilise it in the way that it will advantage us and that will advance Māori in all aspects.” (Participant 9)

Education and career development

There is a much wider variety of educational and career options available to young people today, compared to when participants were young. This is particularly the case for young women, who had much more limited options in the participants’ generation.

“...the options that they have now...they would be looking more...academically at things as opposed to...like...road works and a working in those kind a things. And...the girls also, will be looking at more technical things to do as opposed to, I know that...nursing was what all the women did because...you could get into...[a] career [in] nursing without taking exams.” (Participant 10)

Participant 14 commented positively on a more prevalent culture of success in Māori society, whereby high value is placed on being successful and on being Māori.

“So I think that now has become...to succeed has become a real value now. And what I mean by succeed is, you know, it’s having an attitude, a mentality that says we are worth more than this now. It’s having a... yeah a healthy perspective of our worth as Māori people and that I’ve got a lot to offer. I think education has become a really huge thing now with Māori, I think this whole thing, like you know, ‘Oh, she’ll be right,’ ...has gone. It’s totally gone...” (Participant 14)

Challenges for mokopuna – distinct from participants

Access to natural resources and food sources

Many participants grew up in rural areas where they were able to live off the land. Few members of the younger generation have these opportunities.

“...now,...people...want the land they don’t want things like that... little rivers going through the land...we used to...have wonderful places to swim...Well a lot of them were drained eventually...the Pākehā now have got it...We used to use them [rivers] for a lot...for getting kai out of them...It’s all farmland now...” (Participant 4)

Values and approaches to life

Participant 14, through metaphor, captured the distinctiveness of the approach to life taken by the older generation of Māori compared to younger generations.

“Because you see we’ve been brought up, like see when we were kids, Mum didn’t have a stove. We used to have a pot on the fire, so she would start cooking really early, now oh gee, tea time, 3 minutes or twenty minutes and the tea’s cooked, you know, because you do it in the microwave. You have thermowave ovens. You have everything now and that’s the way we think now, too. And so everything is about time.

Old people need time because they have that crock-pot mentality. It’s not like they’re slow or dopey or anything, is that they think about things, they have experienced things. You see this generation and you probably even notice it with your children or whoever. You’ll notice the difference with a thirteen year old and baby is that they are going to be faster paced kids. It’s kind of like that ad on TV: faster, smarter, you know, got to think faster, think faster, you know that one? There’s this kid on the computer because computers are changing all the time and so they have this little kid and it’s really talking about a generation, which is this generation. And so he’s sitting there, “Got to think faster, talk faster, sleep faster,” you know, all these new things. But also this generation is the kind of kid that will live on the edge. They live on the edge, eh. They’re adventurous. They want to know what’s over there, you know so they will push you to the edge... You see I’ve noticed with my grandchildren is like we’ve got a twelve year old, and then we’ve got the 2 year old. The 2 year old is just as sharp as the twelve year old because of the whole mentality now coming out in this generation. It’s faster and smarter. So [name of son] like baby [name of grandson], and [name of another grandson] know how to work a computer just like that. It’s because this generation is faster and smarter. They’re a generation they’ll even look death in the face and they’ll dare it. And if you look at in our society now, the stunts they are doing are more daring, more devilish to hurt myself, you know, kind of thing because it’s all about I have to live now because times ticking by.” (Participant 14)

One interviewee observed that in today’s society the younger generation do not know how to care for older people. That person believed that health professionals, for example, are not being trained in a person-centred way and with community experience, so future health services and health professionals for older people may not treat the patient as a person.

“One thing I find really scary for the future...is that the younger ones now...a lot of them...they’re losing the ability to awahi because of this instant and having things now concept...this sort of modern outlook of society now...it’s like everything’s so fast and so it’s like this all the time. I would hate in a couple of generations time to be an elder person of that generation, you know, because you look at the health, the training has got nothing to do with people, the training’s all to do with systems...with time and they start specialising before they actually go out in the community.” (Participant 13)

Participant 1 expressed a concern that younger people are not being instilled with motivation. Further, the participant considered that there is a role for older Māori in supporting youth to develop greater motivation.

“...motivation is one thing...teach them motivation, just to be active and get themselves involved in things rather than just computers and video games and just wandering the street...you do have influence...you must have the mokopuna come and stay with you...they’ve got to get used to older people...and...it just helps them calm down and take time out to just talk because you’re not expecting them to do all that much...” (Participant 1)

One participant noted how pressures on youth are far greater than when she was young.

“...I think, like for me growing up with Aunty and then you go visit them and you got, “You had a kai?” and that’s all I remember them saying. It wasn’t like you know, “You’re not having sex are you?”... “Nobody’s hit you?,” you know. “Your Uncle is not touching you in the wrong place?” There was none of that. It was probably going on but I don’t ever remember my aunts, it was always, “You had a kai?”...or “You’re alright?” You know, that was the extent. So I think it has shifted today because society has changed so much.” (Participant 14)

Participant 7 expressed the concern that due largely to urbanisation and financial pressures, young people have experienced a very different upbringing from today’s older people and have experienced alienation from things Māori and a loss of culture.

“...my mokopuna have lived in a completely different climate where their parents have had to go out of Taranaki to work and they have lost touch with Māoridom. So I don’t quite know how they can find their place when they come home because more often than not, they don’t know what they have to do anyway...lose what is precious to Māori...their values, their behaviour...If they could have stayed...lived here...lived in both worlds...they just can’t do it and most Māori...are on low income.” (Participant 7)

Technology

Concern was expressed that today's children do not know how to entertain themselves, that they are being overprotected and are reliant on expensive playthings to entertain themselves. There was some concern that children are losing their initiative and the capacity for imaginative play.

One participant questioned whether technological advancement had really benefitted today's youth.

“...kids aren't allowed to climb trees now. If you fell out of a tree and got a broken arm and are taken to the hospital, the parent will be accused of having given the kid the bash. When I went to school, if you went to school with plaster on, boy you were a hero and everybody was, “Gee I wished I could have one like that,” you know, and it was just a way of finding out...how far you could push yourself. Kids don't know how to. They don't know that now, that's why they go, they leave school, they buy these flash cars and get themselves killed on the road because they haven't done any of that other stuff when they were kids. So what are we gonna look like in a few generations time? One child falls off a swing in a playground and what happens, oh the playgrounds have gotta have rubber matting...I have often said to my own mokos, you know when I'm looking after them, “Go outside and play”, “Oh we got nothing to play with,” you know, and I'm saying, “So you kids really don't know how to play?” Kids have forgotten to know how to play and unless you can take them into a shop and...buy them some sort of equipment that costs money, they don't know how to play. Now why is that? So have we progressed? I don't think so.” (Participant 13)

Social change

In families where both parents work, children do not have such ready access to their parents as previous generations. Work and social demands have meant that families spend less quality time together.

“...society has changed today...I always saw my mum's face when I walked in the door, mum was always home, that's happy. I know today a lot of young rangatahi don't see their mum, for many reasons. A good one is that they now are compelled I guess, not through choice at first to go out and work, they go out and work, they go on shift work...never the husband and wife meet...while we're busy people now, we don't eat at the table, we'll eat on the couch...the environment that's the differences...as a family we ate at the table...that was a happy environment, if you know what I mean, we cried together, we got a hiding together, we laughed together, we sing together, we were brought up around a radio and a fireplace and instruments, musical instruments. Those were happy times.” (Participant 9)

“...when we were kids, it was always the woman who stayed home looked after the kids, father went out to work...But nowadays you have mum and dad both going out to work...you’ve got a lot of single parent families...” (Participant 12)

There are also challenges inherent to the changing family configurations common today, such as sole parent households.

“Today, unfortunately, our rangatahi they’re flighty. They’ll look for their fun amongst their peers cos they don’t have it at home. Why, many reasons, mothers are working now. Single parent families, a mother with...no dad, with a partner, who a lot of the time, and I’m drawing on my experiences as a Māori warden I suppose when we go into the homes, a lot of the times, they [men] are there for the wahine and not for the children. Okay, so there is that non acceptance by the rangatahi and also that non acceptance by the partner. Mum’s partner or Dad’s partner, okay, so if Dad’s out working and Mum’s the like the step mum, then things aren’t going well there, they’re not accepted...” (Participant 9)

There was some concern among interviewees that society is overly permissive, providing access to tobacco, alcohol and drugs, and allowing young people to abuse their bodies to the extent that they may not survive to enjoy old age. Further, that the permissive nature of society may lead to a state of lawlessness unless children are raised with strength of character.

“...if you do want to live to a tender old age and you don’t think about it until you are much older...that’s too late because if you don’t look after your body when you are young, you’re not going to have a body when you’re old, simple as that. I mean we are smoking and drinking, you know, all sorts and this is something that I can’t understand about the youth...how uncontrolled they are. I feel for you young people who have young ones coming on...I mean you’ve got a war to work against before you even start, haven’t you? How are you going to keep them away from all this?” (Participant 7)

“...in the world today there’s drugs, there’s alcohol, there’s tobacco and those things, [husband] and I never indulged in. The only drugs we were taking were the ones prescribed by the doctor...and so I would like my children and my grandchildren to be free of that kind of...influence in their lives...when you see what is happening to the youth and adults, you want that kind of freedom for your children.” (Participant 10)

“It is a permissive society...and if people don’t change I can see what our grandchildren will have to put up with be would be lawlessness, absolute lawlessness. Where they will be uncontrollable, where they might even be thingy to the law itself, so there would be just total lawlessness. They will be laws unto themselves...that’s why even for us now how we want to bring up our children is not just as good kids we want to bring our children up with to be kids with great character...[who] know the difference between right and wrong, which they know when to stand against things that violate their own standards and principles. You see we are teaching our twelve year old now you know about making sure you keep yourself safe and that if you ever feel unsafe there are things that you can do, and all you can do is your very best.” (Participant 14)

Participant 9 cited a number of reasons way Māori youth are disengaged from both Te Ao Māori and mainstream society.

“...rangatahi who have been disengaged from their whānau, disengaged from their schools, mainstream...because of alcohol, drugs...it’s unhealthy for us older people to see...it hurts me to see, when our rangatahi are...disengaged...mainstream is starving our rangatahi of kai, access to knowledge, access to resource, access to people, to connections, to whānau connections, that whakapapa.” (Participant 9)

One participant described how they sought to instil pride in and nurture youth who were in her care at a Māori college.

...there was just no pride in themselves, no pride in their school. There was no pride in the space they stayed in. No pride in their chapel...certainly no pride for their...marae, for their whare... I would make rewena bread and that would be their supper and they’d all come home and have a kai and all this sort of stuff, and all that, and in the weekends, you know, I’d say to them, “Right, been pretty good this weekend,” so I’d shout them pizza or something and then we’d get a couple of videos and then they’d bring their mattresses out to my lounge and, you know, that sort of stuff.” (Participant 13)

Economic situation

Many participants acknowledged that young adults today face mounting economic challenges, including reduced access to employment. They expressed concern about the ability of their mokopuna to provide for themselves.

“I do feel sorry for the younger ones today because there aren’t the jobs around...people in Parliament say ‘...if you’re not working, we’re gonna take you off the dole...you got to go out and get a job.” Well, where’s the jobs?...the jobs aren’t just...there...I think we had it quite good as young people, because we had plenty of jobs, you could leave one job today and go down the road and get another job the same day....”(Participant 12)

“So unless they’re lucky enough to be successful in whatever, I can’t see the majority of our Māori mokopuna acquiring their own properties. I can’t see it.” (Participant 5)

“They have got to become certified or trades people. They have got to and they’ve got to be made to save their money. Everything is getting horrific, costs, maintenance for building, for everything, for buying a section....” (Participant 5)

“Oh I can’t see my mokos being able to afford a home. I can’t see it unless they come back on the kainga, come back on the marae. I can’t see them being able to buy a home like this say, two hundred, three hundred, four hundred [thousand]. They’ll never buy one in the big smoke in the big city of New Plymouth. They’ll never buy one in Whanganui, Wellington, or Auckland.” (Participant 5)

Erosion of knowledge and skills

While acknowledging that the world is changing, concern was expressed at the attitude of a disposable consumer capitalist society and the loss of knowledge and skills – both job related skills and everyday practical skills like changing a tyre on a bike. There was also concern that youth are not learning and applying many of those practical skills which enabled the development of personal discipline.

“...it’s passing on those skills cos we live in an age of disposability. If it doesn’t work chuck it away or go down to Mitre 10 on special days and get another one. That’s the resolution of the problem whereas your father learnt how to sharpen the saw, whatever it is, where are those skills now? So we’ve lost them...there’s a lot of those...trade related skills that have just disappeared and that’s because our worlds change...the ability to grow gardens...that was something that existed in older people...we all knew how to grow things and in some cases...it requires a little bit of skill and knowledge and those sorts of things, which again are not passed on. I’m just a bit fearful at the moment of the total lack of skilled knowledge that our young people are not receiving. Plus...with that skill came a sort of a social discipline but sometimes it’s difficult to learn....” (Participant 11)

According to Participant 11, patience is required between the older and younger generations to enable the transfer of customary knowledge in a way that enables a full understanding of that knowledge. The participant emphasised that older and younger people operate at different paces and with distinct styles of communication, but that with effort communication can be effective.

“...a lot of formal knowledge, into Te Ao Māori...So we’re learning that sort of thing [karakia etc]...we live in this day and age where we just see stuff...through an education system—one and one are two; two and two are four—you know that sort of thing and I didn’t actually understand what I was saying, as long as it sounded right, it was right. We need to go back to find out why is that so and that takes time, which is what older generation have a lot of, but the younger generation, they’re on a mission. So whether we can get our time and patterns right, I’m sure we can, it’s not hard without a little bit of an effort, but we do operate...at different paces...Language is another issue. I mean, with our young guy working here, I asked him to set up a Bebo page, which he did...within about half an hour, so we’re on Bebo. I think, cher, great. So I went into it, I can’t understand a word he’s saying...so we communicate at a different pace, we communicate in a different language but somewhere along the line, I think we are able to bring it together, as long as we turn and face each other, but as long as we turn our backs towards each other, we will be distant.” (Participant 11)

Participant 8 also acknowledged differences between older and younger generations in learning and teaching styles, and therefore in the transmission of knowledge.

“Today, learning stuff is different...more snappy...they [the teachers] were more...māhaki...That’s probably how we learnt it so well...But I noticed today...mōhiotanga, they think they know it all...Instead of listening to one...” (Participant 8)

Respect for elders

Many participants considered that today’s youth generally showed less respect for their elders than they themselves had shown to their elders.

“...they [older people] were held in high esteem...I revered them...in terms of...their mana...I didn’t know what it was at the time, but there was something about them...just the way they went about their business and...the manaaki that they had for us...even though they’d send us out to play, they’d feed us, ensure that we were safe and warm and healthy.” (Participant 19)

“That’s why a lot of people haven’t got time for old people. This generation doesn’t have time for old people. That’s why old people are getting knocked off. You know, what they see old people for? A quick buck. “Give me your money old man, because I’ve got things to do. I’ve got places to go and I’ve got to do it now,” so it’s faster, smarter, eh, and a generation that lives on the edge.” (Participant 14)

Summary

There is a high degree of expectation and demands placed on participants to fulfil leadership roles in Te Ao Māori. The level and types of demand are generally different than those placed

on younger age groups. The ways in which older Māori cope with those demands varies from avoidance through to embracing expectations as an opportunity for personal development. However, regardless of the coping strategies, demands are at times burdensome and may be at the expense of older people.

In the main, participants contribute within Te Ao Māori at two levels; the whānau and wider Māori collectives. They contribute as carriers of culture, guardians of knowledge and values, advisors and role models, facilitators of relationships, and custodians of the environment. The demands placed on older Māori, as well as the roles they are expected to fulfil, are dynamic and change over time. Participants' responses indicate that the opportunities and challenges faced by older Māori today are somewhat different to those their elders faced and to those that are encountered by their grandchildren.

Chapter Nine

DATA SYNTHESIS AT THE INTERFACE

Introduction

This chapter draws together findings from the Western scientific and mātauranga Māori evidential sources towards the goal of addressing the central research question posed in Chapter One – “What are the characteristics of positive ageing for Māori?” The evidential sources for this study are literature, qualitative interviews, and Māori proverbs. In considering these sources from an interface perspective, literature has come from Western science, the Māori proverbs from mātauranga Māori and the qualitative interviews from both inquiry paradigms. First level analyses of all categories of data have been carried out separately as documented in Chapters 4-8. In this Chapter the main analytical framework for the study is presented. Data from the first level analyses are brought together and the second level analysis is undertaken, this time synthesising data at the interface.

Analytical framework at the interface

Interrogating the data

A means to interrogate the data was sought that would meet three criteria. First, it should be centred on the concept of positive ageing. Second, it should be applicable to the New Zealand context. Third, there should be high relevance to Māori. Based on those criteria, the domains identified in the *Positive Ageing Indicators 2007* (Ministry of Social Development, 2007a) are used. The Indicators Framework is introduced at the interface to interrogate data generated in the current study. The 2007 Indicators Framework reflects the understanding of positive ageing set out in the PAS. While the Framework was not developed to gauge progress towards achieving the goals of the PAS, it is directly linked to both the PAS and the *Social Report*, the New Zealand Government monitoring report for social wellbeing (Ministry of Social Development, 2007b). The domains from the 2007 Indicators Framework have been used in preference to the goals and key actions from the 2001 PAS, as in the six year period from 2001 to 2007 the overall Strategy has evolved. Therefore, the 2007 domains better represent current thinking in the field.

A tool for data synthesis

The analytical framework for this study is presented in Table 14. The framework cross references the evidential sources and first level analysis from Western science and mātauranga Māori with the Indicators Framework domains identified in the *Positive Ageing Indicators 2007* report. Engaging the Indicators Framework domains at the interface to interrogate the data enables three objectives to be achieved towards the overall goal of addressing the study's central research question. First, the relevance of the domains to Māori conceptualisations of ageing is examined. Second, the issues that Māori consider important in relation to ageing, the aged and age that are not addressed in a universal approach, such as the *Positive Ageing Indicators 2007*, may be identified. Third, the groundwork can be laid for the development of Māori specific indicators which complement universal indicators.

