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Te Reo o Ngā Kaumātua \ Voices of the Elders

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Abstract

This study explores and discusses the concept of kaumātua and their roles. Key questions are from a Māori perspective. Discussed are the concept of kaumātua, what the role of kaumatua entails, and the role's importance to Māori society. The makeup of kaumātua is also studied to ascertain qualities, attributes, skills and mannerisms towards 'kaumātuatanga', that is, 'being kaumātua'. Kaupapa Maori research and western research methodologies are used throughout this study.

The findings of the study show that kaumātua are people who have been recognised by whānau, hapū and iwi for the leadership roles they undertake. They are the elders of the iwi, respected and acknowledged for their knowledge and wisdom, and are in constant demand as mentors, advisors and teachers. Kaumātua roles are many and diverse, and are underpinned in the values of tikanga Māori. Crucially, kaumātua are committed to working for their whānau, hapū and iwi. They also have strong supportive whanaungatanga relationships with other kaumātua and build and gain from each others strengths while striving towards the same goals. Kaumātua have specific aspirations and goals, with the bigger picture being to build platforms contributing towards a better world for Māori, and bringing people together in unity. Furthermore, as kaumātua think towards the future wellbeing of their people, they are constantly searching for younger people to follow in their footsteps.

He Mihi \ Acknowledgements

<i>Ki ōku kaumātua kua wheturangihia</i>	<i>To my esteemed elders who have passed on</i>
<i>ka tukuna te aroha kia rere</i>	<i>love is let go to flow</i>
<i>ka tukuna te roimata kia maringi</i>	<i>tears are let go to pour</i>
<i>moe mai e ōku mātua</i>	<i>sleep my esteemed parents</i>
<i>kia aio te takotoranga me ō tūpuna i te pō</i>	<i>so in peace as you lie with your ancestors.</i>

<i>Kia tātou ngā waihotanga o rātou mā</i>	<i>To those of us who are left</i>
<i>He mihi ki a koutou</i>	<i>salutations to you also</i>
<i>i runga i te āhuetanga o te wā.</i>	<i>at this time.</i>

(T. Carkeek, personal communication, November 5, 2010).

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Chapter One: He Timatanga \ Introduction

The purpose of this study is to investigate the roles of kaumātua and provide evidence of their importance to both Māori and non Māori society. There is a common assumption that Maori people who are elderly are kaumātua, having reached this status due to their later years. Yet from personal observations through working alongside kaumātua I have seen there is much more. Life experience, understanding and wisdom gained from experience, knowledge of tikanga Māori, and numerous and varied abilities are also within the makeup of a kaumātua. My research question relates directly to the kaumātua role from a Māori perspective. That is, what the role of a kaumatua is and what its importance is to Māori society. Furthermore, what qualifications does a person have to have to be a kaumātua; why do kaumātua do what they do; and how are they appreciated?

He taura kaumātua \ Kaumātua role models

This chapter opens through following and walking along the tapuae (sacred footprints) of two Rangitāne kuia, Reverend Kahu Durie, and Kui Yvonne Marshall. These kuia have recently passed away, however roles they carried for their people in to their older years have positively contributed to shaping contemporary society. Their roles are to be remembered and passed on for future generations to follow. Both kuia epitomise kaumātuatanga, that is, the characteristics and functions of being kaumātua within the Rangitāne rohe.

Reverend Kahu Hurihia Durie

An unshakeable faith and a simple philosophy of karma drove Reverend Kahu Hurihia Durie to fulfil a life dedicated to uplifting others (Kirk, 2011). The Manawātū Standard newspaper recorded that Reverend Kahu served her community for more than 60 years (Kirk, 2011). She was described by her daughter as knowing who she was, and a woman who lived with integrity "She was inclusive and affirming of all people, and a fearless, loving, gracious and positive woman. She had a deep, unshakeable Christian faith and a strong, traditional Maori upbringing, both of which she lived by in her daily life" (Kirk, 2011).

Born in Feilding in 1926, Reverend Kahu grew up at Aorangi Marae and at Kakariki – attending Taonui School and Hukarere College. After completing a qualification at Wellington Teachers' Training College, her first teaching post took her to Pipiwai School near Whangarei

in 1947. She taught at a range of schools in the North Island before moving to Whangarei in late 1971. There she joined the Maori Women's Welfare League and later went on to be made a life member. She taught at Tikipunga Primary School for nearly 30 years and during her time there Reverend Kahu introduced one of the first Te Reo Maori programmes into the school's curriculum. Being a fluent speaker, she also taught at Te Kura o Matawaia and Motatau School.

It was in Whangarei that Reverend Kahu became active in the Anglican Church and after retiring from teaching fulltime in 1986, became more active both in pastorate and parish divisions, becoming a kai karakia in 1993. In 1996 she was ordained a full priest. She returned to Manawatu in 1999 becoming a member of the ministry team at St Michaels Māori Anglican church in Palmerston North. Not long after her return to Palmerston North Reverend Kahu rallied the local community for a young Mum who lost all her possessions in a house fire, gathering together a houseload of furniture and whiteware.

In 2008 Reverend Kahu was awarded a QSM (Queen's Service Medal) for her work in the community in the 2007-08 New Year's Honours list, in particular for her work in education and the establishment of a funded Maori chaplaincy position at Palmerston North Hospital – a position she held from 2005 to 2008 (Kirk, 2011). Also politically active, after her retirement from the Māori chaplaincy position, Reverend Kahu lobbied to have the Māori chaplaincy re-instated presenting a 1,500 signature petition to the MidCentral District Health Board (Rankin, 2009). Archdeacon Wiremu Te Tipi Te Awe Awe and Reverend Jackqueline Te Awe Awe of the Māori Anglican Church in Palmerston North acknowledged Reverend Kahu as being committed to what she believed. They described her as “a real deep Christian, a gentle yet thorough woman, and when she started something she would finish it, and kept going right until the end” (Archdeacon Wiremu Te Tipi Te Awe Awe & Reverend Jackqueline Te Awe Awe, personal communication, February 13, 2013).

Reverend Kahu also counselled students at the Palmerston North Bible College, and provided spiritual guidance and support to Māori nurses in primary healthcare. In this role, her ministry extended to working with Aorangi Hospital, Arohanui Hospice, Ozanam House, the Church Leaders Association, rest homes and Maori health providers (Kirk, 2011). She was also recognised as a kaumātua to these organisations and many more, including but not limited to Palmerston North Girls' High School, Te Manawa Museum, and the Corrections Justice Department.

Her daughter Hurihia Tomo told the Manawātū Standard her mother was never one to sit still, and lived by a simple philosophy. "Her work within the community reflected the contribution given by her parents in their time. It was an expectation and one that she loved fulfilling. She valued people and believed all good things were possible" (Kirk, 2011).

Yvonne Marama Pamela Marshall

Yvonne Marama Pamela Marshall, Justice of the Peace, and awarded a Queens Service Medal, was 71 when she passed away in August 2010. Kui Yvonne dedicated her career and life to the progression of her iwi, Rangitāne, and also to the wider Māori and non Māori communities of Palmerston North. She was a founding kuia of Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Manawatū, and believed helping establish a medium Te Reo Māori school, where only the Māori language is spoken, was her greatest achievement (Kirk, 2010). In 2002 Kui Yvonne received a Palmerston North City Council Civic Award for her commitment to the community and for her founding role with Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Manawatū, and her ongoing voluntary assistance with Te Kura. She was committed to the progression of Māori youth, her iwi, and the wider Māori community. Although not a fluent speaker of Te Reo Māori, Kui Yvonne could understand the language, was very knowledgeable in whakapapa and tikanga, and fully supported her whānau. Her mokopuna having grown up in Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori, and her daughter being the first principal of Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Manawatū, and the present principal of Hato Paora College. Debi Marshall-Lobb described her mother as a person who valued education, saying

“the success of the young people gave her immense pleasure in seeing them succeed, likewise the challenges they encountered gave her the motivation to look for solutions to helping them and making education more accessible and responsive to the needs of the learner” (personal communication, February 27, 2013).

According to Debi (personal communication, February 27, 2013), Kui Yvonne also visited all Secondary Schools in the Manawatū-Horowhenua region for many years while a Maori Welfare Community Officer, where she supported and encouraged young Māori to pursue their educational aspirations (this included trade training and tertiary studies).

Kui Yvonne was also knowledgeable in the art of weaving, and this was evidenced in her teaching, which was only one of her many roles as a kuia \ kaumātua. She established the “Highbury Weavers” in Palmerston North, and led and taught people from all walks of life the art of korowai weaving. Her students were both old and young, with some as much as 10 years her senior. In addition to the Highbury Weavers, Kui Yvonne would go to Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Manawatū to teach the mothers to weave korowai for their own children’s graduations from the Kura (Rangi C. Fitzgerald, personal communication, February 10, 2013). Such was her talent she was asked to contribute her art to many community projects,

and her works can also be seen displayed in numerous prominent places in Palmerston North.

Kaumātua Rangi Clarry Fitzgerald of Rangitāne and Teresa Martin of Ngāti Maniapoto were two of her students and described Kui Yvonne as patient, having a good sense of humour, knowledgeable, and kind hearted (personal communication, February 10, 2013). Whenever her students were invited to display their art, Kui Yvonne was a stickler for presentation. She was a perfectionist, if there was a mistake in any of her students weaving, it would be undone and started again, no matter how much the weaver had completed. She also made sure her students knew about the depth of what they were weaving, including each separate line being created. According to Teresa and Rangi “she taught us each single line, the aho and the whenu, and would make everyone pluck at least one bird, none of this buying feathers” and “everyone had to start from the beginning, even those with weaving experience” (personal communication, February 10, 2013). A stickler for tikanga, she followed processes such as karakia, waiata, along with showing manaakitanga and aroha to her students. A Vietnam War veteran, Rangi added “she was everywhere, always supporting, even at the dawn parades” and added she didn’t have to speak “just to be seen, meant everything” (R. Fitzgerald, personal communication, February 10, 2013). There was huge respect for Kui Yvonne, with Teresa expressing “she touched our hearts in a very big way, and her loss was a sad loss for all of us” (T. Martin, personal communication, February 10, 2013).

In addition to her cultural knowledge, Kui Yvonne was well educated in the Pākehā world, and walked confidently in both Māori and non Māori environments. Service to her iwi and the community also included but is not limited, to being a member of Te Kaunihera Kaumātua o Rangitāne; the Kurahaupo Waka Society; Rangitāne Māori Women’s League; a Justice of the Peace; Palmerston North City Councillor; a member of the community advisory group of the Manawātū Primary Health organisation; the Manawātū Prison Board; the faculty of humanities and business studies board of the Universal College of Education; and the Tiritea Country Women’s club to name a few (Palmerston North City Council, 2010).

Former Palmerston North Mayor Paul Reiger (as cited in Kirk, 2010) recalled her absolute dedication to the community and, particularly, the Maori community. Expressing Kui Yvonne’s role as a Palmerston North City Councillor Mr Reiger stated “she was an excellent Councillor by all accounts” and how “she listened to what the issues were and thought carefully about each one. You couldn’t ask for a better Councillor than that” (Kirk, 2010). Mr Reiger also said Kui Yvonne was, in a sense, a very private person, but she worked tirelessly for the whole community.

Te Pūtake \ Background

Through their respective roles as kuia and kaumātua Reverend Kahu and Kui Yvonne have contributed to the standing and mana of their people. Evidenced are the many qualities and attributes they had as kaumātua, and the fact they carried significant obligations and responsibilities not only for their whānau, hapū and iwi, but for the wider Māori and non Māori communities as well. There are many expectations of kaumātua from the communities they live in, and this study hopes to highlight those expectations and how those expectations are met.

A major reason for profiling Reverend Kahu and Kui Yvonne is they were also going to be asked to participate in this study. Sadly they both passed away shortly before the interviews took place. Both were also involved in the capacity as kaumatua advisors with three of the male kaumātua participants interviewed in chapter four of this thesis. All of these kaumātua served on the same particular kaumātua advisory committee in Palmerston North. In addition to being on the same committee they would also assist each other sometimes individually, and sometimes in collectives on many other occasions pertaining to their iwi responsibilities. Therefore Kui Yvonne and Reverend Kahu have also both provided and contributed to the balance of female and male kaumātua participants portrayed within this study who have played major kaumātua roles within the Rangitāne area. To follow leads up to why I decided to choose kaumātua, and in particular kaumātua who serve in the rohe (district) of Rangitāne o Manawatū and their roles as the topic chosen for this study.

Personal Journey and Reasons

As part of the tangata whenua (local tribe) of Rangitāne in Palmerston North and the surrounding wider Manawatū areas, my role as a Rangitāne woman has led me to working in numerous areas for my iwi, and inevitably to close contact with kaumātua, who act as advisors, confidants, and important support people. Within the last 25 years I have had the privilege of observing and working closely with kaumātua from and within the tribal area of Rangitāne, as well as kaumātua who are “taura here”. “Taura here” means “to be tied to” and metaphorically speaking in the context of this study, are kaumātua who have tied their canoes to a landing place away from their original home place. That is, although living in Palmerston North, kaumātua who are “taura here” are from various tribal areas located widely throughout Aotearoa.

Because of my work alongside and with kaumātua living within the tribal area of Rangitāne, I undertook this research to find out what drives our elders to do the work they do, how they work, and also to provide evidence of the value their presence and work brings

to society. That is, their roles, and the importance of their roles to Māori people. Therefore it is through the lens of observing and working with and for kaumātua in the tribal areas of Palmerston North and Manawatū that this research is mainly based upon. In addition to my observations I have also been observed by the aforementioned kaumātua, and gained their confidence in allowing me to conduct this study. Kaumātua roles, their capacity in those roles, and the importance of the roles are highlighted in the thesis.

This study will also provide evidence of kaumātua roles being varied and numerous. Durie (2003a) mentions the standing of the tribe and its mana is related to the presence of its kaumātua, with kaumātua being expected to attend important occasions on behalf of their iwi. This not only includes on the marae but also in advisory capacities away from the marae, including but not limited to being representative on both Māori and non Māori boards and committees, and contributing to important decision making on behalf of Māori people.

In many cases this is not a choice for kaumātua, but an expectation and responsibility of them from their iwi, hapū and whānau. Therefore integral to reasons for undertaking this research is a realisation of the enormity these expectations can bring to kaumātua roles; why kaumātua do what they do for their communities; and the impacts and influences these roles may have upon kaumātua and their (kaumātua) lives. There is an importance to portray kaumātua and their willingness to uphold Māoritanga through their support not only to iwi, hapū and whānau, but to a wider community including both Māori and non Māori.

Furthermore, there is some literature around Māori leadership, however very little has focussed on the role of kaumātua in contemporary Aotearoa \ New Zealand society. I therefore also decided to undertake this study due to very little being written in contemporary times about the services kaumātua provide to the community, or what is written is piecemeal, hence my desire to expand on this area, giving recognition to work that kaumātua do for the community.

My experience with kaumātua in the last 25 years has been through 1. supporting and being a part of the Māori Anglican church in Palmerston North, and 2. working closely with my whānau, hapū, and iwi of Rangitāne o Manawatū. It is within these two contexts I have observed kaumātua in leadership roles, with their kaumātuatanga (kaumātua being) having been applied to contemporary society through serving the community.

These experiences have continued to shape my thinking about the role of kaumātua. It is also as a result of these experiences I decided to explore the roles of kaumātua, and the importance of their roles.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi me Ngā Kaumātua \ The Treaty of Waitangi and Kaumātua

The Treaty of Waitangi symbolises an obligation by the Crown to act within the principles of partnership, participation, and protection (Te Puni Kokiri, 2001). Protection includes but is not limited to all things regarded as taonga (treasures) (Te Puni Kokiri, 2001). Today these taonga are recognised as Te Reo Māori and ngā āhuatanga Māori, which encompasses all things pertaining to Māori culture, values and spirituality. Instances where local body Government authorities and non Māori organisations request kaumātua assistance may be mainly in order to fulfil those obligations. I also undertook this study to provide evidence of kaumātua roles being important, valued and valid, and also to gain an insight in to how kaumātua see their roles with non Māori organisations.

Whakarāpopoto \ Summary

Kaumātua and their roles have been introduced in this chapter as the main topic of research to this study. Two Rangitāne kuia (female elders) have paved the way for the research journey to commence, showing their roles as upholding the mana and status of their whānau, hapū and iwi. Although these kuia have both passed on, their legacies remain for others to follow. Furthermore their roles as kaumātua provide insight to expectations implicated in the roles of other kaumātua. This study therefore further seeks to gather and find information pertaining to kaumātua and specifically looks at roles undertaken in the rohe (district) of Rangitāne iwi in the Manawatū.

The following chapter two provides an overall and broad view of kaumātua roles, that is, universal views of the notion of kaumātua throughout Aotearoa New Zealand. These views illustrate and discuss where the notion or concept of kaumātua and their roles originated. Throughout, information from a Māori worldview determines the roles of kaumātua, along with kaumātua traits, attributes, qualities and mannerisms. Chapter two gives rise to the importance of kaumātua roles and how those roles have evolved throughout generations.

Chapter three discusses the methodology used within the research, showing both kaupapa Māori research and western research approaches.

Chapter four gives further insight to the roles of kaumātua within the Rangitāne rohe in the Manawatū. The stories of kaumātua and their roles are heard through their voices, giving credence to the legacies of Reverend Kahu and Kui Yvonne, and also of the many others who have gone before them. Kaumātua participants also provide evidence of the

mana (status) kaumātua carry in their endeavours towards benefitting their whānau, hapū and iwi.

An overall interpretation is provided in chapter five, bringing together the wider implications towards kaumātua and the roles they undertake. Goals of kaumātua are expressed, with chapter five also offering recommendations towards guidance and understanding of implications pertaining to kaumātua roles. Chapter six is the overall conclusion of the thesis.

The appendix includes a glossary of Māori words and their interpretations.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Kaumātua – Ko Ngā Ariā \ Concepts on Being a Kaumātua.

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss “kaumātua” when used to describe people who are recognised from a Māori perspective. Their roles and the importance of those roles are discussed, along with where and how the concept of kaumātua originated.

Kaumātua

Winiata (1967) argued that age is an important qualification to being a kaumātua, with grey hair (hina) indicating wisdom, knowledge and skills gained over time. These attributes can enable kaumātua to assume positions of leadership for the hapū, and the tribe as a whole (Winiata, 1967). Kaumātua roles may include speaking on behalf of the people (iwi, hapū, whānau); resolving conflicts; carrying the culture; protecting and nurturing; and recognising and encouraging the potential of younger people (Durie, 2003a; Katene, 2010). Kaumātua are expected to show spiritual leadership in either “religious or cultural contexts” (Durie, 2003a, p. 77), being required to perform ceremonial occasions such as tangihanga (funerals) or blessings of homes. Walker (1996b) describes kaumātua in previous times as the spokespeople for the whānau “on the marae, the ceremonial courtyard” (pp. 76-77). He goes on to say that kaumātua had control of and made all major decisions pertaining to the wellbeing of the whānau, the use of the land, and the education of children (Walker, 1996b).

Katene (2010) depicts kaumātua status as depending on “whakapapa, age, wisdom and experience” (p. 5). While Durie et al. (as cited in Edwards, 2010) found that “being considered a kaumātua is more about role and function than about age” (p. 20). Both Durie (2003a) and Edwards (2010) argue that younger people with exceptional skills may fulfil the role of kaumātua where there is a lack of older Māori to fill those roles. In addition, Edwards (2010) expresses “these roles may include formal speaking on the marae, speaking for the tribe, and conflict resolution” (p. 21). According to Durie (2003a), kaumātua status is universally recognised as people being aged from their mid-sixties, and occasionally younger people of exceptional skills will join the ranks of kaumātua.

Tauroa & Tauroa (1986) argue there is no particular time or age when a person becomes a kaumātua, with the status usually conferred by the whānau upon an elder to which they regard in a special way. Accordingly, these “kaumātua have an honoured place in the whānau”, as well as having a “special place in the community” (Tauroa & Tauroa, 1986, p. 146). According to Tauroa & Tauroa (1986) kaumātua are knowledgeable in Māori

traditions, having wisdom through experience, and are someone people can confidently go to for advice when an answer is required. Durie (2003a) argues that particular roles are enhanced when filled by kaumātua, and the standing of the tribe and its mana is also related to the physical presence of its elders. That is, at important hui (Māori gatherings), kaumātua are expected to attend. Durie (2003a) gives the example of tangihanga (funeral), where it is still considered undignified for people to travel without their kaumātua to guide and perform ceremonial duties on their behalf. Furthermore, a bereaved family will be frowned upon if they do not have a kaumātua in their presence supporting them (Durie, 2003a).

The literature shows a common assumption is that kaumātua are people who are advanced in years, knowledgeable in Māori tradition, and have leadership roles integral to Māori society. They are held in high esteem, showing wisdom through experience, and to whom people are confident to go to for consultation and advice on aspects which are important to Māori society. Furthermore, their presence at important occasions (in the eyes of Māori people) contributes to the mana of the iwi.

