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**A Māori Perspective of Whānau and
Childrearing in the 21st Century
Case Study**

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*A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of
Master of Education, Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato,
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Ngā Kupu Whakataki: Abstract

The study focuses on identifying how the reconstruction of the whānau and its approach to childrearing through the colonisation of Māori society can be perceived within the experiences of the case study of four generations of one whānau. A kaupapa Māori approach to research provided a framework for members of our whānau to socially construct their realities regarding the dynamics of our four generation whānau collaboratively. Socio-cultural theoretical frameworks were used to analyse approaches to whānau and childrearing.

Ngā Mihi

As I reflect on this research project, I reflect on the transitions in our whānau throughout the duration of the research process. Our whānau has been extended by two mokopuna. Te Kakara Morehu was born on the 4th June 2003 and Piata Morehu was born on the 7th March 2004. He mokopuna kōrua na Hineteiwaiwa. Waewae ana ngā karu te tirohanga atu. Nau mai, haere mai ki te aō marama, ki tenei whānau o tātou.

While we celebrate the newest members to our whānau, we also acknowledge the loss of pāpā Harry. Our koro, the late Harry Eruera passed away after a long illness on Sunday 20th October 2002. Pāpā Harry was only 66 years when he passed away. He suffered from an illness that resulted in his razor-sharp brain being trapped in a body that became debilitated by a complexity of ailments cumulatively resulting in his death. Ki a koe e te Pāpā, kua haere tu atu i te arai, he whakamaumahara tēnei. Kua hinga tētahi o ngā tōtara o te wao nui a Tāne. Nāu e te Pāpā matou i akiaki kia tu pakari i roto i te ao Māori, i te ao Pākehā hoki. Ehara i te tī e wana ake. Moe mai e te Pāpā. Hoki atu ki te okiokinga mutunga kore.

The research is representative of the support, ideas and participation of the members of four generations of whānau. I sincerely believe that the experiences and thoughts you, the whānau, have shared, have provided valuable insights into the dynamics of whānau and its relationship to childrearing. I have tried to represent the voices of the participants as accurately as I can and for any shortcomings, these are mine alone. I am immensely grateful for the whānau's support and patience throughout the duration of this project. I acknowledge that the irony of the situation is that the academic enquiry into the subject of whānau and childrearing has actually detracted from its practical application in real life, where frequently I have been unavailable to my whānau.

Na reira, kia kōutou tōku whānau. Tōku Whāea, koutou ko tōku hoa Raniera, me a tāua tamariki, mokopuna, ara ko Richard Arapata rātou ko Anita, ko Berndatte Arapera, ko Mahinarangi Grace, ko Meriana Robyn, ko Raniera, ko Shaniah Pehungaiterangi, ko Naphtali Grace, ko Te Kakara, ko Piata.... Ka nui te aroha. I commemorate this thesis to you. It is a celebration of our whānau and a legacy for the future with all my love.

I am also indebted to my supervisor who continued to support me regardless of the obstacles that surfaced along the way. Ki a koe e Margaret, ka nui ngā mihi. Ahakoa aha ngā porearea¹ aha ranei i puta mai hei whakaroaroa² i tenei mahi, i ora tonu te whakapono³ i roto i a koe, i ahau te kaha, te mōhio hoki hei whakaoti atu.

Finally, to all my colleagues and extended whānau, who encouraged and motivated me to complete the project, my heartfelt thanks go to you all. A special thanks to my flatmates, Whāea Kuni who also became a consultant to the research, Beverley and the Bridge Street whānau who not only put up with my coming and going at all hours but awarded me every courtesy along the way. Me kī, ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi, ēngari he toa takitini.

¹ Obstacles.

² Prolonged.

³ Belief.

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CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

*A Māori Perspective of Whānau and
Childrearing in the 21st Century
A Case Study of one
Four Generational Family*

Te Whakapūaki: Overview

Within the context of family and childrearing, the Māori term ‘whānau’ is so familiar to New Zealand society, yet so far reaching in its meaning and scope. Even within the context of this study and our four generation contemporary whānau, this scenario is evident. Each individual whānau member’s lived experiences and relationships with people, places and things have contributed to their own perceptions and understandings of the concept of whānau and childrearing.

This study sets out to explore individual and shared whānau member’s perceptions and understandings about whānau and childrearing through a conscientising, co-theorising process to promote an informed approach to whānau and childrearing for our fourth generation whānau members¹. For the purposes of this study, it is acknowledged that having information about historical Māori whānau and childrearing through whakapapa² and whānau, hapu and iwi stories will assist in deconstructing what is currently widely accepted as contemporary approaches to whānau and childrearing. The sharing of stories and subsequent deconstruction process provides whānau with an opportunity to reconstruct an approach that maximises benefits for not only our mokopuna, but all intergenerational whānau members.

¹ Referring here to mokopuna.

² Descent from a common ancestor.

Whānau e ai ki ngā Kairangahau: Researcher's Perspectives

According to Metge (1995); Pere (1994); and Walker (1990) whānau, historically (prior to contact with European), comprised an intergenerational unit based on whakapapa (descent from a common ancestor). The expectation was that each member of the whānau upheld responsibilities and obligations that contributed to the collective well-being of the unit (Durie in TeWhaiti, McCarthy and Durie, 1997; Metge, 1995; Pere, 1994; Rangihau, 1992; Buck, 1950; Walker, 1990). The philosophy of collective wellbeing meant that the 'whānau' unit was committed to teaching and nurturing their young as an investment in their future. Each group of families was responsible for ensuring that all knowledge, collectively held by their group, was stored and accurately passed on to future generations. Whānau, hapū and iwi ensured their prosperity by collectively nurturing and passing on to the children of the group tribal knowledge and skills (Buck, 1950; Eruera in Salmond, 1980; Pere, 1994; Walker, 1990).

Te Ao Hurihuri: Contemporary Society

Fundamental changes to the social structure of the traditional Māori whānau model occurred as a result of the impact of colonisation. Once colonial government was established, capitalism, industrialisation and urbanisation followed in rapid succession (Spoonley, in McLennan, Ryan & Spoonley, 2000). These factors had a cumulative effect on the intergenerational whānau model. The nuclear family model displaced the Māori social model of kinship or whānau units because of its functional suitability to meet the needs of modern industrial society (Durie in Te Whaiti et al, 1997; Walker, 1990). The mobility of the nuclear family, the potential for independence, competitiveness and individualism was identified by social reformists as being necessary requirements of an industrial society (Spoonley in McLennan et al, 2000). From this perspective the intergenerational whānau model was considered an impediment to industrialisation as it philosophically worked for the collective benefit

of the whole, thereby working against competitiveness and individuality (Durie in Te Whaiti et al, 1997; Metge, 1995).

Raupatu: Colonisation

From a Māori perspective, the entire social structure of Māori society was disrupted. Any transition away from the intergenerational unit which focused on the holistic wellbeing of the whānau, especially the care and education of children, would require intensive thought and strategic planning which involved whānau, hapū and iwi to identify alternative support infrastructures. A reluctance to do so would surely jeopardise the wellbeing of Māori children and the intergenerational transmission of Māori knowledge, language and culture.

Sociologists who have researched and recorded the diversity of the concept of family in non-Māori contexts, and made comparisons to the concept of whānau in Māori contexts, have argued that a criticism of the development of family policy in New Zealand is that it almost exclusively refers to the nuclear family, subjugating any cultural differences or alternative lifestyles as defective or inferior (Koopman-Boyden, 1987; Spoonley in McLennan et al, 2000). Despite the literature available, family policy which impacts significantly on whānau in terms of housing, employment, health, social services, education (childcare and education services, school and tertiary), justice and virtually every aspect of our society, continues to be developed and costed out using the nuclear family model (Herbert, 2001; Koopman-Boyden, 1987; Metge, 1995; Ministerial Advisory Committee, 1986; Spoonley in McLennan et al, 2000; Te Whaiti, McCarthy and Durie in Te Whaiti et al, 1997).