Table 14 Analytical framework - data synthesis at the interface

	Western Science		Mātauranga Māori
Evidential Sources	Literature	Qualitative interviews	Proverbs
First level analysis	Analysis of literature	Analysis of qualitative interviews	Analysis of proverbs
Second level analysis			
Indicators Framework Domains			
Income			
Health			
Housing			
Transport			
Living in the community			
Māori Cultural identity*			
Access to facilities and services			
Attitudes to ageing and older people			
Employment			
Opportunities			

The universal and Māori specific dichotomy has been employed to discuss the findings. Universal domains are posited as relevant across demographic profiles regardless of age, gender,

nationality, ethnicity, religion or other socio-economic variable. Māori-specific domains are derived from Māori perspectives, tailored to reflect the particular needs of Māori and are determined by Māori. Importantly, in order to be most useful the universal and Māori specific perspectives when used together need to be consistent and not in conflict (Kingi & Durie, 2000).

Data synthesis at the interface

Income

The desired outcome being sought in the 'Income' domain of the Indicators Framework (Ministry of Social Development, 2007a, p. 12) is that:

Older people have access to adequate incomes that afford security and stability in retirement, provide a reasonable standard of living, and enable them to participate fully in society, exercising choice about how to live their lives.

In assessing this outcome, the following indicators are used by the Ministry of Social Development – disposable incomes, private incomes, living standards, and low incomes.

Income is well recognised as a determinant of health and wellbeing (Howden-Chapman & Tobias, 2000a; Wilkinson & Marmot, 2003). There are wide ethnic disparities in income in New Zealand, and older Māori have lower and more restricted incomes than non-Māori. In terms of material wellbeing, of which income is a key driver, older Māori experience a relatively high rate of disadvantage and hardship at approximately three to four times that experienced by non-Māori. Older single Māori, the majority of whom are women, experience the worst financial circumstances (Cunningham, et al., 2002).

Research findings indicate that while participants recognised the importance of financial stability, generally they did not aspire to be wealthy which may in part reflect realistic expectations given the economic disadvantage experienced by Māori. Rather, their concerns with regard to material wellbeing were that they were able to have their basic needs met and not burden others, have options in life, and that they were able to provide financial support for their adult children and grandchildren. Generally, participants appeared to have limited financial resources and exhibit a lack of planning for financial security, and this was concerning for some.

Older Māori tend to have raised a greater number of children than non-Māori, and this is predictive of lower living standards (Cunningham, et al., 2002). There was recognition among

participants that while they placed importance on investing financially and in other ways in their children and grandchildren, the implication was that their own financial security was compromised in later life. This was, however, considered to be an appropriate course of action, and overall was not a source of regret. Participants also indicated their desire to leave financial or other resources, such as land, as a legacy for their children.

“We are struggling...meeting our financial needs...if we had saved all our money and not spent it, invested in our children, we’d be...comfortable financially but we wouldn’t be happy...So the sacrifice is prioritised...And so at the end of the day...some of us...virtually ended up with nothing...so it’s gonna catch up with us [at] some stage, at a later age where there is nothing you can do about it...” (Participant 9)

As would be expected, given that the proverbs analysed in this study emerged prior to the introduction of any form of monetary economy in New Zealand, none of the proverbs explicitly refer to financial income. There was, however, reference to material wellbeing emphasising two themes. First, the contributions that older people made to collectives in earlier stages of their lives were recognised in proverb 14. Second, the prioritisation of older peoples’ material needs ahead of those of younger generations emerged as a theme as illustrated by proverb 34 “Māku te kai, he maha āu kai ki muri...Give me the food, you will have plenty afterwards”. The rationale was that younger people will outlive older people and will eventually inherit resources.

That there are relatively few whakataukī referring specifically to income or material wellbeing does not signify that income is unimportant to Māori in a practical sense. Generally, there are examples of whakataukī that are frequently heard at Māori gatherings which explicitly refer to resources, such as “Mā te huruhuru te manu ka rere...By feathers a bird flies...” (Mead, H. & Grove, 2003, p. 286). This whakataukī expresses the sentiment that all causes need to be adequately resourced in order to be successful. In modern times it has come to be equated with the need for financial resources to fund worthwhile activities.

The income domain, as a determinant of health and wellbeing and as one measure of the extent to which Māori are benefiting from New Zealand society in old age, is clearly relevant to Māori. There are, however, issues that are distinct for Māori. Important factors in understanding material wellbeing for older Māori appear to be the capacity to meet basic needs and to contribute to whānau, in particular adult children and grandchildren. In relation to this latter point, data synthesis indicates that there are tensions for older Māori between the need to

provide for their own current and future financial needs and the felt obligations of older people to continue to contribute materially to the needs of younger whānau members. In order that older Māori have the opportunity to benefit from income levels equitable to that of non-Māori, strategies will be required across the lifespan that emphasise access to education and employment. This domain is not sufficiently addressed for Māori across the lifespan.

Health

The desired outcome in the 'Health' domain (Ministry of Social Development, 2007a, p. 12) is:

Older people choose healthy lifestyles, are able to get the health services they need, and have the opportunity to enjoy a long and healthy life. Avoidable deaths, disease and injuries are prevented. Older people have the ability to function, participate and live independently or appropriately supported in society.

In assessing this outcome, the following indicators are used by the Ministry of Social Development – life expectancy at age 65 years, general health, fatal and serious non-fatal injuries from falls, cigarette smoking, unmet need for primary health care, and flu vaccination.

The identification of health as a domain is consistent with findings from interviews that health is accorded a very high priority. Health is prioritised for its instrumental value, that is, as a resource that increases older people's functional capacity in daily life. While some participants expressed their expectation that physical limitations would increase with age, there was a reasonable level of confidence in the ability to cope. Some of those already living with physical impairments shared current coping strategies.

The desired outcome and its associated indicators do not fully capture a Māori concept of health which is holistic in nature and has an ecological focus. Participants referred to a variety of factors which underpin good health and are consistent with the Māori model of health 'Te Whare Tapa Whā' (Durie, 1994). That is, good health is achieved through a balance of interacting physical, intellectual and emotional, spiritual and whānau dimensions. The latter two dimensions are central elements of a secure Māori cultural identity.

“...one of the things that's most important in my life has been my spirit...it is something that I had taken care of because to me it's the governing body. If I hadn't got that right, I don't think anything goes right.” (Participant 7)

“Me pēnei pea taku kōrero atu ki a koe...Whakaoho wairua. Ko te māmā tō wairua. Ki te māmā hoki tō wairua, ana kua māmā katoa ō whakaaro.”

I guess I should say it like this – Uplifting wairua. So that your wairua is light. If your wairua is light...so too is your mental state. [Translation] (Participant 17)

“You’ve got to stimulate the mind as well as your body.” (Participant 19)

It should also be noted that a key aspect of spiritual wellbeing for Māori is the relationship with and access to the natural environment. A deep and fundamental connection to the natural environment was strongly apparent in participants’ comments.

“...it’s really home...the first thing I can think of...is that maunga [mountain]...there’s this thing that I’m really attached to and there’s no way I’m gonna leave here. I mean look, I’ve been back here just about eight years now and still when I go out that drive and I’m waiting for the traffic to clear before I pull out, oh I still can’t believe that he’s [Mount Taranaki] right there.” (Participant 13)

Many participants discussed the centrality of whānau cohesion and opportunities to interact with whānau as fundamental to the wellbeing of older people. Comments indicated that to a large extent the wellbeing of older people is a function of the wellbeing of whānau. That is, when whānau are well the older people are well, and when whānau are unwell this impacts negatively on the wellbeing of older people. Further, some comments indicated that having whānau instils in older people a felt responsibility to look after their own health in order that they continue to be around to support whānau.

“...whakawhānaungatanga [strengthening whānau relationships]...being together...whānau and their connections is healthy for us older people...to have your...brothers and sisters and mums and dads and uncles, aunts and nieces and nephews and pepi [babies]...it helps preserve, I guess extend your life...It’s that korowai [cloak], you embrace by all and you embrace all...” (Participant 9)

The desired outcome associated with the ‘Health’ domain includes that “Older people chose healthy lifestyles...” There was a high level of recognition among participants of the importance of a balanced healthy lifestyle, and that there are opportunities in everyday life to make choices that promote good health. Māori are over-represented in terms of exposure to health risk factors (such as tobacco use, overweight and obesity, and alcohol use) (Ministry of Health, 2008), and there is growing acknowledgment that ethnic differences in exposures to risk factors and the

wide (but decreasing) ethnic disparities in health status (including life expectancy) are due mainly to inequalities in the distribution of determinants of health in society (Robson, B., 2004).

The implication is that in order for older Māori to have the opportunity to exercise lifestyle 'choice' to the same extent as older non-Māori, attention will be required to addressing determinants of health throughout the lifespan.

The desired outcome also states that "Older people...get the health services they need..." There is increasing evidence and acknowledgment of ethnic disparities in access to and quality of health care for Māori, with poor access for Māori relative to need and a lower quality of care than that of non-Māori (Cormack, D, Robson, B., Purdie, G, Ratima, M, & Brown, R, 2005), (Davis, et al., 2006). Generally, the most recent research in the area of Māori access to health services does not involve specific analysis for older Māori. However, a past study by Hirini et al (1999) demonstrated lower self-reported health service utilisation relative to need for older Māori, and this is supported by findings of this research with some comments indicating barriers to access of health services. The implication here is that specific interventions are required to ensure equitable access to health care for older Māori.

The health domain is a critical area for older Māori that is not adequately addressed. A broad definition of health, and work at multiple levels (structural, systems, organisational and individual) to influence the distal and proximal drivers of health status will be required to positively impact Māori health across the lifespan and thereby in old age.

Housing

The desired outcome in the 'Housing' domain (Ministry of Social Development, 2007a, p. 12) is:

Older people live in good quality, affordable and appropriate housing that – in addition to serving the basic human need for shelter – helps to meet other important needs such as security, independence, health, privacy, community participation, and the expression of personal and cultural identity.

In assessing this outcome, the following indicators are used – housing quality, home ownership and housing affordability.

The identification of 'housing' as a domain reflects the link between the quality of housing and health (Howden-Chapman, et al., 2007), (Howden-Chapman & Wilson, 1999). That is, substandard housing (e.g. poor insulation and overcrowding) is a risk factor for poor health. Māori experience higher rates of household overcrowding than non-Māori (21.2% compared to 9.6%) (Statistics New Zealand, 2006a). Home ownership is linked to good health, though this likely reflects the direct relationship between home ownership and wealth. According to the 2006 Census, a higher proportion of Māori do not own their own home (66.3%) compared to non-Māori (50.0%) (Statistics New Zealand, 2006a).

The separation of 'housing' from a later outcome 'living in the community' is inconsistent with an integrated Māori worldview and is somewhat foreign to a Māori perspective. However, the statement of the desired outcome for housing, in referring to "...other important needs such as...expression of personal and cultural identity." (Ministry of Social Development, 2007a, p. 12) is consistent with a holistic concept of housing that aligns with the concept of the 'home place' as articulated in the proverbs; a felt connection to a place that is linked to and reinforces an individual or collective's sense of cultural identity. There is explicit mention of the home place in four of the proverbs (7, 8, 14, 27) and there are two further references to remaining in close proximity to the home place (40, 41). More generally, the analysis of 42 proverbs found many references to geographical features of locality. This resonates with the Māori worldview of regional features being closely linked with a sense of home, identity and connection.

While some participants discussed housing in practical terms, with regard to having a warm house or a house that is large enough to accommodate whānau, most often discussion centred on the concept of the 'home place'. The 'home place' was considered to be much more than the house that participants reside in. Participants expressed strong connections to major local geographical features such as Mount Taranaki and Māori social structures and institutions (e.g. marae and hapū). As well, they indicated that their ties to the region are reinforced through the burial of ancestors and close whānau locally. Some participants expressed a sense of obligation to remain in Taranaki, to, for example, fulfil guardianship roles with regard to whānau land in order that it continue to provide an inalienable 'home place' for future generations. There was also an indication that a 'home place' could be developed through specific actions that strengthened cultural ties to a house and land and enabled control over that domain.

“...‘the home’...it’s actually part of us and not just a house...you bury the pito [umbilical stump] of your moko [grandchildren], it’s those sorts of things...you plant trees or we have things which are just more than a tree, they’re just more than a beautification...There is a purpose in amongst the tree that attracts the tui...There’s more meaning, there’s a purpose in things...” (Participant 11)

Overall, while housing is important for Māori in terms of meeting basic standards of living, there is also a more expansive view of housing that is encapsulated within the concept of ‘home place’. The ‘home place’ is less about the provision of physical shelter and comfort, and more about cultural links to a physical domain that reinforces cultural identity and a sense of security.

Transport

The desired outcome in the ‘Transport’ domain (Ministry of Social Development, 2007a, p. 12) is:

Older people have access to appropriate and affordable transport options to keep them mobile. As well as the ability to undertake the routine tasks of living, older people have the mobility to live stimulating, socially connected lives.

In assessing this outcome, the following indicators are used – licensed drivers and public transport use.

Access to transport provides an indication of access to services and facilities, as well as social integration (Ministry of Health and University of Otago, 2006). Māori are twice as likely as non-Māori to have no access to a car at home (5.9% versus 2.5%) (Ministry of Health & University of Otago, 2006). According to the Living Standards Survey (Krishnan, Jensen, & Ballantyne, 2000), over a third (35%) of older Māori have whānau provide transport for them and almost a fifth (19%) of older Māori couples have whānau provide transport.

A small number of participants specifically identified the importance of access to transport to facilitate mobility. However, many participants discussed the high priority accorded to social interaction and being actively engaged with Māori society, implying that access to appropriate and affordable transport is important. For example, Participant 3 discussed the benefits for both older Māori individuals and communities of older Māori being active within the community and regularly joining social activities.

“If we’re going to have a strong Māori community we’ve got to be coming together all the time or as often as we possibly can.” (Participant 3)

Living in the community

The desired outcome in the ‘Living in the community’ domain (Ministry of Social Development, 2007a, p. 12) is:

Older people feel safe and secure. They are able to make choices in later life about where to live and they received the support needed to do so.

In assessing this outcome, the following factors are emphasised – living at home, disability allowance, criminal victimisation, fear of crime, and trust in others.

There was no indication in discussions with older Māori participants that fears for their personal safety and security of possessions were priorities. Rather, responses indicated that maintaining control over the decision as to whether they would remain in their own homes, live with whānau or live in a rest home later in life was important. However, in terms of living in the community, the perspective expressed by participants was broad. Participants were most concerned about remaining in their ‘home place’, maintaining relationships and frequent contacts with whānau, and retaining a high level of social interaction within the community. These issues are categorised within the indicators framework in other domains and are therefore discussed elsewhere.

A central notion expressed in the whakataukī and whakatauākī was the importance of an older person being able to stay close to the ‘home place’, as opposed to fulfilling demands that would require distant excursions. Proverb 7 refers to the immortal renown of the warrior who grows old and passes away as an old man at home, denoted by the term ‘tarāwhare’. This infers that the ultimate way to pass away is at one’s own ‘home place’, and therefore perhaps on one’s own terms. This whakataukī therefore expresses a preference for ageing in place.

From a Māori viewpoint, it is apparent that the domain ‘living in community’ in its current form is narrow. A more consistent approach to the domain ‘living in community’ would explicitly acknowledge the relevance of the concept of ‘home place’, links to whānau, and social interactions within communities.

Māori cultural identity

The desired outcome in the 'Māori cultural identity' domain (Ministry of Social Development, 2007a, p. 12) is:

Older Māori people who identify with Māori culture participate and engage in te ao Māori (the Māori world). They enjoy sharing values and aspirations, support and the sense of security and belonging that cultural participation provides.

In assessing this outcome, the following indicators are used – Te Ao Māori and te reo Māori speakers. The 'Te Ao Māori' indicator refers to engagement with Te Ao Māori. According to the framework document, engagement with Te Ao Māori includes: "...identifying with Māori ethnicity; fluency with the Māori language; whānau interactions; ability to trace whakapapa; contact with marae; contact with other Māori; and holding financial interests in Māori land." These indicators are taken from the Living Standards of Older Māori study (Cunningham, et al., 2002).

The central importance of whānau to the lives of older people was striking in both the literature and interviews, and for this reason in discussing engagement of older Māori with Te Ao Māori, whānau level engagement is discussed separately below.

Engagement with whānau

Maintaining quality relationships with and spending time with whānau, and in particular with grandchildren, was identified in the interviews as a very high priority. Interviewee responses indicated that whānau cohesion is an active process that requires effort in order to maintain relationships, and older people have a role in facilitating whānau cohesion through provision of support in wide ranging ways.

The types of support provided by older people to whānau identified in the interviews and the literature include: leadership; role modelling; financial support; accommodation; care for grandchildren; guidance and encouragement with regard to education and other aspects of life; cultural support generally; and, the transmission of specific cultural knowledge (including genealogy, tikanga and te reo Māori, and skills specific to given whānau) and values. As whānau leaders, older Māori take on diverse roles. For example, as guardians of whānau land to provide an inalienable home place for future generations and in facilitating whānau events. Research participants indicated that a high value was placed on opportunities to actively participate in

whānau events. It is also noteworthy that participants aspired to support whānau even after their own death, through, for example, a legacy of financial resources, land, and/or more knowledgeable and informed children and grandchildren.

The importance of maintaining a balance between the needs of whānau and the needs of older people was also noted by participants. The relationship with whānau is not one way, and there is a reciprocal caring between older people and whānau. Many participants referred to the support and care they receive from whānau. This was consistent with findings from the Oranga Kaumātua study (Durie et al, 1997) demonstrating that whānau provide support that includes financial assistance, transport and care during illness. According to participants there is, however, less expectations on whānau to provide aged care than there was in the past.

Participants' comments indicated that the transmission of knowledge, values and skills permeates the relationship between older people and whānau, and strengthens whānau cohesion. This includes formal transmission activities, through for example setting aside specific time to teach younger whānau members customary knowledge and the detailed recording of whānau whakapapa that outline descent lines and connections to wider groups. As well, transmission happens often in informal settings through, for example, role modelling values such as speaking te reo to grandchildren and taking them on excursions to gather food from the natural environment. The categories of knowledge held by older whānau members may include specialist knowledge that is transmitted through deliberate processes, practical knowledge transmitted through activities such as food gathering, and informal whānau knowledge such as the nature of relationships between whānau members, including whāngai relationships, conveyed informally when whānau meet.