On the other hand, also acknowledged is the fact that not all kaumātua carry the totality of qualities expected in a Māori cultural context (Durie, 2003a; Edwards, 2010). Not every kaumātua is a te reo Māori speaker, or has in-depth knowledge of Māori cultural practices. This is largely due to the effects of colonisation and the domination of non Māori culture in contemporary New Zealand society (Edwards, 2010). The 1800's Pākehā education and law systems gave effect to assimilation of Pākehā practices leading to the diminishment of Māori language and culture (Ka'ai, 2007; McMurchy-Pilkington, 2001; Simon, 2000). In order to survive in a changing world, while also recovering from World War 2, in the 1950's Māori people shifted in large numbers from their rural tribal homelands to the cities (Edwards, 2010). According to Durie (as cited in Edwards, 2010) in less than 25 years 80% of Māori had relocated from their tribal homelands to cities. The impact was a reduction of whānau cohesion imposed by physical distance, and a significant diminishment of tribal identity and Māori language and culture (Edwards, 2010). Those Māori who stayed at the marae carried the tenure of Māori custom, while those who moved to the cities were marginalised by the culture of western authority (Edwards, 2010). With the result, a gradual change in Māori society happened, with a new generation of kaumātua in today's society facing new challenges when carrying out tribal and hapū cultural duties that are expected of them when they become older in years. According to Durie (2003b) just as some kaumātua have little option but to accept a role prescribed by their culture, there are some who have little option but to discard it.

Edwards (2010) states the extent to which cultural knowledge reflecting the typical experiences of Māori people are unclear, due to the cultural diversities experienced between Māori communities over time. Contemporary kaumātua face challenges their kaumātua

would not have had to face (Edwards, 2010). In a kaumātua research project carried out with over 400 kaumātua born between 1920 and 1930, less than half spoke te reo Māori and 78.1% of those that did lived in rural areas (Kepa, 2010). Kaumātua are not necessarily speakers of te reo Māori nor versed in tribal lore or customs (Durie, 1999), and according to Edwards (2010) depending on their roles, nor do they need be. For example Edwards (2010) argues “te reo Māori is not a pre-requisite for the transmission of knowledge relating to local history or whakapapa” (p. 271). Kaumātua carry different strengths and attributes, for example there are also elderly people who are given the status of kaumātua due to their life experiences, wisdom, humility, and ability to listen. Furthermore, expectations of some kaumātua by their iwi, hapū and whānau see them placed in positions of cultural leadership even though they are not fluent speakers of te reo Māori. This includes but is not limited to being the cultural face and voice on corporate boards in both Māori and non Māori organisations (Edwards, 2010).

In today's society kaumātua participate in cultural roles on and away from the marae which extend to roles in non Māori mainstream organisations (Edwards, 2010). However due to a lack of education and skills this can become a burden, leading to situations where kaumātua are in roles not suited to their particular talents (Edwards, 2010).

Burdens such as the above can be overcome through reciprocal efforts where people are working collectively towards a similar goal with each taking a part according to their particular strengths. Kaumātua as role models for younger people, recognise and encourage the potential of younger people (Durie, 2003a; Katene, 2010), and are able to designate particular roles to those younger generations they feel are more competent to do the job. Durie (2003a) also argues in exchange for the often onerous roles kaumātua fulfil, whānau and hapū recognise the need to look after and care for their kaumātua. This is often seen in the form of kaumātua housing; funding for transport; marae hospitality; and finance for out of pocket expenses (Durie, 2003a). Similarly Edwards (2010) states there is generally a high degree of reciprocity between whānau to their kaumātua, and also gives examples such as providing transport, funding and support during illness. However it is also acknowledged that there are whānau who are not happy about demands placed on their elderly whānau members, and keen to care for and protect them from undue stress may be “overly restrictive, blocking access to community or discouraging a wider role in the community” (Durie, 2003a, p. 80). A balance is required between personal needs and social obligations which may be compromised by over protective attitudes that can occur within whānau situations (Durie, 2003a).

Edwards (2010) suggests larger numbers of kaumātua working together to support each other being set up to decrease unreasonable demands on individuals. In addition wānanga could be run to upskill kaumātua with regard to customary knowledge in order that

more elders may take on formal roles (Edwards, 2010). Kruger (1996) argues “A leader doesn’t necessarily have to be in the front. There are some great leaders that have lead from within the group, from behind” (p. 3). People take leadership roles at different stages and different times, and work together to fulfil expectations and responsibilities. Within the context of kaumātua leadership, on the marae the kuia will karanga, the kaumātua will whaikōrero, and the ringawera will ensure the manaakitanga of the marae (Mead, 2003a). In another context, a kaumātua may be computer literate, yet unable to speak te reo Māori, while his or her counterpart may be the opposite. In any context kaumātua are able to share and enhance each others’ strengths, and continue to carry the mana of and for their people.

For decades, significant achievements have been accomplished, where kaumātua have been working for Māori health, language, education and economic development (Department of Health, 1984; Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, 2012). Examples of achievements and discussion on roles of kaumātua and their importance to Māori society are mentioned further in this chapter, coinciding with adjoining whakatauki.

Although generally termed as ‘kaumātua’, there are also a range of other names that have the same meaning, differing according to tribal dialects (Higgins & Meredith, 2011b). These names include but are not limited to elder, ancestor / grandparent, “tipuna”, “tupuna”, “matua tupuna”, “kuia”, “taua” “hākui”, “pahake”, “ruruhi”, “koro and koroua” (Buck, 1949, p. 339; Edwards, 2010, p.6; Higgins & Meredith, 2011a; McEwen, 1986, p.163; Pere, 1994, p.49; 1997, p.10; Tauroa & Tauroa, 1986, p. 146). They are either female or male with females more commonly known as kuia and males as koroua (Higgins & Meredith, 2011a).

Whakapapa \ Origins

Stories explaining the origins and concept of kaumātua have been generationally passed down through myths and legends, and are embodied in whakapapa (Walker, 1996a).

“E kore e taka te parapara a ōna tūpuna, tukua iho ki a ia. *The qualities of his ancestors will not fail to be fulfilled, they will descend to him*” (Mead & Grove, 2001, p.34).

The above whakatauki (proverb) can be seen as tūpuna (ancestors) being role models for their descendants, with kaumātua inheriting particular qualities from those tūpuna. From a Māori cultural perspective the identifying of Māori ancestors and their deeds brings depth to the meaning of life, its beginning and end; and for humankind provides examples of where the concept of kaumātua originated, and its influence on the evolution of Māori society

from ancient time to today (Orbell, 1995). Explanations illustrating these examples and influences are discussed by various authors.

In the Māori world view everything has a whakapapa, that is, a beginning, or a place from which to derive or begin (Royal, 2003). Implicit in whakapapa are ideas of orderliness, sequence, evolution, and progress (Walker, 1996b). These ideas are portrayed through genealogical recitation of the beginning of the world and the creation of the universe, to the conception and birth of the first human being and subsequent descendants. The concept of whakapapa begins with Te Kore (the infinite void, the Nothing), and from Te Kore came Te Pō (the infinite darkness, the Night), (Grace & Kahukiwa, 1984; Hemara, 2000). Papatūānuku was conceived within Te Pō and she and the sky Rangi mated and became the parents of atua, or deities (Grace & Kahukiwa, 1984), also described as “spiritual beings with supernatural influences” (Pere, 1994, p. 15). Through the deeds and actions of these atua, whakapapa reveals where the concept of kaumātua began.

Ngā Mahi o Ngā Tūpuna Atua \ Roles of the Ancestral Deities

Māori viewed the world through ancestors personified by atua, (Royal, 2003), their traits, attributes and deeds, which are embodied in myths and legends. They saw examples of themselves in their images, and Walker (1992) states that “one way of looking at mythology is to read it as a mirror image of a culture” (p. 170). Reflected are the philosophy, ideals and norms of the people who adhere to them as legitimating characters (Walker, 1992). Marsden (as cited in Royal, 2003) describes Māori myths and legends as deliberate constructs to assimilate ancestors views of the world. They characterise kaumātua deeds and actions told in the creation stories of Rangi the sky father and Papatūānuku the earth mother, who’s offspring were atua and kaitiaki, being guardians and creators of all things (Orbell, 1995). Rowe (as cited in Grace and Kahukiwa, 1984) describes the stories as speaking directly to us about birth and death, male and female, mother and child. According to Kahukiwa (1984) they “provide answers in human terms to the way things are in our world” (p. 10), with the characters acting as humans do, but on a grander scale. Whakapapa is depicted, that is, how humankind came to being, their traits and actions; and origins of geographical locations. Orbell (1995) describes the name Tāne from the atua “Tāne being a personification of male, and that every human man who fathered a child was re-enacting the occasion on which Tāne having obtained a wife, fathered the first of his children” (p. 180). Creation stories such as these provide examples which characterise human traits and conducts of behaviour. Kaumātua, their responsibilities and obligations, and how and why

their roles are important are shown, along with tikanga providing underlying messages, morals and influences to te ao Māori.

Ngā Tikanga \ Influences on Appropriate Conduct and Behaviours

An integral code according to Pere (1994) is 'ngā tikanga', translated as "a system of rules and principles that were established and applied by 'our' ancestors" (pp. 88-89). Mead (2003b) in his description states that tikanga to Maori people is doing things the Māori way or according to Māori custom (customary practices); having a reason, motive or purpose; and being correct, or correctness (H. Mead, 2003b, p. 11). Ngā tikanga refers to principles Māori people view as being appropriate conduct according to their ancestral heritage (Pere, 1994).

Marsden in Royal (2003) states that kaitiaki, the children of Papatūānuku, were regarded as the "ancient ones" (Royal, 2003, p. 68) and were regarded by their descendants (humankind) as the ancestors. They can be seen as kaumātua who have influenced how humankind from a Māori world view should or shouldn't live their lives, by setting a precedence of tikanga through positive or negative behaviours and the consequences of those behaviours.

Matauranga \ Kaumātua as Repositories of Knowledge

Knowledge and wisdom were brought to the world through the ascent of Tāne to the highest heaven where he obtained the 'Baskets of Knowledge' and deposited them in Wharekura, which was the first Whare Wānanga (House of Learning or Wisdom) (Royal, 2003). Papatūānuku was the mother of Tāne, and from her Tāne sought advice from where to create the first female human, Hinetītama, who became the daughter of Hineahuone (Grace & Kahukiwa, 1984). The importance of this shows Papatūānuku not only as the earth mother, but also in her role as a kuia and advisor.

With myths and legends showing atua as the first role models for humankind, it is from them that Māori viewed their own world and roles within the world (Orbell, 1995). According to Edwards (2002) "Elders are repositories of knowledge" and "in demand by their family and tribe as advisors" (p. 64). From a Māori world view knowledge was inherited and succeeded to when a person was advanced in years, passed down from the ancestors as a manifestation of their image.

Further examples of early kaumātua roles are provided in the stories of Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga, also known as Maui Potiki and Maui, who in Māori mythology was half human and half atua (Reed, 1999). When his mother Taranga wrapped Maui in her hair and cast him in

to the ocean, he was found and saved by his grandfather, Tama-nui-ki-te-rangi (Higgins & Meredith, 2011c), described as “the old man who lived on the borders of the sky” (Reed, 1999, p. 34).

The story of Maui being found and subsequently raised and taught by his grandfather (Reed, 1999) gives additional support to describing kaumātua as teachers and repositories of knowledge (Edwards, 2002). Maui was taught and learnt many things from Tama-nui-ki-te-rangi (Reed, 1999). Following this tradition, for generations kaumātua have nurtured and taught their grandchildren, also known as mokopuna or descendants (Pere, 1994). Pere (1994) translates tīpuna and \ or tūpuna as meaning grandparents or ancestors. She goes on to describe the terms ‘tupuna’ and ‘mokopuna’ as being “linked together as one unit and are a part of each other” (Pere, 1994, p. 49). That is, the tupuna links the mokopuna with the past, and the mokopuna links the tupuna with the present and the future (Pere, 1994). According to Pere (1997, p. 10) tū can be interpreted in English as “being established”, and puna as “spring of water” (ibid). Hence tupuna is able to be interpreted as being “the spring of water that is continuously being established” (Pere, 1997, p. 10). Moko can be translated as tattoo or blueprint, and “can therefore be interpreted in to English as the blueprint of the spring of water” (Pere, 1997, p. 10). In Ka’ai’s description mokopuna who are brought up by their grandparents “form a strong bond that cannot be penetrated” (Ka’ai, 2005, p. 7). They are also identified as having knowledge far beyond their years, which is a consequence of the tribal knowledge they have received (Ka’ai, 2005).

The significance of kaumātua and their roles continues to be told in the Maui stories. According to Edwards (2005) Maui was inquisitive and went on to become “the human progenitor of re-search” (p. 2), and achieved many things for the benefit of mankind through the knowledge and talents of kaumātua. From Mahuika, his kuia (female kaumātua) he obtained fire; and the sacred jawbone from Muriranga-whenua, another kuia, allowed him the ability to fish up the North Island of Aotearoa and slow the sun down (Grace & Kahukiwa, 1984). Walker (1996a) describes kuia as “the keepers of knowledge, which the young need to succeed in the world” (Walker, 1996a, p. 20).

Māui was seeking answers to provide benefits for humankind (Edwards, 2005, p. 2), which as mentioned previously, included slowing down the sun; and providing humans with a valuable companion, source of food, and raw materials for cloaks and bone artefacts when he transformed his brother in law in to a dog (Walker, 1996a). Maui also set precedents in social etiquettes and behaviours through participating in tikanga (cultural practices) such as karakia and tapu. An example is shown in the way he would not allow his grandmother Muriranga-whenua to eat when he obtained her sacred jawbone (Grace & Kahukiwa, 1984), also known as kauae or kauwae (Williams, 1975). According to Ka’ai (2005, p. 5) “*kauae* also refers to knowledge, *te kauae runga* means esoteric knowledge and *te kauae raro*

means practical knowledge” . Maui’s grandmother’s jawbone was “the bone of enchantment and knowledge” (Grace & Kahukiwa, 1984, p. 52) and allowing her to eat food would have made the jawbone noa (normal), and taken away its spiritual powers (Grace & Kahukiwa, 1984). These kuia would not give away knowledge lightly, and only transmitted their knowledge to carefully selected descendants (Walker, 1996a). Their actions were passed down and continued throughout the generations, and when speaking about her own kaumātua Mihipeka Edwards (2002) described them as clever, observing the children’s brainpower before giving more to learn. They were also “steeped in karakia and tapu, respect for everything from the creator and the laws of nature” (Edwards, 2002, p. 102). This is shown further in the story of Maui, where due to his father’s mistake when reciting karakia Maui lost his quest for life when attempting to gain immortality from another ancestor and kuia, Hinenuitepō (Grace & Kahukiwa, 1984; Reed, 1999; Walker, 1996a).

These stories not only symbolise relationships and interactions between mokopuna and kaumātua, but between all people and kaumātua. They portray ancient kaumātua as teachers, guides, and advisors; keepers of knowledge and also of things considered to be sacred. These were symbols for humankind to follow and have continued to shape the way Māori view and act within the world (Orbell, 1995).

Matauranga \ Mokopuna as Repositories of Knowledge

“I ngā rā o mua.

Looking back is looking forward” (Emery, 2008, p. 23).

The above whakatauki acknowledges the deeds of ancestors and individuals are intimately tied, and the past influences both present and future (Hemara, 2000). While the following whakatauki shows that individuals are not alone nor will they ever be lost if they continue to affirm their connections (Hemara, 2000).

“Mate atu he tētēkura, whakaete mai he tētēkura.

A fern frond dies, but another rises to take its place.” (Hemara, 2000, p. 75).

Mokopuna, in particular the eldest, were seen as an important repository to pass knowledge on to, and were taken in by their kaumātua almost from birth (Pere, 1994). They were then “expected to support and advise his or her generation and younger members during their adulthood” (Pere, 1994, p. 50). Mokopuna who were brought up with their kaumātua were encouraged to interact and share the knowledge skills of a whole range of

people and age groups. In doing so they learnt to face any situation at both a personal and group level (Pere, 1994). The following whakatauki is provided in Mead & Grove (2001), and portrays the essence of quality gained by mokopuna who are taught by their elders:

“Tangata akona ki te kāinga, tūngia ki te marae, tau ana.”

If a person is taught at his or her home, he or she will stand with confidence on the marae, conducting him or herself properly. Māori who grow up in the community are taught by the elders how to conduct themselves confidently and competently in public.” (Mead & Grove, 2001, pp. 359-360).

Whanaungatanga \ Kinship Structures and Leadership

Leadership within the social structure of Māori society was “based on principles of ascription and primogeniture” (Walker, 1996b, p. 76), passed down through whakapapa (genealogy). Originating and descending from the atua, the oldest child of the senior line inherited the role of paramount leader. Thus being the recognised leader over the entire iwi, known as the ariki or rangatira (Best, 1924b; Buck, 1949; Winiata, 1967 in Katene, 2010). Although Walker (1996b) also mentions these principles were not absolute. An example of a teina (younger sibling) achieving high status is the myth legend hero Maui, the youngest of five brothers, with his exploits showing bravery, ingenuity, skill, and initiative. Throughout, stories of Maui mention his mischievous character, which contributed to his intuitive nature. Because of his mischievous “his brothers were afraid of him” (Buck, 1949, p. 4). Fear in this instance could also be interpreted as a sign of respect. If the tuakana couldn’t show the required leadership skills, then the teina would assume the mantle of leadership (Walker, 1996b). This is also evidenced with the leadership of Te Rauparaha who was the youngest son of Parekohatu of Ngāti Raukawa and was also known as Maui Pōtiki for his likeness to Maui (Oliver, 2010).

Te Rauparaha was the great fighting chief of Ngāti Toa and through his leadership became the rangatira and “undisputed leader of the people” (Nicholson, 2003, p. 33). Katene (2010) mentions traditional leadership as having more than one dimension. This meant that an ariki and rangatira “was also a waka leader, iwi leader, hapū leader, and kaumātua of a whānau...” (Katene, 2010, p. 5). Te Rauparaha was already a rangatira when he became a kaumātua, and remained the rangatira of his people until his death (Carkeek, 1966).

Kaumātua who were not considered as the rangatira or ariki of the iwi were highly respected at another level of leadership in tribal matters. Te Rauparaha made wise

decisions, not always on his own, but with the advice of elders (Nicholson, 2003). Himiona Tikitu of Ngāti Awa was another renowned rangatira who made decisions with the advice or “convictions of a number of elders” (Grove, 1985, p. 7). This again is evidenced in Ngarongo Iwikatea Nicholson’s paper presented to Te Wānanga o Raukawa in 2000, where elders are referenced throughout as being repositories of knowledge and wisdom (Nicholson, 2000). Matene Te Whiwhi was a nephew of Te Rauparaha, and according to Nicholson (2000) was raised by his elders. Te Whiwhi in his younger days “was often sent in to enemy camps by those elders to negotiate peace” (Nicholson, 2000, p. 4). As such he was the takawaenga (mediator) of many arrangements, and was thoroughly respected not only by his tribe but many others as well (Nicholson, 2000). In addition, many years later Te Whiwhi was a principal sponsor of the formation of the Kingitanga Movement (Carkeek, 1966; W. H. Oliver, 2010) which to this day is a major influence on numerous iwi across Aotearoa New Zealand.

Whānau and Kaumātua

Kaumātua were recognised by their extended whānau as their “immediate leader” (Katene, 2010, p. 5) and spokesperson for the hapū and iwi on behalf of the whānau. They were also role models and teachers to their children and grandchildren.

Makareti in Penniman (1938) describes teaching children in ‘The Old Time Māori’ as being carried out by their grandparents through stories of “legend, genealogy and tradition” (p. 151). Buck (1949) states the teaching was undertaken by grandparents or third parent generations because they made the “stories more easily understood by their young charges” (p. 358). In addition, ancestral stories allowed for lived experiences to be recorded as valid accounts of history (Edwards, 2005). Every day events were humanised through the stories kaumātua told. Storytelling as an oral narrative continues to give deeper meaning to the listener (Edwards, 2005), and according to Stanfield (1998) there are some understandings that one cannot obtain from written literature alone. Elements of tribal history, mythology and folklore were imparted by kaumātua described by Buck as “male and female tipuna” (1949, p. 358) to mokopuna from an early age and continued on throughout adolescence. According to Metge (1986) adults were also recipients of kaumātua learning and teaching and describes “puukenga” as “a wise older person who takes a selected pupil” of any age, “under his or her wing and ‘feeds’ him or her with assorted kinds of knowledge” (p. 6).

According to Puke (2000) in ancient times Māori information and knowledge resided in the memories and minds of people and “oral knowledge was recited continuously until it was carved in to the house of the mind, ka whakairohia ki te whare o te mahara” Royal (1992, p. 21). Puke (2000) argues that “oral transmission of certain types of knowledge was

the most suitable, with other types of knowledge better learnt through observation, imitation and practice” (p. 77). The concepts of titiro, whakarongo, kōrero ‘to look, listen, and speak’ being maintained to present day oral traditions meant that knowledge was “never divorced from cultural reality” (Puke, 2000, p. 1), through always being maintained within the whānau, hapū and iwi. Puke (2000) re-iterates that much of the learning was through sitting with kaumātua, and learners were able to grasp a sense of wider whānau, hapū and iwi life unobtainable from books.