The reluctance by government to acknowledge and appropriately address issues that have resulted from the planned fragmentation of Māori whānau, hapū and iwi social infrastructures has meant that oral transmission of Māori knowledge from one generation to another, through carefully chosen repositories, has been interrupted. A consequence of that interruption means that many whānau do not have connections

with their marae kinships and many have not been taught iwi, hapū and whānau whakapapa and histories. Such disassociation has contributed to the reality that the Māori language along with all its cultural values and ways of being and knowing, contributes to the decay of the every day spoken language (Benton & Benton, 2001; Bishop & Glynn, 1999). With the decay of their language, the Māori perspective of the world, including Māori epistemologies and philosophical perspectives and beliefs, are in danger of being lost.

Without the collective practical support of the intergenerational whānau including all of the unit's historical pedagogies, many Māori children and their families are left exposed and vulnerable in the western capitalist society (Durie, in Te Whaiti et al, 1997; Metge, 1995). There is no doubt that the fragmentation of whānau and the absence of infrastructure support systems, present in the intergenerational whānau model, have contributed to the current status of the Māori child often highlighted in literature as 'at risk' (Kiro, in Smith, Gollop, Marshall & Naim, 2000).

Whānau/Tamariki e ai ki te Kawanatanga: Government Policies

Since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, governments, and/or experts on their behalf, have defined through policy what is best for Māori (Durie, 1998; Jones, Marshall, Matthews,; Smith & Smith, 1990; Matahaere-Atariki, 2000; Murphy, 1994; Simon, 1998; Smith, 1994; Smith, 1997; Walker, 1990). Matahaere-Atariki (2000) speaks of the significant volume of literature which provides evidence of the educational under achievement of Māori. From it, she finds an irony that non Maori authors have the ability to define what is best for Māori, but yet these non-Māori experts continue to speak on behalf of Māori children theorising what constitutes their 'best interests'. Tariana Turia, who at the time, was a Labour Party member of Parliament,³ argued in her speech to the seminar on children's policy (2000), that historically there has been no attempt to develop a policy on Māori children. She claims that the normal practice is to adopt an additive approach which involves

³ She is now the Leader of the new Māori Party.

writing children's policy developed from a set of eurocentric values and beliefs which at times have been added to and interpreted as 'a Māori perspective' (Turia, 2000). Māori continue to argue that Māori child policy should be based on whānau, hapū and iwi forms of social organisation, values, beliefs and social processes. Central to the policy is the importance of whakapapa, the pre-eminence of the genealogical links between the child and his/her whanaunga including his/her ancestors and kaitiaki (Durie, 1998; Kiro in Smith et al, 2000; Matahaere-Atariki, 2000; Spoonley in McLennan et al, 2000; Turia, 2000).

Ngā Tumomo Whānau: Perspectives of Whānau

Despite the unwillingness of the government to establish social and family policy inclusive of the intergenerational whānau model, it has been accepted and embraced extensively at other ecological levels which Bronfenbrenner (1979) describes as a model to which educators ought to aspire. In particular, the philosophy of reciprocity of benefit, underpinning the intergenerational model, has been readily accepted by many Māori and non-Māori groups and institutions within Aotearoa/New Zealand as an intervention strategy to establish and maintain networking and support infrastructures for those within the group (Metge, 1995; Smith, 1994; Te Kōhanga Reo, 1990).

Such a perspective of whānau is known as the 'metaphoric model'. While the metaphoric model often does not relate to whakapapa, it shares the philosophical aspirations of reciprocity of benefit for members of a group (Metge, 1995 et al). This context of whānau is explained later in chapter two.

Essentially, the difference between the recorded traditional Māori kinship model of whānau (Buck, 1950; Durie in Te Whaiti et al, 1997; Metge, 1995) and the metaphoric model is the concept of choice in terms of commitment to responsibilities and obligations. The historical whānau model focussed on individuals within the group upholding their kinship responsibilities and obligations to ensure the collective

wellbeing of the group (Durie in Te Whaiti et al, 1997). While the metaphoric whānau model shares common characteristics in terms collective goals and reciprocity of benefit to members of the group. Individuals within the group are able to exercise a high degree of choice regarding their level of commitment to providing support for those seeking it (Durie, 1998; Metge, 1995). Effectively, they are able to make decisions regarding their availability to provide support for others according to their circumstances at the time (Durie, 1998; Metge, 1995). Socio political factors including capitalism, industrialisation and urbanisation have contributed to the formation of contemporary kinship whānau, model also accepting the aspect of choice regarding their responsibility to support extended whānau according to their situation at the time (Durie, 1998; Metge, 1995).

While many might perceive the concept of choice to be a strength, only by being available can the whānau provide ongoing support networks for those needing nurturing and/or assistance. A reluctance to provide unconditional commitment and support for the concept of whānau diminishes its potential for supporting and nurturing the wellbeing of the unit as a collective. Even within our four generation case study whānau, this aspect of whanaungatanga and support can be challenging when whānau members do not live in close geographic proximity.

Tō Mātou Whānau

The conception and birth of our mokopuna⁴ has raised important issues related to childrearing and the roles of each whānau member in the childrearing process. While the roles, rights and responsibilities of the pre-European intergenerational Māori whānau model are clearly defined,⁵ those aspects under a modern Māori intergenerational whānau model need to be reviewed, negotiated and interpreted⁶.

⁴ Grandchildren.

⁵ For more information see Best, 1975; Buck, 1950; Edwards, 1990; Grace, 1992; Hemara, 2000; Jenkins, 1986; Metge, 1995; Mikaere, 1994; Mitchell, 1972; Rangihau, 1992; Te Whaiti, McCarthy & Durie, 1997.

⁶ The works of Herbert, 2001; Metge, 1995; Te Whaiti, McCarthy & Durie, 1997 shed light on the intergenerational model.

Not unlike the pre-European intergenerational Māori whānau model, any modern version of that model would require constant interactions to reach and maintain shared understandings regarding the roles, rights and responsibilities of its members.

This research project is conducted with whānau members over four generations. The fourth generation members constitute my mother and her partner, who sadly passed away before the project was completed. My husband and I constitute the third generation members and my daughter and her partner⁷, my son and his wife⁸, my two young adult daughters, and my youngest teenage son are the second generation participants. Our four mokopuna aged 5yrs, 3yrs, 1yr and 7mths respectively constitute the first generation members. The decision to restrict the study to our whānau initially allows us as a whānau to trial the collaborative storying process which is based on the fundamental principle of 'whakawhanaungatanga'⁹.

⁷ Parents to two of our four mokopuna.

⁸ Parents to remaining two mokopuna.

⁹ The development of shared understandings through ongoing hui.

CHAPTER TWO WHAKAOHO WHĀNAU

Introduction

Since the promotion of the concept of ‘biculturalism’ in Aotearoa/New Zealand in the late 1980s the term ‘whānau’ is one concept that has become familiar and acceptable to those wishing to construct and strengthen support infrastructures for groups under their care and direction.

In a review of literature about whānau and childrearing, my intention is to critically analyse values and beliefs underpinning those concepts and practices from social, historical, cultural and political perspectives. The discussion will centre on factors that have influenced the definition and redefinition of the concept of whānau and childrearing in order to gain some insight into how those factors have influenced the perceptions of four generations of one whānau in contemporary Māori society.

Whānau, Hapū and Iwi and the Metaphoric Nature of the Language

Whānau are continually evolving and changing just like our tipuna did, reinforcing the fact that nothing stays static or the same for long. There are some fundamental questions that need to be considered and identified when casually using the term ‘whānau’. Those who use the term, maybe able to define what it means to them in terms of obligations and responsibilities, or, maybe they use the term, because the ‘word’ itself has become part of our contemporary colloquial language.