Responses indicated that older people harbour aspirations that their whānau will improve their situation, including strengthening cultural capital. Further, that older people derive a high degree of satisfaction and feel rewarded by the achievements of whānau.

“And what do they do for me? They help me get my dreams realised. That they will be able to take their place at the marae you know, and if they don't it won't be because I didn't do anything. It's because other things have happened...Like we have ten year goals...our family does. In realising your dream, even if I die the dream can still be realised...There's no reason why they still can't be realised.” (Participant 2)

Engagement with Te Ao Māori

According to the literature, the cultural strength of Te Ao Māori, and opportunities for the intergenerational transfer of cultural knowledge (in particular whakapapa and te reo Māori) rely upon the active participation of older Māori (Durie, 1999a). Analysis of whakataukī indicate the distinctive contributions older people are able to make. Proverbs 38 and 39 suggest older people may be able to provide advice based on their own lifetime learnings and their demonstrated capacity for endurance. In addition mature individuals have the propensity to lend a sense of continuity. The permanence offered is symbolised in these two whakataukī by the heartwood of a tree. Proverb 37 describes the reliability that, from a traditional Māori view, older people provide to the wider collective.

Participants placed high value on participation in and contribution to Māori communities, and it was apparent that their participation in communities strengthens cohesion.

“...rangatira is...not the ability to get, but to...give, that rangatira status. It’s what you’re giving to your whānau, what you’re giving to create the hapū.” (Participant 16)

Participants discussed the role of older Māori as cultural leaders. Cultural leadership can take many forms, and ranges from formal roles ‘round the front’ on marae, to complementary hospitality and other tasks ‘at the back’ on marae, to the informal transmission of cultural values through role modelling in Māori community settings. Individual participants identified a range of Māori organisations in which they continued to actively participate and take leadership roles including, marae, hapū and Māori community organisations including kaumātua groups. In these roles, older Māori provide a tangible connection between their whānau and wider Māori society.

In Māori contexts, older Māori are regularly expected to take on formal roles that involve, among other things, receiving and hosting visitors in appropriate ways and facilitating events that enhance and maintain the prestige of the collective. From a Māori worldview, these roles are critical in maintaining the integrity of the collective. The extent to which an individual older person feels comfortable in providing formal leadership is often a function of the degree of their cultural knowledge and skills. A common theme emerging from the interviews was dissatisfaction among a number of participants with their level of competence in te reo Māori, and the limitations that this placed on them in terms of a capacity to engage with Te Ao Māori. There was a clear desire among some participants to strengthen their cultural competence,

particularly in te reo Māori, through learning opportunities that are appropriate for older people and access to greater support when fulfilling cultural roles. Other comments indicated a desire to be able to participate in Māori institutions on the older person's own terms.

Participants made frequent reference to the importance of the physical environment, and to the sense of identity derived from local geographical features. They referred to their close links to the environment throughout life and environmental knowledge gained over a lifetime, and provided examples of the ways in which concerns for environmental protection were role modelled to younger whānau members. Participants' comments indicated involvement in both informal and formal activities related to environmental protection. These perspectives were consistent with evidence from whakatauki indicating the importance of the natural environment to Māori worldviews. The physical environment and various elements of nature such as trees, the sea, mountains, the sun and the moon feature in 28 of the 43 proverbs studied from *Ngā Pēpeha ā Ngā Tīpuna*. The strong influence of metaphors and imagery from nature reflects the ecoprocentric, or ecosystem centred, perspective that underpins a Māori worldview. Other worldviews, such as that envisioned by Descartes and Newton (see Chapter Two) are termed anthropocentric where humanity is considered the central reference point. Instead the reoccurring theme of nature and environmental features as metaphors illuminates the strong tendency of the Māori worldview towards nature and the clear connection between nature and humanity. From this perspective, it is not surprising that interview participants commented on their role in guardianship of natural resources, in particular Māori land; ensuring the retention of natural resources for future generations.

The Oranga Kaumātua study (Durie, MH, et al., 1997) identified that older Māori are the carriers of culture within their communities. Consistent with these findings, the participants demonstrated that older Māori play a critical role in transferring knowledge as well as reinforcing a Māori worldview and instilling Māori values in younger generations. The areas of knowledge discussed ranged from food gathering and localised environmental information to formal oratory and whakapapa. It was noted that most of the knowledge transmitted was not available within the formal education system. Further, fluency in te reo was not a pre-requisite for the transmission of Māori knowledge such as knowledge relating to local history or whakapapa.

With regard to whakapapa, while proverb 24 can be read as a comment on the loneliness resulting from a person outliving his/her peers, it also indicates that older people have had first hand relationships with those who have since passed away. That lived experience and first hand knowledge of individuals, whānau and other groups provides the narrative which enriches and contextualises genealogical knowledge. This experience is highly valuable in building and maintaining relationships with groups outside of those that are interacted with regularly. This perspective was supported by participant comments.

“I’ve been working with iwi now since what since 1989, 1990 our people, awe how satisfying it is to actually get to know the people and you get this connection, and when you get to know people that’s when relationships become closer and you’re able to say “Oh well he’s always like that but kei te pai”...As you get older you sort of get to...understand people more and it’s wonderful, I think it’s wonderful.” (Participant 4)

A concern for the maintenance of the integrity of knowledge was also noted. Participants reflected that if older people with specialised knowledge die before passing on expertise, there is a loss of culture and heritage.

“...it’s our duty as kaumātua...not to hold that knowledge in, but to give it out, to share. You hold it in then it dies with us and what might have made a change in someone’s life has been lost...” (Participant 9)

At the same time, mention was made of special categories of knowledge (in some instances relating to whakapapa) that are not to be shared freely.

The intergenerational transfer of experience, wealth and ethics is predicated on the assumption that older people have had a lifetime to accumulate and distil lessons from life. Younger members of society on the other hand lack experience. The contrast of experience of age and the relative rawness of youth is captured in proverbs 28 and 29. In these whakataukī the rising sun symbolises youth at the beginning of life. Conversely the setting sun represents advanced years, the benefit of reflection and hindsight, and the end phases of life.

Overall, it is clear that opportunities to engage with Te Ao Māori are fundamental to positive ageing as Māori. While the focus in this domain is on the individual, much could be gained by looking outwards to structural determinants in wider society that endorse Māori cultural identity. For example, the extent to which older Māori are able to freely express themselves as Māori in

New Zealand public domains and the degree to which the educational system and other systems support Māori over the lifespan, to develop and retain a secure cultural identity.

Access to facilities and services

The desired outcome in the ‘access to facilities and services’ domain (Ministry of Social Development, 2007a, p. 12) is:

Older people in both rural and urban areas receive the facilities and services they need to live confidently in the community. When accessing these facilities and services, older people are not disadvantaged by their geographic location.

In assessing this outcome, the following indicators are used – non-big city access to services, and internet access.

As reflected in the selected indicators, the main focus in this domain is access to facilities and services for older people living outside of the 12 biggest cities in New Zealand. From a Māori perspective, this approach misses a fundamental issue that there are ethnic disparities in access to services and facilities for Māori, including in urban and metropolitan areas. For example, there is evidence that Māori experience poor access to health care and a lower quality of clinical care than non-Māori (Cormack, D, Robson, B, Purdie, G, Ratima, M, & Brown, R, 2005; Rumball-Smith, 2009). This view was reinforced by informant comments. Participants indicated that access to facilities and services, including community facilities (e.g. supermarkets and post offices), health services and aged care services is important. Further, there are currently barriers to access which include difficulties in navigating health services, the attitude and cultural competence of professionals and the cultural appropriateness of aged care facilities.

Aged care was of particular concern to participants. According to participants, over time the expectation that whānau will provide care for older members has lessened and it is more acceptable for older whānau members to live in aged care facilities. Participants indicated that this approach is considered reasonable, particularly where whānau are not able to provide the required level of care. As well, responses indicated that maintaining control over the decision as to whether they would live in a rest home later in life was important. Some participants were reluctant to live in a rest home, while others saw rest homes as a viable and positive alternative.

Some informants expressed a preference to live in a rest home later in life rather than ‘burden’ family.

Participants expressed a high level of interest in broadening aged care options so that culturally appropriate rest homes are available for Māori. A view was expressed that facilities should be staffed by those who have an understanding of the lived realities of older Māori, and therefore have the capacity to empathise with and address the lifestyle preferences of older Māori. It was suggested that parallel Māori training systems be developed to better ensure that Māori health professionals retained Māori values.

“...it would be absolutely wonderful, even now...we can start planning for a Māori run rest home where patients aren’t looked after by the clock...It would be run kaupapa Māori...What’s so hard about treating people with...aroha, manaaki?...you would still need the professionals, but...they would have to go through the training...but please don’t be brain washed whilst you are going through your training and come out the other end and forget all about the things that are good in Māoridom like awhi, manaaki, aroha and all that...start thinking about Māori training systems you can run in parallel to the tauiwi, but do it our own way.” (Participant 13)

The domain ‘access to facilities and services’ is of high relevance to Māori when it is considered in a broad sense, and emphasises cultural competence and cultural appropriateness, in order that older Māori have the same opportunities as other New Zealanders to benefit from facilities and services.

Attitudes

The desired outcome in the ‘Attitudes’ domain (Ministry of Social Development, 2007a, p. 13) is:

New Zealanders have positive attitudes towards ageing and older people. Ageing is viewed as a positive experience by older people themselves, and others value and respect older people and encourage their contributions.

In assessing this outcome, the following indicators are used – life satisfaction, physical activity, and perceived age discrimination.

The terms used in the Māori language to denote older Māori often imply a high status as an older person, and the expectation that an individual will be equipped in terms of experience and cultural knowledge to fulfil Māori elder roles (Durie, MH, et al., 1997). The view that Māori

society highly values older people is evidenced by the number of whakataukī about agedness in the Mead and Grove (2003) volume. There are several examples of whakataukī which specifically allude to positive attitudes towards older people. The transformation that occurs through ageing is noted in the saying, “Rākau papa pangā ka hei ki te marae...A weapon discarded can be an ornament on the marae” (proverb 12). Here the changing roles and value of people who have aged is celebrated. Whakataukī 14 commented on the concern of Te Winirehe of the Tūhoe people when he found that he had to balance his responsibility for meeting the nutritional requirements of older members of his community with providing adequate hospitality for visitors to his area (within Māori society, the provision of hospitality to visiting parties is considered of the utmost priority). Proverb 16 makes specific mention of the need for younger people to be sensitive to and respectful of the feelings of older people by not making comment on physical ailments that may accompany progressing years.

According to the literature, and consistent with interview participants’ comments, achieving the status of an elder is more about role and function than simply about an individual’s age and relies upon recognition from communities (Durie, MH, et al., 1997). Participants’ comments indicated the importance of acknowledging and valuing the knowledge, skills and contributions of older Māori to Te Ao Māori. However, the extent to which the idealised view of older Māori as elders who are repositories of knowledge reflects the typical experience of older Māori people is unclear given increasing evidence of the cultural diversity within Māori communities and among older Māori (Cunningham, et al., 2002; Kukutai, 2006).

Many participants referred to the importance of maintaining a positive attitude towards ageing, and generally participants themselves demonstrated a positive disposition and attitude. Comments indicated that there was a high level of acceptance of the physical and other limitations of old age, and that participants had adapted their lifestyles to accommodate changes and a slower pace of life. Further, changes made in older age were not necessarily considered negatively and some were identified as positive.

“...when one gets to an age and one is able to deal with all the stuff that has gone on in the past and when you’ve dealt with that, you become really comfortable in your skin and there’s a certain freedom to that...” (Participant 13)

A number of participants expressed the view that despite chronological age, they did not consider themselves to be 'old' with regard to the limitations that the term might imply; within themselves they felt 'young'.

“I might look seventy but I feel twenty...Well, age has nothing to do with how a person is or feels...” (Participant 1)

Participant comments noted that perceptions and the experience of old age in modern times are distinct from what was experienced by their parents or grandparents. That is, previous generations had experienced a much more physically demanding life and poorer access to health care, which resulted in greater physical limitations in old age and a shorter life expectancy.

Generally, a Māori perspective positions ageing as a positive life course transition and there is recognition of the high value and contribution of older people to Māori society. There is also evidence that older Māori themselves overall have a positive attitude towards ageing. However, the extent to which these views are reflective of the ageing experience of the diversity of Māori is unclear.

Employment

The desired outcome in the 'Employment' domain (Ministry of Social Development, 2007a, p. 13) is:

Older people have access to meaningful and rewarding employment. Older people are provided with incentives and flexible work options to encourage them to remain in the workforce longer.

In assessing this outcome, the following indicators are used – paid employment and average hourly earnings.

Employment and occupational status are closely linked to income level and standard of living, and are determinants of health and wellbeing. The occupational and employment profile for Māori differs from that of non-Māori. Māori have substantially higher unemployment rates than non-Māori and are over-represented in lower skilled occupational categories (Department of Labour, 2005). Given the reality of high levels of unemployment and low occupational status, it is not surprising that only one participant interviewed referred directly to the importance of paid

employment in older age in terms of both providing stimulation and enabling ongoing financial independence.

“I really want to keep working until I’m unable to...and people get on my back about this, that I should be retiring...I don’t know what they think I should be doing...I’d be bored if I had to stay home and not do anything...I couldn’t, not earning...where am I gonna get my money...for me to go to housie and to go drive around in my car...buy petrol and food...” (Participant 18)

Expressed another way, if older Māori have been less likely to experience meaningful and rewarding employment opportunities throughout life they may have low expectations of these types of employment opportunities in their old age. For many, employment opportunities of this nature may be outside of their lived realities.

Two of the whakataukī canvassed for the current study touched upon what, in contemporary times, could be equated to employment. Whakataukī 36 expressed the relative advantage of youth over older age in terms of physical prowess. Two other whakataukī (38 and 39) focussed on age-related complementarity in roles and recounted the designation of roles (jobs) within warfare according to age. These whakataukī emphasise that age and experience can complement physical strength and dexterity. Similarly, proverb 12 inferred that refined aptitude developed over time may more than compensate for any loss of physical strength through advancing years. Other references to occupation made in proverbs 6 and 7, reflected on outcomes in later life resulting from chosen occupational paths across the lifespan.

In the context of disparities in employment and occupational status, concerns about employment issues in older age are distinct for Māori relative to the general population. In order to best ensure that older Māori have equitable access to meaningful and rewarding employment opportunities, strategies will be required across the lifespan that have a particular focus on education and workforce development. This is not a domain that is adequately addressed for older Māori, either before or after they have aged.

Opportunities

The desired outcome in the ‘Opportunities’ domain (Ministry of Social Development, 2007a, p. 13) is:

Older people live rich, fulfilling lives with plentiful opportunities for personal development and participation in the community in the ways that they choose.

In assessing this outcome, the following indicators are used – formal voluntary work, loneliness, participation in education, community inclusion, participation in cultural and arts activities.

The importance of maintaining interests, being active and fully engaging in life was emphasised by research participants.

“...life is for the living and it doesn’t really matter what I do in life I will do it to the very best that I can and nine times out of ten I like new things...” (Participant 6)

Participants referred to a range of activities that they engaged in and the tangible contribution these activities made to their quality of life. Some comments indicated that inactivity in itself is de-energising. Further, a proactive approach is required in retirement in order to live life to the full and enjoy a satisfying old age.

“Āe, te kore hoki au e noho ko te mātakitaki au i te pouaka. Nāwai kei te haere mai a Ngāti Ngēngē. Nā, kua hiamoe noa iho mō te kore take noa iho. Nā ko te mahi i o ringaringa ana, kua ora to wairua, nē kei te mahi tonu, te kore kua haere mai a Ngāti Hiamoe, kua haere mai a Ngāti Ngēngē, a Ngāti Māngere...ēra mea katoa...”

Yes. I just can't sit and watch TV. Soon Ngāti Tired comes along. And one becomes sleepy over nothing. So keeping one's hands busy keeps one's spirits up, keeping busy keeps Ngāti Drowsy away, followed by Ngāti Tired, Ngāti Lazy...the whole lot of them. [Translation] (Participant 17)

Some participants expressed the importance of lifelong learning, and described formal and informal learning opportunities that they continued to enjoy. The high value attributed to strengthening Māori cultural competencies, such as te reo Māori and tikanga Māori, was emphasised by many participants.

The ‘opportunities’ domain gives some emphasis in the associated indicators to participation in formal voluntary work. From a Māori perspective, the concept of volunteerism is not conceptualised in the same way as in Western society (Office for the Community and Voluntary Sector, 2007). Work carried out on an unpaid basis within Māori society (such as on marae or for Māori community organisations) is not considered volunteer work by Māori. Rather, these types of activities are an everyday part of life and are consistent with whānau and Māori

community responsibilities and expectations. As an example, related by one of the research participants, older Māori may be expected to support tangi [Māori funeral ceremonies] by being present at the events for a number of days. While they may take on formal roles and their participation in tangi may be demanding, their presence and activities enhance the status of the event and strengthen the community. However, within a Western worldview these activities are not considered to be formal voluntary work, whereas, working at a charity shop for two hours a month would meet the criteria for formal voluntary work. Additional indicators may be required that better capture the high level of unpaid work contributions made by older Māori to communities.

Many participants gave high priority to ongoing opportunities for engagement with communities, including spending time with like-minded people and enjoying companionship. According to some participants, social interaction and participation in community affairs provides not only benefits for the individual but is also a mechanism to strengthen community cohesion. Many participants expressed the importance of engagement with Māori society. Further, their responses demonstrated a high level of involvement in Māori society in formal and informal roles.

One of the indicators selected for the opportunities domain is 'loneliness'. The potential for older people to experience unwelcomed solitude is not exclusive to contemporary times. Proverb 24 was taken from the classic waiata mōteatea '*E pā to hau*'. The specific situation referred to is experienced in old age when all of one's contemporaries have passed away. In contrast proverb 13, "Kai Hawaiki noa atu au e noho ana... I am sitting far away in Hawaiki" notes the benefits of solitude which allows older people space and time for personal reflection and contemplation. In addition to the complementarity of older people working alongside younger people, proverbs 38 and 39 highlight the inclusion of older people, and their inherent skills, in the activities of the wider collective.