Stories passed on with each generation linked the old with the new in an ever changing world. Hemara (2000) states that as well as bringing up and providing foundations for their mokopuna in the whānau setting, it was “often a kuia” (p. 41) who filled the important role of kaitiaki (guardian) and \ or kaiārahi (advisor) in the formal setting of the whare wānanga (ancient house of learning). According to Ngata (1928) waiata oriori (lullabies) and whakatauki were examples of some of the media used by kaumātua and mātua to pass on information and advice. An example of this type of knowledge transmission is the Rangitāne mōteatea (ancient song) \ waiata (song) which was composed as an oriori (lullaby) for a child and subsequent descendants. In his explanation of the mōteatea McEwen (1986) states the oriori must be one of the oldest of Māoridom as it was composed over 19 generations ago. There are five verses to the waiata, and provided below is the first verse as an example of the types of information waiata such as these contained. Interspersed throughout are snippets of whakapapa, deeds of ancestors, and as McEwen (1986) states, some “good advice to the young child” (p. 161).

- “1 Uiu noa au e Hine ko wai tō ingoa
I kawea ai koe e ō mātua ki te wai tū ai
Māku e tapa atu i te ingoa o tō tupuna
Whakaewa-i-te-rangi e hine
- 5 Noho mai e hine i roto i te whare Taiwhētuki
I te whare no tūārangi ka patua e Tāne
Hei topetope i āna toko,
I a Toko huri nuku, i a Toko huri rangi
I a Rākau take, i a Rākau koki, ngā toko e hine,
- 10 I tokona ai te rangi runga nei...
Rere te maramara o te Āwhiorangi
Ko te toki tēnā i topetopea ai ngā ngaru
Kī te tangata nā wai rā, e
Māu e kī atu nā te Kāhui Pou,
- 15 Nā Pou-titi, nā Pou-tāhae, nā Pou-kōrero

Nā Kahu-taringa i tiki ki roto Wharekura e Hine e.

- 1 *I pondered o daughter what your name should be*
You were carried by your parents to the stream
While I named you with the name of your ancestress
Whakaewa i te rangi o daughter
- 5 *Stay, my daughter, in the house of Taiwhētuki*
The house of ancient times overcome by Tāne
So he could cut his props.
Toko huri nuku and Toko huri rangi,
Rākau take and Rākau koki were the props o daughter,
- 10 *With which was propped up the sky above.*
The chips flew from Te Āwhiorangi;
That was the adze which cut down the waves.
If any man says 'From whom do you descend?'
You should say, 'From the Kāhui Pou,
- 15 *From Pou-titi, from Pou-tāhae, from Pou-kōrero,*
From Kahu-Taringa, obtained from Wharekura,' my daughter"
(McEwen, 1986, pp. 161-162)

A fuller explanation of segments from the above oriori are provided in the following by Best (1924a), McEwen (1986), Orbell (1965), Royal (1992) and Penniman (1938), showing further examples of the types of information contained within this mode of knowledge acquisition:

Line 1 starts off by telling the child how her name came about, with line 4 being a reference to whakapapa, and whom the child was named after (McEwen, 1986). Line 5 advises the child to spend time in the house of Taiwhētuki, who according to Best (1924a) was a house of learning that "belonged to Whiro, the enemy of Tāne, and personified form of darkness and evil" (p. 66). As mentioned previously, advice is interspersed throughout the waiata, (McEwen, 1986), and in this instance could advise the child to learn the ways of black magic in order to overcome any such evil that might befall on her. The next line goes on to say that the house was overcome by Tāne (McEwen, 1986), and continues to tell of his deeds as part of the legend and mythology stories of Papatūānuku and Ranginui. In line 11 is mentioned the ancient adze 'Te Awhiorangi' said to be "one of the most sacred possessions of the Māori people" (Orbell, 1965, p. 39). According to McEwen (1986) and Orbell (1965) the adze was used by Tāne in the separation of Ranginui and Papatūānuku, and was also brought to Aotearoa in the Aotea waka as a tool for ritualistic karakia when the

seas became rough. Both McEwen (1986) and Orbell (1986) state a similar claim is also made for the Takitimu canoe. Lines 14-16 tell the story of the wharekura and the original houses of learning (Royal, 1992), where according to Makareti (as cited in Penniman, 1938) the ariki descendants were taught.

As already mentioned, waiata was just one of many modes of knowledge transmission (Hemara, 2000), and here we also see an example showing how kaumātua transmitted their knowledge in ways that made learning interesting and easy for the ākonga (learner) to receive and understand (Buck, 1949). Kaumātua were revered for their wisdom (Hemara, 2000), and this can be justified through witnessing their foresight in composing waiata which would continue to benefit their descendants throughout the generations. Examples include but are not limited to the revitalisation of te reo Māori (Ngata, 1928); utilisation of ancient waiata to provide information and evidence of whakapapa and land ownership in present day treaty of Waitangi claims; and in recent years the use of the letter 'H' in the place name Whanganui (LINZ, 2009), through the oriori of Wharaurangi, composed by Te Rangitakoru of Ngāti Apa for Wharaurangi (McEwen, 1986), showing the names of significant rivers along the lower west coast of the North Island, and the reasons behind the names.

Although teaching tools developed by kaumātua including but not limited to waiata and mōteatea may have initially been utilised as tools for the teaching of children, they were in fact utilised for the entire whānau, hapū and iwi throughout their life time and further within future generations (Puke, 2000). An example of this in contemporary times was evidenced in March 1997 when the new Māori School of Studies, Te Pūtahi a Toi was opened at Massey University (Te Kunenga ki Purehuroa Massey University, 2011). A waiata called 'E Hau' was composed by Professor Taiarahia Black of Massey University to support the opening (Black, 1996). This specialised composition was taken from ancient stories, with information provided by tribal elders of the Rangitāne tribe (Black, 1996). According to Professor Black "it is well known throughout the performing arts arena that the rich source of oral history and scholarly literature of each iwi is kept alive and active in these highly specialised compositions" (Black, 1996, p. 5). The waiata gives a wonderful account of tribal stories and continues to be sung not only by staff and students at Massey University, but also by other education providers (primary, secondary and tertiary) located within the Rangitāne o Manawatū area. Its valuable content is an example of how indigenous knowledge and culture can be maintained and sustained, keeping iwi, hapū and whānau healthy in identity.

Kaumātua and the whānau

The concept of whānau can be seen metaphorically in the fan shaped dimensions of the pā harakeke (flax bush) (Ka'ai, 2005). The following whakatauki (proverb) illustrates the pā harakeke as a metaphor for whānau, which describes the human person as the most important element in the universe. According to Rogers (2008) the whakatauki “is often quoted in whaikōrero (speeches) to emphasise the mana (the place of a person in a social group) and tapu (spiritual attribute) of humankind” (2008, p. 230). Emery (2008) says that in te ao Māori (the Māori world) this “frequently quoted whakatauki” tells us that “people are of paramount importance” (p. 22). Furthermore, Hemara (2000) expresses “the young were considered to be an iwi’s greatest resource” (p. 11).

<i>Hutia te rito o te harakeke</i>	<i>If the emerging shoot of the harakeke plant is plucked</i>
<i>kei hea te kōmako e kō</i>	<i>Where will the Kōmako then perch?</i>
<i>Kī mai ki ahau</i>	<i>If you ask me</i>
<i>He aha te mea nui o te ao</i>	<i>What is the greatest thing in the world?</i>
<i>Māku e kī atu</i>	<i>I will reply</i>
<i>He tangata</i>	<i>Tis people</i>
<i>He tangata</i>	<i>Tis people</i>
<i>He tangata</i>	<i>Tis people</i>

To further describe the above whakatauki is the following figure 1, which is a diagram of the pā harakeke as a metaphor for a whānau kinship structure, and the importance of kaumātua within that structure.

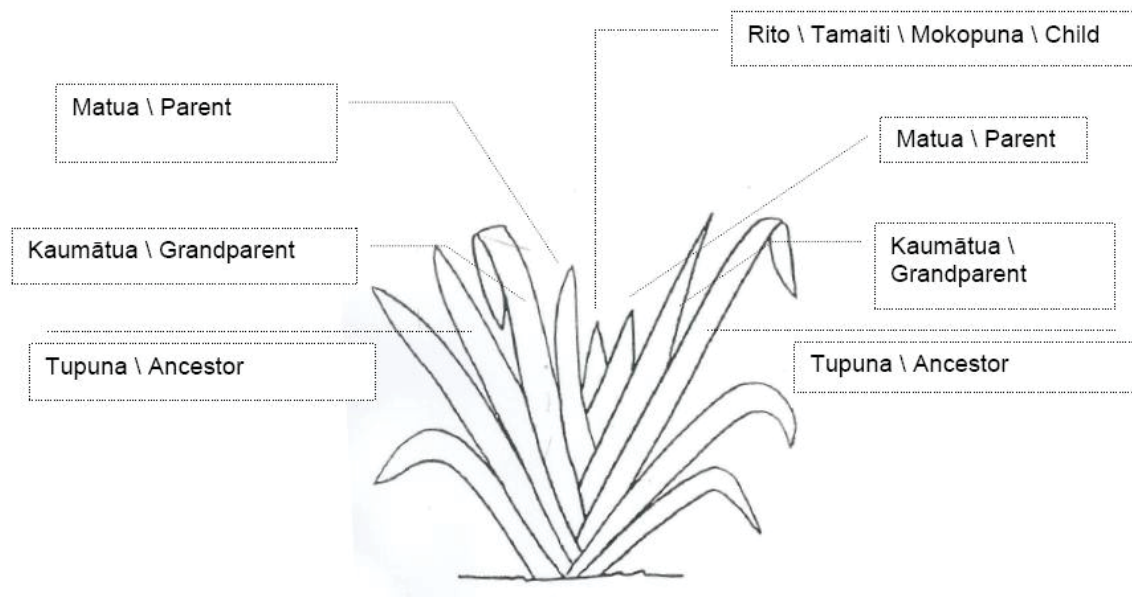


Figure 1

The rito is the emerging shoot mentioned in the aforementioned whakatauki located at the centre of the pā harakeke, and the outside blades are the older generations protecting it (Ka'ai, 2005). In similar fashion children or mokopuna are portrayed as being at the centre or heart of the whānau. Like the rito, they are surrounded by their parents, grandparents, and finally to the extreme outside are the tūpuna, or ancestors. The older generations are responsible for sheltering, protecting and nurturing the whānau. According to Ka'ai (2005, p. 7) "the role of the whānau is to ensure the protection of the rito and the child, which will ensure the survival of the plant, and the whānau, hapū and iwi". Mikaere (2011, pp. 186-187) states "the very survival of the collective is dependent upon everyone who makes it up, and therefore each and every person has his or her own intrinsic value". Ka'ai when describing relationships within the whānau, describes mokopuna who are brought up by their grandparents as forming "a strong bond that cannot be penetrated" (Ka'ai, 2005, p. 7). They are also identified as having knowledge far beyond their years, which is a consequence of the tribal knowledge they have received (Ka'ai, 2005).

In contrast the following whakatauki infers to unwise decisions made through immaturity, and/or lack of experience.

"Ka haere te mātātahi, ka noho te mātāpuputu.

Youth rushes in where age deliberates" (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 153)

Kaumātua were very conservative and also believed they should not pass on all of their knowledge as a result of pressure from the outside world (Rangihau, 1992). Young people have to wait for the right time, and should not be aggressive in their eagerness to learn (Rangihau, 1992). Emery (2008) provides an explanation from Tuhoe kaumātua John Rangihau (as cited in King, 1992) giving the following reasons and subsequent results of when a young man was refused knowledge when wanting to equip himself for when the time came for him to stand and speak on the marae:

“We believe that every time you give of yourself you are starting to lose some of the aura, some of the life force, which you have for yourself. In the case of my son, if he starts to get up then he’s drawing something from me and eventually I will be left an empty hulk. This is the real reason behind not allowing the young man to speak before the father dies. Because it is possible that he will take some of the mauri which rightly belongs to the father” (Rangihau, 1992, p. 12).

This reasoning meant however there was a real danger of ancestral knowledge becoming lost once these kaumātua passed on. Rangihau expresses this in the following, accepting that remaining kaumātua have had to overcome their conservative nature:

“...within a period of something like three years, the elders who would have been the most difficult ones all passed away. It was obvious to the elders left behind that not one of them could say he was an expert on Tuhoe things. So they quickly realised they had to come together and pool their expertise so they could cover all aspects of Maoriness. Once they realised that, it was a short step to get them to understand that if they didn’t do anything about passing all that material on then their children could be left in the same position they had been, by people dying off quickly. When they accepted that, they were very receptive to the idea of setting up schools of learning for Tuhoe children” (Rangihau, 1992, p. 12).

Kaumātua would not give away knowledge to just anyone, and only transmitted their knowledge to carefully selected descendants (Walker, 1996a). Rangihau expresses this as “not to be taken lightly” (1992, p. 12) as mauri is the life force that brings life to each concept. Kaumātua believed that mauri was a part of them, and when giving out information they were shredding a part of themselves (Rangihau, 1992). Edwards (2010) also noted the concerns of Taranaki kaumātua who expressed concern for the maintenance and integrity of

knowledge. That is, knowledge should be shared, however, knowledge within specialised categories (such as relating to whakapapa), should not be shared freely (Edwards, 2010).

Ngoi Pewhairangi (as cited in King, 1992) provided another aspect, saying the reasons she would not pass particular knowledge on would be because of its tapu nature, and the dangers associated should the tapu be broken by someone making a mistake. She gave an example of an old lady who died because someone did not follow the processes correctly, saying “the first words she uttered were that something had gone wrong or somebody had done wrong” (Pewhairangi, 1992, pp. 10-11). Because of this she did not think it wise to be placing restrictions on young people in contemporary times, and expect them to carry out those rules (Pewhairangi, 1992). There are many reasons as to why kaumātua are selective with whom they impart information, including how much and what is imparted, and this carries on to today’s society (Edwards, 2002; Royal, 2003; Orbell, 1995; Walker, 1996b; Penniman, 1938; Hemara, 2000).

Kaumātua in these contexts are the guardians and guides of tikanga. They are expected to know tikanga through their life experiences and “generally have greater familiarity with and knowledge about tikanga because they have participated in tikanga, have observed interpretations of the tikanga at home and other tribal areas” (Mead, 2003b, p. 14). Thus tikanga processes whether on the marae or away from the marae are often guided and led by the kaumātua (Durie, 2003a). Leadership within karanga and whaikōrero roles are governed by tikanga and tapu and because of their knowledge and experience it is also expected that kaumātua lead these processes (Tauroa & Tauroa, 1986).

Edwards (2002) describes karanga as being the role of the kuia or senior women, and not to be taken lightly. The kuia is the peacemaker, and leads her people onto any area, any venue, with dignity, courage, respect and arohanui. She carries her peoples canoe on her back spiritually and the load is described as “heavy at times because the ancestors may choose to go along as well...” (Edwards, 2002, p. 25). Because of this younger women are advised not to get in to doing karanga too early, and “to enjoy young life as much as possible” (Edwards, p. 30).

However Ferris (2009) states although this work is usually done by the kuia, younger women do the karanga when specifically instructed by the kuia (Edwards, 2002). She describes the role of the kaikaranga “as providing a safe pathway along which the manuhiri may pass without fear or worry” (Ferris, 2009, p. 19). Furthermore, the kaikaranga is the vessel that weaves together physically tangata whenua and manuhiri, and wairua of tangata whenua and manuhiri, her karanga being a “spiritual call of aroha, compassion and concern” (Ferris, p. 19). Edwards (2002) terms kaikaranga as ‘reo karanga’ stating the senior woman as a reo karanga becomes a peacemaker, a protector, with her voice the first to be heard long before the male orators speak.

Edwards (2002) also states it is an insult for a young person to karanga to a kuia, advising that “the young talk to the young” (p. 26) and do the karanga to the young reo karanga, with the kuia covering them by finishing with the final karanga. Young women would not karanga while their grandmother or mother was living, unless these older relatives gave them the right to karanga. In allowing younger women to karanga Tauroa & Tauroa (1986) expressed “if this right was given away, the price was very high, as by granting her the right to karanga, older relatives can give away, sometimes forever, their right to karanga, especially on their own marae” (p. 53). Tauroa & Tauroa (1986) goes on to say that young women did not therefore ask their elders to allow them to karanga. This is similar to the statement expressed previously when describing why some kaumātua were conservative about imparting their knowledge to younger people (Rangihau, 1992). That is, when considering teaching a young man the skills of whaikōrero, kaumātua were concerned that by giving away their knowledge they were giving away part of themselves, and would eventually be left as an empty shell (Rangihau, 1992).

According to Edwards (2002) young men should not stand to speak when kaumātua are present, expressing “if a kaumatua is there and the person on the opposite threshold who stands up to speak is only a kid, that kaumātua may decide not to stand if he feels he’s been trodden on” (p. 26). Winiata (1967) says that sons who try to supersede their father’s are known as wawahi taha (breakers of calabashes), and are not permitted to speak at gatherings in the presence of their father. This is because if they do they “are takahi, trampling the mana of their forbear” (Winiata, 1967, p. 87). Roa (1987) is more lenient in his comments, stating “elders have priority speaking rights” (p. 18) in whaikōrero, and advises the reader to ensure they are permitted by their elders before learning whaikōrero for either visitors or hosts. When describing the role of the kuia, Winiata (1967) also says that kuia assist younger women through an apprenticeship stage, until they too, graduate to kuia leadership” (p. 91).

“He tangata anō te tangata ki tōna kāinga, ā, he ariki ki tōna iwi.

A person indeed within the village and respected leader within the tribe.” (Mead & Grove, p120).

Once again, kaumātua are a vast information resource, respected for their life experience, knowledge and their wise counsel (Hemara, 2000; Tauroa & Tauroa, 1986). The above whakatauki illustrates the standing kaumātua have amongst their people. According to Durie (2003a) the status and mana of the iwi in communities is carried by the kaumātua, and without leadership at this level, Māoridom will be the poorer for it, unable to function effectively and unable to fulfil its obligations.

“He tira kaumātua, tēnā te haere nā.

A travelling party of elders travels yonder” (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 125).

This whakatauki indicates anything slow and sure, and the term ‘kaumātua’ in this context is also an expression of kaumātua qualities and attributes. Furthermore, a powerful body of strength is created when individuals of these qualities and attributes are brought together.

Kaumātua often work in collectives, as a group of people who are working towards the same kaupapa (purpose). The use of the word ‘whānau’ can be used in this context referring to “groups of people brought together for a special purpose” (Durie, 2003c, p. 13). That is, in contemporary times the term whānau is not only used to describe a group of people sharing the same whakapapa, but can also be used when describing a group or collective of people who share a common mission (Durie, 2003c). Metge (as cited in Bishop & Glynn, 1999, p. 83) explains the Māori term whānau as “a term that Māori people can and do apply to a variety of categories and groups.” In this context, members within the group can be seen to be supporting each other in order to reach a desired goal (Durie, 2003c).

Leadership is about “doing the right thing at the right time for the right reason and for the benefit of the people served” (Katene, 2010, p. 13). When kaumātua work in a collective an abundance of life experiences, knowledge, wisdom and skills are brought together as one. The strength within this type of whānau is one that results in leadership that according to Kruger (1996) is all inclusive, that is, people are leading from within. One of the principles of indigenous culture provided by Ranginui Walker (as cited in Royal, 2003, p. 89) was “consensus decision making was the method of operation for the achievement of social and political goals”.

An example of consensus decision making exemplifying major achievement for Māoridom was in the early 1980’s when a group of kaumātua were called upon to discuss and find a solution for the demise of Te Reo Māori (Duff, 2012; Muru, 1990). The result was the formation and establishment of Kohanga Reo, which provided a vehicle for the revitalisation and renaissance of te reo Māori, with Muru expressing “for many of our old people this development has come as a godsend” (Muru, 1990, p. 106). From 1982-1989 Kohanga Reo flourished in an atmosphere of excitement and celebration (Waitangi Tribunal, 2012). Not only did children at Kohanga Reo learn te reo Māori, but according to Ka'ai (2007), the unforeseen side effects were that their parents started learning te reo Māori as well as becoming politically active grappling with political constraints imposed by Government bureaucracy for the equal share of resources. However Crown intervention in their attempts to assimilate Kohanga Reo to a western framework of Early Childhood

Education in the 1990's has since caused detrimental effects to the kaupapa of Kohanga Reo. This has led to kaumātua alongside younger Māori people having to submit a treaty claim to address ongoing grievances towards a lack of resourcing and understanding by Government bureaucracy which have again caused detrimental effects to the survival of te reo Māori (Waitangi Tribunal, 2012). Kaumātua leadership continues to be a major influence on the renaissance of āhuatanga Māori (Māori ways of being and knowing), with Tauroa & Tauroa (1986) stating "it is they who have been responsible for the maintenance of taha Māori" (p. 146).