The general acceptance of the term ‘whānau’ and its diversity of meaning in modern society, where whānau, family and group structures are continually adapting to keep pace with changing values and beliefs are evidence of evolving definitions (Metge, 1995; Durie in Te Whaiti et al 1997). In fact, the resilience of the concept of ‘whānau’ to adapt to change in terms of structure and the roles of members within the

structure has contributed significantly to its continued relevance and acceptance in contemporary society.

The Māori word *whānau* originates from pre-colonial times meaning as a verb ‘to give birth’ and as a noun, a diffuse unit based on *whakapapa* (Durie, in Te Whaiti et al 1997; Hemara, 2000; Metge, 1995). Tame Winitana of Tuhoe, and Hone Kamariera, of Te Rarawa argue in Metge (1995) that the original reference to the word ‘*whānau*’ implied a set of siblings (brothers and sisters) born of the same parents. Buck (1950) supported this claim stating that the term ‘*whānau*’ represented the smallest social unit in the biological family. He argued that the term ‘*whānau*’ continued to be recognised for additional *whānau*. However, as the number of *whānau* increased with each generation, the term ‘*whānau*’ became restrictive, so the term ‘*hapū*’¹ was used to denote the extended family group.

According to Buck (1950), the term ‘*hapū*’ was appropriate because it expressed the idea of birth from common ancestors. The idea of blood ties through ‘*whakapapa*’ supported the idea of collectivism which united groups for the purpose of childrearing, planting, harvesting and collecting *kai*². As ‘*hapū*’ continued to expand over successive generations, they separated and moved to develop other settlements in neighbouring localities. Consequently, one ‘*hapū*’ soon became a number of ‘*hapū*’ who acknowledged descent from a common ancestor. Their common ancestry was the basis of collective unity to defend settlements or to conduct the development of their communities. The collective unity of *hapū* is described by the term ‘*koiwi*’³. *Iwi* are the confederations of people related to each other by blood ties (Buck, 1950). Such explanations of the terms, *whānau hapū* and *iwi*, illustrate the metaphoric nature of Māori language and how Māori words have the potential for more abstract meanings. The abstractions are factors for consideration for those wishing to undertake research into aspects of Māori culture and society. The intricacy of the

¹ Pregnancy.

² Food.

³ Bone.

characteristics underpinning the term ‘whānau’,⁴ tell me that the expression is immeasurable in meaning and application. This analysis is helpful in trying to understand how four generations of the case study perceive whānau and childrearing within their social and cultural experiences.

Whānau Whanui and Sociocultural Theory

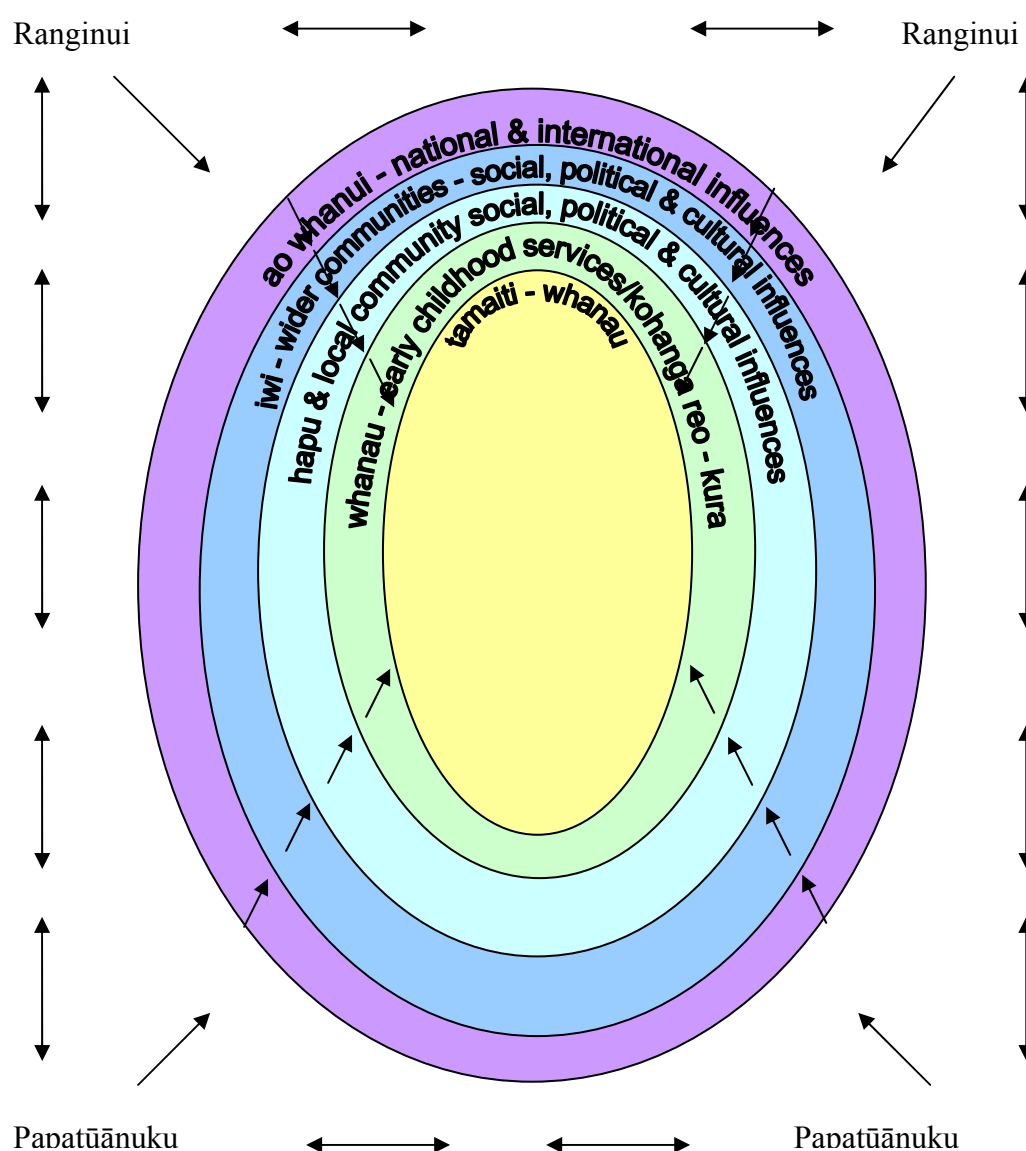
If the lived experiences of individuals within whānau play a major role in developing understanding of the concept in practice, then, we need to consider the social and cultural contexts that contribute to that meaning. Sociocultural theory acknowledges that social and cultural experiences across multiple contexts in society shape people’s understanding of the world they live in (Bronfenbrenner, 1986). This perspective is useful in gaining some insight into the meaning behind the historical definitions of the terms whānau, hapū and iwi. Bronfenbrenner’s (1979; 1986) sociocultural view argues that individuals develop within five environmental systems (micro, meso, exo, macro and chrono). Within an historical context, those levels might represent the individual, the whānau, the hapū, the iwi, the confederation of iwi within Aotearoa and the global world which was beginning to have interaction with different iwi. The historical ecological model of whānau is intrinsically linked to whakapapa, which transgressed generations or levels/systems within pre-colonial Māori society. Ecological theory helps us to understand why the characteristics of responsibility and obligation were fundamental to the survival of whānau in pre-colonial times.