Older Māori desire to lead rich, fulfilling lives with opportunities for personal development and community participation. However, how older Māori define rich and fulfilling lives, the types of personal development opportunities they pursue, and the level and form of community engagement are distinctive.

Engagement with Te Ao Whānui

Many of the Indicators Framework domains discussed above are referred to in the Māori development literature (Durie, 1999a) as measures to gauge the participation of older Māori in Te Ao Whānui (e.g. income, health, housing, employment and transport). Kukutai's (2006) model to conceptualise the wellbeing of older Māori emphasises balance between participation and achievement in Te Ao Māori (including whānau) and Te Ao Whānui. The model recognises that older Māori are simultaneously operating in both worlds, and the extent and quality of their engagement in each directly impacts upon wellbeing. Findings from this study align with Kukutai's approach to the extent that there is evidence of simultaneous engagement by older Māori in Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Whānui. However, research participants indicated that the degree to which older Māori move with ease between both worlds is largely a function of the level of their Māori cultural competence and degree of satisfaction with their competency.

While the level of engagement of participants in Te Ao Whānui was not measured, it was apparent from the recounting of life experiences that all participants were engaged with Te Ao Whānui. This was reflected in, for example, training and educational activities, work experiences, religious affiliations, leisure and recreation activities and use of facilities and services throughout life.

Participants indicated that earlier in their lives, the transition from Taranaki Māori communities to living in urban areas within Te Ao Whānui had been difficult. However, many had proactively sought out the companionship of other Māori, and maintained Māori cultural values and practices within new contexts. Therefore, they were able to maintain some familiar dimensions of their lives that were based on Māori knowledge and tikanga Māori as a source of strength.

Participants' comments also indicated that older Māori in leadership roles within Te Ao Māori are expected to demonstrate competence when dealing with organisations both within Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Whānui. Further, this required a broader range of skills than was expected of previous generations of older leaders. Some participants identified leadership roles held in Te Ao Whānui. In terms of initiating and maintaining relationships with groups from wider society, especially officials and dignitaries, a sure-handed manner is required. The saying, "He tira kaumātua, tēnā te hāere nā...A travelling party of elders travels yonder" (proverb 40) pertains to anything slow and sure. Likewise, proverb 41 "Ka haere te mātātahi, ka noho te mātāpuputu"

translates as “Youth rushes in where age deliberates.” Both of these whakataukī stress the ability of older people to not only act with decorum but also to be unflustered by challenging situations and approach complex problems calmly and with due consideration.

Limitations of a ‘universal’ approach

While the analytical framework enabled an interrogation of the data centred around key known factors of relevance to positive ageing, it also enabled the identification of additional factors that are either Māori specific or fall outside the New Zealand national approach to positive ageing. Many of the Māori specific factors are discussed above, as an extension of the desired outcomes of individual Indicators Framework domains. Additional considerations that have been identified relate to expectations and demands placed on older Māori, the extent of control older Māori are able to exercise over the ageing process, and a lifecourse perspective.

Expectations and demands

While the Māori population overall is youthful compared to the New Zealand general population, Māori still have an ageing population structure. Therefore, the proportion of Māori who are aged 65 years and over is growing. Despite these changes, older Māori still make up a relatively small proportion of the Māori population. By 2021 Statistics New Zealand population projections estimate that the group of older Māori (those aged 65 years and over) will increase to seven percent of the Māori population (Statistics New Zealand, 2006a).

Older Māori are the carriers of culture within their communities, and therefore Māori communities rely upon the active participation of small numbers of older Māori in order to maintain their cultural integrity. For those older Māori who have cultural knowledge and competencies, such as fluency in te reo Māori, the literature indicates they are subject to community responsibilities that are often burdensome (Durie, MH, et al., 1997). This is consistent with the experiences of research participants who indicated that there are small numbers of older Māori who have the cultural competencies and inclination to fulfil Māori community elder roles, which means that those who are actively engaged with Te Ao Māori experience high levels of expectations and demands that may be difficult to avoid. There are also expectations and obligations at the whānau level.

“...the expectations are high...I’m...teaching rongoā [traditional Māori healing]...it’s almost expecting me to be a guru to provide what the doctors cannot provide...You’re expected to [take on formal roles in Māori contexts]. If you’ve got white hair, you’re expected to get up there whether you want to or not...I don’t mind with a karanga [ceremonial calling], but I’m not as well versed in all the...ancient waiata [song]...” (Participant 15)

According to the literature, in retirement the roles of some older Māori may expand in contrast to what may be experienced by older non-Māori as they move out of the paid workforce (Durie, 1999a), (Maaka, 1993). Some study participants distinguished between the level of demand placed on older Māori compared to older non-Māori.

“Pākehās don’t go to tangi in a sense like we do. They don’t go to meetings that last all day. At their age they don’t go to meetings but what the Pākehās do do is they go out to enjoy themselves even though it might be for an hour or two then go back and have a rest, whereas we go for day and night, two days, three days and the old people are expected to sit there and the koros [older men] are expected to sit up the front, not for one hour, three, four, twelve hours or more, irrespective of the weather conditions and the kuias [older women] are expected to sit there alongside them too.” (Participant 5)

Participants noted the personal costs for older people and their families of a high level of engagement with Te Ao Māori. This includes negative health impacts, financial implications and time apart from families.

Self-determination

Self-determination is a key concept in the Māori development literature, primarily at the level of Māori collectives (Cox, 1993). At the level of the individual Marmot (2004), in interpreting the evidence, concluded that the control an individual has over one’s life circumstances alongside full social participation, is fundamental to wellbeing. Informants expressed a desire for self-determination in a variety of spheres. That is, to be able to age on their own terms, through, for example, maintaining control over their living arrangements, recreational activities, financial circumstances, personal privacy, and engagement with Te Ao Māori. A view was expressed that ageing for older Māori should not be measured against the standards of non-Māori, and that older Māori should have the opportunity to determine their own priorities and what it is that constitutes a positive old age for Māori.

“...I would hold more hope I suppose...in the ageing process being a positive process if...we as a society of Māori do something about it as opposed to any other sector in our society...we use the present terminology...called equality...that’s only measuring it up against someone else. It doesn’t allow us to be ourselves and attain excellence. It mutes us...I’d just like to think that wherever and whatever I do will be my choice and I don’t want to be forced into this thing here, because I’ll always come second...asserting my tino rangatiratanga...” (Participant 11)

Life course perspectives

There is substantial evidence in the literature that supports a lifecourse perspective of ageing (Bengtson, et al., 2005; O’Rand, 2002; Schulz, 2006; Singer & Ryff, 2001). Data generated in this study indicates the relevance of a lifecourse perspective to Māori ageing. Relevant data discussed below relates to: the differential experiences of older Māori relative to older and younger generations; ageing as a process and the experiences of older Māori over their lifespan; and, measures taken by informants during their lives to improve their position or respond to adverse circumstances.

Differences in experiences of today’s older Māori relative to older and younger generations

The concept of cohort is fundamental to lifecourse. That is, that different birth cohorts experience varied historical conditions that shape their experiences over lifetimes (Settersten, 2003). Consistent with this concept, research participants discussed the key ways in which their experiences have been different to that of their own elders and are different to those of their grandchildren.

The identified differences between experiences of informants and their elders relate mainly to perceptions of ageing, work, social interaction, health, access to the natural environment and leadership.

Participants’ comments indicated that in the past older people continued to fulfil a number of the roles in the community they had held in middle age and continued to contribute. In many respects, this was a matter of survival and older Māori needed to carry out work until they were physically unable to do so. This included both men and women, though at that time the roles of older women were far less diversified so women tended not to be in the paid workforce but rather worked as homemakers (this included caring for young whānau members and food gathering and cultivation). Therefore, there was less emphasis on diminishing capacity and

transition into a slower paced phase of life in the way they viewed ageing. Older people remained well integrated into the community and caring for older people in informal and practical ways was a normal part of life.

“The older people that I was influenced by never stopped working, and that was this concept of age...from my recollection, this didn’t mean anything to them...they just continued to...carry on whatever that role was. They certainly didn’t go into rest homes, they certainly weren’t institutionalised, they just remained part of the community...”
(Participant 11)

The working life tended to be extremely physically demanding which had implications for both health in old age and life expectancy. According to participants, in the past when older people were ill they did not speak openly or complain about their condition and resigned themselves to poor health. Whereas, today there are many initiatives focusing on the health of older people and older people themselves are more open and proactive in terms of prevention and self-management of conditions.

As a result of changing lifestyles and health care practices, the onset of physical and other limitations associated with old age tend now to begin later for the current generation of older people. Therefore, today’s older people often do not consider themselves to be ‘old’ until a much later chronological age.

In the past there was, however, free access to the natural environment and plentiful opportunities to grow and gather food which contrasts with the experience of older Māori today. While participants had access to food gathered and collected from the environment when they were younger, as older people these types of healthy foods are often no longer readily available to them. While this is due to changes in access to the natural environment, it is also a reflection of social change and increased individualism (and therefore less redistribution of resources within communities).

Previously, elders were raised within Māori contexts and acquired Māori competencies through everyday life experience that enabled them to fulfil essential customary roles in Te Ao Māori. Among the current generation of older Māori, due to the impacts of colonisation, not all older Māori have the range of cultural competencies. The extent to which they are able to freely engage with Te Ao Māori is, therefore, often limited.

The identified differences between experiences of informants and their grandchildren relate to the extent of interaction with elders, access to education, access to natural resources, values and approaches to life, use of technology, impacts of social and economic change, and erosion of cultural knowledge and skills.

According to participants, due to increased life expectancy and changing social norms, younger people have greater opportunities for interaction with their elders. In contemporary times, there are also increased educational opportunities. However, there is decreased access to natural resources, including food sources.

One participant, through metaphor, captured the distinctiveness of the approaches to life characteristic of older Māori and younger Māori. That is, older people are part of a generation who approach life in a slow and thoughtful manner, whereas the younger generations are 'smart' and fast paced seeking to minimise time usage in their undertakings.

“...when we were kids, Mum didn't have a stove. We used to have a pot on the fire, so she would start cooking really early, now oh gee, tea time, 3 minutes or twenty minutes and the tea's cooked, you know, because you do it in the microwave...the way we think now, too. And so everything is about time.

Old people need time because they have that crock-pot mentality...they think about things, they're experienced things. You see this generation...they are going to be faster paced kids...if you look at in our society now, the stunts they are doing are more daring...it's all about I have to live now because time's ticking by.” (Participant 14)

Comments indicated the perception that the fast paced approach to life, urbanisation and a broader range of experiences and access to technology come at a cost. That is, the younger generation are subject to increased social adversities resulting from social change such as changing family configurations with increasing sole parent families, both parents in the workforce, overly permissive parenting, access to alcohol and drugs and high unemployment. It is perceived that youth are less physically active; expect instant gratification; have less imagination, initiative and motivation; are under a greater degree of pressure; and, experience a loss of culture and social values.

Ageing as a process

Evidence from whakataukī

Analysis of 42 proverbial sayings identified 12 of relevance to ageing as a process. For example, proverb 11 comments on the gradual nature of ageing. Amongst the day to day happenings of life, ageing may not be noticeable. But when considered in the wider scope of the lifetime, the onset of old age is more discernable.

The ramifications of the choice of occupation on a person's life outcomes are alluded to in whakataukī six and seven. In proverb six the sentiment conveyed is that unsafe occupations may cause the death of the individual, whereas the person who undertakes less hazardous work will live long and die naturally. Proverb seven more specifically comments that the success or failure achieved during life will affect one's legacy.

Proverb 12 which uses the metaphor of a weapon being transformed into an ornament is a comment on positive transformations. When considering the lifecourse a person may be able to fundamentally transform his or her lifecourse trajectory by actively making changes to lifestyle.

The irreversible nature of ageing is captured in the saying, "He pakaru ā waka e taea te raupine mai", which is translated to "The damages of a canoe can be repaired". This statement implies that while broken belongings may be able to be restored, human ageing and eventual death can not be reversed.

The whakataukī recognise that the lifecourse evolves over time, and that transitions and turning points influence life trajectories.

Experiences over the lifespan

Participants reflected on their rich experiences in childhood, young adulthood and middle age. These experiences illuminate the interdependent nature of the lives of informants, transitions over time in various spheres of life, and, many of the forces that have impacted throughout the lives of participants and have shaped their circumstances in old age.

During childhood, it was apparent that life centred around access to the natural environment, and participants commonly referred to their interrelationship with the environment as a central

part of their experience of growing up. Further, that human activities were integrated within the physical environment for work, recreation, and socialising.

Food gathering and cultivation provided access to a diverse range of food including fruit, vegetables, meat, seafood and freshwater foods such as eels. Generally, through hard work, food security was assured. As children, participants spent much of their time in the natural environment engaged in cultivation or food gathering activities that were a necessary contribution to meeting the nutritional needs of whānau and communities. Food gathering and cultivation was a communal activity for the benefit of communities, and redistribution of food was commonplace in ensuring that all members of the community had their needs met. Whānau communal food gathering reinforced the value and importance of family structures.

“...we were always at the beach...because that was where our food used to come from...pauas and kinas and crayfish...we all were [there], the whole family...I think probably it was one of the amazing values that we had, like the value system was family, so everyone had to work, everyone had to put their bit in...” (Participant 14)

Some participants expressed regret at the environmental degradation of their former food gathering sites caused by human activities.

Participants tended to be part of large families, that included whangai, with low levels of material wealth and very basic living conditions. Overcrowding was commonplace, and some informants lived without running water or power. For some families, children were expected to contribute to household incomes which necessitated leaving school at an early age. There were wide gaps between their socio-economic position and opportunities and those of non-Māori. There was a strong sense of community, which was not surprising given the level of interdependence, particularly in relation to food gathering and cultivation, and participants recounted many examples of positive community interactions. While most community interactions were with other Māori, some participants recounted positive community interactions with non-Māori families. The lifestyle of the time engendered in that generation a strong work ethic, manaakitanga (the importance of caring for others), and the sense that children were valued.

Participants recounted poor educational opportunities in early life and overt and institutional racism, including proactive assimilatory measures, within school systems. Assimilation was, for some, reinforced at home with parents actively encouraging children to speak English in order to

enhance their integration into Pākehā society as a means to improve educational and life opportunities. Responses indicated an awareness of the impacts of institutional racism in schools on future life opportunities, including tertiary education. Some participants had firsthand experience of other forms of extreme racism (such as racial segregation) or heard from parents and grandparents of their direct experiences of land confiscations and warfare. Early experiences of racism were common, and these memories stayed with informants throughout their lives.

“In those times they [kuia] were not allowed into the lounge bars...we all used to...meet outside the National Bank by the street, they had seats there and we used to sit around the gutter in the corner...I remember back then they were not allowed in the bars...they were not allowed to use their public toilets and that’s why...Tahu Potiki [Māori community centre] was built. Because there was a place that didn’t need to sit on the streets and...they had a place for a toilet...Mum became very active in those times too and they protested...I remember all that...” (Participant 16)

As children, some participants experienced urbanisation which was actively encouraged by kaumātua as a means to improve educational and employment opportunities for families through integration into Pākehā society. They described the ways in which, despite moving to city environments and experiencing a loss of freedom in terms of access to the natural environment, they sought out opportunities to connect with the environment. There were also costs identified in terms of fear and loss of security, more limited opportunities to be with other Māori and the challenge to succeed within Pākehā educational systems.

For many participants, there were indications that whānau had a strong influence on life direction, such as participation in education and decisions to move to urban centres in young adulthood. For many participants, urbanisation in young adulthood had been a major and difficult life transition. Generally, they made the transition to improve their life chances and often for training or educational opportunities. The move brought abrupt change in many aspects of their lives, and required a high degree of adaptability. Participants referred to the disconnection from the physical environment, the experience of entering a cash economy, and the change from acting communally to an individualised way of living. Challenges included a loss of security and sense of being cared for by the community, a feeling of not being able to relate to others, isolation from other Māori, a sense of personal insignificance, experiences of racism and practical changes in day to day life.

“...they [the whānau] put me on this train, this little girl from South Taranaki...I went off to Wellington...Wellington station...there were nine platforms and the stations were full of people. God, I've never felt so small in all my life...I can remember the first morning and we got to the corner in Willis Street and I just stood there and I was looking up at all these high buildings around me and I'd never felt so insignificant in all my life.” (Participant 13)

Many of those who moved to cities specifically sought out the companionship of other Māori, and were able through these networks to adopt some of their former practices in a new environment.

Of those who had moved to urban areas, some returned to Taranaki in their early or middle adulthood for a variety of reasons. While for some the return was an easy transition, others struggled to adapt to a lowered standard of living and a less socially active environment. However, participants gave examples of dances and sport as enjoyable local social activities.

Some informants referred directly to the impacts of measures taken earlier in life that have influenced their experience of old age. These measures often related to a desire to improve their situation in life for the betterment of their children. Examples included: the values instilled in children impacts on how children care for them in later life; the link between a healthy lifestyle throughout life and future health and life expectancy; the cost of investing financially in children may mean a lack of financial security for parents in later life; and, contributions to communities may be at the expense of families in terms of the time commitment required. Some participants identified proactive measures they had taken during life to improve their situation, such as engagement in education and self-improvement (including te reo Māori and tikanga Māori), career advancement measures, proactive parenting (e.g. relocating to other areas to benefit children, positive role modelling and instilling good life habits, ambition and Māori values in children).

Other participants referred to positive measures they had taken when faced with adversity, such as ending a restrictive marriage, adopting religion, dealing with racism or prejudice directly, quitting smoking, and seeking employment. Some others identified reactive measures taken in the face of adversity, such as quitting smoking after it had caused ill health, and avoiding Māori contexts or limiting participation in Māori contexts (e.g. through delegation or maintaining a physical distance from areas where certain cultural roles are being fulfilled) due to a lack of

cultural competencies. Some participants referred to actions they had taken which aggravated their circumstances, such as avoiding learning te reo and tikanga Māori, avoiding taking medications which had then led to serious health problems, and avoiding driving which had resulted in a higher level of dependence.