Ongoing occurrences are incessant with kaumātua being relied on more in this capacity as an effective way of upholding and progressing whānau, hapū and iwi development. In 2002 Tainui kaumātua gathered together to provide a solution for the diminishing repositories of knowledge pertaining to the paepae on the marae (Maniapoto-Anderson, 2010). The result was a new programme where kaumātua are the students, learning and maintaining tikanga and te reo Māori. This has extended throughout the country to other cities where Te Wānanga o Aotearoa is located and contributes to maintaining kaumātua as cultural mentors, advisors and role models to younger generations.

The above is evidence of some of the work kaumātua continue to do to work towards progressing Māori development, in conjunction with achievements already accomplished by kaumātua for Māori language, education, health and economic development (Department of Health, 1984; Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, 2012).

Whakarāpopoto \ Summary

Examples of kaumātua roles and their importance to Māori society have been portrayed and discussed throughout this chapter. According to the Māori worldview, mythology and legends such as the creation stories from Papatūānuku and the Maui cycle provided platforms for humankind to follow, and the focus has been on roles of kaumātua from ancient to contemporary times. Although culture is continually changing and evolving the general principles of kaumātua roles have remained the same. That is, their roles as mentors, teachers, advisors, role models, problem solvers and who people feel confident to go to and be accompanied by.

What has changed over time between kaumātua of today and the past, are the challenges kaumātua face in the aftermath of Pākehā assimilation and colonisation. This chapter has argued that there are kaumātua that have to re-learn about their Māori identity in order to remain a positive cultural identity for future generations. Because of the diminishment of knowledge of te reo Māori and Māori culture their roles as kaumātua can

become burdensome. Te reo Māori is not a prerequisite to being kaumātua, especially so when kaumātua with particular and varying skills and strengths are brought together to work in unity. This in turn allows the role of kaumātua as cultural mentors, role models, advisors and so forth to remain in place for many and diverse Māori elders, taking the burden off them to perform as individuals.

Accordingly, kaumātua are acknowledged by Māori as a vast source of information, and respected for their life experiences, knowledge, and wise counsel. In contemporary times they could be seen as each being a cog that makes up a “kaumātua wheel”, or part of a whole, having many and varied skills. An integral part of various and diverse whānau groupings, kaumātua are often called on for advice both individually and in groups, and are in leadership roles. The whakatauki below shows confidence from Māori communities in recognising kaumātua as advisors and mentors, while also encouraging kaumātua to continue to work for and be positive role models for present and future generations. Reciprocation is also described in the roles of kaumātua to nurture and grow future kaumātua when designating roles to younger generations in order to enhance progressive iwi development.

“Mā mua ka kite a muri, mā muri ka ora a mua.

Those who lead give sight to those who follow, those who follow give life to those who lead.” (As cited in Bryant & Te Awe Awe, 2012, p. 4).

The next chapter shows the research methodology utilised in this study. The approach utilised aligns to information discussed in the literature review, and the research participants as will be portrayed in chapter four.

Chapter Three: Methodology

Ngā Ara i Whakamahi \ The Pathways Taken

This chapter discusses the methodology approach to the research project. Two main approaches have been weaved together, that being the indigenous influence to Aotearoa New Zealand, and the other the western. Both are discussed within this chapter.

Te Huarahi Whānui \ Methodology

This study is primarily from a Māori world view and focuses on kaumātua while referencing both past and contemporary Māori society. The research methodology is influenced by indigenous (Māori) and western (Pākehā) epistemology and praxis. This is evidenced in the research methods used, which include a mixture of Māori and universal research approaches.

Research utilising Māori philosophies and values has been termed as kaupapa Māori research (Smith, 1993) and is one of the methods utilised within this study. This type of research also includes āhuatanga Māori (Māori ways of being and doing), and tikanga Māori (correct processes, behaviours and cultural practices). Because the study explores and discusses the lives of Māori people, it is important for the researcher to have knowledge and understanding of Māori ways of being, doing and knowing. In addition Walsh-Tapiata (2003) states that research when researching Māori people “should be undertaken by Māori with Māori and for the benefit of Māori” (p. 60). As applied research it was important for an ‘insider’ to undertake this study, that insider being a person who can whakapapa (has genealogical connections) and has membership to those being researched. Māori people understand each other, share similar experiences, and often Māori participants would prefer to talk to another Māori (Forster, 2003). Applied research as a goal is subjective and validates working for the benefit of the people being researched and their communities. Included are tikanga practices including but not limited to the use of karakia, aroha ki te tangata, tapu and noa, koha and reciprocity (research rituals and their influences).

Durie (as cited in Kiro, 2000) also advises researchers to utilise appropriate methods that allow the researcher to find the information they seek. Having knowledge of and being able to utilise kaupapa Māori research enhances universal research methodology. Research methods in this study have included multi-faceted literature investigation using tools such as pūrākau (creation stories), mōteatea (ancient song), whakatauki (proverbs and sayings), hui

(meetings), he kanohi kitea (being seen often), narrative inquiry and storytelling, written literature, interviewing, and observation.

Kaupapa Māori and Kaupapa Māori Research

Kaupapa Māori advocates for excellence in both Māori culture and Pākehā culture (Smith, 1993). Kaupapa Māori is described as “Māori philosophy, world-view and cultural principles” (Smith, 2003, p. 8). Significantly kaupapa Māori validates and legitimises being and acting Māori. For example at marae, Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori and Wānanga, being and acting Māori are accepted in their own right. Kaupapa Māori research provides a culturally appropriate methodology that takes for granted the validity of Māori ways of doing and knowing, including the importance of te reo Māori and Māori culture (McMurchy-Pilkington, 2001).

Ethics from a Māori perspective are about how we as Māori conduct ourselves amongst the community we are engaging with, especially if the community is Māori. Tikanga Māori (the correct way of doing things according to Māori cultural values, practices and behaviours) is also extremely important to the ethics process. Within this study ethics are encompassed within tikanga Māori, protecting and ensuring the participants' mana (integrity). In practice this means that the researcher ensures that information gathered is utilised for the stated purpose and is of benefit to the participants and their communities.

The word ‘tika’ in te reo Māori is defined amongst a range of meanings by Williams (1975) as being “right, correct” (p. 416) and according to Mead (2003b) is a base principle that applies to all tikanga. The principle of tika has encompassed the methodology used in this research study, with Mead (2003b) expressing the following when referring to the tikanga of research:

“A researcher should always be guided by the principle of tika which is the very basis of the word tikanga. Processes, procedures and consultation need to be correct so that in the end everyone who is connected with the research project is enriched, empowered, enlightened and glad to have been a part of it” (Mead, 2003, p318).

Furthermore, according to Mead (2003b) remembering values underpinning tikanga is very helpful when undertaking research. Tikanga values and their meanings may include but are not limited to the following:

Mana is an attribute showing the integrity and status of a person and how other people see that quality. Some people are seen as having a high mana, and

others are at various levels. Williams (1975) defines mana as having a range of meanings such as “authority, control”; “influence, prestige, power”; “effectual, binding, authoritative”; “psychic force” (p. 172). From a Māori perspective it is important for the researcher to respect and enhance the mana of the people being researched. Mead (2003b) states that “people with mana usually tend to be in leadership roles in the community”. This aligns with the participating kaumātua within this project, and the importance of respecting and protecting the mana of all participants involved within the study.

Manaakitanga is perhaps one of the most important values according to tikanga Māori, as it is encompassed by aroha (respect), with the base word of manaakitanga being mana. Royal (1998) describes manaakitanga as being expressed when the outcomes of research processes have elevated the mana of the research participants. According to Mead (2003b) all tikanga are underpinned by manaakitanga, which is about “nurturing relationships, looking after people, and being very careful about how others are treated”. The wellbeing of the people being researched is of utmost importance and therefore should be placed at the centre of any research framework.

Whakapapa is described by Mead (2003b) as an attribute to identity, being a “fundamental attribute and the gift of birth” (p. 42), where a person has been born in to a kinship system which has been in place for many generations. Within those generations whakapapa gives a person the right to say where they belong, and identify themselves as belonging to a certain social grouping. For example within a Māori tribal structure this gives the right for the individual to say “I am Māori” (Mead, 2003b, p. 42), and also gives the right for that individual to identify to the tribe to which they belong. In short “whakapapa is belonging”, and “without it an individual is outside looking in” (Mead, 2003b, p. 43).

Research is enhanced when the researcher is able to show close whakapapa links to the people being researched. However, whakapapa does not always give that person (the researcher) automatic entry in to the lives of the researched. The researcher needs to be worthy in the eyes of the researched that is, trustworthy and competent enough to safeguard the information to be shared. This may happen over a lengthy amount of time, with the researcher having to prove her or himself to the participants first before being accepted.

Whanaungatanga is about relationships and usually denotes the interconnectedness shown in whakapapa (Royal, 1998). Whanaungatanga principles can also be seen in non whakapapa instances where non-kin can become like kin

through shared experiences when building relationships through networking or working within a non-kin collective. This can be seen where the researcher has gained support in the research process.

Tapu goes hand in hand with **mana**, and is also inseparable from Māori identity and Māori cultural practices (Mead, 2003b). Tapu may be described as the all encompassing sanctity and nature of a person and/or thing, and showing high respect to cultural beliefs. Tapu is known for restrictions, for example food is noa (opposite to tapu) and should not be kept anywhere near books showing ancient whakapapa. This is due to whakapapa within a book showing descent lines of people who are no longer living, yet the wairua (spirit) of those people remains alive within the written names shown in the book. To Māori people tapu is present in everything, from books to people, and also as expressed by Mead “places, things, words, and in all tikanga” (Mead, 2003b, p. 30). Therefore in order not to offend the participants it was very important for the researcher to approach the study with respect by following and adhering to tapu elements as and when required. Recitation of karakia before, during and after any process is also advised to protect both the researcher and their participants in the research process.

Utu according to Mead (2003) is where value is placed upon compensation, reciprocity, or revenge. Mead (2003) also describes utu as being noted by many commentators in warfare and economic transactions. Metge as cited in Mead (2003) describes the main purpose of utu as maintaining relationships. Mead (2003) states that “utu is a response to a take (issue) that once the take is admitted the aim is to reach a state of ea, which might be translated as restoring balance and thereby maintaining whanaungatanga” (p. 31).

When undertaking study the researcher must therefore be aware of the correct and appropriate research pathways to take. This is in order for harmonious relationships with their participants to continue. In addition reciprocating koha (contributions) from the researcher to participants for their contributions must also be taken in to account.

Ea is the notion of successful completion of any task at hand and the restoration of relationships. Within the context of research, the process of tapu is being restored and balanced within the concept of noa, which is the opposite to tapu. This is shown in the successful completion of the study, whereby all parties are satisfied that requirements and processes have been undertaken in a process that is underpinned by the values of tikanga.

Tikanga Māori values are an important aspect to remember when undertaking research. From any perspective a researcher would be expected to go to considerable lengths to research a topic, towards gaining worthwhile results which can then be seen as a “taonga, that is, a work of value” (Mead, 2003b, p. 318). As with any research project, information collected and collated and how it is written has far reaching effects, not only on the participants, but on future descendants as well. As Mahuika (2008) acknowledges, caution should be taken, as comments can be taken out of context and used inappropriately. Therefore what and how information is recorded is integral to the research undertaken within this study. Furthermore, as already explained in the tikanga value of whakapapa, just because the researcher is a member of the tribe does not mean automatic entry to the participant community (Soutar, 2000). More important is how the researcher has been nurtured or groomed for the task, and those who are chosen are those whom kaumātua are confident can be guided in the prudent use of the information (Soutar, 2000). An important part of this study is that the researcher was known and trusted by her participants through processes that had been undertaken well before the commencement of this research.

For example my connection to these participants began in 1992. Upon committing to learning te reo Māori, I unknowingly started my true apprenticeship with kaumātua. This was mainly carried out through being observed and constantly assessed while carrying out tasks before or with the community, a common form of Māori assessment (Hemara, 2000). In 1994 I was asked by a leading kaumātua of Rangitāne to perform the karanga (call of welcome) at the opening of the Manawatu Museum in Palmerston North. This involved the pōwhiri (welcome) process, welcoming the then Governor General into the new building. As an apprentice and junior to the senior kuia performing the karanga on the tangata whenua (hosts) side, I was asked to manaaki (look after) the Governor General by upholding the manuhiri (guest) side of tikanga in response to the karanga of the kuia. This occurred due to the original person chosen to undertake this work having been involved in a car accident and subsequently hospitalised.

From then onwards I was at the beck and call of the iwi kaumātua and kuia, as their kaiwaiata (songstress), kaikaranga and general run around whenever support was needed. At the request of iwi, hapū and whānau kaumātua, over the years I have been actively involved in supporting my marae, including but not limited to tikanga roles such as kaikaranga, being the marae committee secretary from 1993 to 2008, and marae trustee secretary and member from 2000 to present time. Support to whānau, hapū and iwi is ongoing while also being involved in iwi politics. This includes being committed to the Rangitāne o Manawātū treaty claims, having submitted a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal in 2008, and subsequently again in 2012, in an attempt to progress further development for whānau, hapū and iwi, and also at the request of kaumātua who throughout Aotearoa are

working alongside and in support of Treaty of Waitangi issues. Alongside this I have also represented iwi on various non Māori advisory and trust boards such as UCOL and Te Manawa Museum.

Therefore the paradigm of acceptance by kaumātua and kuia to participate in this study has been not only through whakapapa and kinship links. Trust and confidence has also built up while being observed over the years through undertaking work on my marae, and with the hapū and iwi I belong to. The Māori Anglican church has also played a big part, with my lifetime involvement as part of the congregation and vestry.

Within kaupapa Māori, whakapapa is extremely important and has and does play a significant role. Being closely related through whakapapa kinship ties has contributed to being accepted and allowing an insider's view to the lived experiences of kaumātua and kuia pertaining to the tribal areas of Manawatū and surrounding areas.

Qualitative In Conjunction With Kaupapa Māori Research

Qualitative research described by Sarantakos (1998) “has potential to uncover rich data, capture meaning and understanding and produce data which is descriptive and expressed through the participant's own words” (cited in Phillips, 2011, p. 50). Story telling was a methodology undertaken within this study with kaumātua telling their stories and lived experiences throughout the interview process. According to Edwards (2005) “story telling (oral narrative, life history) methodology supports indigenous historical narrative of using life history and life experience to help understand and give deeper meaning to personal individual and collective practice” (p. 7). Narrative enquiry offered lived stories which provided a wealth of information about the everyday joys, burdens and challenges the kaumātua participating in this study constantly faced in their lives and the formal roles they play. Story telling allows research participants to select, remember, and reflect on stories from within their own cultural context, and in the language they choose rather than that of the researcher. Each kaumātua participating in this research project expressed many and various experiences related to their roles, showing diversities and similarities of their roles to each others. I was able to draw from the kaumātua their thoughts and ideas as to what the roles meant to them.

Analysing the meanings underpinning kaumātua interview responses was taken from a Māori world view. That is, the mana (integrity and standing) of the kaumātua were taken in to account, as well as whakapapa (kinship ties) and whanaungatanga (relations and relationships) kaumātua have with myself as the researcher, and when working with each other and the communities kaumātua serve. The interviews also brought through

commonalities in kaumātua talents and abilities. However also shown were specialist kaumātua components, showing where each kaumātua was unique and had their own personal strengths, talents and abilities. In addition I had been accompanying and working with kaumātua for over two decades. These experiences provided insights to kaumātua roles allowing me to see and experience their world, and were also contributing factors to the data analysis.

Other forms of storytelling are the use of whakatauki (proverbs and sayings), pūrākau (creation stories) and mōteatea (ancient song) to find information. These have been handed down to give meaning to many concepts, and in this study have been explored for the cultural meanings of kaumātua, where the concept of kaumātua came from, and the roles they play.

According to Davidson & Tolich (1999) the world being explored is a whole, and must first be experienced, as if standing in the shoes of those being studied. I was privileged to be able to make my own observations of kaumātua, which includes but is not limited to the kaumātua interviewed. However, while I was observing and learning from kaumātua, they were also observing and assessing me. Walsh Tapiata (2003) describes these methods as offering a highly participative approach to the research, with the participants able to observe the research in their midst, and the researcher obtaining a picture of the situation being studied by both formal and informal sources. Kawagley (1995) describes participant observation as being able to directly experience feelings and record from ones own perceptions.

Whakawhanaungatanga \ Relationships

Whakawhanaungatanga (relationship building) and whakapapa (genealogical links) play a significant part in this study. Kaumātua involved have constantly shown their manaakitanga (care and hospitality) and aroha (respect and empathy) through their patience, guidance, advice and trust while allowing for this project to be undertaken. Because of my connections and deep respect for all of the participants there was also the inevitable bias of subjectivity which ensured the mana (integrity) and wairua (spirituality) of each of the research participants is kept safe. This was through allowing access to information and changes before publication. Walsh-Tapiata (2003) expresses research in a whānau, hapū and iwi as a privilege for the researcher that also carries with it “enormous responsibilities and obligations” (p. 61).

When researching people of one’s own tribal groupings, there is the expectation of the researcher to keep privileged information safe, while enhancing the mana (status) of their

iwi or hapū. Kaitiakitanga (guardianship) responsibilities and obligations highlight principles such as “iwi centric” (Walker, 1997, as cited in Soutar, 2000, p. vi), “kaupapa Māori research” (Mead, 1996, as cited in Soutar, 2000, p. vi), and “Māori centred research” (Durie, 1997, *ibid*), and continuously contributes to allowing space for those being researched to be enhanced and empowered by the research being undertaken (Soutar, 2000). Keeping kaitiakitanga (guardianship responsibilities and obligations) and mauri-ora (towards wellbeing) at the forefront of the project becomes a natural occurrence in the context of manaakitanga (to care and look after) when applied in their entirety.

There is also the privilege of having lived with, learnt from, been advised, mentored and instructed in tikanga Māori by kaumātua such as those who were asked to participate in this study. This includes but is not limited to learning te reo Māori, mōteatea and waiata, working on the marae, and as previously mentioned in chapter one, observing and learning the roles of kaikaranga and kaikōrero. This has eventuated to the present time working closely with and continuing to being guided by kaumātua and kuia.

Kaumātua interviewed in this study have been constantly working together, as did their kaumātua before them, supporting each other over the years in diverse and many situations pertaining to whānau, iwi and hapū. These ongoing close kinship and working relationships kaumātua have with each other can be linked to signposts expressing kotahitanga (unity) and rangimārie (peace) which have been put in place for a purpose by their tūpuna. Within Rangitāne and surrounding areas signposts continue as living stories by being carried on in the actions of kaumātua. They are constant reminders to kaumātua of their obligations to iwi and each other to be modelled and carried on in following generations. Te Marae o Hine in Palmerston North, how it got its name, and the meaning of the name is one such reminder.

Te Marae o Hine is located in the centre of Palmerston North city. In the late 1870's rangatira of surrounding iwi had assembled together at the invitation of Rangitāne iwi to discuss the selection of a suitable Maori name for the central courtyard (The Square) of the new township of Palmerston North (Palmerston North City Council, n.d.). To follow is an excerpt pertaining to the peacemaking endeavours of Rangitāne:

The name "Te Marae-o-Hine" (which means "the Courtyard of the Daughter of Peace") was suggested by Ngāti Raukawa, and was unanimously agreed upon by all those present at the meeting. "The name originates from the Waikato district, where it was the name of the home of a Ngāti Raukawa chieftainess named Te Rongorito, who was famous for her activities as a peacemaker. Her home (Te Marae-o-Hine) was a place of peace, where no weapons were to be used and where people of all tribes could find sanctuary. The name was chosen by the Māori people of Manawatū

to symbolise their hope that people of all tribes and all races would live together in lasting peace (maungarongo) and love.” (Palmerston North City Council, n.d.).

The symbolism of the name Te Marae o Hine therefore includes but is not limited to acting as an intermediary that brings all people together. The mana whenua of Palmerston North city are Rangitāne. In an expression of peace and goodwill Rangitāne brought together neighbouring iwi, inviting a name to be proposed which cemented peaceful relationships not only between iwi but extending to all peoples. Te Marae o Hine remains in place along with the meaning of the name and the deeds of our tūpuna which are remembered and reciprocated by iwi continuing to support each other. This is presently being demonstrated by kaumātua who are their descendants. The following whakatauki also act as reminders of the peacemaking and unification efforts that were expected by our tūpuna to be carried by their descendants in to contemporary society:

“Ara rā ko te manawaroatanga o Ngāti Raukawa ki te pupuri ai te rangimārie me te whakapono. *Behold the stoutheartedness of Ngāti Raukawa to uphold the peace and the faith of God.*” (P. Te Rangi, personal communication, May 8, 2013).