Bronfenbrenner’s (1979; 1986) work expanded on the work of Vygotsky (1987), who promoted the importance of culture in developing cognition. In essence, Vygotsky’s (1987) work argued the importance of the interactions that occurred between the people surrounding a child and the child itself within meaningful cultural contexts. Bronfenbrenner (1986) argues that a child cannot be seen in isolation from his/her whānau and for that reason it is important that all those working to support children

⁴The characteristics of whānau refer here to collectiveness, reciprocity, obligations and responsibilities.

to reach their potential must know the child's whānau circumstances. It is argued here that the more involvement a whānau has with the child within formal and informal learning and development, the more likely it is for the child to reach his/her potential. The following diagram (figure 1) portrays Bronfenbrenner's (1986) ecological theory arguing that human beings do not develop in isolation; they develop in a variety of contexts where they are in constant interaction with other people, places and things that influence their development significantly.

Figure 1⁵



⁵ Bronfenbrenner's model has been adapted to highlight the Māori concepts that I emphasise within whānau, hapū and iwi.

Within the context of the case study whānau, Bronfenbrenner's (1986) ecological theory may be a useful tool in helping members of the intergenerational whānau to analyse how and why they developed their understandings about whānau and childrearing.

Early Research into Whānau

Early European visitors to Aotearoa/New Zealand demonstrated interest in Māori ways of life by documenting among other things, their perceptions of the term 'whānau'. One such observation and record described 'whānau' in the following terms:

it was a domestic unit comprising several parent-child families related by descent and marriage, moving between several living sites and engaging in a variety of productive activities under the leadership of a kaumatua (household head). (Metge, 1995:16).

Non-Māori continue to demonstrate interest in researching and writing about the Māori social structure in historical and contemporary contexts. In fact, Metge (1995) spent close to four decades recording developments in Māori society and whānau structures in her anthropological and sociological research.

While Metge's indepth studies attempted to examine the complexity and diversity of the concept of whānau and hapū structures pertaining to different iwi from an objective point of view, the early ethnographers had limited knowledge and recorded their perception of events from a eurocentric, chauvinistic point of view (Smith, 1992; Walker, 1990). This perspective reflected European society which was dominated by male hegemonic practices. Within that society, patriarchy prevailed without question in a world where males dominated public life and public places to the extent where land, assets, women and children were owned by men (Ballara, 1993; Olssen, in Binney, Bassett and Olssen, 1990; Smith, 1992). This set of values and beliefs was reflected throughout the European social structure. Hence, the distorted perception

such as kaumātua, who were heads of households were all male. Those who have any understanding of the Māori language and culture know that 'kaumātua' is a non sexist term meaning elder (Williams, 1971), thereby indicating that 'whānau' groups could have been led by either male or female.

This situation is a difficult one to address because the male oppressor and the oppressed women and children believe in the philosophical underpinning of male supremacy. The challenge for Māori women and men is to revive and reassert tikanga Māori within our own whānau, and to understand that a continued existence where men have power and authority over women and children is a violation of tikanga Māori. Such an existence is initiated instead from an historical eurocentric common law institution which was forced upon Māori. Māori have no affinity to the traditions that reflect that ancient law institution and have every reason to reject them (Mikaere, 1994).

Despite Māori having their own set of values, beliefs and world view that permeated through Māori ways of knowing and doing in pre European Māori society, the missionaries and colonists have been very successful in assimilating many Māori into European ways of knowing and doing. The role of the male in society is an example of that assimilation. The dominant and elevated status of the male in European society is visible in many nuclear and intergenerational contemporary Māori whānau. Unfortunately, the elevated status of male is often used as a tool to oppress women and children (Ballara, 1993; Kahukiwa, 1984; Mikaere, 1994). It is helpful to understand how eurocentrism and hegemony infiltrated Māori society so that, intergenerational whānau members in the case study can collaboratively theorise if and how these oppressive elements exist in our whānau.

Within the context of this study and its focus on whānau and childrearing, it is important to have an understanding of the role of women in pre-European and contemporary Māori societies because it is impossible to separate women from the roles of birthing and childrearing. As mentioned earlier, whānau, meaning to 'give

birth’, and whānau meaning a ‘group of people who share descent from a common ancestor’, literally and metaphorically support the pivotal role of the women in Māori society (Durie in Te Whaiti et al, 1997).

Wāhine and Whānau

He Uri na Hinetitama Waiwai ana nga karu te tirohanga atu

A study of Māori cosmology reveals stories of powerful women who are of paramount significance to Māori socially, culturally, spiritually, politically and economically. Papatūānuku is the primal Mother and nurturer, and the term ‘whānau’ commences with her. Papatūānuku encompasses the umbilical cord⁶ linking the past with the present and the future. Papatūānuku is acknowledged as the earth mother. All species on earth, including human beings can be traced back to her through whakapapa. She is the one who nurtures everything and everyone living on the land, so if she is not nurtured by those drawing sustenance from her, she in turn cannot reciprocate sustenance needed by her offspring. From a Māori point of view, the essence of land is in its mauri and its:

...spirituality deeply rooted in the mythology of Papatūānuku, the earth-mother, and connection with the land as tangata whenua (Walker, 1989:46).

The mana of the land has to do with what has occurred with it, who lived there, who died there, what battles occurred there, who was born there, the stories of the people who lived there. These aspects become the history of the land that can never be obliterated (Walker, 1990). While a Pākehā perspective of land may focus on its commodification and economic potential, Māori interest in the land can only be truly understood in Māori terms. Those whānau who reside on their turangawaewae have lived experience of what it means to have a relationship with the land that encompasses their marae, urupa and battles grounds. Having knowledge of the whānau, hapū and iwi histories of the land helps them to bond to the land and all that

⁶ Iho matua.

comes with it. The land⁷ becomes a place where they have a sense and spirit of belonging. Papatūānuku represents the primal ‘whare oranga’⁸. There were only three things for which traditional Māori fought, killed and were prepared to die for. They were land, women and utu (Waru, 1987).

A predominant role of women in pre-colonial Māori society appears from analysis to be one of nurturing, beginning with the nurturing role of Papatūānuku. The importance of the nurturing role is reflected in the high status awarded to Papatūānuku as ‘earth mother’. The nurturing characteristic has been passed on through whakapapa to generations of women from the beginning of time. If women are no longer awarded high status in their role as nurturers, that situation could reflect that society no longer value nurturing as a fundamental characteristic of wellbeing. This issue is of utmost importance to the intergenerational case study whānau, because if there no real value for and status awarded to the nurturing characteristic passed down from Papatūānuku, the holistic wellbeing of future generations is in jeopardy.

The high status of women is also depicted in the many stories of Mauī (Kahukiwa, 1984; Mikaere, 1994; Yates-Smith, 1998). Mauī acquired fire from his kuia Māhuika, and the jawbone from his kuia, Murirangawhenua. With the jawbone he fished up ‘Te Ika a Mauī’⁹, made the patu to subdue ‘Te Ra’¹⁰, and it was ‘Hine-nui-te-po’¹¹ who eventually overcame Mauī when he failed in his quest to attain immortality (Kahukiwa, 1984). The Mauī stories and accounts of the search for knowledge portray knowledge as being within the bosom of the female element¹², suggesting that it would be inconceivable to think that the female element is only important in terms of procreation.

⁷ Turangawaewae.

⁸ Refers to the universe in miniature.

⁹ The big fish of Māui, refers to the North Island.

¹⁰ The sun.

¹¹ Ancestral guardian of death.

¹² The bosom of the female element refers to hine ngaro – Hine Titama who became Hine Nui te Po.

Another insight into the mana awarded Māori women can be gleaned from the waiata¹³, haka¹⁴, whakataukī¹⁵, iwi histories, the naming of hapū and whare tūpuna¹⁶ (King, 1975) and the karanga¹⁷ in ceremony (Szasz, 1993). The volume of waiata tawhito¹⁸ once committed to memory, demonstrates the significant role women played in the survival of Māori history as these waiata contributed significantly to the accurate and reliable transmission and maintenance of history and knowledge (Ngata, 1949, 1961, 1970; Orbell, 1991). Ngā Mōteatea Part 1; Part 11; and Part 111 have been recorded by Ngata (1949; 1961; 1970) and are part of that historical knowledge base. The stories and waiata depict the female element as being central to the existence of all aspects of the universe, both tangible and intangible.