Summary

Older Māori live at the interface between Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Whānui. It is, therefore, not surprising that universal outcome domains, such as employment, health and housing, which reflect participation in Te Ao Whānui are of high relevance to Māori. Further, there are many consistencies with a Western scientific view of positive ageing as expressed in the literature and public policy. However, analysis carried out here indicates that the meaning which Māori attribute to each of the 'universal' domains may be broader than for non-Māori reflective of a different worldview and concept of ageing. In addition, a number of distinctive factors related to ageing for Māori have been identified that are not taken into account in New Zealand public policy approaches to positive ageing, and in some instances conventional gerontological approaches. These factors are concerned mainly with the expectations and demands placed on older Māori, the importance of self-determination, and life course perspectives in the context of ethnic inequalities.

Chapter Ten

MĀORI POSITIVE AGEING

Introduction

In recent years there has been increased interest and work regarding the concept of positive ageing. This is largely a function of ageing population structures in countries around the world, and the implications of dramatically increasing numbers of older people. However, little attention has been given to Māori and other Indigenous peoples' conceptualisations of ageing, and the distinctive issues faced by these groups as they age. This Study has specifically addressed positive ageing among Māori, drawing on both Western science and mātauranga Māori perspectives. It has produced an approach to positive ageing that not only draws on the traditions of Western science but also has as its start point Māori people, and therefore also focuses on Māori perspectives and values.

Exploring positive ageing at the interface

Research at the interface enables the relocation of inherent philosophical tensions between knowledge systems to be addressed at the methodological level. Data from three main sources were used for this Study. Literature was reviewed from academic journals, books and public policy reports, this material being considered as emanating from the Western scientific side of the interface. Forty two whakataukī or Māori proverbs were analysed to provide a mātauranga Māori inspired understanding of old age. A qualitative study of twenty older Māori people resident in the Taranaki region drew on both Western science and mātauranga Māori and generated new knowledge consistent with both.

The identification of the literature review as a source emanating from Western science makes explicit the taken for granted qualities of this knowledge, which so often become invisible in the academy. In the same way the analysis of whakataukī at the mātauranga Māori side of the interface acknowledges the cultural assumptions that are intrinsic with such knowledge. Neither source is seen as inferior or superior to the other. The legitimacy of both within the context of

disciplined inquiry is accepted. The dual foundations of the qualitative study undertaken in the research demonstrates the possibility of co-existence of Western science and mātauranga Māori within one research activity. The approach reflects the reality Māori and Indigenous peoples world-wide face, that is, the simultaneous existence in two worlds. Together the three complementary data sources allow a rich and multi-perspective understanding of Māori positive ageing.

Māori development and Māori positive ageing

While the Māori population is youthful in comparison to the general population, Māori have an ageing population structure. The population of older Māori is growing both in numerical terms and as a proportion of the Māori population (Pool, 2003; Statistics New Zealand, 2006b, 2007a). According to the literature, whakataukī and qualitative study older Māori are held in high regard within Te Ao Māori. This is largely a function of the expectation that they will be equipped culturally to fulfil customary roles in Te Ao Māori and that relatively few people have these requisite skills and knowledge. However, given the diverse realities of older Māori the extent to which this idealised view holds true is unclear. Regardless, in the context of growing numbers and proportions of older Māori and the critical roles of older Māori in Te Ao Māori, the concept of positive ageing has high relevance to Māori development.

Māori positive ageing may be positioned as part of a wider Māori development movement. Māori development has evolved over many years, and could be considered as a Māori driven process to achieve self-determination and social, economic, political and cultural advancement on Māori terms (Durie, 1998a). Likewise, findings from this Study indicate that Māori positive ageing is also concerned with older Māori ageing on their own terms, having control over their life circumstances, enjoying a high level of social engagement and being economically and culturally secure. Further, many of the concerns at the heart of Māori development efforts are also likely to impact on Māori ageing. This includes the centrality of Māori worldviews, strengthening cultural integrity, addressing ethnic inequalities, the importance of environmental protection, and the capacity to adapt to change.

At another level, today's older Māori have lived through various phases of Māori development that have included periods of rapid and dramatic change. Changes experienced in the lifetime of

participants included urbanisation, cultural erosion and revitalisation, a re-emergence of new forms of Māori leadership and authority, major technological advancements and environmental degradation. These transitions have impacted on older Māori people's experience of old age. It follows then that understanding such trends will lead to a more informed perspective on the current circumstances of older Māori.

Gerontology and Māori positive ageing

Growing recognition of the impacts of ageing populations around the world has motivated increased interest in and development of gerontological thinking. Conceptual development has, to some extent, been influenced by the need for societies to economically support the growing older population, and therefore encourage extended participation in the workforce, independent living, and improved health status. More recent concepts of ageing have moved away from a historical approach that essentially located old age as a disease state and problematic (Bengtson, Rice & Johnson, 1999), to more strengths-based approaches which focus on life transitions that involve the retention of capacity and ongoing engagement with and contribution to society.

Strengths based approaches are consistent with Māori views of ageing as a positive phase of life, as expressed in the literature, whakataukī and interviews. Key gerontological schools of thought, such as critical and lifecourse perspectives, resonate with the findings of this research. That is, that issues of power, control and social justice are a focus of Māori positive ageing, and that there are forces that act across the lifespan that shape the experience of old age.

In the New Zealand context, particularly within the public sector landscape, the concept of positive ageing has epitomised the strengths based approach and provided the framework for public policy for older people. The positive ageing construct is not clearly articulated in the literature with a large degree of overlap with related concepts such as successful ageing, healthy ageing and active ageing. The concepts underpinning positive ageing are health, productivity, active ageing, and quality of life. Positive ageing has been criticised for being Western-centric, emphasising Western values of independence, productivity and personal decision-making. These values do, however, resonate to some extent with the findings of this research. That is, the value of both independence and interdependence was identified, the contributions of older people

were acknowledged, and the importance of older people maintaining a degree of personal control over their circumstances and decision-making was also apparent.

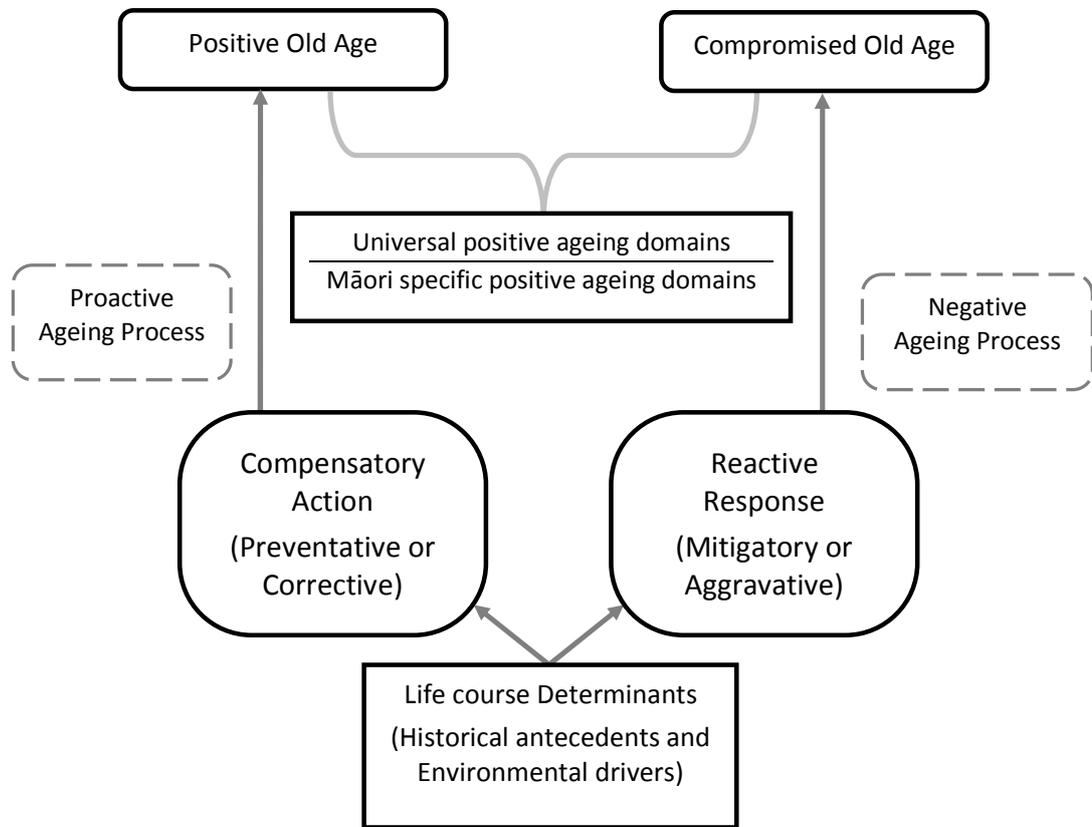
The characteristics of Māori positive ageing

Māori positive ageing can be characterised as a two dimensional concept. The process dimension, proactive ageing, is consistent with a lifecourse perspective. The outcome dimension, positive old age, can be described in terms of complementary ‘universal’ and Māori specific outcome domains. It should be noted, however, that while all Māori have the potential to achieve a positive old age this outcome will not be experienced by all. Instead, ageing outcomes are best understood across a continuum, with positive old age towards one end and a compromised old age towards the other.

Māori positive ageing – a lifecourse perspective

Māori positive ageing depends on a life-long process that begins early in life and proceeds through until the end phase of life. Therefore, Māori positive ageing occurs across the lifespan and is best understood from a lifecourse perspective. This notion is well accepted within the ageing literature and was reflected in participants’ life experiences. Figure 6 provides a simplified representation of Māori positive ageing from a lifecourse perspective.

Figure 6 Māori positive ageing from a lifecourse perspective



There are wide-ranging factors, beyond the individual, which shape the ageing process. Ageing happens within the context of historical antecedents and environmental drivers. Historical antecedents are factors located in the past, prior to the lifetime of the individual, that continue to impact upon the lives of people today. The most striking example for Māori is colonisation. The process of colonisation is framed in popular discussion as a time bound event located in the distant past. Rather, colonisation is an ongoing process that continues to impact to the present day on the lives of Māori through the perpetuation of historical injustices (Reid & Robson, 2007). An obvious example is continuation of the West Coast Māori Reserve Lands regime. In 2009 approximately 18,000 hectares of land in Taranaki which was ‘returned’ to Māori (following the Crown confiscation of nearly half a million hectares in 1863) remains in perpetually renewing leases against the wishes of Māori owners of the land (see Waitangi Tribunal, 2001).

A perhaps less obvious example is the health system and health services. The health system and the majority of services are designed and run by non-Māori and differentially benefit non-Māori. This is evident in ethnic disparities in access to health services, quality of care and health outcomes (Reid & Robson, 2007; Robson, B & Harris, 2007). In acknowledgment of this issue, some District Health Boards incorporate measures aimed at addressing ethnic disparities, such as the provision of Māori specific services and facilities and proactive measures to support culture and tikanga [Māori process] in hospital settings.

Environmental drivers are those social, economic, cultural and political structural level forces that are beyond the control of the individual. These forces shape New Zealand society and provide the framework within which individuals live their lives and may exercise choice. For example, there is substantial evidence within the health sector of the impact of these forces as determinants of health and the independent role of ethnicity in determining health outcomes, which may be mediated by institutional racism (Reid & Robson, 2007). Interventions at the structural level will be necessary to address the negative impacts of historical antecedents and environmental drivers.

The combined impacts of historical antecedents and environmental drivers have cumulative effects across the lifespan. To emphasise this point, these historical and environmental factors that impact the ageing process are grouped together under the label of lifecourse determinants. The lifecourse determinants influence and shape the ageing process. They act in concert upon the ageing process of individuals, ultimately in either a positive or negative direction. That is, towards an overall impact of either cumulative advantage or cumulative disadvantage. Given the historical crisis of colonisation and the differential distribution of determinants by ethnicity, and therefore the marginalised position of Māori in New Zealand society, the accumulated effects of disadvantage over the lifespan are of particular concern. That is, Māori are more likely to experience a lifecourse punctuated with crises. While crises teach people to learn to cope with incidents, it is not in a long term planning sense, but rather individuals are generally satisfied to have overcome each crisis. However, from a lifecourse perspective a crisis is not truly resolved unless people have considered and address the longer term impacts of that crisis.

The current Study proposes that the more crises experienced in life the less prepared people are for the long term. That is, continually reacting to a series of crises leads to the expenditure of

energy and resources on the moment, rather than on investing in the future. The more crisis driven a person is the less likely that person has the opportunity to take long term views, as the focus is on survival rather than ongoing quality of life.

The impact of lifecourse determinants may be mediated by the actions of individuals and collectives. These actions may be loosely divided into compensatory actions and reactive responses.

Compensatory actions tend to be either preventative, characterised by planning to optimise life circumstances and outcomes, or corrective whereby a detrimental pathway or series of events is corrected in a thoughtful and enduring way that avoids future occurrences. Further, compensatory actions are carried out with longer timeframes in mind and are focussed on long term benefits rather than short term gains. The mediation of lifecourse determinants through compensatory actions characterises a proactive ageing process that positions people to undertake long term planning for their future, including the future of whānau. The proactive ageing process in turn leads to a positive old age.

Participants gave examples of compensatory actions at the level of the individual that included quitting smoking, ending a restrictive marriage, proactively seeking career progression opportunities, and participating in training and education. Compensatory actions may also include regular activities throughout life, such as when a person makes a proactive decision to participate in regular health checks and/or ensure that their children also consistently have health checks. For young children health checks may include a review of immunisation status, dental clinic and kōhanga reo enrolments (Māori immersion preschool) and appropriate referrals to agencies that deal with families. For older people it may involve home assessments, sight and hearing screening, and diabetes checks. Another example may be with regard to dyslexia. Dyslexia need not lead to a lack of education and compromised career potential throughout life. If compensatory action is taken to support a dyslexic child through formal intervention, their dyslexia need not impact negatively on the ageing process. However, without compensatory action the condition will likely lead to an aggravating action of restricted educational participation which in turn may impact income, employment, health status and other areas and lead to a negative aging process and ultimately compromised potential.

Another example of compensatory action is at the level of collectives. Examples given by research participants included 10 year planning by whānau and a group of friends setting career goals and supporting one another to achieve those goals. A further potential example relates to the impacts of colonisation, a lifecourse determinant, whereby there are few older people to fulfil formal cultural roles on marae. At times, the level of demand places burdens on those older people who do participate. In this instance, ideally it would be the role of marae, hapū or iwi to take compensatory action and set up mechanisms that ensure their demands are reasonable and manageable for older Māori. Action might include proactively supporting involvement in marae activities by a larger number of older people to reduce demands on individuals or running wānanga, or courses to up-skill older Māori with regard to customary knowledge in order that there are more elders to take on formal roles. With these examples, there is a need to achieve a balance between the needs of the individual older person and the needs of the collective. For older Māori, choices are often negotiated within the context of a collective such as whānau or hapū.

If the lifecourse determinants lead to reactive responses where adversity is magnified by further adversity, this will result in a negative aging process. The result of a negative ageing process is the endpoint phase of a compromised old age. Reactive responses are concerned with reacting to crises. The reaction may either mitigate the crisis, that is address it in the short term, or aggravate the crisis. The main difference is that the action is reactive to the extent that the individual is just coping from one crisis to another and is focussed on securing short term benefits, and is not taking measures to address underlying issues or planning ahead.

An example of a reactive response at the individual level that is an aggravating action with the potential to negatively influence the ageing process, is when an older person provides ongoing financial assistance to family members in need at the expense of their own future financial security. At the level of the collective, a whānau that is aware of domestic violence amongst its members but chooses to treat these matters as 'personal' affairs that are not the concern of the collective has a reactive response. That is, ignoring and not addressing the crisis reinforces a culture of acceptance of domestic violence within the whānau which feeds into a negative ageing process for its members.

Another example which demonstrates the contrast between compensatory actions and reactive responses relates to the experience of unemployment. A reactive response at the individual level may be to immediately scramble for a new job and be satisfied when employment is secured, regardless of the job and its future prospects. A compensatory action more consistent with a proactive ageing process would involve considering a range of options, including retraining in an occupation with a higher likelihood of longer term job security. The latter approach takes into account the longer term implications of decisions.

Ultimately, lifecourse determinants and the mediating effects of compensatory action or reactive responses, through their impact on the ageing process, take the individual to an endpoint phase. Through a proactive ageing process that incorporates compensatory actions the individual may achieve, at one end of the continuum, a positive old age. A positive old age is a phase of life during which the individual has the opportunity to realise their potential in a number of spheres of life. Alternatively through a negative ageing process the individual may experience, at the other end of the continuum, a compromised old age that is a time of discomfort and regret.

Regardless of the situation of individuals at a given time in their life, everyone has the potential to enjoy positive ageing. Individuals are more likely to adopt a proactive ageing process and enjoy a positive old age if action is taken to compensate for the adversities in life that all people face. This position acknowledges that a life lived without compensatory actions will not automatically lead to positive ageing, and that compensatory actions are a catalyst to the proactive ageing process. The main point here is that positive aging should not be left to chance. On the contrary, there are opportunities for individuals and collectives to plan and put in place measures that will positively influence the lifecourse.

Māori positive ageing outcomes

In considering positive ageing outcome domains for Māori, there are two approaches. One is to expand upon or augment existing outcomes in generic or 'universal' frameworks. A second approach is to identify complementary Māori-specific outcomes. This research project takes a dual approach whereby the relevance of universal outcome domains is recognised and examined. It is also acknowledged that there are positive ageing outcomes that are not universal. There are distinctive qualities and outcomes of positive ageing for Māori that are important not because

they differentiate the Māori experience from that of other groups, but rather because they characterise what is positive ageing for Māori.

Universal outcomes

Most positive ageing outcomes are universal in nature, that is, they can reasonably be applied to the majority of older people. Universal outcomes are concerned with being healthy and able to function, viewing ageing positively, meeting basic living standards, having a sense of security, achieving a sense of belonging to both families and communities, being secure in and able to give full expression to one's cultural identity, minimising burdens and being active. In simple terms positive ageing may, for example, include being able to see and hear, walk, enjoy food, have enough money to make ends meet, be reasonably independent, feel safe and secure and free of major and ongoing worries, and able to participate in family events and benefit from community facilities and services.