This whakatauki is also said as:

“Ko te Manawaroatanga o Ngāti Raukawa ki te pupuri i te rangimārie ara te whakapono. *The stout-heartedness of Ngāti Raukawa in upholding the Heavenly Peace, that is the Faith.* This refers to the efforts of Ngāti Raukawa under the leadership of Te Whatanui to keep peace in the Manawatū, and to accept Christianity” (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 281).

“Kua kaupapa i au te aroha mā koutou e whakaoti. *I have laid the foundation of love for your consummation. I have done my duty, do you likewise.*” (Palmerston North City Council, 2000, p. 17-3). This whakatauki is commemorated on the statue of Te Peeti Te Awe Awe in Te Marae o Hine, and refers to the steadfast efforts of Rangitāne to bring about harmonious and productive relationships between iwi, and extends to all people.

Throughout the decades rangimārie (peace) and kotahitanga (unity) have been strived for through iwi working and supporting each other in conjunction with symbolism such as the above. Challenges and opposing thoughts and ideas do happen at times. However kaumātua who know and understand those stories left by their tūpuna strive to ensure the expectations of those tūpuna are continued to be met, and do this through working and serving communities on behalf of their iwi. All of the kaumātua participants within this study

are highly respected by iwi and non Māori communities living within the Palmerston North and surrounding areas. Iwi include mana whenua (original people of the area) and taura here (iwi who live within but are not originally from the area).

Te Hunga Uiui \ Participants

My research on Māori leadership focuses on the roles of kaumātua from the iwi (tribes/people) of Rangitāne and Ngāti Raukawa, as well as one of the participants being a kuia from Te Atiawa and Muaūpoko and also being the wife of one of the Rangitāne participants. However to maintain consistency all have been identified as “kaumātua”.

Initially six kaumātua were chosen to take part in this study because of their work within Palmerston North City and close surrounding areas. However, as mentioned in chapter one, sadly, two of the kaumātua passed away before the interviews took place (Reverend Kahu Durie and Kui Yvonne Marshall). I therefore decided to write about Reverend Kahu and Kui Yvonne from information I personally knew; published autobiographies and whānau (family); and interviews with people who had worked closely with these two kaumātua in the recent past. I also approached and asked permission from Reverend Kahu and Kui Yvonne’s whānau (families), as well as providing a final written composition to whānau members and to those whom were interviewed.

The choice of participating kaumātua was not difficult as not only were they chosen for their ongoing contribution to the Māori and wider community, they also have close whakapapa and working relationships with myself as the researcher. Kaumātua interviewed in chapter four are made up of three males and one female. Three of the kaumātua are over 70 years old and retired from the everyday professional life of a paid employee, and one is in his 60’s and is a teacher at a Kura Kaupapa Māori.

Although the participants were specifically chosen because of their work in Palmerston North city, it should also be noted their work extends to communities beyond Palmerston North, to the wider regions of Manawatū, Rangitikei, Horowhenua and Taranaki. All participants were living within 1 hour travelling distance of Palmerston North. In addition, a daughter of one of the kaumātua gave permission to be interviewed impromptu, due to providing information which would serve to add important information to the interviews.

Kaumātua included in this research are skilled in working with and for people, and have years of experience in their own areas of expertise when it comes to representing iwi and working for Māori and wider non Māori communities. Representations of kaumātua voices are heard in chapter one, and will be further heard in chapter four.

Te Uiuitanga \ Conducting the Interviews

This study formally commenced with personal communication through informing and asking permission of kaumātua about the study well before the interviews took place. From the outset participants were each asked personally (face to face) if they wished to take part in a research project that I was to undertake in order to complete my Masters degree. While taking care to ensure all were in a space that would be comfortable for them, after an explanation of the kaupapa, all kaumātua gave their permission to be interviewed at a time and place that would suit them. Subsequently at a later date, each kaumātua was phoned to set a time, date and place for individual face to face interviews to take place. From there face to face interviews with open ended questions were utilised. Two of the participants were interviewed at their home, one at his work place, and one at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, the workplace of the researcher. Permission was sought to record the interviews, and I also took written notes to help with the recordings. Kai and a koha were provided to each kaumātua in return for the koha of information that was provided by them to my study. In addition, karakia was undertaken before and after each interview.

While adhering to kaupapa and tikanga Māori values and principles, the academic purpose of this study has also required me to go through the process requirements of the Massey University Ethics Committee. The project was considered as a low risk project and I provided the participants with copies of the information and consent form asking permission to undertake the study. The form included the purpose of the project, what was to be asked and what this involved, what would happen with the information, and the participant's rights, including confidentiality and the ability to withdraw from the research if desired. Permission to audio record all interviews was also sought, with the interviewee given the ability to withdraw from answering any questions at any time. The participants were informed that copies of a summary of the completed thesis would be forwarded to them, and according to their preference their details would be kept confidential. After a while I asked and was given permission by all kaumātua interviewed to use their names in the study.

However in the case of the daughter of one of the kaumātua, because of the timing of the impromptu interview, a consent form was not provided to her. I endeavoured to explain in detail the purpose of the project; why I saw writing about the work of kaumātua in contemporary society as being a taonga for future generations; and asked for permission to audio record my interview with her, on the basis that she felt free to withdraw at any time during the interview; and that confidentiality would be kept according to her preference. From a tikanga Māori perspective oral agreement is permissible, and within this perspective the participant agreed to be interviewed.

The interview questions were mainly open conversational questions asking each of the kaumātua about what their work entailed when working amongst the iwi, Māori community and non Māori community. Initial interviews with the kaumātua participants took over a period of six weeks, with another four weeks transcribing.

Further interviews to obtain information and permission for Reverend Kahu Durie and Kui Yvonne Marshall were undertaken later in the study. The first of these interviews was conducted at the Highbury Weavers centre with two of Kui Yvonne's students, and took approximately 1 hour. Whānau members were visited and asked for permission to write about Reverend Kahu and Kui Yvonne, and provided a copy of the transcript to be inserted in to the thesis. A koha was provided to each of these participants in reciprocation of the valuable information gained. Karakia was also undertaken before and after interviews.

Aroha ki te tangata (a respect for people) is emphasised by Walsh-Tapiata (1998) and refers to gaining access, regular accountability, feedback and long term commitment to the community. An important part in the research process has been to be constantly working with and alongside the participants, showing commitment to the purpose of the research being studied. Reciprocity through lifetime membership means lifetime commitment of working for whānau, hapū and iwi. Furthermore it is important to have an ongoing positive relationship with all of the participants (Walsh-Tapiata, 2003).

With the above in mind and in the context of research I am constantly reminded of my kaitiaki (guardian) responsibilities and obligations to protect and enhance values such as the mana (status) and tapu (individual mana and spiritual dimension) of the people who are the basis of my research. The word value is defined as “an expected standard of behaviour, an ideal that one should aspire to reach” (Mead, 2003b, p. 28), and values “are meaningless unless we understand their meaning and relevance, and we apply them in our day-to-day lives” (Panapa, 2008, p. 14).

Whakarāpopoto \ Summary

In summary this chapter has discussed methodology utilised when undertaking the research topic. Māori and universal processes such as kaupapa Māori research, applied research and qualitative research have been weaved in to a tapestry of understandings for gathering, processing and dissecting information.

Methods such as face to face interviewing and observations allow for a richness of data to be gathered. Contemporary and ancient story telling, symbolism, whakatauki and mōteatea also allow this to happen. These broaden the mind while providing descriptions as to why people are the way they are and do the things they do. In conjunction tikanga Māori

governs cultural ways that Māori who live within a Māori way of thinking behave. Furthermore, stories from kaumātua give their accounts of cultural ways of doing and being.

The next chapter will move on to voices of kaumātua and whānau participants, providing lived expressions of kaumātua roles.

Chapter Four: Te Reo o ngā Kaumātua \ The voices of the elders

Ngā kōrerorero whakaputa \ Interviews

This chapter sets out findings from interviews with five participants. Four were kaumātua, with the fifth being a daughter of one of the kaumātua, who was interviewed to get a sense of how the role of the kaumātua might impact on the whānau unit.

The findings have been grouped in to three themes: the roles of the kaumātua; relationships and their influence on kaumātua roles and; qualities and attributes of kaumātua interviewed.

Theme 1: Ngā Tūmomo Mahi \ Roles

Each of the kaumātua interviewed are seen in the community to have many and varied roles. Therefore when ascertaining what those roles are, kaumātua were asked:

- What's your role as a kaumātua and what is involved?

The data indicates that the role of a kaumātua is not just because a person has reached a particular age. It is a role that has a specific function for iwi and the wider community, being to provide assistance and advice to those in need of cultural and pastoral support. These roles are both in a personal and professional capacity, and mainly for the purpose of iwi development.

Kaumātua responses describe reasons showing why and how they became involved in working for the iwi and wider community, and subsequently what that involvement means to each of them within their particular roles.

Manahi became involved in kaumātua work from the age of thirty and said *"I guess I've played a kaumātua role I guess because I just got interested from a very young age"* and *"you think about where you come from and what you've been given as a youngster"*. Peter believes he was chosen because the kaumātua and kuia saw that he was available to attend important hui. He stated *"its about who's available"*, and because he was self-employed, and at that time working on his own farm, thinks this is why the kaumātua and kuia of his younger days chose him for the role. Able to observe kaumātua in younger days while attending many and varied hui, he also used one of his kaumātua as an example *"I used to go with her and we'd get to take her to different hui because she was always available"*.

His view was that the role could be inherited; from experience; having the time; and also due to the fact that there are not many people available to fulfil the roles that kaumātua play, stating *"we haven't got many elders nowadays in what we used to have in the old"*

days". Peter also felt that *"it is probably inherited"* while re-iterating *"its those that are available and those that have got the time"*.

Today's kaumātua have evolved in to the roles of previous kaumātua, having been left with a legacy and obligation to carry on working for the whānau, hapū and iwi, while also contributing to the wider community in their endeavours to progress Māori development.

Peter's role has included but is not limited to working for his marae; Waitangi claims research for his iwi and hapū; being a peoples' warden and kaumātua for the Rangitikei Manawatu Māori Anglican pastorate; kaumātua for Te Manawa Museum in Palmerston North, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa and Te Wānanga o Raukawa; and in the past has been the chairman for the Raukawa District Council, and a member of the New Zealand Maori District Council. In addition to this his role has and still includes being an advisory to the Manawatu and Rangitikei District Councils.

Similar to Manahi and Peter, Wiremu is often called upon to do many things for and pertaining to his iwi. Although requests for his services do not only come from his iwi, they are from many and diverse organisations including but not limited to local body authorities, Government departments, education institutes and church organisations.

Living in Palmerston North, he is the only minister in his church belonging to the mana whenua, and when asked the following question: *"Why do they ask you in particular, when there are other ministers in this area as well?"* stated *"I'm the only one that's in the church that's tuturu Rangitāne"*. Although he is also asked to represent his iwi on many other occasions outside of the church. Furthermore Wiremu assumed life experience was another reason to being asked, saying, *"I guess it's through the life skills that I have, I've been there and done that, and I guess that's why I'm asked"*.

Today all of the four kaumātua participants are in roles as advisors in tikanga and cultural matters not only for their iwi, hapū and marae, but for many corporate organisations including Wānanga, mainstream tertiary institutes such as Massey University, schools, Councils, and government departments.

Other roles they are each involved or have been involved include the following: Peter is a member of Kāhui Amorangi, an advisory entity of kaumātua at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa and also part of the collective of advisory kaumātua for Te Wānanga o Raukawa; Manahi is a member of Te Kāhui Kaumātua, an advisory collective of kaumātua that help with decision making according to tikanga Māori, at Te Manawa Museum in Palmerston North; Wiremu is a kaumātua for Massey University, and in particular plays both tangata whenua and religious ministry roles in ceremonial occasions at the University; Jackie is a kaumātua for Palmerston North Girls' High School, having an active position as kaikaranga and tikanga advisor.

Manahi commented that *"you always hope that you do make a difference"*, and over the years his work has also included but is not limited to being in various roles on the Maori

District Council, the New Zealand Māori Council and a number of marae committees, saying *"I was involved as the secretary of all things over here"*. Other roles he has been instrumental includes helping to set up a Kura Kaupapa Māori, of which he is currently the head teacher; being on the cultural services arm of the Waitangi land claims for his iwi and hapū; political matters involving Rangitāne; providing a support group for kaumātua; working as kaumātua on the local District Council which also involves input in to the Resource Management Act; being a trust member for his wife's family farm; blessings of homes and taonga Māori, and is very involved with all things pertaining to marae and iwi activity. Iwi activity also included establishing the Kurahaupo Waka Society, an iwi incorporation towards progressing iwi development, and setting up the Rangitāne Runanga which devolved from the Kurahaupo society.

This impressive resume indicates a strong commitment kaumātua have to serving their people and the wider community. All emphasised their roles were to contribute to the wellbeing, support and progression for iwi, hapū and whānau development. They feel it is their responsibility and therefore a commitment to whakamana and work for their iwi, hapū and whānau. Manahi put it this way *"...for me its Rangitāne see"*, and re-iterated, *"you always hope to make a difference"*. There is strong belief amongst kaumātua in what they are doing, and in particular for the Māori community, with Manahi saying, *"your passion is shared by everybody and I can, I do what I can, for my culture and for Māori"*.

In addition to looking after their marae, hapū and iwi business, both Wiremu and Jackie's roles includes being in advisory capacities to local body and government organisations, while also being closely associated with the Rangitikei Manawatū Māori Anglican pastorate in their roles as ministers of religion. Over the years Wiremu has steadily moved upwards through the hierarchal ranks of the Māori Anglican church, having commenced as a lay reader in 1985, and eventually to Archdeacon in 2005.

As part of the tangata whenua in his home city his role is also to whakamana the iwi and the organisations he is kaumātua of. This includes being the marae kaumātua, and various and numerous educational institutes and organisations in Palmerston North and wider Manawatū.

Variety and numerous roles - There is no one type of kaumātua

Manahi emphasised the fact that there are different types of kaumātua who may be people who are elderly but not considered as kaumātua, saying *"there are some kaumātua and then there are kaumātua"*. This could point to the amount of respect one has for an elderly person, due to the mana (status) of that particular person, or, to the type of work that

person does for and within the community. Manahi stated that not all kaumātua are the same in their roles, and sometimes too much may be expected of them,

“not every kaumātua is going to always come up with you know they’re expected to deliver, they are expected to be all knowing and all wise because that can be overwhelming at times..., don’t expect too much anyway, sometimes that can be seen as people wanting too much of kaumātua”.

Thus kaumātua wear many hats with not one role being the same. Their roles are specialised, and their work, while generic in some areas, for example supporting the paepae for pōwhiri, are specialised in others. Manahi described this as being *“part of the jigsaw puzzle of being Māori”*.

They are often called upon by the community for assistance, and give of their time generously, with Manahi saying *“you get a call and you know you go”*.

Within the ministry Wiremu and Jackie are on call 24/7, and are required to work for both Māori and Pākehā saying *“we are expected to go to all meetings and to be flexible, and to go to all meetings whether they’re Māori or European”*. This has extended to visits to people in need in the early hours of the morning.

Wiremu’s role in the church is varied and with it are many experiences. One of the most dangerous things he has done for the church being recently when he was called on by the Palmerston North Police and Fire service to perform karakia over the body of a deceased person killed in a truck accident in the Manawatu gorge, while the body was still in the truck *“...where the big truck rolled, and it crashed right down to the water. So they put gloves on me and a heavy rain coat and all the rest of it and I got on this rope and went down”*.

At 76 years old Wiremu was winched down the side of the Manawatu gorge to say prayers for the deceased

“...the closest way I could get to this man was just his leg, because one of his legs was pushed through this narrow gap in all this crumpled up truck, so I just held his leg and prayed that everything would come right for this man and prayed a prayer that would release him, you see you’ve got to have a prayer to release him once they died”.

The above shows the sense of duty, obligation and responsibility to serve that puts kaumātua in to all sorts of challenging situations. In this particular situation Wiremu said

“that was my job and then I came out of that, I got out of that truck crumpled in, and they said are you alright to climb up that, and I said ooh I don’t think I can do it. ... it took us a good half an hour to get me back up on to the road”.

Wiremu and Jackie are both religious ministers, there to provide spiritual wellbeing to the community. Both are also considered by the community as kaumātua, which may be because of their ages and experience. They take their roles seriously no matter what the occasion. Much of their work is done together, with descriptions that show kaumātua leadership roles as being gender free, as they complement each other in the work they do together for the church, officiating blessings, marriages, baptisms, and deaths. Being willing and able to meet with both Māori and Pākehā is an integral part of their roles.

Tikanga Māori underpins the varieties of roles kaumātua are involved in, which includes teaching, pastoral care, spiritual wellbeing, and support to ceremonial occasions and tangata whenua matters. Jackie has three undergraduate degrees pertaining to atuātanga (theology), minitātanga (ministry) and awhi whānau (social work), which are all specific to religion. She described her role as being able to use her education to work as a minister in the wider community, *“I’ve always been asked within Pākehā groups for a Maori perspective, so I used to teach them...”*.

Jackie expressed the value of manaakitanga as being inherent in what she does, no matter what ethnicity the people she comes in to contact with. She described part of her role in the church as *“I like to make sure the people who come to church are warmly acknowledged, make sure that they are comfortable in every way, just to make sure that they are part of the family”*. Her use of manaakitanga in both the Māori and Pākehā world demonstrates Māori values as being transferable to other cultures.

Wiremu described kaumātua as having respect for each other as he explained aroha (respect) and tuakana teina (older and younger siblings) being applied in his role stating *“...always my brother went first, being the elder”*. He also said he would never stand in front of someone whom he considers is more senior to him, unless specifically asked. Again Māori values of aroha and tuakana teina are also shown as being transferable to non Māori contexts, with the concept of tuakana teina being transferred to a collective of colleagues. At an occasion when he was asked to officiate at a ceremony at Massey University, Wiremu spoke about some of his church colleagues who are not Māori, saying

“When I opened up that church up at Massey ... I turned around and there was the Bishop and all the heads of the churches standing there ... I went over to the Bishop and said excuse me Bishop I don’t feel right, with you standing here and not taking a part... it shouldn’t be for me to be doing this”.

To me this showed humility that kaumātua inadvertently express within their roles.

In numerous instances, if there are other Māori present, no matter what iwi they are from, Wiremu will invite them to take part in what he is doing, saying *“I know that all those fellows are able to do it, and it’s good to be able to share.. and ...I think that’s the way to go, to share, sharing with your fellow friends”*. The value of whānau and whanaungatanga is about drawing strengths from each other, with Manahi stating *“we are driven by the same things our forebears were driven by keeping the unit together”*.

When at the marae kaumātua and kuia work hand in hand, becoming the face of the marae, the hapū and the iwi. Both enhance each other and within the male roles on the marae, Wiremu also acknowledged the elderly ladies by saying *“we always had our kuia’s there to, to back us up”*. Peter spoke about a kuia who married in to the iwi and lived at his marae. He described her work on the marae as always being present to receive manuhiri (visitors), upholding the mana of the marae, because she was always available. Although this particular kuia wasn’t originally from the marae, she was seen to be the face of the marae. Peter said *“she was the one who took that role although there were others that took a traditional whakapapa who weren’t so recognisable to the other iwi and other hapū, because they never saw them aye, the people never saw them”*. This is also in relation to availability mentioned earlier in this chapter. Kaumātua are very few on the marae and a commonality of all of the participants was the necessity to nurture younger generations as future kaumātua.

Ka Pū te Ruha, Ka Hao te Rangatahi \ Growing Leadership

Kaumātua interviewees showed their concerns are focussed towards the future wellbeing of the people, the whānau, hapū and iwi, and imminent succession to their roles. These concerns come from there being very few kaumātua left to carry on with tikanga. For example Peter said *“we haven’t got many elders nowadays in what we used to have in the old days”* and that there is a need to grow future kaumātua. Within the Māori Anglican church the ministers in Palmerston North are all kaumātua, and the congregation are mainly elderly people over the age of 70. In commenting on the state of the church Jackie said *“I’d like to see younger people taking the role as ordained members in the end”*.

They all expressed their desire for younger people to start taking on their roles. When talking about his marae, Peter also said *“I’m about it whose available, who is there who lives there still, you know, I’m the only one whose there.... “* and *“now if you go to our*

marae now you know since Auntie and her generations have gone there's not many of my generation there".

Wiremu said *"I still hold the paepae today"*, and expressed the limited availability of kaumātua who are mana whenua in the city he lives in *"there's no others in my particular um age group from our people that I can call on"*. He also said *"all the others that come in under that are the next generation"*.

Hence Wiremu will sometimes delegate his role to other members of his hapū who are the next generation, while also being there to guide and support. He will call on them to assist and/or support when and where required, giving the following example of when he has been asked to speak at church meetings on the Treaty of Waitangi, *"Now when we get in to something like that I'm not on my own you see... and when I'm asked to speak on the Treaty of Waitangi then I have my own people who come with me"*. In this way experience is gained by younger members through participating alongside kaumātua.