While there are some recorded instances of abuse towards women, (Grace, 1992), retribution handed out to those who violated the status of women provided evidence of the high esteem in which women were held (Best, 1924; Biggs, 1966; Buck, 1950; Grace, 1992; Jenkins, 1986, 1988; Mikaere, 1994; Stafford, 1996; Waru, 1987). One act of violation against women and the intolerance of it was recorded by Grace (1992). He claimed that Matangikaiawha, a chief of Ngati Awa and Ngati Tuwharetoa descent, was pursued, attacked and eventually killed for ill-treating and nearly killing Hinemihi, a daughter of the great Tuwharetoa chief Waikari, while her father was away fighting.

The oral history of the Māori provides numerous examples of the status of women in the Māori world from the creation at the beginning of time down to the present. According to some records (Ballara, 1993; Jenkins, 1986; Mikaere, 1994; Yates-Smith, 1998), the first visitors to Aotearoa/New Zealand observed the high status of Māori women in early encounters. The high status awarded to Māori women is also evidenced in the women who signed 'Te Tiriti o Waitangi' (Orange, 1989). Some

¹³ Songs.

¹⁴ Dance.

¹⁵ Proverbs.

¹⁶ Meeting houses.

¹⁷ Ceremonial call.

¹⁸ Ancient songs.

chiefs did not sign if their high ranking women were not given the opportunity to sign (Orange, 1989). Their unwillingness to sign reflects the chieftainship of those women. The successive guardianship of land succeeded from women to their descendants is also an example of female chieftainship (Grace, 1992; Jenkins, 1986).

Hemara (2000) supported claims that Māori women were awarded mana reporting that the majority of records of early cross-cultural encounters, regarding observations of Māori women, represent Māori women as being accorded the same level of, although sometimes different, rights as Māori men. Ballara (1993) supported this arguing that the pattern of uninterrupted male domination in the Pakeha nineteenth century world was quite dissimilar from the status of women in Māori society, both before and after contact with Europeans. It is important for the intergenerational case study whānau to identify their perspectives of the status of women within whānau and analyse where those philosophical values and beliefs came from. When trying to understand the role of women, it is important to hear the voices of women analysing what they think their role is within the whānau.

Jenkins (1986) wrote about the role of Māori women stating that, Māori women, in particular, played a significant role in connecting the past to the present. Jenkins (1986) describes the interaction of a couple and their children with the rest of the whānau in the following terms:

In her cultural role the Māori woman was part of a community. The home unit was part of the whole kāinga. Grandmothers, aunts and other females and male elders were responsible for rearing the children of the kāinga. The natural parents were not the sole caregivers. The routines of the whānau were such that couples could not be isolated to lead independent lifestyles. Their communal living required constant contact and interaction with other members of the tribe in a concerted effort to keep tribal affairs buoyant and operational. (Jenkins, 1986:12).

Jenkins (1986) writings about the role of women continue to portray women as nurturers within whānau, hapū and iwi. Obviously, within our intergenerational case

study whānau, the role of women and children within whānau needs to be revisited and reconstructed. This is not to assert that the role and status of women within whānau is greater or lesser than the role and status of men, rather to acknowledge the role and its relationship to childrearing and attribute it the status that it deserves.

Ngā Whānau Māori o ēra rau tau –Intergenerational Living

According to literature, three generations of a family living together in a common household sharing responsibility for the collective wellbeing of the whānau represented the ‘norm’ within Māori social structures within the 19th and early 20th centuries (Algie in Binney & Chaplin, 1986; Buck, 1950; Brown in Binney & Chaplin, 1986; Jenkins, 1986; Metge, 1995; Mikaere, 1994; Pere, 1994; Rangihau, 1992; Sunderland in Binney & Chaplin, 1986; Walker, 1990).

According to my family records, the communal setting that my mother experienced as a child reflected the intergenerational whānau kāinga. Not unlike other Māori settlements in the early 20th century, four generations of whānau lived in the same small community around a Marae with an adjacent church, providing support for the collective wellbeing of the group. Some of the first generation¹⁹ lived with their grandparents for periods for numerous reasons. When the fourth generation²⁰ needed more support in old age, the third generation willingly took responsibility for the first and fourth generations effectively resulting in a three generation intergenerational whānau sharing the same dwelling. From my own observations, the dwelling that housed the three generations was small in comparison to the average three bedroom home of today’s society. The dwelling comprised a kitchen, a dining room, three bedrooms, a lounge, which became a fourth bedroom for the invalid fourth generation and an outside toilet and bath. According to whānau records, there were up to thirteen people living in the dwelling at any one time. This scenario is in conflict with European values of individuality and independence (Durie in Te Whāiti et al 1997)

¹⁹ The children.

²⁰ Refers here to great grand parents.

and surely must have required immense good will and ongoing negotiation from all whānau members. According to my Mother and her brothers and sister, they spent very little daylight hours in the dwelling because there was so much to do outdoors. They, the first generation, have fond memories of their childhood and the fourth generation lived into their nineties suggesting that the communal living impacted positively on their well being.

Tīpuna-mokopuna

The intergenerational living experienced by whānau in the 19th and early 20th centuries, provided opportunities for grandparents, great grandparents, and children to develop relationships. According to Pere (1994), the relationships between tīpuna-mokopuna were intrinsically linked. Tīpuna can mean ancestors or grandparents and mokopuna can mean grandchild(ren) or descendant(s), so that the two terms are linked together as one unit and are a part of each other. The tīpuna, through 'Te Iho Mātua', link up the mokopuna with the past, and the mokopuna link up the tīpuna with the present and the future. They both come from the same spring of life.

Some aspects of the bond between tīpuna and mokopuna survived colonisation and were still evident in the way the tīpuna acknowledged the birth of their grandchildren. It was not uncommon in Māori society for one of the grandchildren of the tuakana²¹ to be taken in by the grandparents' generation as early as possible after birth and/or weaning (Brown in Binney & Chaplin, 1986). The chosen grandchild was seen as an important repository of knowledge and information that the older third generation wished to pass on (Brown, in Binney & Chaplin, 1986; Buck, 1950; Stirling in Salmond, 1980; Pere, 1994).

²¹ Tuakana in this context refers to the most senior member of the whānau.

Narrative about Tipuna/Mokopuna Relationships

Stirling's biography told by Salmond (1980) relays this practice in detail giving an insight into the manner in which he was born and raised by his grandparents. He was born on the 30th March 1899 in the Kaikoura block, a place near Raukokore (Salmond, 1980). Eruera's stories are steeped in tradition and relate to the transmission of historical knowledge trusted to his genealogical line. According to Eruera, he was chosen by the old people Hiria Te Rangihaeata and her husband Pere Te Kaongahau as a repository of this knowledge when he was two or three years old because of signs and rituals identified before and after his birth (Salmond, 1980). Pere Te Kaongahau, Hiria's husband, was the last of the old men who had been trained at the Whare Wananga of Kirieke and it was he who taught Eruera to listen to and talk to the birds, to take just enough kai (food) from the environment to sustain them (Salmond, 1980).

Eruera recalled his hair being pulled to jog his memory relating owners to specific blocks of land, indicating that the expectation of the old people was he would recall and recite information to precision regardless of his young age (Salmond, 1976, 1980). Other writers have recorded that any transmission of historical knowledge only occurred under certain protocol. Accordingly 'accuracy' and 'correctness' were highly valued and teachings were undertaken under the strictest of conditions, sanctioned by tapu to ensure that tribal histories were not open to interpretation by the learner. During such teachings all foodstuffs were removed and lessons were carried out in a particular place that was tapu and void of food and common things (Best, 1959, Buck, 1950; Jones, Marshall, Matthews, Smith & Smith, 1990; King, 1983;; Salmond, 1976; Salmond, 1980; Walker, 1990). Stirling (in Salmond, 1980:91) recalled:

As I grew a bit older the old man started to teach me history; now and again and little by little he'd try to teach me, and then he'd go on to talk to me about genealogy. He told me about the mana on the land, how each ancestor came to own the land and how it was passed on in history right down to now.