The notion of balance is also central to understanding positive ageing outcomes. It is not necessary for all people to attain equally each of the individual outcomes in order to have aged positively. For example, a person with a hearing impairment still has the same opportunity as others to age positively and enjoy a positive old age. What is important is that overall some degree of balance is achieved so that while potential in some outcome domains may not have been optimised, this is balanced by the degree to which potential has been achieved in other outcome domains.

Universal positive ageing outcomes are captured in generic frameworks such as the *Positive Ageing Indicators 2007* Indicators Framework. The Framework identifies outcome domains and desired outcomes which have been shown in this Study to be relevant to Māori conceptualisations of positive ageing and to a large degree are reflective of the extent of older Māori participation in Te Ao Whānui. That is, the extent to which older Māori are engaged with and benefit from wider New Zealand society. The universal domains are – income, health, housing, transport, living in the community, access to facilities and services, attitudes, employment and opportunities. The Framework also incorporates one Māori specific domain – Māori cultural identity. The desired outcomes associated with each domain, from a Māori positive ageing viewpoint, are narrow. From a Māori perspective the domains may be more broadly interpreted to incorporate a lifecourse approach and Māori specific concerns.

Many of the universal domains are not adequately addressed across the lifespan of Māori to enable the achievement of desired outcomes in old age. For example, in the context of disparities in education, employment and occupational status; employment issues for older Māori are distinct from those of the general population. In order to ensure that older Māori have equitable access to meaningful and rewarding employment opportunities strategies will be required across the lifespan that have a particular focus on access to education and workforce development. There is similar concern for the interrelated socio-economic domains of income, transport and housing.

Another example is the health domain. Māori concepts of health are holistic in nature as expressed in the Māori model of health 'Te Whare Tapawhā'. From this perspective health is achieved through a balance of interacting physical, intellectual and emotional, spiritual and whānau dimensions. Consequently achieving good health as Māori is concerned with a wider range of issues than access to health services and the absence of disease and injury. Further, while a degree of independence is important, so too is a healthy level of interdependence with whānau. As well, there are ethnic disparities in the distribution of determinants of health (e.g. income and employment), exposure to risk factors and access to and quality of health care. These factors are liable to accumulate over the lifespan, and are reflected in ethnic inequalities in health status between older Māori and non-Māori and a lower life expectancy for Māori. Therefore, Māori experience an earlier onset of age-related disability and are less likely to have the chance to enjoy old age.

The access to facilities and services domain, which focuses on addressing the needs of older people living outside of the 12 biggest cities in New Zealand, misses a fundamental issue for Māori. That is, ethnic disparities in access to services and facilities for Māori including in urban and metropolitan areas. The domain itself is, however, of high relevance to Māori when it is considered in a broad sense and emphasises Māori health workforce development at all levels, cultural competence and cultural appropriateness.

In the opportunities domain, the capacity to live rich and fulfilling lives as older people is largely determined by broader factors impacting across the lifecourse that shape circumstances in old age. Also, for Māori, what constitutes rich and fulfilling lives, desirable personal development opportunities, and appropriate levels and forms of community engagement are distinctive. For

instance, opportunities to develop and strengthen cultural competencies such as te reo Māori are accorded high priority by older Māori.

Alongside the universal outcome domains identified in the Indicators Framework, a Māori specific domain was incorporated – ‘Māori cultural identity’. The domain represents an attempt to capture all of those elements of positive ageing that are distinctive to Māori and culturally based. This approach is useful in the sense that it enables the incorporation of a clear Māori focus within the Framework and allows for a degree of consideration of Māori cultural positive ageing outcomes. However, dangers with this approach are that it ‘normalises’ Pākehā culture and ‘others’ Māori, and that it attempts to artificially condense an array of different Māori-specific outcomes into one domain. This latter point is reflected in the selection of ‘te ao Māori’ as an indicator in that domain.

Māori specific outcomes

Central to the concept of Māori positive ageing is recognition that being Māori and engaging with Te Ao Māori are not only relevant, but are fundamental to positive ageing as Māori. This Study has identified one high level overarching Māori positive ageing outcome domain, and six interrelated second level outcome domains (see Table 15). Each of the second level outcome domains are described in terms of two core elements.

Table 15 Māori specific positive ageing outcome domains

Overarching outcome domain	Second level outcome domains	Core elements
Taupaenui - Realised potential	Kaitiakitanga - Stewardship	Caring for the environment
		Caring for people
	Whanaungatanga - Connectedness	Consolidation of relationships within whānau
		Initiation and reinforcement of relationships beyond whānau
	Taketuku - Transmission	Transmission of values
		Transmission of knowledge
	Tākoha - Contribution	Contribution to Māori collectives
		Safe level of contribution
	Takatū - Adaptability	Adaptability between Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Whānui
		Adaptability over time
	Tino rangatiratanga - Self determination	Control over life circumstances
		Determining Māori positive ageing

Kaitiakitanga – Stewardship

Stewardship as an outcome domain is concerned with providing care for and preserving those things that Māori collectively have an interest in and consider to be of high value. The findings of this Study identified two levels of stewardship: care of the environment and care for people.

1. Caring for the environment

Positive ageing for many Māori is characterised by the special relationship with the natural environment, which underpins a secure Māori cultural identity. The relationship involves caring for the environment with the goal of long term sustainability for future generations. Between individuals, the level of involvement will vary. At one extreme will be those who have indepth knowledge of local environments and take clear leadership roles. Perhaps at the iwi or hapū level in environmental protection action or as known experts in rongoā who in their teachings transmit environmental protection values. Others will demonstrate this concern in their everyday life in, for example, practices relating to growing and gathering food and medicinal

plants, providing grandchildren with opportunities to experience and appreciate the natural environment, and the protection and maintenance of local ecosystems such as streams, rock pools or bush areas. Both levels of involvement will, at least to some extent, rely upon the accumulation of environmental knowledge and practical experience over time.

2. Caring for people

Over time older people fulfil a variety of informal and formal caring roles within a range of Māori collectives. This may include providing care within whānau, marae, hapū or other Māori community groups. While some of these roles may involve being responsible for others (as a parent or grandparent for example), they may also be more loosely defined in as being able to host and receive visitors in appropriate ways. In the caring role, older people become anchors for whānau and communities and invest time in the wellbeing of others. There is an expectation within the concept of Māori positive ageing, that older Māori will fulfil a function of caring for people as a foundation for whānau and community cohesion.

Whanaungatanga – Connectedness

As a positive ageing outcome domain, whanaungatanga or connectedness refers to the capacity to strengthen relationships. The capacity to identify and reinforce relationships between groups is held in high regard in Te Ao Māori. An older person who is secure in their own identity and family situation, who has historical knowledge of relationships between people and Māori collectives, is best equipped to initiate and reinforce relationships. There are many whakataukī that refer to the skill base of older people with respect to connectedness and this was also apparent in the qualitative study narratives. As a positive ageing outcome domain, connectedness is apparent at two levels.

1. Consolidation of relationships within whānau

Older people have an important role as holders of knowledge of whakapapa and its associated narrative and in strengthening and reinforcing whānau cohesion. That role may be both formal and informal. Formal in the sense that they are known within whānau as the holders of specific historical whakapapa knowledge, such as primary descent lines of ancestors and connections to wider tribal groups. Or, more informal knowledge of a whānau nature that may not be commonly available and concerns, for instance, who are members of the whānau currently or in the recent past, their relationships, and knowledge of adoptions.

It should be noted that the narrative associated with whakapapa is of high importance. That is, whakapapa knowledge is not solely concerned with being able to recite the names of ancestors and their descendents, but rather the richness of whakapapa is located within the historical context and dynamics of relationships between, for example, various whānau members and also with the physical environment. The nature of historical relationships may continue to influence relationships between descendents in modern times. With regard to the environment, connections between whānau and entities in the physical environment, such as mountains and rivers, underpin a secure Māori identity and a Māori worldview.

In formal Māori contexts, whakapapa knowledge is fundamental to Māori process, and the mere presence of older people adds credibility to Māori collectives due to the expectation that they will be holders of that knowledge. As an example, orators (both whaikōrero [speaking] and karanga [calling]) at tangihanga (bereavement rituals) ideally would be aware of connections between the deceased and their whānau and visiting parties. In-depth understanding of those connections is acquired and understood through a lifetime of interactions with wider whānau. While in the past, acquisition of this level of knowledge may have been more commonplace due to the day to day interactions within whānau, in modern times in the context of urbanisation and isolation from whānau, focussed effort is often required to develop whakapapa knowledge even at this level.

2. Initiation and reinforcement of relationships beyond whānau

A further dimension of whanaungatanga or connectedness is the capacity to initiate relationships beyond whānau. This includes relationships with marae, hapū, iwi, Māori community groups and the wider community. These relationships may be in wide ranging areas, such as within corporations or mainstream religious groups.

In the urban context, where individual whānau members may have initiated relationships with wider groups, celebrations of marriage, tangihanga or other formal events provide opportunities to strengthen relationships outside the whānau. These opportunities are able to be maximised when older people, as carriers of historical knowledge, are able to recount or trace connections between parties in a way that builds upon and strengthens relationships that have been initiated by individuals. The approach to relationship building that reinforces individual relationships by contextualising them within collectives, and the links between collectives that have developed

over time, is distinct from the more usual individual to individual basis for relationship building within wider New Zealand society in urban locations.

Outside of Te Ao Māori, where the same value may not be placed on older people, the involvement of older Māori in matters of commerce or the public sector is still highly important to Māori groups. This may provide an inner confidence of being supported by a member of another generation with intrinsic knowledge and greater life experience, or perhaps guidance in the initiation situation such as during meetings or formal proceedings. It may also provide a point of difference from other groups that may not rely on the accumulated wisdom of older members of working parties. Older members with an appreciation of longer timeframes may inject a sense of patience to relationship building and maintenance, particularly with regard to matters that require complex and drawn out negotiations such as Treaty settlements or environmental protection disputes.

Taketuku – Transmission

As an outcome domain, taketuku or transmission is concerned with providing guidance through active intergenerational transmission. This research has enabled two levels of transmission to be identified.

1. Transmission of values

Māori values are expressed in how people live their lives in all spheres, including in the home, in Māori community settings, and in wider society. Older Māori transmit Māori values to the wider whānau and beyond, often in a ‘taken for granted’ way, by example over time. Some of these values may be universal, such as work ethic, integrity, perseverance or respect for elders. There are other values which are recognised as Māori specific. Māori values may include, for example, manaakitanga (caring), kaitiakitanga (guardianship), kotahitanga (unity), and tauutu (reciprocity). Direct translations are inadequate in capturing the true meaning of these values and therefore, by way of example, how one might expect an older person to live their life when expressing the manaakitanga value is briefly described here.

Manaakitanga is concerned with caring for whānau and others and the provision of hospitality in both formal and informal settings. As a value, manaakitanga implies that the caring role is of high importance and that some priority should be accorded to caring for others. Inherent to manaakitanga is the notion of generosity. The value may be expressed in practical ways, such as,

through providing care for grandchildren, giving guidance and encouragement to whānau, sharing of gathered food with others, and financial support to adult children. In formal contexts they may provide hospitality to guests, through, for example, catering or speaking roles on marae. The ways in which manaakitanga is expressed in daily life varies, but through its expression older people role model Māori values in a way that enables transmission to younger generations.

2. Transmission of knowledge

Older Māori are repositories of cultural knowledge gathered over a lifetime, including customary knowledge passed on to them from previous generations. Knowledge transmission permeates the relationship between older Māori and their whānau and wider Māori communities. As cultural leaders, they have a critical role in ensuring that various categories of knowledge are passed on appropriately to younger generations. The categories may include specialist knowledge that is transmitted through deliberate processes, practical knowledge transmitted through activities such as food gathering and collection of medicinal plants, and informal whānau knowledge such as relationships between whānau members conveyed when whānau gather.

Transmission activities may be formal, explicit and proactive. This may entail time being set aside specifically for teaching and learning activities such as wānanga rongoā (traditional medicine learning opportunities). Another example could be where proactive measures are taken by older people to meticulously record whānau whakapapa for the benefit of the whānau. In these examples, particular younger people may be designated as recipients of knowledge to ensure that knowledge is secured, maintained, transmitted and developed. At the other extreme informal knowledge transmission may occur, for example, when older Māori sing oriori (traditional lullabies) to grandchildren or take them on excursions in the natural environment while providing care.

Transmission of Māori knowledge does not rely upon fluency in the Māori language. For example, while Māori language fluency may facilitate transmission, localised environmental information or local histories may be passed on regardless. What is most important is ensuring that the next generation has received whānau or Māori knowledge and are in a position to, as appropriate, develop and transmit that knowledge. Transmission by older Māori as carriers of

culture is particularly important in the current context where Māori language and culture is in a compromised state.

Tākoha - Contribution

As a positive ageing outcome domain, takoha or contribution refers to the act of giving or service in common with others towards the shared purpose of whānau development or broader Māori development. The capacity to put others' interests above one's own in contributing to Māori collectives is held in high regard in Te Ao Māori. An older person who has a secure cultural identity and is positively engaged with both Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Whānui is best placed to contribute to Māori collectives.

1. Contribution to Māori collectives

Older Māori contribute in regular and substantial ways to Māori society, mainly in two spheres – whānau and Te Ao Māori.

At the whānau level, they provide cultural and many other forms of practical support that relate to the marginalised position of whānau in New Zealand society. These latter forms of support include providing accommodation, financial assistance, and providing childcare for grandchildren to enable adult children to work.

In Te Ao Māori the spectrum of contribution is broad, and may range from teaching younger people to acquire and prepare traditional foods, through to providing leadership for environmental protection action. Foremost, older Māori are cultural leaders and contribute in traditional domains (such as marae) and in cultural interactions like pōwhiri [formal welcome ceremonies] and tangihanga [bereavement ceremonies]. More recently, since the mid-1980s there has been greater recognition of Māori in the public sector and therefore an increased level of interaction between Māori and the public sector. This has led to a dramatic increase in the need for cultural skills and representation and support of Māori groups by older Māori when engaging with this sector.

While the contributions of older Māori are often given in a selfless way, there is a reciprocal relationship between older individuals and Māori collectives. Through their contributions, older Māori secure their involvement with the community and the care that the community will provide for them.

2. Safe level of contribution

There are high levels of expectations and demands placed on older Māori who have cultural competencies, such as fluency in the Māori language or knowledge of local history, and an interest in engaging with Te Ao Māori. Perhaps due to whakapapa connections or the small numbers of older people with these competencies, it can be difficult to avoid these demands. This high demand can be hugely taxing on older Māori people, and in some cases has led to the commodification of the skills and roles of older Māori people.

Some older Māori may overtax themselves and contribute vast amounts of time and personal resources to their whānau and wider collectives, to their own detriment. This is not an example of positive ageing, where their contribution compromises their own current and future security. Positive ageing for Māori is about balance between achieving positive outcomes for the individual, their whānau, Māori community, wider society and the environment. This balance is not always easily achieved. The onus is on older Māori, their whānau and Māori collectives to put measures in place, perhaps in conjunction with close family members, whereby the demands from wider collectives are mediated so as not to be overbearing. Power relationships are integral to this dynamic, and it is crucial for older Māori to retain the power to decide the form and extent of their contribution to others/wider collectives. Positive ageing for Māori is to do with the location of the power to choose where that balance rests.

Takatū – Adaptability

Takatū or adaptability encapsulates the capacity to adjust to change, to endure and overcome adversity, and to use challenges as an opportunity to grow and become stronger. Due to the ongoing perpetuation of historical injustices and the resultant marginalised position of Māori in New Zealand society, Māori experience more frequent crisis and adverse events in life compared to non-Māori. Therefore, the capacity to adapt and to compensate for the impacts of structural adversities over one's lifetime is of particular importance for Māori.

The outcome domain of adaptability as it relates to positive ageing can be understood at two levels.

1. Adaptability between Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Whānui

By virtue of whakapapa and the nature of New Zealand society, older Māori have the opportunity to actively participate in both Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Whānui. An important

dimension of positive ageing for Māori is the capacity of an individual to reconcile and balance the opportunities and demands of participation in Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Whānui, and to move with ease within and between the two worlds. Expressed another way, adaptability is concerned with older Māori people being able to successfully engage continuously and simultaneously with Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Whānui and therefore being able to negotiate, benefit from and live well in both worlds. Further, a central issue is not so much the degree to which an individual engages with Te Ao Māori, but rather their level of satisfaction with the extent and quality of that engagement. If a person is not as strongly affiliated as they desire to be, then the situation is not ideal. So too is the situation where an older Māori person's commitments to Te Ao Māori are onerous and an impediment to life satisfaction.

Within this mix, identity politics are an important consideration. If a person is satisfied with being fully disengaged from Te Ao Māori, yet lacks the critical awareness of contextual factors that influence decisions to engage or disengage their position does not constitute positive ageing from a Māori perspective. Rather, the ability to adapt and move between Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Whānui as a characteristic of positive ageing is closely linked to a combination of both critical awareness and satisfaction.

2. Adaptability over time

Positive ageing relies upon resilience to adapt to changes over time including the capacity to draw on life experiences from the past and apply key learnings to current circumstances and to decision-making and planning for the future. While there are aspects of this characteristic that are universal, there are also dimensions that are specific to Māori. For Māori, key learnings are drawn not only from the life experiences of the individual, but also from mātauranga and tikanga Māori. That is, lessons are drawn from customary Māori knowledge and processes generated and developed over generations and which may be transmitted as Māori values. As an example, many of the qualitative study participants referred to the importance of the intergenerational transmission of Māori values to guide their own actions and those of future generations. Customary Māori knowledge, processes and values can be applied to the present and as well provide a platform from which to negotiate and prepare for whānau development into an uncertain future, and beyond the life of the individual.

The capacity to successfully negotiate change over a long period of time is of particular importance to current older Māori. During their lifetimes fundamental changes have occurred in Māori society, particularly with regard to urbanisation and assimilation. Future generations of older Māori may not encounter such radical change.

Tino rangatiratanga – Self determination

As an outcome domain, tino rangatiratanga or self determination is concerned with older Māori people maintaining control over their lives and future in all spheres. Two levels of self-determination have been identified as particularly important with regard to Māori positive ageing.