Being a teacher at kura kaupapa Māori, Manahi is very focussed on succession planning for whānau, hapū and iwi development, and said *"you can grow a competent group of people"*, and also in his teaching expressed *"you know future generations work, that's really giving them some stability"*. Peter also expressed being able to identify people to take over when he is no longer available, saying *"you look behind and they're all young"*. Their roles when growing possible leaders is one of mentoring, advising, guiding, encouraging and supporting, allowing and delegating jobs to younger members within the iwi. Peter said *"I'm hoping that C... and K... and the others will carry on, but we're still there"*. He is also continuously looking at people to succeed to his role, saying *"I'm trying to see who are the ones capable to carry on for the next 20 years or so, who can fill those positions, that's what I'm looking at"*.

However not anyone can fulfil those positions, and having the right people in the role is something all the kaumātua commented on, as they look at who they think can best do the job, and allow them to do it. They know when to delegate responsibilities and in some cases to whom best to delegate those responsibilities, recognising the need to grow people to fill those roles, with Peter saying *"I selected C... and T... and you know, we've got two excellent delegates on the Manawatu District Council and the Raukawa District Council"*.

Knowing that kaumātua are there to guide, support and fix any mistakes also gives younger people confidence to be able to carry the responsibilities given to them. One example is the kuia at St Michael's Church marae in Palmerston North, as she now directs younger women to do the karanga in her place. Confidence is kept within the younger kaikaranga when the kuia is also standing at her side. Wiremu also asks that the younger generation of his marae helps with the work of the paepae, while also being present to provide support and build confidence.

Manahi is passionate about te reo Māori and works within the Māori community, and in particular with his own whanau, hapū and iwi, teaching at the local kura kaupapa, while also organising and teaching adults at reo wānanga. Being committed to te reo Māori and his role teaching in the medium of te reo Māori Manahi also commented positively on the progress of growing te reo Māori speakers at his school *“the work at the kura here is pretty rewarding work”*. He is determined to continue to strengthen te reo Māori and although is positive in his outlook made the comment *“but we’re not out of the woods so we have to keep on keeping on”*.

Kaumātua roles have been shaped through the successes of other kaumātua, who have in their day helped to grow people to take over their roles. For example in his role on the New Zealand Maori Council, Peter said *“Uncle R.. was before me, and before that was Uncle K., then me, and now its R..”*.

Manahi said *“we are driven by the same things our forebears were driven, by keeping the unit together”*.

Theme 2: Whakawhanaungatanga \ Relationships

Within this theme, whakapapa, whānau support, and the wider Māori and Pākehā communities relationships to the four kaumātua interviewed are focussed on.

‘Its all about whakapapa again you see’

Concerned with not knowing whakapapa links when he was younger, Manahi has been working to strengthen relationships between whānau, hapū and iwi throughout his role as a kaumātua saying, *“I remember in the early years, gee um, you know we had almost lost our connections”*.

Manahi helped to form the Kurahaupo Waka society explaining *“we had our meeting, Ngāti Apa, Rangitāne, and Muaūpoko in Pariri in Muaūpoko in 1986 and then we started Kurahaupo in 1987, and I stayed with them until 1991”*.

The Kurahaupo Waka society as a confederation of iwi included Rangitāne, Muaūpoko and Ngāti Apa. The relationship these three iwi had to each other was that each was able to whakapapa to the Kurahaupo waka, and it was through these whakapapa connections that all worked together to progress iwi development.

Initiatives such as the Kurahaupo Waka society combated the effects of colonisation, which had major impacts on the lower part of the North Island due to the geographical locations of where they are situated. In the 1950’s-1960’s many Māori had moved away from the marae in the rural areas to the cities to find employment, causing whānau, hapū, iwi

and marae connections with each other to become distant and in some cases to break down altogether.

Manahi describes the society as the metaphorical vessel which brought the three iwi together, transporting everyone in the same direction, stating *“Kurahaupo provided a vehicle”*. Whanaungatanga and whakapapa links were renewed, and working as one the society developed work schemes for the three iwi. Eventually each iwi grouping was strengthened and developed enough to form their own individual Runanga (iwi entity). Manahi saw iwi progression as being positive transformation through working together *“you know Muaūpoko, Ngāti Apa and Rangitāne, so um yeah that was all quite exciting”*. Through the devolution of the Kurahaupo Waka society he was one of the founding members of the Rangitāne Runanga of which he helped to establish, saying *“that’s what happened you know, out of that developed those three iwi Runanga”*.

Through whakapapa links Manahi is also actively involved in various marae committees either as a member or trustee, saying *“most of the marae committees on this side I’m involved in, in some shape or form”*.

Peter expressed the importance of knowing how whakapapa connections are of benefit to each other and stated *“it’s how we all interact as different groups, whakapapa connects up and all that sort of thing”*. For him relationships have always been strong with other hapū, iwi and marae, as he accompanied the kuia and kaumātua to many hui when he was younger, retaining those relationships.

Peter also described whakapapa relationships through arranged marriages, which were designed to bring people together and keep peaceful relationships strong through being and working as one, stating *“its the same with those elders in the old days, and those marriages that were cemented”*. Through arranged marriages, iwi and hapū alliances were formed with the intention of those iwi being able to work and live together in peace. Within Rangitāne and Ngāti Raukawa this was the tikanga of “takawaenga”, where arranged marriages between both iwi took place throughout the decades to mediate peaceful relationships. The expectation was that descendants from takawaenga marriages were products of “hohou rongo”, also described as “conflict resolution” by Ngāti Toa \ Ngāti Raukawa kaumātua Ngarongo Iwikatea Nicholson (2000, p. 2). The offspring of these marriages “carried the responsibility of ensuring that all pacts between their people were observed and any conflict avoided” (2000, p. 6).

Because of the impacts of colonisation, contemporary and changing times, arranged marriages between takawaenga descendants and other iwi have now virtually disappeared, and the stories and understandings have become lost or forgotten to younger generations. Peter believes they should be revived and passed on to future generations through continuing to tell the stories, with the benefits being to bring iwi together in unity towards iwi

development. This is being done in recent times with these stories being told by kaumātua to emphasise the importance of whakapapa and kotahitanga (unity). This is particularly evident in Treaty of Waitangi settlement claims where lands are being researched and overlapping claims on tribal lands are happening between iwi. As kaumātua are respected and know these stories it is important for them to be reviving and passing them on. They were told the stories by their kaumātua, and have also lived in times when the tikanga of arranged marriage was still being practiced.

Whakapapa leads to ongoing whakawhanaungatanga between iwi and marae. This is very important, because there are presently very few kaumātua to look after the marae. Wiremu spoke about the support kaumātua give to each other, describing the paepae at his marae from past to present times, *“there were those elders there as well who used to back my brother”*. This carries on to today and he often calls on his relations from neighbouring iwi and marae to support the paepae at major iwi occasions. An example was when Prime Minister Helen Clark visited his marae in 2003, and Wiremu recalled the following *“we had all the main people there... all our own connections of the different areas... those different people were always ready and would always come”*.

Manahi also spoke on whakapapa connections, of which he feels he has an obligation to support his relatives in other geographical areas, saying *“there’s a lot of connections over there that ... you know allows me or whatever the right terminology, to be involved ..., and I enjoy that as well...”*. This relationship extends to assisting and upholding the mana of the tangata whenua through helping in tikanga and marae protocols. Manahi emphasised this, saying *“if there’s any um request that if I can, like Te Manawa ... like Matatini and Manu Korero and whatever else, Te Kupenga you know, give a hand”*, and as a tangata whenua kaumātua he is often called on by his relatives to help in Māori situations away from his own home town. As such, helping and supporting progress and strengthening the iwi also extends to other hapū of the iwi as well as his own, and Manahi said *“I’m always prepared to give a hand.”*

All participants expressed the deep respect that kaumātua and kuia have for each other, and knowing who their elders are. Wiremu spoke of a kuia who was his Aunt, and a few years older than him, who has only recently passed away *“it was so great to have her there that when we stood under the photo of Rangiotu she would always say there’s our direct descent”*. He felt a special affinity to his Aunt, who always took great delight in constantly reminding him she was his elder, saying *“I’m older than you. You’re the next generation”*. This kuia was also a Reverend in the Māori Anglican Church, and Wiremu commented on their age differences as they both worked together for the church and at iwi occasions, saying, *“so goodness gracious, if I’m the next generation, while she was alive, puts a lot of my family back in to the third generation doesn’t it”*. When Wiremu described the

tuakana teina relationship between himself and his elder brother, he also described their supportive roles to each other as kaumātua on their marae. His first and foremost role was to support his tuakana, as it was they were always at the marae, upholding the paepae. Wiremu said *“the first thing my brother would get me to do was to do the karakia”*. Then he carried on with *“secondly, he would stand and give his whaikōrero and after him I would stand and give my whaikōrero to the people”*. This tells me of the supportive and generational hierarchy relationships that exist within tikanga that are still being followed by our kaumātua. Those supportive relationships also exist between genders, with each knowing their roles, and Wiremu expressed the importance of supporting each other, with *“we always had our kuia’s there ..., to back us up for all our waiatas”*.

Manahi spoke about strong working relationships between kaumātua, whether they be from their own iwi, or other iwi, making the following comments, *“brother in law H is someone who works, who I work very closely with”* and *“you know we’re on the same wave lengths as well, like working with P and J and the others and your Dad...”*. They work well in a collective of people when all are working towards the same goal and with the same passion. A nucleus of like minded, mature, and experienced, these are people who can turn to each other for support, and there is strength in working together as a collective. Manahi expressed this again by saying *“it’s just a sort of an inbuilt something that gels there, and um, which is really good, and I like working with those sorts of people”*. This can be anywhere, on the marae, in committee work, or within the wider Māori and non Māori community.

Te Whānau Tautoko \ Whānau support

Relationships between whānau members are kept strong because of their support to each other. Husband and wife Wiremu and Jackie work together as ministers in the church. Jackie commented *“really speaking we work together, where he goes I go, whenever he’s called somewhere I make sure I go with him”*. She expressed her thoughts of how their marriage and working together binds them in to a partnership, with *“we’re really partners, partners in everything we do”*. In these roles they are the backbone for each other, depending on each other for support and advice, with Jackie saying, *“I go there as his um sounding board, as his support, as his confidant”*. Peer assessment helps them to progress, and they are always learning from their actions, looking for improvement in whatever they are doing. When undertaking specific roles within the community, Jackie explained the evaluation process her and Wiremu follow-up with *“afterwards we talk about what we’ve been and done, and then we improve with each step along the way, because each case is different, and like I say, we learn from one another”*.

Manahi and his wife also work closely together, supporting each other to support their whānau, hapū, and iwi. By 1973, the death of kaumātua who were native speakers of te reo Māori left very few speakers within Manahi's iwi who could speak te reo Māori. Manahi saw the imminent crisis impacting on the language and he and his wife worked to develop their iwi and helped provide foundations in helping to revitalise te reo Māori. Manahi described their work at that time as *"we were probably just lone voices.."* and there being challenges with people not fully understanding what they were trying to do, *"I'm mindful that I raised a few eyebrows – what's this young fellow doing and all that sort of stuff and so be it, but um, so there's been that"*.

Manahi has also developed strong relationships with his in-laws through becoming involved in their tribal matters, of which he is a member on their whānau trust and said of his wife's grandfather *"... grandfather came and twisted my arm one day"*. Other hapū and iwi see his value and ask for his support, and although he is an in-law has been chosen to sit as a trustee on land belonging to another hapū.

Peter also spoke of his late wife and her support to him over the years in all things to do with Māoridom. While maintaining close relationships between other marae, hapū and iwi, he and his wife would take the kuia of their own marae where ever they went. Peter's late wife was also the kaikaranga at his marae, a native speaker and teacher of te reo Māori, and a strong support to Peter whenever he did whaikōrero for the paepae.

When working in whānau collectives, kaumātua draw from each others strengths, and Wiremu also gave examples of how he and his Aunty, both as iwi kaumātua and church ministers would officiate at Massey University graduation ceremonies for Māori graduates, describing her role to do the karakia, and his the whakatau (opening speech) welcoming graduates and their families.

Younger members are always looking to their kaumātua for advice and support. Peter talked about an instance within his whānau where occurrences had evolved determining tikanga. His niece had phoned him asking for advice on establishing a new whānau urupā, as the old one had become full. Her whānau had set aside land where they had been burying their babies pito (placenta's) and had been planting native trees and plants on the land to symbolise where the pito were buried. They were now looking to establish their new urupā in the same area. Peter advised his niece *"you know you've got the beginnings of something there because of what you're doing with your babies"*, and also said to her *"you know it just needs to be set aside for what you want to do. Because you've started by doing what you're doing, by planting trees and natives and putting pitos ... he tapu tonu now, so it's already tapu"*. His niece and her whānau were wondering what the other wider whānau might think. Due to the fact it was a place which had become tapu through the tikanga of burying their babies pito, Peter advised that an evolvement over the years had

happened saying to his niece *“well it’s just evolved”*, indicating that the now tapu nature of the land had provided a place where an urupā could also be located.

All kaumātua interviewed are whānau orientated and do their best to make time for their children, grandchildren, and great grandchildren. However numerous and ongoing requests for assistance from the wider community and iwi can and have impacted on time spent with whānau. Manahi described this in his work for the Kurahaupo Waka Society, which was located in another town, saying *“I was going over there 2 or 3 times a week for an amount of years”*. Although his whānau always supported his work, he admits the long amounts of time he spent away from them, saying *“I know that there were times over the years that I should have been with them”*, and *“I don’t know how my family put up with all that, because that wasn’t fair, but that’s what I did”*. His hard work has paid off, with a growing number of people now being able to support his role of being available for iwi, stating *“there’s more people around to do the marae work and the paepae work than there used to be in earlier years, and that’s quite healthy for here”*, and *“they’re capable too..., so that’s the good thing and there’s one or two others around, ...those ones in particular are ready and able”*.

There are times when whānau will not allow their parents or kaumātua to be overburdened, saying no for them, without letting those elders know. When younger people are not able to get in contact with other kaumātua, these could be the reasons, with Peter saying *“unless those mokopuna aren’t giving him his messages...”* when explaining why people are unable to contact kaumātua at times.

When talking about her father, the fifth participant interviewed expressed that time with their father was precious, and *“the time that we do get we really make the most of it”*. She also said that *“one of the key aspects is ... if we’re all going to something together as a whānau we all make sure we are all together, and we have the time together for this and everybody”*.

Comments from all participants show there is understanding and support from whānau towards the work kaumātua do in the community. Furthermore, as already mentioned, kaumātua do their best to make time for their children, grandchildren, and great grandchildren.

Te Hāpori Māori, Te Hāpori Pākehā – Kotahitanga \ The Māori Community, The Pākehā Community - Unity

All of the kaumātua interviewed believe that whanaungatanga and strong relationships between Māori and non Māori are important. The Treaty of Waitangi is significant, and having a treaty partnership where all parties are on equal footing is essential

for people to be able to work together. Within the Anglican Church this relationship was described by Wiremu as, *“one of the great meetings was when the European church and the Māori Anglican church came together as equals...”* and *“in 1992 we came together as three tikanga, tikanga Māori, tikanga Pākehā and tikanga Pacifica”*. This has given the Māori Anglican church the freedom to make its own decisions, and to also work alongside non Māori as equal partners.

There are many situations where kaumātua have to deal with non Māori in formal and informal situations. While working for the Kurahaupo society when setting up work programmes, Manahi had to build a relationship with ministers of parliament, including the likes of Winston Peters. This meant having good communication and negotiating skills to get the best for the iwi.

Following his time on the Kurahaupo Society, he became deputy chair for the Runanga. Within this role relationships between members were both personal and professional, with tikanga and decision making an integral part of his role. Good communication skills and being able to articulate statements were essential. This is especially important when ensuring that things are done correctly. According to Manahi, whenever he is put in to a leading or decision making role *“I just have to play that as best I can”* and *“if the opportunity arises then I’ll have, I’ll need to say so”*.

With all of the kaumātua, tikanga applies to all things. Their roles as advisors to both the Maori and non Māori community are based on tikanga Maori values and mutual respect, and all expressed their obligation to follow processes based on those values. When talking about tikanga Peter said *“it’s got a lot to do with it, probably everything, if it’s done in the right way”*. He concentrates on what needs to be done, and that correct processes according to his role are being followed. Asked how he found dealing with non Māori organisations, Peter said *“stick to the facts”*.

He also described this in one of his roles as an advisory to a local Council authority saying *“we say, well hang on a minute we don’t think you should...”* and follow up with why decisions have been arrived at. Jackie described her relationship with her colleagues in the church as contributing to both peer and self evaluations. The objective is to provide feedback to each other in order to find ways to enhance and/or improve their roles as ministers. Jackie put it this way *“I think we need each other to correct ourselves too, you know what I’m saying, we don’t do it to hurt people, we do it to encourage and to better themselves”*.

There were situations where kaumātua in advisory positions gave advice that is not adhered to, and they may wonder why they are being asked in the first place. This becomes an issue, as kaumātua feel that their integrity is being compromised. The nature of the relationship is unclear, because the kaumātua is expecting one thing and the listener may be

expecting another. Wiremu gave an example of how tokenism emerges as organisations look for ways to fulfil their own needs. That is, a particular organisation requiring work to be completed gave direction rather than taking or asking for advice offered by the kaumātua. This was described as the following, *“...he would go on about something and say ‘we’ll probably do it this way... and we’ll do this’... People may ask for advice, but they’re not actually taking the advice as it has already been pre determined. It is most disappointing when the person representing the organisation is also Māori, and employed in a Māori role, while paying lip service to kaumātua through consulting but not engaging. The agenda has been to gain a stamp of approval to something they the kaumātua may not have decided upon. Consultation and engagement is not always clear, as indicated by Wiremu saying ‘he’s been here a couple of times like that, saying ‘we’re getting on with this now and we’re doing this’..”*. Manahi expressed the same concerns, saying *“not every time should everything be taken in to account because sometimes you know the expectations are too great”*.

Peter also described how some of the time he felt he was in a tokenistic role, as even though he was there for the iwi and Māori issues, there was no room allowed for tikanga Māori. Peter was a commissioner for a local Government body organisation, but felt confined by the organisation’s rules, saying

“being a Māori you feel like there are certain things you can do but the rules don’t let you... you know you’re sort of trapped in the position.. being a Māori you can’t really say what you want to say”.

Where there were instances such as this Peter felt he was wasting his time, and would resign if put in to these situations describing some organisations where *“the rules are not set up for Māori... to help Māoridom in a sense.. they’re not for them at all”*. Kaumātua in these roles can be seriously undervalued and wonder why they have been asked to be there in the first place.

There are many other non Māori organisations however that are genuine in asking Māori for help, and honestly value the work of kaumātua. Wiremu and Jackie are kaumātua for one of the local secondary schools and Wiremu explained that the HOD Māori goes to visit him on behalf of the school *“in all honesty to ask ... how I think they should do it... and they say thank you”*. Jackie mentioned non Māori groups who appreciate the work she does with *“I’ve always been asked within Pākehā groups for a Māori perspective...”*.

Both Manahi and Peter also work well with different non Māori organisations, and always with the mana of their iwi in mind. Manahi said *“I get involved in all of that.. liaison with the Council”* and has a meaningful relationship with the Council to ensure that his iwi are informed with Council matters, and also to ensure the iwi are involved and engaged as tangata whenua.

When working in the community the working relationships kaumātua have with people are not the standard paid ones where salaries or wages are involved. A koha is the usual payment for their services, and often they are not given anything, and therefore can be left out of pocket on numerous occasions, especially when driving long distances to help people in other towns. However there are those organisations who will pay kaumātua for their services, and also people who will genuinely give what they can, and kaumātua will accept what they are given. There are also cases where kaumātua will not accept what they are being offered, as per the following example:

Wiremu talked about the relationships he has with individuals in the community, and his role working with both Māori and non Māori. Although it is the Māori Anglican church, many Pākehā people have asked for help *“Pākehā people have said oh can you bless this area, we’ve moved in to this house and we’ve been haunted since we first moved in”*. These particular people offered a koha of \$100 to Wiremu and his colleague, while admitting they had already paid someone else double to do the same job a week before, but their services hadn’t worked. Wiremu felt compassion and wouldn’t take their money, saying *“I turned around and said to her ‘do you think we came for your money, we didn’t come here to take your money we came here because on the phone you were desperate I could tell by your voice’, and she was, they were in a state of panic, it was like a last resort”*.

Kaumātua have a strong sense of understanding and empathy towards those they are helping. They are able to assess people and their needs through case by case situations. Being intuitive and having integrity is evident, and koha is accepted in many different ways, with Wiremu describing a koha of homemade jams from another person, and a jaw complete with sharks teeth from another.