Stirling's (1980) account of how he learned about the history of the land from his koroua gives an insight into the commitment, responsibility and obligation of the koroua to pass on information to his mokopuna through oral transmission. If the mokopuna learned the whakapapa that substantiated the stories, he would (for his life time) be able to recite whānau links to the land. The narrative of Stirling (1980) also speaks of the tolerance and patience required from both the koroua and the mokopuna to undertake such a task.

He taught me about all the big blocks around Raukokore – Tawaroa block, Matangareka block, Pohueroro block, Whangaparaoa block, Maraehako, Kapongaroa, and the boundaries around each one, then he showed me the places where the ancestors collected food, cultivated the ground and where they built their fortified pa. The main blocks were divided amongst different hapu through different ancestors, but it all came back to the one ancestress, Hine Mahuru.

The teaching and learning described here can be identified as emergent. Eruera was taken to different blocks and cultivations and the pa and told stories about what happened there, so it was more likely that he would retain the information. Whānau, hapū and iwi stories recording events in history are wonderful rich literacy resources. Stories can be told and retold through storying, waiata, pictures, text, drama and the creative arts.

He taught me the days of the month, the good days for planting and the bad days, the good days for fishing and the days to go out and catch eels, because the old people had a proper day for every kind of work in their calendar, following the stars and the moon.

It is reasonable to think that the tikanga described here reflects how Māori once lived and ordered their lives. There are pockets of people within Māori society who are able to read the monthly calendar according to tikanga Māori indicating that the oral transmission of knowledge and tikanga Māori related to the tides and phases of the moon continues to be relevant to contemporary Māori society.

Eruera, and others born in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, were identified from a particular genealogical line and raised from infancy to usually seven years old by their grandparents or great grandparents. They represent the end of an era where what is now known as ‘esoteric’ historical Māori knowledge was taught by oral transmission to ensure retention and accuracy.

Rote Learning as Pedagogy for Learning and Teaching

The protocols and pedagogy for the transmission of ‘esoteric’ knowledge has some links to the protocol and pedagogy used in the ‘Whare Wānanga’ of old (Buck, 1950; King, 1983; Salmond, 1976; Salmond, 1980; Walker, 1990). Obviously oral transmission and the role of memory was extremely important. (King (Ed.), 1975; Nepe, 1991, Ngata, 1990). Ngata (1990) analysed the move away from depending on memory in the following way:

Lacking a knowledge of writing they depended on memorising to record words and lines, then stanzas, as these were forged. The ear was handmade to the memory, absolutely indispensable...As the taking of notes increases under our education system, so the cultivation of memory decreases (p. ix).

Western theory has criticised the role of rote learning arguing that it is in conflict with socio-cultural theory that requires interaction in meaningful cultural contexts (Vygotsky, 1987; Rogoff, 1993). It is interesting to note that different Iwi groups who have established wānanga²² to learn the histories of their tipuna are using rote learning as preferred methodology. From my observation, the cultivation of memory in wānanga begins with rote learning. As learners become confident in recalling the information, they are then encouraged to link what they have put to memory with their understandings of pūrakau²³ and explain implications for contemporary Māori society. At this stage, there is an exchange of dialogue between teacher and learner where the teacher scaffolds with prompting. As the learners own experiences are

²² Schools of learning.

²³ Ancient stories.

linked to the whakapapa and stories put to memory, co-construction occurs where the student and the teacher through dialogue develop shared understandings. This aspect of teaching and learning has relevance for our intergenerational case study whānau because most have used rote learning methodology to learn both traditional and contemporary waiata, karakia and stories.

While both traditional and contemporary Māori social functioning recognise the role of kaumatua in protocol (Salmond, 1983), and as repositories of knowledge (Salmond, 1980), the pedagogy of transmission is more relaxed in contemporary Māori society. The practice of identifying mokopuna to live with kaumātua²⁴ also continues today. However, the protocols around that situation have been relaxed. For example, Kiri Turei (a Kūia from Whakatohea) stated that she analyses the needs of her mokopuna and makes decisions regarding which of her mokopuna she will invest concerted amounts of time and energy in on the basis of need at the time.

The Kuia's perspective reflects the qualities of responsibility and obligation towards assisting in providing for the wellbeing of her mokopuna which underpin the concept of whānau and whānaungatanga (Durie, 1999; Szaszy²⁵, 1993).

Pere's (1994) narratives about her whānau and childrearing argued that roles within the whānau were not gender specific. According to Pere (1994), Māori society, regardless of gender, was trained to know their environment and they were expected to utilise its resources. To this end, men and women performed many of the same tasks, from delivering and caring for babies, to fencing, ploughing and digging roads. Pere (1994) argues that there were no distinct formal boundaries for men's and women's work habits.

²⁴ Male and/or female elders.

²⁵ Dame Mira Szaszy was past president of the 'Māori Womens Welfare League' and was the first Māori woman in New Zealand to gain a Bachelor of Arts. She committed her life to supporting and advancing issues for Māori. Dame Mira Szaszy was also the first Miss New Zealand in the 1940's. She died recently.

Stirling's (1980) narratives about his life growing up with his grandparents, learning through hands on experience and oral transmission of knowledge provides contemporary intergenerational whānau with some understanding of what whānau and childrearing in intergenerational contexts looked like in the late eighteen and early nineteen hundreds.

Ako

According to Pere (1994), Māori learning rested on the principle that every person is a learner from the time they are conceived, until the time they die. Pere (1994) reported that Ngāti Hika had a flexible, but thorough system of transmitting cultural practices and economic lore of the tribe to the young. According to her, the third and oldest generation taught their grandchildren history, mythology, tribal and local legends, tribal sayings, waiata, genealogy, karakia²⁶, various crafts, hand games and other leisurely pursuits. The second or parents' generation taught the children practical skills such as harvesting, conservation and gathering of natural resources. The planting, harvesting and storing of crops and the need to know and respect land was all part of the children's learning. If Pere (1994) was reflecting on her own childhood experiences, her reflections probably represent the late 1920's to early 1930's. It is reasonable to suggest that people living in that era would have been exposed to and influenced by colonialism and imperialism. Pere (1994) reflected that not unlike pre-European times, every member of the social structure that she was raised in contributed to its survival.

Pere (1994) argued that their (Ngāti Hika) lifestyle was built on whanaungatanga drawn from the importance of the people, particularly within whānau, hapū and iwi. Pere (1994) explained whanaungatanga in the following way:

....whanaungatanga deals with the practices that bond and strengthen the kinship ties of a whānau. The commitment of 'aroha' is vital to whanaungatanga and the survival of what the group sees as important. Loyalty, obligation, commitment, an inbuilt support system made the whānau a strong stable unit, within the hapū, and consequently the tribe (p.26).

²⁶ Invocations.

Pere's (1994) supported Edwards (1990) views related to collectivism in terms of the whānau way of life and survival stating that her early years growing up with her grandparents involved all extended whānau members participating in tasks such as, planting, tending and harvesting gardens, gathering and preserving kai moana, and gathering firewood.