1. Control over life circumstances

Gaining and maintaining control over one's life circumstances and future is central to positive ageing. This includes control over decision-making that affects them and having the capacity to exercise choice in a variety of spheres of life including living arrangements, finances, and recreational activities. While these types of spheres are universal in nature, what is distinctive for Māori is the impact of the differential distribution of lifecourse determinants which means that Māori have more limited options and choices compared to non-Māori in relation to these spheres. Therefore, an important level of intervention to enhance Maori control over their life circumstances is the structural level and across the lifespan.

Another Māori specific consideration is enabling older Māori to maintain control over their engagement with whānau and wider Māori collectives, and to have opportunities for input into decision-making by these groups.

2. Determining Māori positive ageing

Māori society should have the opportunity to determine what it is that constitutes Māori positive ageing across the lifecourse, and therefore to retain control over Māori positive ageing definitions and priorities for action. A Māori centred perspective avoids comparative approaches and deficit models, and therefore ensures that Māori are not judged against the standards and priorities for ageing of other groups. Critically, definitions and priorities should be guided by older Māori such that they have direct input. This does not exclude the views of younger Māori, and in fact they may have a leading role, but rather it recognises that older Māori have the lived experience of ageing across the lifespan and are more strongly impacted at this time by conceptualisations of positive ageing.

Importantly, definitions of Māori positive ageing should leave room for a diversity of perspectives and experience that characterises modern Māori. At the same time, however, Māori positive ageing will be centred on Māori worldviews.

Taupāenui - Realised potential

Realised potential is the high level overarching Māori positive ageing outcome domain. Expressed another way, each of the second level domains are the parameters for realised potential. The extent to which an older person is able to achieve the second level outcomes contributes directly to achievement of realised potential.

As an overarching outcome domain, realised potential does not require that an individual's potential is realised in all dimensions of their life, which is an unrealistic goal. Instead the individual has a broad range of options in terms of the level at which they may choose to engage with both Māori and wider society. Realised potential, in relation to positive ageing, also incorporates the notion that individuals must come to terms with and accept that inevitably with age there will be some deterioration of function. The individual who has achieved the outcome of realised potential is not preoccupied with their own situation, but is able to rise above functional or other limitations and contribute on their own terms to whānau, Māori and wider society.

Everyone has the capacity to achieve the outcome of realised potential, though what constitutes this outcome for one person may be different for others, and is often distinctive for Māori and non-Māori. For example, inherent to realised potential 'as Māori' is engagement with whānau and Te Ao Māori. However, that does not exclude individuals from achieving realised potential as measured by the standards of other groups. For example, an older Māori person who is disconnected from whānau and Te Ao Māori may not achieve positive ageing as Māori (and thereby by Māori standards) but may achieve positive ageing according to universal standards as outlined in the New Zealand positive ageing strategy. Together, a proactive ageing process and the endpoint phase of 'realised potential' may be considered as a positive ageing outcome for the individual.

Implications of this Study

Te Ao Māori

Older Māori people

This research further substantiates the high value of the contributions of older Māori to Te Ao Māori, including as carriers of culture and in their role in consolidating relationships within Māori collectives. The main implications of this research for older Māori people relate to their ongoing capacity to experience positive ageing and the outcome of a positive old age, and their relationships with Māori collectives.

All Māori have the potential to experience a proactive ageing process and a positive old age. If an individual has been able to adopt a healthy lifestyle during their life, accumulate some degree of wealth, and maintain a secure cultural identity, this bodes well for their experience of old age. Regardless, it is never too late to engage in compensatory action to initiate a proactive ageing process through planning and implementation of gradual change or major shifts in direction. However, measures that may be taken and likely outcomes will necessarily take account of the life already lived. At the same time, positive ageing is not about realising potential in all spheres of life but rather about achieving some degree of balance and therefore a life that has led to difficulties in one or more domains (such as physical health) does not necessarily preclude an overall experience of positive ageing. The universal and Māori specific outcome domains may provide an indication of the spheres of life within which compensatory action may be considered in order to influence trajectories in their areas.

Both the universal and Māori specific outcome domains may be useful in guiding reflection for older people on their life circumstances, and this may be with the support of others such as whānau or professionals. They may also provide an indication of the spheres of life within which compensatory action may be considered in order to influence trajectories in these areas.

In terms of relationships with Māori collectives, the outcome domains may be useful for older people in reflecting on their own life circumstances and drawing on that experience in order to advise and guide whānau and other Māori collectives in planning for positive ageing. The research results also flag the need to balance contributions to Te Ao Māori, including whānau, with meeting the needs of older Māori as individuals. In this regard and also in relation to

decision-making more generally about their own lives, it is most important that older people retain control in negotiations with whānau and other Māori collectives.

Whānau

There are two main implications of this Study's findings for whānau. The first is concerned with how whānau interact with and relate to older whānau members. The second is future focused and about whānau development across the lifespan.

Interactions between whānau and their older members should reflect acknowledgment of the roles of older people in whānau and the value of their contributions, and should therefore be characterised by respect, reciprocity and a level of protection. Protection may include whānau strategies for shielding older members from burdensome expectations and demands that are generated by whānau and other Māori collectives. This role for whānau would be less about prescribing the involvements of older members, and more about supporting older members' decisions as to what is a safe level of contribution. This approach ensures that older people maintain control over decisions that impact directly on them.

This research emphasises the centrality of a lifecourse perspective to Māori positive ageing. The implication for whānau is that there is a need for whānau planning to better ensure that its members experience a proactive ageing process across the lifespan and a positive old age. Both preventative and corrective actions may be used by those whānau that explicitly plan for the future. The outcome domains provide direction as to the spheres of life that whānau planning might focus on, and therefore areas within which explicit compensatory actions could be implemented. For example, there may be health planning that emphasises healthy whānau values (such as non-tolerance of domestic violence), regular health checks for all whānau members, whānau health insurance, smoke-free whānau events, and physical activity reinforced at regular whānau gatherings (e.g. evening walks). Similarly, te reo Māori planning may include strategies for Māori language usage in whānau homes, whānau alignment to particular kōhanga reo or kura kaupapa Māori (Māori immersion school based on Māori philosophy) that the whānau may enrol children in and actively support, and the ways in which the whānau's fluent Māori language speakers might support whānau language learners. A further dimension of whānau planning may include the ways in which reciprocal and mutually beneficial relationships may be nurtured between older and younger whānau members.

Other Māori collectives

Planning by hapū and other Māori collectives should be founded on, among other things, a clear understanding of Māori positive ageing in order to make informed decisions. Those decisions will relate, in particular, to the ways in which Māori collectives interact with the current generation of older Māori and to the measures that will be put in place to ensure that members of the collective are best able to participate in a proactive ageing process and in time achieve a positive old age.

The outcome domains identified in this research provide a framework within which Māori collectives may be able to determine the areas that older Māori may be able to give best value towards the goals of the collective. There may be a need to examine the leadership roles of older Māori, particularly within governance structures of Māori organisations, in a way that takes account of the lifetime of experience that older Māori may be able to bring to decision-making processes. Those with relevant experience and competence in governance may have much to contribute to the board room, rather than perhaps being relegated solely to the role of cultural guardians. This should be balanced against specific measures that may be required on the part of Māori collectives to avoid overburdening older Māori with responsibilities. In the medium term those measures might include wānanga to strengthen the cultural competencies of members of the collective generally in order that, over time, there are a greater number of people who are able to fulfil cultural roles. In the short term, it may be that there is a reconfiguration of arrangements for, as an example, formal speaking roles. This could include negotiated roles, whereby older Māori guide younger members who may have cultural skills as a product of language revival, but do not yet possess the depth of contextual knowledge accumulated over a lifetime. The main consideration here is the retention of mana. That is, the older man or woman maintains their mana in that they are not overlooked and are visibly the guiding hand, perhaps through being seated on the paepae or standing next to the kaikaranga. The younger person is, through instruction, the mouthpiece of the people. Together they are able to uphold the mana of the collective.

Where there are real limitations on the capacity of those with cultural competencies, it may be that collectives need to introduce more stringent requirements in determining what events might be accorded full hospitality in cultural terms.

The lifecourse perspective and outcome domains provide a framework that may inform planning by Māori collectives for future older Māori through a lifecourse approach. As an example, in terms of health, a lifecourse approach would reinforce among Māori collectives the importance of supporting or providing health promotion and primary health care interventions that reinforce a proactive ageing process through a focus on prevention. Effective health promotion and primary health care (compensatory actions) will reduce the prevalence and impact of chronic disease in old age, and thereby enhance the functional capacity of older Māori and better enable them to age well through a proactive ageing process.

An example of an initiative in this area may be the establishment by iwi, through an iwi health and social services provider, of regular health checks for all whānau members starting at birth. The checks would be tailored to specific age bands and gender, and would incorporate existing checks recommended by health professions (e.g. regular newborn to 5 year well child checks, 10 year check, 15 year check etc). They would not replace other visits required by individuals to health professionals but would better ensure that all members at the very least participate in regular checks, perhaps as an initiation point for referrals and more concerted intervention where that requirement is identified. The checks need not only focus on narrow health issues, but may be much broader and include educational, cultural and other factors as appropriate and consistent with the needs of the collective. The checks may feed into a personal development plan and/or whānau development plans, and this in turn may inform the planning of the collective as a clearer picture may be gained both of the circumstances and aspirations of the membership.

Māori collectives that are enduring, such as hapū and iwi, are well positioned to plan over the longer term and across and beyond the lifetime of current members. For example, where identified priorities of an iwi may include the need for health professionals from that iwi practicing locally, long term planning may be initiated. Measures may include introducing health professionals as role models in kōhanga reo and promotion of science careers and practical learning experiences in health settings for kura kaupapa students. Or, at a more basic level, strengthening the focus on numeracy at kura kaupapa. These are examples of proactive measures that may be taken by Māori collectives to impact the career trajectories of members from an early age. As well, given that wider Māori collectives are the site for government intervention there are opportunities to leverage the resources available from government.

For Māori collectives, in the context of cultural erosion, succession planning will be of high importance if future older Māori are to be equipped to carry out the cultural roles generally ascribed to older Māori. There are already key interventions in place, such as Māori medium education, however localised interventions particularly for those who have not had the opportunity to benefit from kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa will be important. There is much scope for planning by Māori collectives to influence the ageing process of members towards a proactive ageing process.

Te Ao Whānui

The findings of this research are relevant to Te Ao Whānui for three main reasons. First, successful engagement of Māori with wider New Zealand society throughout the lifespan, including as older people, is a precursor to Māori positive ageing. This is acknowledged in the universal outcome domains such as income, health, housing, transport and access to services and facilities. That is, a proactive ageing process with regard to these types of domains requires that older Māori are engaged positively with Te Ao Whānui. From this perspective, planning and policy frameworks for New Zealand as a whole should be at least as responsive to Māori as for other segments of the population.

Second, it is increasingly recognised that universal approaches do not lead to equitable outcomes for all and that Māori have ways of understanding phenomena that are distinct. Findings from this research describe Māori positive ageing as understood by Māori. This understanding may inform policy-making and purchasing decisions for Māori generally, and for older Māori in particular.

The research findings indicate that the PAS is narrow in the sense that it does not fully capture Māori positive ageing. While there is an attempt to leave space for Māori realities and distinctiveness, particularly with reference to culturally appropriate services, there is limited consideration of Māori concepts of positive ageing and the differential distribution of lifecourse determinants that shape the experience of old age for Māori. The findings of this Study articulate a way of conceptualising Māori positive ageing that could be used to augment the PAS and the outcome domains that are used to examine the level of wellbeing of older Māori. The findings provide direction for the development of Māori specific indicators that better capture the state of Māori positive ageing in New Zealand and progress over time. The central nature of

a lifecourse perspective to Māori positive ageing also provides an argument for greater links between the *Social Report* and other more targeted measures taken to examine the social health and wellbeing of older New Zealanders. It also supports Government policy that encourages Māori individuals and collectives to take a long term view of life and their day to day actions. Much in the way that the Kiwi Saver scheme has been introduced, or that if a person becomes unemployed there are strong incentives for retraining in high demand areas. As well, it is worth bearing in mind that Māori are more likely to experience the limitations associated with older age at a younger chronological age than non-Māori and as well have a lower life expectancy. Therefore, in assessing progress in positive ageing for Māori differential age parameters may be required relative to non-Māori. In terms of public sector decision-making, the findings of this research could enable funders to better understand the concept of Māori positive ageing and thereby determine what interventions may be more likely to lead to a proactive ageing process for Māori.

A third reason relates to demographic change. Māori are growing as a proportion of the New Zealand population. Therefore, it is in the interests of all New Zealanders that Māori age well throughout life and are best positioned to contribute in positive ways to New Zealand society as a whole.

Summary

This chapter has characterised Māori positive ageing as a two dimensional concept. The process dimension, proactive ageing is consistent with a lifecourse perspective. The outcome dimension, positive old age, can be described in terms of complementary ‘universal’ and Māori specific outcome domains. The characteristics of Māori positive ageing were derived through an interface approach which drew on Western science and mātauranga Māori. Through this approach, the research was informed by the fields of Māori development and social gerontology. The conceptualisation of Māori positive ageing has the potential to inform planning and action for older Māori people, whānau and other Māori collectives, and public policy.

Chapter Eleven

CONCLUSIONS

Globally, ageing population structures have led governments to urgently introduce strategies that aim to extend the independence and contributions of older people. Practical incentives for action have led to a largely atheoretical approach and conceptual underdevelopment in public policy for ageing. Most countries struggle to address the issues for majority populations, let alone consider the specific needs of Indigenous peoples or ethnic minorities. In New Zealand, the PAS is conceptually unclear in terms of articulating the meaning of positive ageing. Moreover, despite a growing older Māori population, wide disparities between the circumstances of older Māori and other older New Zealanders, and the critical roles of older Māori in Te Ao Māori, there has been little attention specifically to Māori positive ageing.

This Study has examined the phenomenon of Māori positive ageing. In doing so, it has further developed an interface approach positioning mātauranga Māori, a form of Indigenous knowledge, alongside Western science. The approach aligns Te Ao Mārama with ontology, whakapapa with epistemology and kaupapa rangahau with methodology. This approach relocates tensions from the philosophical level to the kaupapa rangahau – methodological level. The assumption is that both knowledge systems are equally credible and relevant to disciplined inquiry in the contemporary context. The approach leverages the strengths of both Western science and mātauranga Māori. It reflects the lived realities of older Māori who move between Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Whānui, though often struggling to engage fully and effectively in both worlds. The interface approach facilitates the generation of new knowledge which is sourced from both knowledge systems and applicable to current situations, by Māori and non-Māori.

Māori positive ageing is not new in the sense that Māori have always aspired to age well as evidenced by whakataukī dating back centuries. While the origins of Māori positive ageing are in the past, the future is equally important. That is, opportunities for current and future generations of Māori to age positively.

Older Māori remain at the core of Te Ao Māori, in that they are the keepers of fundamental values and knowledge that maintain the integrity of Māori society and that distinguish Māori from other societies. That is not to say Māori values and knowledge do not evolve over time, they do, but the evolution also relies upon continuity. It is older Māori who provide that link between the past and the present, and enable self-assurance for Maori collectives as they plan for the future. Engagement with Te Ao Māori facilitates a positive old age for individuals, while at the same time strengthening Māori society. Therefore, Māori positive ageing is mutually beneficial for older Māori and Te Ao Māori.

Māori positive ageing is not only about older people, it should be considered as a Māori development strategy that spans all age groups throughout life. It is only through Māori development, including advancement in social, economic, cultural and political terms, that Māori society will realise its capacity for ageing well. Since 2001, positive ageing has been codified in New Zealand through the PAS. While the Strategy does not explicitly emphasise a lifecourse perspective it does reflect that in modern times Māori positive ageing relies upon the capacity to engage with Te Ao Whānui. This recognises that in New Zealand society and as citizens of a globalised world Māori may only fully access the benefits of society through engagement with Te Ao Whānui.

This Study has found that Māori positive ageing can be characterised by a two dimensional concept that incorporates a process dimension and an outcome dimension. The process dimension, proactive ageing, is consistent with a lifecourse perspective. In order to age positively individuals must engage in a proactive ageing process that is catalysed by compensatory actions, that is, preventive or corrective actions that enable one to overcome the inevitable adversities that will be experienced over a long life. Those adversities may be a product of lifecourse determinants, that is, the historical, social, economic, cultural and political drivers, the structural level factors that are beyond the direct influence of individuals. The proactive ageing process may be mediated by Māori collectives. Māori collectives that plan for the future are best equipped to intervene early in adverse situations and ready their constituents for change. Those groups can provide support without which members may find themselves taking mitigatory, or worse, aggravating actions. Such reactionary responses lead towards a negative ageing process and ultimately a compromised old age.

The outcome dimension, positive old age, can be described in terms of complementary ‘universal’ and Māori specific outcome domains. Māori positive ageing has much in common with universal features of positive ageing for older people generally, such as good health, financial security, beneficial interactions with family and society, secure housing and access to a range of support services. Therefore, universal domains such as income, health, housing, transport, and employment are as relevant to Māori as to other groups of older people. However, the meanings Māori ascribe to these domains differ, with a tendency towards broader interpretation. As well, in New Zealand these types of domains are not addressed for Māori to the same extent as for non-Māori.

Alongside the ‘universal’ domains this study has identified one overarching outcome domain and six second-level Māori-specific outcome domains. These domains capture what it is to engage with Te Ao Māori in a proactive way that benefits both individuals and collectives. That is, engagement that facilitates positive ageing for older Māori and that reinforces the integrity of Te Ao Māori. The high level overarching outcome domain that characterises Māori positive ageing is ‘realised potential’. What constitutes realised potential will be different for each individual. Moreover, achievement of the outcome of realised potential does not require that an individual’s potential is realised in all spheres of life, but rather the individual has a broad range of options in terms of the level at which they may choose to engage with both Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Whānui. The second level domains provide the parameters for realised potential in relation to Te Ao Māori, and are described in terms of two core elements. Those domains and their core elements are: ‘kaitiakitanga – stewardship’ (caring for the environment, caring for people); ‘whanaungatanga – connectedness’ (consolidation of relationships within whānau, initiation and reinforcement of relationships beyond whānau); ‘taketuku – transmission’ (transmission of values, transmission of knowledge); ‘tākoha – contribution’ (contribution of Māori collectives, safe level of contribution); ‘takatū – adaptability’ (adaptability between Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Whānui, adaptability over time), and ‘tino rangatiratanga – self-determination’ (control over life circumstances, determination of Māori positive ageing).