Theme 3: Ngā Kounga o Ngā Kaumātua \ Qualities

Findings revealed many qualities for each of the kaumātua. They are good listeners, have empathy, are trustworthy, and people trust and feel comfortable enough to confide in them. Jackie gave the following example of what she does in a pastoral role, saying *“I take myself, I take my love, and I take my concern for them, and I take my ears... I listen to what they have to say...”* Kaumātua provide guidance and support and are not directive, allowing people to make their own decisions. Some kaumātua are able to draw out what’s troubling people, and then help them to help themselves. Jackie demonstrated this by explaining that

“they tell me in all confidentiality things that are troubling them, so I let them talk to me about how they can sort out their problems. I try not to tell them

what to do, they ask me and I'm giving it back... and as they speak about it, it comes easier for them to do something about it.."

Furthermore, kaumātua roles can become facilitative as they help families arrive at their own decision making. Jackie said *"you must let it work itself, if you try to push things it doesn't work."* While providing support, kaumātua also knew their limits and when to decline from something they may not be able to assist in. Jackie said *"I never commit myself, as I say, I wait for them to ask me then I do whatever I can to help them, but like I said before you have to know your limit, when to step back."*

Wiremu said that sometimes when people ask him for advice, he will let the person asking try to answer the question, saying *"we can turn a question around, we can turn an answer around."* Peter talked about people providing their own solutions as well, and said *"people see which is the right direction to go, and they'll do it themselves... if you put all the facts in front of people they'll pick the right course to take themselves."* Therefore good communication skills are essential.

Presentation is also a quality that comes with communication and Peter described an Auntie from his marae as an exceptional role model, saying *"she was always immaculate, she would dress well."*

With communication education and experience is important when negotiating and dealing with people. All of the kaumātua provided examples of their experiences on committees, and their ability to work together in a collective. Peter described solidarity when being in a collective, stating *"talk things out properly, you know..., so the regulations are not sort of pulling you in to a different way, so you can talk with each other honestly and brainstorm... until... all come to a consensus."* The ability to work in a team is also important, and Manahi described working with other kaumātua as

"I enjoy that sort of vintage of kaumātua as well you know where you're on the same wave length... Yeah and I really enjoy that sort of stuff because you're, you are in agreement on things that matter and are important, you know tikanga stuff and um and so it's good being involved with those people. I enjoy that and um that's where you find those people you know in those sorts of roles and... there's not all that many around so you get attracted to those sorts of people and those sorts of people get involved in good kaupapa too so um and that so you get attracted to the same thing, you know and Te Manawa is one of those things, I deem that as very important, and so um, working with people involved there to make it a bit better if that's what we can do... is always an objective and a goal and so I'm happy to be involved in it."

Whakarāpopoto \ Summary

The data has identified kaumātua roles as being informed by key relationships based on whakapapa, the needs of Māori and non Māori communities, and personal relationships. Whakapapa is about the relationships kaumātua have to communities and with each other; while needs are the requests received from the communities kaumātua serve. These communities include whānau, hapū and iwi; educational, religious and cultural (including museums, art galleries, and ethnic); and Government organisations and agencies. Within personal relationships is immediate whānau support, including instances where time spent with whānau has been impacted upon due to serving the wider community needs.

Kaumātua roles vary, with each kaumātua having similar and different roles, qualities and abilities, being able to specialise in particular and similar areas. Key roles have been identified and the following table 1 shows these roles, as well as qualities that are needed to perform them effectively. In the first column each role shows kaumātua in advisor, mentor, confidant and pastoral capacities, with the advisor's role showing knowledge, cultural and strengths sub headings. The second column lists qualities which have been categorised to each of the roles and their related sub headings where appropriate.

Table 1

Roles	Qualities
Advisor - Knowledge	Life experience – mature Te Reo Māori and tikanga Māori Thinks out of the square Specialises in particular kaupapa Well educated in both Māori and Pākehā worlds Whakapapa and iwi history
- Cultural	Ability to bring people together Inclusive of all people Is people driven Mana whenua and has been chosen by own people Peoples person and can relate to people from many different backgrounds Willing and able to meet with both Māori and non Māori

- Strengths	<p>A good communicator who can clearly articulate</p> <p>Ability to network</p> <p>Ability to work in a collective when decision making</p> <p>Ability to delegate</p> <p>Ability to assess a situation</p> <p>Ability to draw from each other's strengths when working in a collective</p> <p>Always looking for improvement through self and peer assessment and evaluation</p> <p>Brave</p> <p>Committed, passionate and determined – has a strong belief in what they are doing</p> <p>Knows own limits</p> <p>Matakite – a visionary who can also see the bigger picture</p>
Mentor	<p>Flexible and available – generous with their time</p> <p>Good organiser and is able to bring people together</p> <p>Guides, supportive, encourages and builds confidence in people</p> <p>Has a sense of duty, obligation and responsibility</p> <p>Humārietanga – has humility</p> <p>Is respectful and respected</p> <p>Knowledgeable</p> <p>Passionate and committed</p> <p>Strategic planner and able to negotiate</p> <p>Takawaenga \ mediator - Relationship builder</p> <p>Transformational – ability to bring out best in people</p> <p>Visionary</p> <p>Wise – has years of experience and background knowledge</p>
Confidant	<p>Honest and has integrity</p> <p>Trustworthy</p>
Pastoral	<p>Aroha - compassionate, respectful and respected</p> <p>Empathetic</p> <p>Tolerant</p> <p>Understanding</p>

As seen in the findings, the kaumātua interviewed have diverse and numerous roles and skills. They work well as individuals and together in a collective, and are highly respected within the community. This is evident through the many requests kaumātua receive from communities for support. These kaumātua are very community focussed, working for both Māori and non Māori communities. Although the kaumātua wear different hats at times, they have many commonalities, and see whānau, hapū and iwi wellbeing as their main focus.

The next chapter provides further discussion on kaumātua roles and looks at an overall picture according to the findings in this study.

Chapter Five:

He kōrerorero anō \ Discussion

This chapter provides discussion and interpretation of kaumātua roles as seen in the previous chapters. It looks at kaumātua and their roles as contributing factors to communities. Challenges identified within kaumātua roles are discussed, along with whanaungatanga and reciprocal responsibilities and obligations required of communities. Goals kaumātua have for developing the capacity of Māori people in future roles are also included. Recommendations are made in the summary to offer further guidance and understanding of implications pertaining to kaumātua roles.

Ngā āhuatanga e pā ana ki ngā Kaumātua \ Circumstances pertaining to Kaumātua

To be a kaumātua, you must first wade through life, because that's what the word means: to wade through something. And only when you wade through can you begin to understand life and the context of life. Then you start getting older and older and older, and then you get the standing of a kaumātua, when you have walked through the concept of the Māori world (Moon, 2004, as cited in Ihimaera, 2008, p. 3).

As inferred in the abovementioned quote, from a Māori world view kaumātua are elders who over many years have gained understanding and wisdom through life experience. Their traits descend from the behaviours and attitudes of atua or deities and have evolved throughout time within the generational platforms of whakapapa. Therefore kaumātua carry the expectations of their kaumātua before them, and those before them, while contesting a forever changing world which in te ao Māori (the Māori world) is known as 'te ao hurihuri', (the changing world) where time and occurrences refuse to stand still. Within these realms the needs of people have changed over the years, and so have kaumātua qualities and abilities. However knowledge of tikanga Māori remains and is enhanced by many attributes, and the values of tikanga Māori are inherent in what kaumātua do for their communities. Furthermore commonalities of traits and abilities between kaumātua, and their commitment to use and apply those qualities show their desires to enhance and progress the future of their people. It is also because of the application of those qualities that people become recognised as kaumātua and are therefore constantly in demand by both Māori and non Māori people and communities.

Tikanga me ngā Kaumātua \ Tikanga and Kaumātua

Inā te mahi, he rangatira (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 146)

See how he\she does – a leader indeed.

In terms of kaumātua this whakatauki gives recognition and acknowledgement to kaumātua and the roles and contributions they are continually providing to the communities they serve. It also portrays kaumātua as being motivated and committed to the betterment and progress of Māori people. Their work is encompassed in the tikanga Māori values that are shown in the methodology section of this study. To provide understanding those values have been further written and adjusted to show tikanga values encompassing kaumātua roles as they work to serve the community:

Mana is an attribute showing the integrity and status of a person and how other people see that quality. Some people are seen as having a high mana, and others are at various levels. From a Maori world view everyone has a level of mana.

Kaumātua show respect to, and value and enhance the mana of the people they are serving.

Manaakitanga is one of the most important values according to tikanga Māori, and is encompassed by aroha (respect), with the base word of manaakitanga being mana. According to Mead (2003b) all tikanga are underpinned by manaakitanga, which is about “nurturing relationships, looking after people, and being very careful about how others are treated” (p. 29).

The wellbeing of the people is of utmost importance and is placed at the centre of anything kaumātua do for their communities.

Whakapapa is described by Mead (2003b) as an attribute to identity, being a “fundamental attribute and the gift of birth” (p. 42), where a person has been born in to a kinship system which has been in place for many generations. Whakapapa links back to the atua and shows kinship relationships throughout generations. Whakapapa gives a person the right to say where they belong, and identify themselves as belonging to a certain social grouping. For example within a Māori tribal structure this gives the right for the individual to say “I am Māori” (Mead, 2003b, p. 42), and also gives the right for that individual to identify to the tribe to which they belong. In short “whakapapa is belonging”, and “without it an individual is outside looking in” (Mead, 2003b, p. 43).

Kaumātua work primarily for Māori towards the wellbeing of the whānau unit, progressing iwi, hapū and whānau aspirations.

Whanaungatanga is about relationships and usually denotes the interconnectedness shown in whakapapa (Royal, 1998). Whanaungatanga principles can also be seen in non whakapapa instances where non-kin can become like kin through shared experiences when building relationships through net working or working within a non-kin collective.

This is about kaumātua maintaining relationships with each other, iwi, hapū and whānau, while also building upon relationships with new, local and national communities;

Tapu goes hand in hand with **mana**, and is also inseparable from Māori identity and Māori cultural practices (Mead, 2003b). Tapu may be described as the all encompassing sanctity and nature of a person and/or thing, showing high respect to cultural beliefs. Tapu is known for restrictions, and keeping oneself safe by adhering to rules and regulations.

Kaumātua are aware of this tikanga and of keeping safe through the recitation of karakia, or use of “water and \ or bread” (Archdeacon Wiremu Te Tipi Te Awe Awe, personal communication, February 26, 2013), to cleanse a situation and taking precautions where required.

Utu according to Mead (2003) is where value is placed upon compensation, reciprocity, or revenge. Mead (2003) also describes utu as being noted by many commentators in warfare and economic transactions. Metge as cited in Mead (2003) describes the main purpose of utu as maintaining relationships. Mead (2003) states that “utu is a response to a take (issue) that once the take is admitted the aim is to reach a state of ea, which might be translated as restoring balance and thereby maintaining whanaungatanga” (p. 31).

In the context of kaumātua utu relates to reciprocity and maintaining whanaungatanga. Kaumātua recognise challenges and how these challenges are to be overcome, and wisdom and experience allows them the ability to see things from both sides. Reciprocation through mediating situations in order to bring about normality (noa) also contributes to maintaining a balance within relationships where required.

Another example of reciprocation and the maintenance of balance is the reciprocal give and take between whānau, hapū, iwi and the wider community. It is important to acknowledge kaumātua roles and to provide support to reciprocate their generosity. In addition, kaumātua also recognise the strengths that each other has,

and will call on those strengths for support when required. This is continuously reciprocated through their ongoing support to each other.

Ea is the notion of successful completion of any task at hand and the restoration of relationships. The process of tapu is being restored and balanced within the concept of noa, which is the opposite to tapu. This is shown in the successful completion of work for a particular role played by kaumātua in a particular instance. For example when the kaumātua has welcomed the manuhiri on to the marae, the whaikōrero has finished and the hongi (pressing of noses) has commenced bringing tangata whenua and manuhiri together in kotahitanga (unity). Another example is when a younger person whom a kaumātua has mentored over the years is delegated a kaumātua role while their kaumātua is there to guide. This starts to link and subsequently join the pathway through which the younger person proceeds to kaumātua status. A kaumātua may be satisfied his \ her work is complete when the young protégé is seen to be capable of undertaking the role.

As seen, in the Māori worldview tikanga Māori values encompass every single aspect that Māori people become involved. All aspects are especially remembered and adhered to by kaumātua, who in their lives have experienced years of being immersed within tikanga Māori values which have been handed on to them by their kaumātua. Hence knowledge of tikanga Māori on the marae and in Māori environments is extremely important to being able to carry out kaumātua roles.

Ngā Kaumātua me Te Ao Hurihuri \ Kaumātua and The Changing World

From a Māori worldview, creation stories have shaped humankind and the way they see the world. Kaumātua roles were first represented by atua, also known as deities. Examples of these have been shown in chapter two which includes Papatūānuku giving advice as to where to form the first human being, and the Maui stories providing examples portraying kaumātua roles. For example Tama-nui-ki-te-rangi was Maui's first kaumātua, teacher and advisor; and Muriranga-whenua was one of the kaumātua whom Maui obtained knowledge in order to help and benefit mankind. Creation stories such as these have provided Māori people with understandings of kaumātua as repositories of knowledge, teachers, advisors and mentors. This has allowed the descendants (humankind) of those atua to model their portrayals of kaumātua.

Hence throughout the generations kaumātua have continued to be considered as people who are to be respected for their knowledge and wisdom. Pere (1994) described her

kaumātua as “maunga kōrero” (“speaking mountains”) elders” (p. 62), people to whom she as a younger person could go to for encouragement and advice. Maunga kōrero are described in the same context as kaumātua being elders who are knowledgeable, skilled and careful in their teaching.

According to authors such as Katene (2010), Durie (2003b) and Walker (1993) kaumātua undertake leadership roles on and off the marae, with these roles being for the benefit of the whānau, hapū and iwi. Kaumātua give generously of their time and knowledge to support their communities. They are also keen to pass their knowledge and abilities on to future generations in order for their work to continue.

Kaumātua roles include being teachers, advisors, mentors, and decision makers. Kaumātua roles away from the marae also include being taken into various and diverse environments and places such as schools, tertiary environments, government entities, museums and so forth (Durie, 2003b; Edwards, 2011). Although kaumātua may not be on the marae, their roles are still underpinned by tikanga Māori cultural practices.

All kaumātua participants in this study showed their commitment to te reo Māori and tikanga Māori. That is, they all supported initiatives relating to te ao Māori (the Māori world). A common theme from participants was their respect to te ao Māori values. This is seen in kaumātua roles on their marae and through their actions towards upholding the mana of the marae for their iwi, hapū and whānau. As a head teacher in one of the local Kura Kaupapa Māori, one of the kaumātua participating in this study acknowledged there were now more speakers of te reo Māori in his hapū than there were 20 years ago. This was a very good sign towards the wellbeing of his marae, iwi, hapū, and whānau. However he also acknowledged the Māori language was and is still endangered. Every kaumātua participant in this study was concerned with the wellbeing of te reo Māori, the everyday language of their parents and tūpuna.

Whakatipuranga Rangatira \ Growing Leaders

A main goal expressed by kaumātua was to find younger people who will eventually take up their roles. Participating kaumātua within this study were concerned with growing future kaumātua who were going to follow in their footsteps, hence kaumātua are always on the lookout for someone to take over their role in the future. Kaumātua explained how they manaaki (nurture) younger people through supporting and encouraging them to accompany kaumātua to watch, listen and learn. In addition when kaumātua are confident these younger people are ready to undertake roles that kaumātua do, they ask them to participate in the role. For example you may see a younger person stand to whaikōrero before his kaumātua,

or a younger woman karanga at the side of her kuia. This is done with the support of kaumātua in the event one day the person being mentored will be able to confidently do the role on their own. In addition, kaumātua recognise younger peoples' talents and know when to call on them to use utilise for the benefit of the iwi.

Examples of kaumātua role modelling include being on the marae or in marae settings undertaking whaikōrero, karanga, and the way tikanga Māori and kawa (etiquettes and protocols) are enacted. It is also from kaumātua roles that younger people are able to model themselves. History, whakapapa, tikanga and te reo Māori are sustained through the actions of kaumātua storytelling on the marae or in marae environments, which can include but are not limited to Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Wānanga, and also non Māori environments such as libraries, museums and so forth.

As already mentioned kaumātua are forever looking out for younger people to pass their skills on to and will delegate to younger people they have confidence in. Rangihau (1992), Pewhairangi (1992) and Edwards (2010) also acknowledge that kaumātua are careful with what knowledge is imparted, and the timing of when to disseminate that knowledge. Therefore knowledge is not given freely, and kaumātua are also careful to choose who the recipient is, while also being aware that knowledge can be lost if not passed on in time. Kaumātua are also aware of the need to be careful in not pushing younger people in to the roles too soon. Their roles can carry burdens and Edwards (2002) gives an example of her role as kaikaranga being heavy as she is carrying her tūpuna and her people on her back.

Whānau me te Whanaungatanga \ Family and Relationships

All of the kaumātua participating in this study expressed their commitment to their roles and the people they served. All worked long hours in kaumātua roles, with Wiremu and Jackie working in their ministry roles 24/7. Kaumātua also admitted that these hours can sometimes be to the detriment of their whānau (families). That is, long hours and many requests from and within the community may take them away from their whānau. However what also came across was the support kaumātua get from their whānau (families). This was expressed by participating kaumātua, and the daughter of one of the kaumātua. Reciprocation is seen through whānau assisting and supporting kaumātua where ever they can. This may be monetary, transport, or accommodation, and as also mentioned in chapters two and four, through whānau accompanying kaumātua as helpers. This type of support is also a quality, where being a part of a collective helps to alleviate burdens. In addition, qualities and abilities of kaumātua are diverse, and within the interviews all of the

kaumātua expressed the benefit of working together within a collective in various situations. Kaumātua are also confident when they are able to delegate particular roles to other kaumātua who are skilled in those particular areas.

Whanaungatanga (relationships) was evident in the way kaumātua described their whakapapa links to each other and how they support each other in situations pertaining to te ao Māori.

Kaumātua enjoy working together as they share and build on each others' strengths and abilities. Iwi, hapū and whānau acknowledge the benefits of kaumātua roles and treat their kaumātua well, and in the main do their best not to overburden them in the roles they play. In addition, kaumātua described how they support each other when and where required. One of the participants gave examples of positive whanaungatanga happening whenever there was a significant occurrence at his marae. Kaumātua from all the surrounding marae, along with kaumātua who were 'taura here' (Māori people who have settled to live in an area that they don't originally come from) would go to his marae to support him, his whānau, hapū and iwi. This is reciprocated, with each kaumātua supporting each other at different occasions. Whanaungatanga with neighbouring iwi and marae continues to remain strong through the efforts and mana of kaumātua and the roles they undertake.

The participating kaumātua in this study not only have strong whanaungatanga and/or whakapapa connections to each other through their tribal affiliates, they have also built enduring relationships with the communities they continue to serve. These include ongoing relationships with tribal councils, local schools, district councils, tertiary institutes, crown agencies, district health boards, churches and more, through undertaking kaumātua roles within all of these places. In addition, reciprocity from these institutions are usually undertaken through koha.

Environments in which Kaumātua Roles are Undertaken

Kaumātua participants in cultural advisory and tikanga roles gave examples of the many and diverse environments they undertake their roles in. This can include but is not limited to occasions such as being on the marae undertaking whaikōrero and karanga, to being in political arena's giving iwi and hapū views, to performing karakia when blessing homes. Two of the kaumātua talked about how they were involved in a Treaty partnership agreement with the church involving tikanga Māori, tikanga Pākehā and tikanga Pacifica. This allowed the Māori Anglican church to be on equal terms and have a voice when major decisions are being made within the Anglican church. As the Archdeacon for the local Māori

Anglican church, one of the kaumātua attended many hui (meetings) to discuss and decide on various topics brought up within the church. In addition, three of the kaumātua participants were involved in Treaty of Waitangi claims with one describing his work as a researcher. Another kaumātua told of his political experiences while helping to create jobs and training programmes for iwi. Politics included having to meet with government officials to show accountability for how the programmes were going to run. Another commonality amongst all the kaumātua was their involvement in politics. These were either drawn from their kaumātua roles, or experienced in younger days towards becoming a kaumātua. However the main commonalities kaumātua had were that where ever kaumātua go their practices are underpinned by tikanga Māori.

Ngā Wero \ Challenges

As acknowledged by Edwards (2010) kaumātua face different challenges today than that of their kaumātua. Unlike previous kaumātua, not all kaumātua are fluent speakers of te reo Māori. As already mentioned in chapter two this is mainly due to the effects of colonisation, assimilation and urbanisation. Not being able to speak te reo Māori can cause a lack of confidence in undertaking kaumātua roles on the marae.

In other roles kaumātua are invited to become engaged with non Māori boards such as the local Council, health entities or similar organisations. Within these roles kaumātua may sometimes feel overwhelmed due to being the only Māori person on the board, and \ or because the kaupapa (philosophy) and the way the business is undertaken is foreign to them. In addition, there may be a lack of understanding of kaupapa Māori (Māori philosophies), tikanga and āhuatanga Māori (Māori ways of being and doing) by the non Māori members. Therefore to engage with these types of boards requires kaumātua that have the skills and astuteness of both worlds, that is, Māori and non Māori. It would also help if the other non Māori board members had some knowledge and understanding of aspects pertaining to te ao Māori.