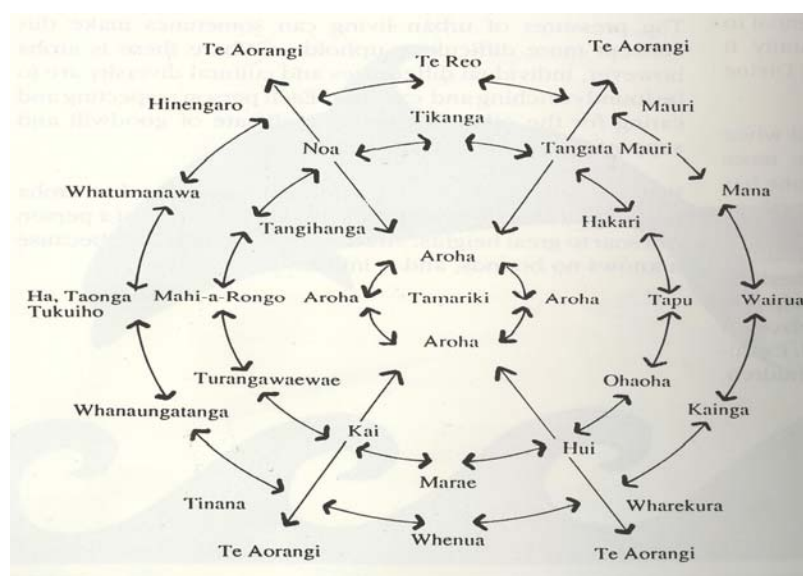
Other narratives from Māori living in those times support the fact that Māori whānau, including third and fourth generation members were hardworking people, who all worked to contribute to the collective sustenance and wellbeing of the whānau (Edwards, 1990; Te Puea Herangi in King, 1983; Pere, 1994; Stirling, in Salmond, 1976; Stirling, in Salmond, 1980). Within that context it is conceivable to accept that gender neutral tasks undertaken by nineteenth and twentieth century Māori society ensured their continued existence which was still predominantly focussed on communal survival. Pere's (1994) whānau narratives explaining her years growing up within the structure of her Ngāti Hika whānau are useful because her stories provide insight into how her whānau and hapū reconstructed the concept of whānau as a result of colonisation.

Pere's (1997) view on the child within the universe portrays how a child develops based on his or her lived experiences and understandings. In order to try and understand why individuals within a whānau perceive individual and shared roles of members of the whānau the way they do, it is important to theorise their lived experiences to explore what influences impacted on those perspectives. If nurturing of the physical and spiritual is essential in promoting holistic wellbeing, whose responsibility was this within the intergenerational whānau if there were no gender specific roles and traditionally those responsibilities were embedded in the role of the women.

The following diagram developed by Pere (1997:5) depicts her understanding of:

a Māori educational framework where institutions do not stand in isolation, but actually merge into each other

Figure 11



Pere's (1997) model is extremely complex suggesting that all aspects identified are continually interacting with each other influencing development and understanding. The model is a Māori education model, however it expands on Pere's (1997) 'te wheke' theory of development which identifies some of the aspects identified in the education model metaphorically linked to tentacles of 'te wheke' (octopus). Explanations given by Pere (1997) for some of the terms named in her Māori education framework reflect philosophical aspirations rather than what is reality for most people. For example, Pere (1997) defines 'aroha' as:

unconditional love that is derived from the presence and the breath of the Godhead (p.6).

Pere argues that aroha should not be talked about because it is only meaningful in practice. Pere provides an example of 'aroha' in practice in the following way. An

individual, who saved enough money to buy a new car, would give it over without question to another whānau member who desperately needed finance because of illness, death or the threat of losing an ancestral home. In my view, Pere's (1997) example of 'aroa' in practice is quite unrealistic in contemporary Māori society. While this practice may occur, it could not be perceived as common. There is now more emphasis on individuals within whānau and clusters of whānau to take financial responsibility for themselves. If Pere's (1994; 1997) view of 'aroa' is required as a fundamental principle of 'whanaungatanga' in order to keep whānau, hapū and iwi infrastructures strong, there is a danger that the whole concept of 'whānau' is at risk in contemporary Māori society.

In reference to Pere's (1997) Māori education model, the abstract theories or ideas depicted do provide the reader with an understanding of the complexity and diversity of concrete and abstract phenomena that influence development and understanding through lived experiences with those phenomena.

Māori Human Development Learning Theory

Tangaere in Te Whaiti et al 1997, also wrote about learning and development as being inseparable from the influences of tikanga Māori and the Māori context. In her writing, she takes a Māori design, 'the poutama' or stairway to the twelve heavens to explain how development occurs "*along and up the steps of the poutama*" (p.46). She includes in her design the tuakana/teina method of teaching, which she says is reflected in the 'poutama' model of learning and development. In the 'poutama' model, Tangaere in Te Whaiti et al, 1997 argues that it is the tuakana's responsibility to support and assist the teina in their learning and development. Within this context, the tuakana is not necessarily an elder, rather the tuakana is linked to a more knowledgeable or expert whānau member providing graduated assistance to the teina²⁷. The graduated assistance referred to is paralleled to Russian theorist, Lev Vygotsky's (1978) theory of 'scaffolding' and the 'zone of proximal development'.

²⁷ Learner.

The zone of proximal development is defined as the context of learning outlining what the child can do alone and what the child is capable of achieving with assistance. Once the child achieves new learning with assistance, the zone of proximal development shifts to another context of learning which requires support. The ideas espoused in Tangaere's (1997) theory of learning and development can be linked very closely to Vygotsky's (1978) ideas. It can be argued that the poutama model (figure iii) developed by Tangaere in Te Whaiti et al 1997, parallels what is accepted in western terms as a theory to explain how learning and development has occurred in Māori contexts for centuries.

Figure 111



Tangaere's (1997) view of learning and development using the poutama is relevant for this study because it provides members of the intergenerational case study whānau with an image and an explanation of how learning occurs in Māori contexts. The poutama and its staircase to the twelve heavens make definite links to how Tane procured knowledge for Māori whānau, hapu and iwi. The stories of how Tane procured knowledge have been passed on to generations through stories, waiata and karakia. Tangaere argues that the poutama model is an ideal representation of the Māori cultural contexts of learning and development.

Te Pāharakeke

In order to understand a culture, one must understand the language because the language indexes the culture. A more indepth study into the language of Pere's (1994) Ngati Hika whānau would provide insight into who took responsibility for the holistic nurturing of tamariki within the intergenerational whānau. Fishman (1991) argues that language and culture are inseparable.

Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori and Wānanga Māori are evidence of grass roots initiatives by Māori to address what Fishman (1991) calls 'reversal language shift'. Through those initiatives, I see the grass roots enterprises as being engaged in reversal language shift. In their initiatives, Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori have adopted the 'pāharakeke' (flax plant) analogy of whānau (Smith, 1994, 1995, 1997, 1998) as a strategy to regenerate the Māori language and culture.

The pāharakeke²⁸, whānau model is an example of how the Māori concepts of whānaugatanga, reciprocity, collaboration have been adopted in modern times (Smith, 1994, 1995). Over the past few decades the metaphoric term 'whānau' has been loosely applied to define a diversity of 'non-traditional' set of circumstances where Māori with similar interests and shared goals, but with no kinship (direct blood ties), form a cohesive group (Durie, in Te Whaiti et al, 1997; Metge, 1995; Rangihau, 1992). Durie, in Te Whaiti et al, 1997; Metge (1995) and Tahana (1978) argued that Māori have adapted their customary beliefs and usages to develop ways of knowing and doing that can be described as modern Māori.

In the wider socio-cultural landscape, 'Te Pāharakeke' analogy has been adopted by contemporary Māori society to illustrate the fundamental importance of the intergenerational nature of the Māori whānau infrastructure. It likens the child to the central shoot of the harakeke, which is nurtured and protected by two supporting blades symbolizing the parents; outer blades which represent the wider whānau; and

²⁸ Metaphoric.

exterior blades which represent the kaumātua. The survival of the centre shoot²⁹ is dependant on the protection of the outer blades³⁰. If the shoot is removed the plant will die. This metaphor highlights the reciprocity of benefit where the child as the centre shoot is portrayed as being both vulnerable to the influences of the outer blades representing the intergenerational members of the whānau, while also being essential to their survival (Reedy, 1991). It is argued here that if the whānau support infrastructure is strong, all whānau members will experience reciprocal benefits. The ‘pāharakeke’ is used as a ‘whakatauakī’³¹ and in waiata to illustrate the importance of the child in the Māori world view. The following ‘Pāharakeke’ metaphor holds powerful pedagogical significance for Māori educators.