The lifecourse perspective and combination of universal and Māori specific outcome domains reflect three major features of Māori positive ageing. First, Māori positive ageing is primarily located within a Māori worldview. This does not preclude the use of Western science, particularly the field of gerontology, but rather Western science is drawn on only to the extent to

which it is consistent with a Māori worldview. As well, while universal outcomes are vital, they are mostly important for their instrumental value, the extent to which they enable self-determination and engagement with Te Ao Māori. Second, Māori positive ageing may be considered as a broad Māori development strategy that is not only concerned with older Māori people. It is about Māori of all ages adopting a proactive ageing process that is planful, enables resilience to life's inevitable adversities, and provides for Māori to equitably share the benefits of society. Third, Māori collectives have a critical role to play in mediating the positive ageing process. Planning at this level that supports positive ageing will make compensatory actions more achievable and proactive ageing a more realistic life pathway for Māori.

Māori positive ageing is about achieving an equilibrium that enables adversity to be tempered by the rewards of whānau, burdens to be lightened by inclusion and obligation to be balanced by privilege. It may take many forms and will be expressed differently from one person to another. Māori positive ageing is about wellbeing defined broadly, an optimistic outlook and strength of character, and the ability to rise above functional or other limitations and look beyond oneself. The notion of realised potential is perhaps best expressed in the concept of Taupaenui, potential achieved through ora – wellbeing, kaha – vitality, and māramatanga – enlightenment.

*'kia eke atu ki taupaenui
o piki te ora,
piki te kaha,
piki te māramatanga.⁵⁷*

⁵⁷ This is the conclusion of the pure (morning karakia) *'Te hā oranga nui'* composed by Huirangi Waikerepuru (Taranaki).

GLOSSARY OF MĀORI TERMS⁵⁸

ahi kā	home fires, occupation of tribal area
Aotea	a ancestral canoe, a marae in South Taranaki
Aotearoa	original name for North Island
ara	way, path
arahi	guide
aroha	love
awhi	care, support, help
hāhi	church, faith
haka	traditional posture dance
hāngi	earth oven, food prepared in an earth oven
hapū	sub-tribe
harakeke	flax
Hawaiki	ancestral home of Māori
Hawaiki Tapu	Sacred Hawaiki
Hāwera	A place name
hinu	oil, grease, fat
hui	meeting, gathering
Hui Taumata	the Māori Economic Summit
Hui Whakapūmau	conference held in 1994 regarding Māori development
hura kōhatu	unveiling of headstone
Io, Io Matua Kore	supreme being, 'Io-the-fatherless-one'
iwi	tribe
kaha	vitality, strength
Kahui Maunga	The Mountain Clan
kai	food
kaiāwhina	supporter, helper
kaikarakia	Minister, leader of incantations or prayers

⁵⁸ Definitions are given in the context of this thesis and may not be generically applicable.

kaikaranga	ceremonial caller
kaikōrero	formal orator
kaimoana	seafood
kāinga	home
kaitiaki	guardian
kaitiakitanga	an ethical principle denoting guardianship, stewardship
kānga	corn
kanohi kitea	Presence and participation, face-to-face
kāo	no
kāore e taea	cannot
kapa haka	Māori cultural performance group
karakia	prayer
karanga	ceremonial call
kaumātua	elder/s
Kaumātua Kaunihera	Council of Elders
kaumātuatanga	elderly
kaupapa	subject, topic
kaupapa Māori	a Māori philosophical framework
kaupapa rangahau	research topic
kawa	protocol
kawe mate	formally taking a bereavement to places and occasions to which the deceased is connected
kete	flax kit
koha	contribution, gift
kōhanga Reo	total immersion pre-school
kōkōmuka	plant species that often grows against the walls of buildings
kopekope	a dance that involves swaying one's hips performed by women
kōrero	speak, talk, discuss
koro	grandfather, male elder
koroua	grandfather, male elder
kotahitanga	an ethical principle denoting solidarity and the worth of

	people, unity
kōtiro	girl
kui	grandmother, female elder
kuia	grandmother, female elder
kūmara	sweet potato
kupu huahuatau	metaphor
kupu whakarite	simile
kura	school
kura kaupapa Māori	total immersion primary schools
māhaki	gentle, calm
makihoi	to wonder about aimlessly
māmā	lightened
Māmā	mum, mother
mamae	hurt
mana	a principle denoting status, prestige, dignity, autonomy
mana whenua	tribal land tenure
manaaki	caring, hospitality
manaakitanga	an ethical principle denoting the importance of caring for others
manuhiri	visitors
māra	garden
marae	A traditional meeting centre often comprising of a formal courtyard, meeting house(s) and a dining house.
māramatanga	enlightenment
mātā	heap, layer
mata pūputu	a term for an elder
mātaitai	shellfish, seafood
matarua	the double-edged sword, double meanings in Māori proverbs
mātātahi	metaphor for young people
matatū	adaptability
matatini Māori	diverse Māori realities
mātāpūputu	metaphor for older people

mātauranga	knowledge, education
maunga	mountain
mauri	life force
mihimihi	greetings
miti tahu	meat cooked in a pot
moana	ocean, sea
mōhio	know
mōhioatanga	knowledge
mōkai	pet
moko, mokopuna	grandchild
mōteatea	traditional song or chant
nā wai	whose
Ngā Puhī	a tribe
Ngā Rauru	a tribe
Ngā Ruahine	a tribe
Ngā Tamatoa	a Māori activist group
Ngai Tahu	a tribe
Ngāmotu	New Plymouth
Ngāti Apakura	a tribe
Ngāti Haua	a tribe
Ngāti Kahungunu	a tribe
Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa	a tribe
Ngāti Maru	a tribe
Ngāti Mutunga	a tribe
Ngāti Porou	a tribe
Ngāti Ruanui	a tribe
Ngāti Toa - Ngāti Raukawa	a tribe
noa atu	denoting absence of limitations or conditions
ope	group
ora	health
Orakau	a place
pā	Māori village

paē	to be cast up
paēpaē	place reserved for formal speakers and callers during ceremonies
pahake	elderly
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
Pāpā	dad, father
papakāinga	extended family collective housing complex
Papatuānuku	earth mother
parāoa	bread
paua	abalone
pēpeha, peha	tribal saying
pēpi	baby
Pihama	a Place name
piharau	a type of eel
piho	scrounge
pito	umbilical cord stump
pōwhiri	welcoming ceremony
pou	pillar of support
poua	old person, grandfather
poutokomanawa	mainstay
Pouwharekura	the 5th and last wife of Kahungunu
pōwhiri	welcoming ceremony
pūhā	sow thistle
pupu	catseye a type of shellfish
puputu	lie in a heap one upon another
Putiputi Kanehana	a Māori song
raepoto	short forehead
raeroa	long forehead
rākau	stick, tree
rākau a Tū	weaponry
rangatahi	youth
rangatira	leader

Ranginui	sky father
Raoa	a river in Taranaki
rāranga kōrero	narrative and experience
Raukawa	a tribe
reiputa	elder
remu	hem of a garment
rewena	a type of bread
rongoā	medicine, Māori traditional medicine
rōpū	group
rori	road
ruruhi	elderly woman
taea	able
taewa	potato
Tahu Potiki	A Māori meeting facility affiliated with the Wesleyan Church in Hawera
Taiporohenui	A marae near Hawera
takatū	adaptability
taketuku	transmission
take-utu-ea	an ethical principle denoting perspective, and the need to maintain balance
tākoha	contribution
Tama-nui-te-rā	the sun
tamariki	children
Tāngahoe	a river and a tribe in South Taranaki
tangi	to cry, mourn
tangihanga	mourning ritual often carried out over a number of days
tāpokopoko	soft, boggy
tapu	sacred, restricted
Taranaki	region in the west of the North Island
tarau	trousers
tarāwhare	wall of a house
tatahi	one
taua	elder

tauheke	older Māori man
tauiwi	foreigner
taupaenui	realised potential
Tawhitinui	a marae in South Taranaki
Te Ao Māori	the Māori world, as opposed to Te Ao Whānui, the wider world
Te Ao Mārama	the realm of being, world of light
Te Ao Whānui	the wider world, as opposed to te Ao Māori, the Māori world
Te Ātiawa	a tribe
Te Korekore, te kore	the realm of potential being, the nothingness
Te Ngutu o Te Manu	a place in South Taranaki
Te Oru Rangahau	conference held in 1998 regarding Māori and research
Te Pakakohi	a tribe
Te Pō	the realm of becoming, the night
te reo Māori	Māori language
te taha hinengaro	mental aspect
te taha tinana	physical aspect
te taha wairua	spiritual aspect
te taha whānau	social/family aspect
Te Waipounamu	the original name for the South Island
Te Waipuna Ariki	the divine fountain of Io the fountainhead
Te Whare Tapawhā	a Māori model of health
tihotihoi	to wonder about aimlessly
tikanga	Māori process
tino rangatiratanga	self-determination
Titiraupenga	a place in the Waikato region
tohunga	a Māori specialist in a particular field
toitoi	active life
toitūtanga	endurance/adaptability
tono	to make a formal request; the formal request itself
tūi	to weave together
Turuturumokai	a place in South Taranaki

urupā	graveyard
wahine	woman
wai	water
waiata	song
waiata mōteatea	traditional Māori song
waiata tangi	traditional Māori lament song
Waikato-Maniapoto	a tribal region
wairua	spirit
wairuatanga	an ethical principle denoting spirituality
waka	canoe
wānanga	Māori higher institution of learning
whaikōrero	formal speechmaking
whakamā	ashamed, embarrassed
whakapapa	genealogy
whakatauākī	proverbial saying in which circumstances of the identity of the person who coined the saying is known
whakatauki	proverbial saying in which the information regarding the specific context or individual is not known
whakawai	proverb
whakawhanaungatanga	interconnectedness
whānau	family, usually encompassing wider membership than the nuclear family
whanaungatanga	an ethical principle denoting connectedness to Māori collectives
whāngai	adoption, adopted child, to feed
Whanganui	a city in the west North Island
whānui	wide
whare	house
wharekai	dining house
wharenui	meeting house
Wharepuni	a marae near Hawera

Appendix One

QUALITATIVE STUDY INFORMATION SHEET



Massey University
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POSITIVE AGEING AND MĀORI

Information Sheet

Who is the Researcher?

William Edwards (Taranaki, Ngāruahine, Tāngahoe, Pakakohi, Ngāti Ruanui) is a Doctoral Research Fellow based at Te Pūmanawa Hauora, the Research Centre for Māori Health and Development, Massey University.

The study forms part of William's thesis required for a PhD in Public Health.

This study is supervised by Professor Mason Durie, Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Māori), Massey University and Professor Chris Cunningham, Research Centre for Māori Health and Development, Massey University.

How can they be contacted?

William Edwards, Doctoral Research Fellow
Te Pūmanawa Hauora
Research Centre for Maori Health and Development
Massey University
Private Bag 11222
Palmerston North, Ph (06) 356 9099



Both supervisors can also be contacted at Massey University.

What is the study about?

The study is concerned with identifying the characteristics of positive ageing for Māori people.

What will I be asked to do?

You will be asked to take part in a face to face interview. The interview will be about your perspectives on positive ageing. The interview will take about 120 minutes.

Interviews will be recorded on a digital voice recorder. (Any transcriber employed in the study will be required to complete a confidentiality agreement).

After the interview has been transcribed the interviewer will arrange a time with you to review the transcript. You will have the chance to check the transcript for accuracy or elaborate further on its content.

If you wish, a copy of the transcript and audio recording from your interview will be made for you for your records.

After completion of the study all notes, transcriptions and audio recordings will be securely stored for one year after which time they will be destroyed.

What are the benefits of the research?

It is hoped that by identifying characteristics of positive ageing for Māori, policymakers will be better informed to cater for the needs of older Māori people now and in the future. Māori perspectives on positive ageing are important for Māori organizations such as iwi, hapū, whānau or other groups. Also national and local

government policy can better serve Māori with a greater understanding of what positive ageing means for Māori people.

It is intended that the thesis and other reports will be made available to Māori and government policy makers and academics. A published version may also be made available for wider distribution.

If you take part in the study, you

- can refuse to answer any questions or stop at any time.
- can ask any questions you want about the study.
- can ask another person to be present at the interview.
- can request that the tape recorder be turned off at anytime during the interview.
- will receive a summary of findings at the end of the study.

There is no obligation for you to take part in this study and you have the right to decline.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, Palmerston North Application 04/103. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Professor John O'Neill, Chair, Massey University Campus Human Ethics Committee: PN, telephone 06 356 9099 extn 8635, email humanethicspn@massey.ac.nz

Appendix Two

QUALITATIVE STUDY CONSENT FORM



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POSITIVE AGEING AND MĀORI

CONSENT FORM

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I understand I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time and to decline to answer any particular questions.

I agree to provide information to the researcher on the understanding that my name will not be used without my permission. (The information will be used only for this research and publications arising from this research project).

I agree to the interview being audio recorded.

I also understand that I have the right to ask for the audio recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signed:

Name:

Date:

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, Palmerston North Application 04/103. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Professor John O'Neill, Chair, Massey University Campus Human Ethics Committee: PN, telephone 06 356 9099 extn 8635, email humanethicspn@massey.ac.nz



Appendix Three

QUALITATIVE STUDY INTERVIEW SCHEDULE



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POSITIVE AGEING AND MĀORI INTERVIEW SCHEDULE OUTLINE

Date:

Time:

Location:

Participant number:

1. Participant profile

Could you please tell me a little bit about yourself?

Date and place of birth

Iwi affiliations

Language

Childhood experiences

Education

Work history

Living circumstances

Number of children

Number of grandchildren



2. Priorities in old age

What things are important for you to age well as you get older?

What, if any, of those things you mentioned are particular to Māori?

Are there any other things, other than what you've already mentioned, that are particular to Māori?

3. Changes in ageing issues over time

Do you think the opportunities you have as an older person are different to those your elders experienced?

Do you think the opportunities you have as an older person will be different to the opportunities your grandchildren will have as older people?

Do you think the challenges that may sometimes stop you as an older person from enjoying life are different to those your elders faced?

Do you think the challenges that may sometimes stop you as an older person from enjoying life will be different to those your grandchildren face as older people?

4. Ageing and home

Can you tell me a little about where you were born and raised, where you spent your adult life and where you live now?

What were some of the reasons for shifting location?

Why do you live where you do now?

If you have a choice where would you like to spend the later years of your life?

When the time comes where would you like to be buried? Why there?

5. Older Māori and cultural roles

When you attend Māori gatherings are you asked to undertake particular roles?

Do you feel comfortable with this?

Have you been expected to fulfil different roles as you have gotten older?

How do you cope with these expectations?
What sort of support would you like to fulfil these roles?

6. Older Māori and whānau

As you have become older has your role with your whānau changed?

As you have grown older what do you do for your whānau?

As you have grown older what does your whānau do for you?

How do you make whānau decisions?

Do you have the final say, do your adult children, consensus, vote

Thinking back to the first part of our discussion about what is important for you to age well, do you find your whānau help you achieve that or sometimes does the whānau make it more difficult?

Do you live with other whānau members in your household?

What are some of the advantages of this? What are some of the challenges of this?

Appendix Four

TRANSCRIBER CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT



Massey University
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

RESEARCH CENTRE FOR MAORI
HEALTH AND DEVELOPMENT
School of Maori Studies
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www.massey.ac.nz

TRANSCRIBER CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

Positive ageing for Māori

Transcriber Confidentiality Agreement

I have been employed by Te Pūmanawa Hauora, Research Centre of Māori Health and Development, Massey University as a transcriber.

I agree to keep strictly confidential all information I may be privy to during my employment including, the identity of those interviewed and the views expressed by interviewees. I will only discuss these matters with members of the research team during the term of my employment with the project.

Signed:

Name:

Date:



Appendix Five

ETHICAL APPROVAL NOTIFICATION



Massey University

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23 June 2004

Professor Mason Durie
Assistant Vice-Chancellor Maori
Heritage House
TURITEA CAMPUS

Dear Mason

**Re: HEC: PN Application – 04/103
Oranga Kaumatua: A study of the health and well-being of older Maori**

Thank you for your letter dated 16 June 2004 and the amended application.

The amendments you have made now meet the requirements of the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Palmerston North and the ethics of your application are approved. Approval is for three years. If this project has not been completed within three years from the date of this letter, a new application must be submitted at that time.

If the nature, content, location, procedures or personnel of your approved application change, please advise the Secretary of the Committee.

A reminder to include the following statement on all public documents "This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, Palmerston North Application 04/103. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Professor Sylvia Rumball, Chair, Massey University Campus Human Ethics Committee: PN, telephone 06 350 5249, email humanethicspn@massey.ac.nz"

Yours sincerely

Professor Sylvia V Rumball, Chair
Massey University Campus Human Ethics Committee: Palmerston North

cc: Professor Chris Cunningham, Dr Maureen Holdaway, Amohia Boulton, William Edwards
School of Maori Studies
PN601

Massey University Human Ethics Committee
Accredited by the Health Research Council



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4 October 2007

**COPY FOR YOUR
INFORMATION**

Professor Mason Durie
Assistant Vice-Chancellor Maori
Heritage House
PN734

Dear Mason

**Re: HEC: PN Application – 04/103
Oranga Kaumatua: A study of the health and well-being of older Maori**

Thank you for your letter dated 27 July 2007 outlining the changes you wish to make to the above application.

The Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern A considered the request for an extension at their meeting held on Tuesday 14 August 2007.

The extension to HEC: PN Application 04/103 has been approved for a three year period to August 2010. If this project has not been completed within three years, a new application must be submitted at that time.

If the nature, content, location, procedures or personnel of your approved application change, please advise the Secretary of the Committee.

Yours sincerely

Professor John O'Neill, Chair
Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern A

cc: Dr Maureen Holdaway
Research Centre for Maori Health
& Development
PN601

Professor Chris Cunningham, Director
Research Centre for Maori Health
& Development
WELLINGTON

Massey University Human Ethics Committee
Accredited by the Health Research Council



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