As per kaumātua experiences in chapter four, in some instances tokenism is also prevalent. This is where kaumātua may be used to fulfil Treaty of Waitangi expectations, and this becomes apparent when kaumātua knowledge is not valued and \ or taken on board. According to one of the kaumātua participants he would not stay with an organisation if he felt there was no headway for kaupapa Māori to be achieved.

One way of overcoming this type of tokenism could be for the overarching funding bodies of these institutes to request additional avenues of accountability. That is, by

approaching and asking the kaumātua concerned to comment on or evaluate their opinions on services provided by them.

Ngā Tino Painga \ Achievements

Not all non Māori organisations are token gestures, and some very positive relationships have been formed and cemented with Pākehā organisations. These organisations are genuine in their wanting to achieve and build on positive relationships, and participating kaumātua also voiced their pleasure in undertaking kaumātua roles for those organisations. Hence there have also been many achievements, including positive whanaungatanga between kaumātua and non Māori organisations leading to strong relationships cemented between iwi and non Māori.

Significant achievements such as revitalisation of te reo Māori and creating programmes to uphold tikanga Māori are important to kaumātua roles, and kaumātua are thrilled to see transformation happening when their mokopuna (grandchildren) and children start speaking te reo Māori and are confident in identifying themselves as Māori. The continued support of kaumātua to their immediate whānau is shown through their involvement in te ao Māori. All of the participating kaumātua support kaupapa Māori initiatives such as Kohanga reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Wānanga, and have played a part in contributing to successes. This includes being kaumātua to Wānanga, supporting Māori cultural practices, and being available when asked for support.

These also flow in to other areas which bring kaumātua in to political and positive forums such as involvement in Treaty of Waitangi claims, bringing iwi together, creating employment for Māori people, and role modelling to other indigenous and international peoples. Kaumātua roles do influence other peoples through their actions and decisions; when indigenous and international peoples visit participating kaumātua and their marae; and \ or kaumātua are asked to welcome and speak to these people. Kaumātua on a nationwide and international scale have also assisted other countries in their efforts to revitalise their languages. For example the Puna Leo (Language Nest) in Hawaii based its practices partly by using Kohanga Reo as a guide. In addition, kaumātua are often invited to international conferences to share their knowledge and wisdom with other indigenous and international cultures.

It has also been largely due to the efforts and concerns of kaumātua that te reo Māori has been and is still going through a process of revitalisation. Subsequently there are now places that are easily accessible for learning te reo Māori, and the language is being heard more often in Aotearoa New Zealand. In addition kaumātua who were or are unable to

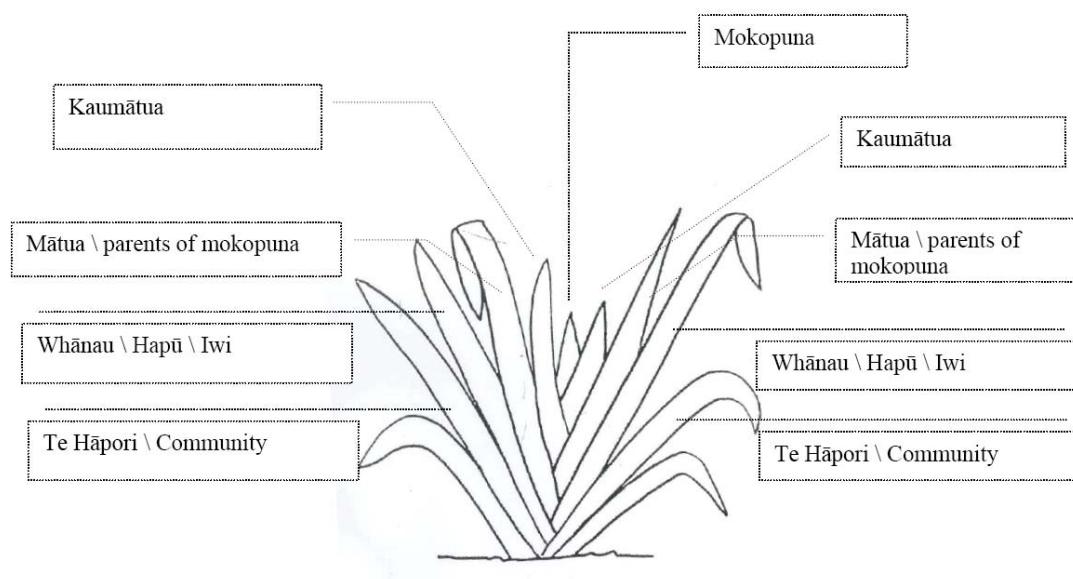
speakers of te reo Māori have taken or are taking advantage of learning the language. Through engaging in learning te reo Māori kaumātua are becoming more confident in taking on board active kaumātua roles in a Māori cultural situation.

Tautoko \ Support

Chapter two of this study has a whakatauki that describes the human person as the most important element in the universe, emphasising that people are of paramount importance. The whakatauki illustrates the pā harakeke as a metaphor for whānau, and to follow the whakatauki is a pā harakeke model showing the place of the kaumātua within the whānau.

To follow in figure 2 is a similar model, however the kaumātua has now been placed next to and on either side of the mokopuna. The mokopuna has remained in the centre, as to their kaumātua they will always be the centre of attention. With the kaumātua now directly next to their mokopuna, the rest of the whānau are surrounding the kaumātua, in turn supporting and providing manaakitanga to their elder, who is providing the same manaakitanga to the mokopuna. Being directly beside and supporting the mokopuna also shows kaumātua aspirations for future generations, and is a reminder to us of kaumātua roles as teachers, advisors, mentors and confidants. Furthermore, iwi, hapū and whānau are usually very good in providing support to their kaumātua.

Figure 2



The pā harakeke is seen metaphorically as a whānau or collective that has reciprocal obligations to each other. Each and every part of the whānau portrayed in the pā harakeke metaphor has an integral part to play. I have also added Te Hāpori (community) as the community or communities that kaumātua serve. Furthermore, Te Hāpori in effect has also become part of the pā harakeke whānau.

Kaumātua have kaitiakitanga (guardianship) obligations to ensure positive futures for their mokopuna, whānau, hapū and iwi. This is done through passing on their knowledge as teachers, advisors, mentors and confidants. Through undertaking kaumātua roles they also build and progress positive whanaungatanga relationships between whānau, hapū, iwi and the wider communities. Reciprocation can be seen metaphorically through the outer blades as the communities supporting, assisting and protecting kaumātua. The diagram therefore is a metaphor that illustrates whānau reciprocation for the service kaumātua provide to the community on behalf of their whānau, hapū and iwi. In return those communities should provide support to the kaumātua, in whatever way is appropriate. Throughout the symbolism of the pā harakeke displays kaitiakitanga (guardianship) reciprocal responsibilities within whānau relationships.

Utu \ Reciprocation

Iwi, hapū and whānau acknowledge and respect their kaumātua and in the main do their best not to overburden them. Reciprocation is seen through whānau assisting and supporting kaumātua where they can. Utu according to Mead (2003b) is a tikanga value that provides balance and maintains relationships. Utu may include but is not limited to being monetary, providing transport and accommodation, and as also mentioned in chapters two and four, through whānau accompanying the kaumātua as helpers. People provide utu (reciprocity \ payment) in various forms.

However sometimes utu or koha (gift) doesn't happen and kaumātua are left out of pocket. Kaumātua don't like asking for money, and at most times will provide their services for aroha (love). I have used the word utu in place of the word koha, because to offer a koha is to offer a voluntary contribution. In the Māori world view people do not usually ask others for a koha. Furthermore in many instances there is no set price, or utu, for the services of kaumātua.

Ways to overcome not being reciprocated for kaumātua services is to inform the people requesting kaumātua services of any expenses that may impact on kaumātua while carrying out their kaumātua roles. This may happen through a third party, such as a younger whānau or iwi member fielding calls for their kaumātua and informing people there will be a

fee for the services of kaumātua. Where necessary this could be undertaken through a case by case situation, as there are also people who call on kaumātua that are genuinely unable to afford monetary reciprocation. In addition some business organisations are genuinely unaware, yet others are and therefore are generous in their koha or utu to kaumātua. Koha and utu are accepted in many and varied ways, and sometimes not at all, as evidenced by Wiremu in chapter four when a whānau offered him a koha and he refused to accept.

This study has reflected a reminder of reciprocity expectations and obligations to all communities who utilise kaumātua in cultural and advisory roles, to provide for the wellbeing of kaumātua who carry out those roles on their behalf.

Ngā Tau Whakatā \ Retirement age

One of the aspects that all kaumātua had in common was their concerns to find younger people to fill future kaumātua roles. There are also different generations of rangatahi that are able and do assist their kaumātua. There are school leavers who are either at university or have finished and are making careers in business, law, education and so forth. Furthermore are those who are older and bringing up young families. In the mix are also older Māori people in their 50's and early 60's who are on their way to retirement and have become involved in political affairs alongside kaumātua. In all generations, there are always people from all age ranges that show keen interest in helping kaumātua in their roles to progress Māori people.

While kaumātua may be retired from everyday wage earning some are saying they have never been busier. This is also evident in chapter four where all of the kaumātua participants lead extremely busy lives while fulfilling their kaumātua roles.

According to Durie (2003a), kaumātua status is universally recognised as people being aged from their mid-sixties. All the kaumātua interviewed in chapter four were well in to their sixties and seventies, and Reverend Kahu Durie was in her mid eighties while still actively working for the community. Durie (2003a) argues that being kaumātua is more about role and function than age. Tauroa & Tauroa (1986) argue there is no particular time or age when a person becomes a kaumātua, with the status usually conferred by the whānau upon an elder to which they regard in a special way. In addition, these “kaumātua have an honoured place in the whānau”, as well as having a “special place in the community” (Tauroa & Tauroa, 1986, p. 146).

Durie (2003a) describes particular roles as being enhanced when filled by kaumātua, and the standing of the tribe and its mana is related to the physical presence of its elders. Such instances include important hui (Māori gatherings), and that kaumātua are expected to

attend. Durie (2003a) provided the example of tangihanga, where it is still considered undignified for people to travel without their kaumātua to guide and perform ceremonial duties on their behalf. In addition, a bereaved family will be frowned upon if they do not have a kaumātua in their presence supporting them (Durie, 2003a).

There is no set retirement age for kaumātua, with some kaumātua working in their roles until they are physically no longer able to. However there comes a time when kaumātua start to tire and will slowly but surely remove themselves from positions of kaumātua status. These can be where they have been on all types of committees. Two of the participating kaumātua in this study expressed their wishes to slowly step away and allow for younger people to take their place. Although kaumātua retire from these types of committees, they remain committed to helping and supporting their people, and their physical and intellectual presence is important to their tribe. As also described by Durie (2003b) the standing and mana of the tribe is related to the physical presence of kaumātua. Tauroa & Tauroa (1986) also explains “kaumātua have a honoured place in the whānau” and will always have “a special place in the community” (p. 146).

Te Āhua o Ngā Kaumātua i Ngā Wā o Naianei \ The makeup of kaumātua in contemporary times

Chapter four shows kaumātua have similar skills in some areas and specialist skills in others. Both chapter two and four show that kaumātua often work in collectives, as groups of people who are working towards the same kaupapa (purpose). As mentioned in chapter two, the use of the word ‘whānau’ can be used in a context referring to “groups of people brought together for a special purpose” (Durie, 2003c, p. 13). With kaumātua having the same skills in some areas and particular specialist skills in others, it makes sense for kaumātua to work in whānau collectives and to be supporting and drawing from each other’s strengths and abilities. The collective whānau concept gives a holistic view of the way kaumātua work and the roles they play, with each strength being brought in to a sense of being one, showing kotahitanga (unity). In addition to kaumātua supporting each other, there is also the reciprocity often carried out by their whānau, hapū and iwi. Where skills are similar, kaumātua are also able to delegate roles to each other. That is, if one kaumātua cannot attend due to having to be at another occasion, another kaumātua will attend in their place.

He Whakarāpopoto, He Whainga hoki \ Summary & goals

Portrayed within this chapter are whanaungatanga and its part in the bigger picture of kaumātua and the roles they play. Reciprocation is also integral to keeping whanaungatanga values maintained. Aspirations of growing future leaders; the challenges kaumātua face; kaumātua achievements and the fact that support from iwi, whānau and hapū contributes to achievement and overcoming challenge; strengthens and gives vibrancy to kaumātua roles.

Goals expressed by kaumātua are interspersed throughout this chapter and have been taken and broken down in to the following:

1. To contribute towards a better world for Māori people.
2. To hold on to and strengthen te reo Māori and tikanga Māori.
3. To assist whānau, hapū and iwi.
4. To pass knowledge on to younger generations in order for it not to become lost.
5. To grow future kaumātua.
6. To be positive role models.
7. To encourage positive role modelling within whānau, hapū and iwi.
8. To continue to build on positive relationships.
9. Unity of all peoples.
10. Fairness for all peoples.

He Tūtohutanga \ Recommendations

Recommendations are further ideas that may be considered offering additional information towards a particular kaupapa (purpose). Therefore table 2 provides a framework to build more upon roles of kaumātua. The framework is contextualised to kaumātua and their roles and recommends a way of looking further to support kaumātua in the roles they undertake. Underpinning the framework is manaakitanga (to look after) whanaungatanga (relationships) and utu (reciprocity). Shown in the first horizontal row is the kaupapa (purpose). This ascertains what the kaumātua role entails for a set kaupapa (purpose) at any set time. For example the kaupapa may involve the kaumātua to bless a house; speak at a pōwhiri; facilitate a hui; be part of a decision making process; (these being some examples of many). The second column relates to iwi, hapū and whānau and is directed inwards to

themselves, asking and ascertaining how they can support kaumātua further. The third column is Te Hāpori (the wider community), the people or communities who call on kaumātua for assistance. This column offers suggestions for reciprocation, and all three columns show the values of manaakitanga (to care for) and kotahitanga (unity).

Main points to the framework are:

Column 1. Kaumātua ascertaining what is required in their roles in light of the particular kaupapa (purpose) they will be involved.

Column 2. Iwi, hapū, and whānau being informed of the kaupapa their kaumātua is going to be involved, and then ascertaining how they (iwi, hapū and whānau) can assist or support the kaumātua in that role.

Column 3. Te Hāpori contact the kaumātua. Once Te Hāpori has made contact with kaumātua and explained the kaupapa of their request, the expectations of Te Hāpori (the community) are:

- a) to provide kaumātua with resources they may require to fulfil the kaupapa, along with a koha, or accept an invoice if received;
- b) ensure the environment the kaumātua is undertaking their role is comfortable and safe;
- c) after the role of the kaumātua is completed, to offer the kaumātua a chance to provide feedback on their thoughts to the kaupapa, their role towards the kaupapa, and any recommendations they (kaumātua) may be able to provide Te Hāpori for future reference.

Table 2

Kaupapa \ Purpose ----->		
Kaumātua Role & Obligations	Iwi, Hapū, Whānau Roles & Obligations	Te Hāpori Role & Obligations
Identifying what the kaupapa is.	What does the role entail and how can we help?	Respectful relationships. The correct person has been contacted.
Ascertaining what the role entails.	What skills can we also bring to the role?	The kaupapa is explained concisely.
Ngā pukenga (skills). Identifying skills required to	What are the particular skills required for the role	Kaumātua is \ are in comfortable environment.

fulfil the kaupapa.	to be completed?	Offering a koha.
Planning how the role will be undertaken.	In what capacity can we assist? I.e. transport, backup waiata, accommodation.	Kaumātua may require extra support.
Whanaungatanga, a collective or whānau of kaumātua providing support to each other.	How can we contribute to the collective? What support do our kaumātua require?	Respectful relationships are maintained.
Tautoko, deciding amongst each other who the best person from the kaumātua whānau is to undertake the role.	On which particular occasions do our kaumātua require our support? What support is required?	Correct people have been contacted.
Awhinatia (assistance). Looking at what extra support or resourcing is required.	Do we have the necessary skills? What else do we have to offer? Where and how can we help? Do we need upskilling?	Follow-up or debrief \ evaluation with kaumātua.

One final recommendation is a reminder to continually acknowledge the roles kaumātua play. These could be through annual awards evenings, and/or celebrations. Although celebrations for kaumātua are undertaken in various communities, as a continual reminder to communities of what kaumātua do, not only for the benefit of their iwi, hapū and whānau, but also for the benefit of wider communities.

This chapter leads to the conclusion of the thesis, giving an overall summary of this study, which has been primarily to celebrate, acknowledge and provide proof to the importance of kaumātua and the roles that kaumātua undertake.

Chapter Six:

He Kōrero Whakakapi \ Conclusion

This research has investigated the roles of kaumātua and provides evidence of their importance to both Māori and non Māori society. The research is taken from a Māori perspective, and is underpinned in kaupapa Māori and tikanga Māori principles. Enquiry has been made as to what the role of kaumātua in the Rangitāne iwi rohe (district) of Manawatū entails and the importance of the role to Māori society. Furthermore, discussed were qualifications required of kaumātua; why kaumātua do what they do; and how they are appreciated by the communities they serve.

Findings show that the kaumātua participating in this study are not just elderly people. They are people who have been appointed by their communities to act and speak on their behalf. Furthermore, they have been appointed to kaumātua roles because of the confidence and trust people have in them (the kaumātua) to be able to carry roles which are of importance and benefit to Māori people.

Qualities of kaumātua are shown through their mannerisms, attitudes, knowledge, and commitment to what they do for the community. This study found that kaumātua represent their iwi in numerous and varied roles. Furthermore that kaumātua work well both individually in their specialist roles, and collectively when bringing their talents together as a collective of kaumātua, supporting and building from each other's strengths. Kaumātua are people minded, with aspirations to help people and provide support towards whānau, hapū and iwi development. Their roles range from making significant contributions to sustainability of te ao Māori; maintaining relationships towards kotahitanga (unity) of different groups of people; to enhancing and building upon whānau, hapū and iwi progression for Māoridom and future generations. Kaumātua are special people who provide legacies and platforms for future generations to follow.

This thesis acknowledges and celebrates our kaumātua and the roles they undertake to provide for our iwi, and is a small gesture of appreciation for the work they continue to do. Moreover it is a koha of appreciation to those that have passed on, and those that remain as legacies from our tūpuna.

He rata whakaruruhau: A leader is a sheltering rata tree, and is likened to that of a kaumātua.

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Glossary

Āhuatanga Māori	Māori ways of being and doing
Aroha	love, respect and empathy
Aroha ki te tangata	a respect for people
Hapū	sub tribe(s)
Hui	meeting \ Māori gathering(s)
Iwi	tribe(s) \ people
Kai	food
Kaitiaki	guardian
Kaitiakitanga	guardianship
Karakia	prayer \ rite(s) \ recitation(s)
Kaupapa	philosophy \ purpose \ theme \ topic
Kaupapa Māori	Māori philosophy, worldview and cultural principles
Kaupapa Māori research	Research underpinned in Māori philosophy(ies) and value(s)
Kawa	protocol \ etiquette
Koha	gift(s) \ donation(s) \ contribution(s)
Kohanga Reo	immersion Māori pre-school(s)
Kotahitanga	unity
Kura Kaupapa Māori	Primary and Intermediate immersion Māori school(s)
Mana	integrity \ status \ standing
Mana whenua	‘original people of the area’ land or vicinity being mentioned
Manaaki	nurture \ foster
Manaakitanga	care and hospitality \ to care and look after
Maunga kōrero	speaking mountains, elders

Mauri-ora	wellbeing \ towards wellbeing
Muaūpoko	name of the tribe of one of the participants
Mokopuna	grandchild \ grandchildren
Mōteatea	ancient song
Noa	opposite to tapu \ common \ normal \ normality
Ngāti Raukawa	name of the tribe of one of the participants
Rangatira	chief(s) \ leader(s)
Rangimārie	peace
Rangitāne	name of tribe (mana whenua) in Palmerston North
Rohe	district \ area \ region
Tangihanga	funeral
Taonga	treasure(s) \ precious
Tapu	individual mana and spiritual dimension; all encompassing sanctity and nature of a person and/or thing
Taura here	“to be tied to” \ iwi who live within but are not originally from the area
Te Atiawa	name of the tribe of one of the participants
Te Hāpori	community \ wider community
Te Hunga Uiui	participant(s)
Teina	younger sibling
Tikanga Māori	the correct way of doing things according to Māori cultural values, practices and behaviours
Tuakana	older sibling
Tupuna	ancestor
Tūpuna	ancestors
Utu	reciprocity \ payment
Waiata	song
Wairua	spirituality
Whakapapa	genealogical links \ kinship ties

Whakawhanaungatanga	relationship building
Whakatauki	proverb \ saying
Whānau	family(ies) \ collective(s) \ group(s) of people working towards the same goal
Whanaungatanga	relationships