Hutia te rito o te harakeke
 Kei hea te komako e ko
 Kī mai ki a ahau
 He aha te mea nui o te ao nei
 Māku e kī atu
 He tāngata, he tāngata, he tāngata.

Strip away the central shoots from the flax plant
 Where will the bell bird sing
 Tell me
 What is the most valued thing in this world
 I will say
 It is people, it is people, it is people.
 (Te Kōhanga Reo, 1990).

The intergenerational model ensured that there was support from kaumātua³² and mātua³³. The analogy of the ‘pāharakeke’ (figure 1V)³⁴ below visually portrays the intergenerational whānau model.

²⁹ Child.

³⁰ Extended whānau.

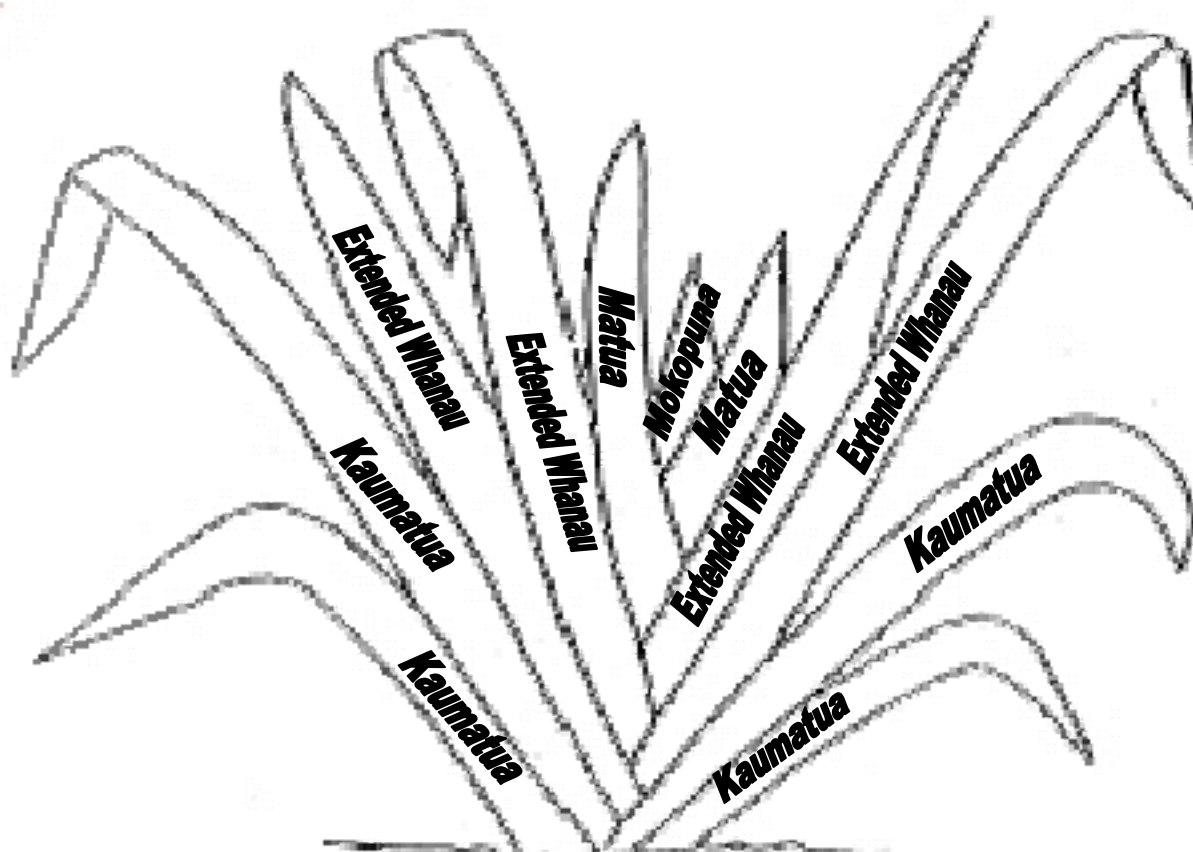
³¹ Proverb.

³² Refers to third generation whānau members in this context.

³³ Refers to parents as second generation whānau members.

³⁴ Developed by C. Morehu to show the structure of the pāharakeke analogy.

Figure 1V



While traditionally, any Māori initiative would have been a whānau, hapū or tribal initiative, ‘te pāharakeke’ analogy, I value as a workable model because it is based on shared goals and visions. The characteristics of the pāharakeke whānau model and its philosophical underpinnings are integral to an intergenerational case study. It facilitates an exploration of perceptions about whānau, and how important Māori language and culture has been across four generations of the same whānau.

Tōku reo, tōku ohoo!o!
Tōku reo, tōku māpihi maurea!
Tōku reo, tōku whakakai mārihi!

Statistical Survey of Māori Language

May (1999) and Krauss (1992) state that approximately half of the world’s 6,500 languages are endangered further arguing that the Māori language is included in that category. Krauss (1992:7) states that “some put the figure as high as 90%”. Crystal

(2000) has speculated that the reduction to one language; 'English', by around 2100 AD, while not likely, would not be beyond the bounds of possibility at the present levels of attrition.

Māori language is declining as an everyday language (Benton & Benton, 2001; Bishop & Glynn, 1999). The numbers of native speakers of te reo Māori are diminishing every year and there are fewer Māori language domains outside of educational institutions. According to statistics, approximately 8% of the Māori adult population are highly fluent in the Māori language. A high proportion of that 8% are kaumātua, of whom 750 are lost to the Māori population every year (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1998a; Te Puni Kōkiri, 1998b) rapidly diminishing opportunities for natural intergenerational language and cultural transmission.

Spolsky (1989) supports the claim that the Māori language is endangered arguing that it has been since the 1960s after nearly two centuries of contact with Europeans. He argues that while a movement for Māori language revival and retention, which included a series of grassroots regeneration efforts, namely Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori and Wānanga Māori have substantially increased the numbers of Maori who know and use their language, the initiatives have not yet led to the re-establishment of natural intergenerational language transmission.

The continued status of the Māori language as a threatened language is an issue for Māori whānau, because any real effort to revive intergenerational language transmission will require whānau commitment. Members of the intergenerational case study whānau will comment on their perspectives of this situation.

Language Regeneration and Kōhanga Reo

Kōhanga Reo represents a shared vision born within the consciousness of Māori to intervene in the very real threat of the Māori language and culture dying out. The 'Pāharakeke' metaphoric model very simply, but effectively demonstrated the vision

of Kōhanga Reo for rebuilding Māori society. Campbell in Metge (1995:14) supported this stating:

Just as te rito o te harakeke is the source for the flax's new growth, the Whānau is the source for society's growth.

The pioneers of the Kōhanga Reo movement hypothesised that the initiative would relieve some of the sociocultural disruption associated with language loss (Hohepa, Smith, Smith & McNaughton, 1992; Ka'ai, 1990). White (2003:20) supported this and contributed further to the vision stating:

It was also considered that the intervention would not only bring about a halt to language and cultural disruption, but would begin to cause a reversal in the pattern of shift, contributing to a socioculturally rejuvenated iwi Māori.

Within the contexts of Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori and Wānanga, the relationship between te reo Māori and te reo Pākehā is clearly stated in Te Aho Matua (Education Review Office, 2003) as expressions of respect for all languages. Te reo Māori is validated as the child's first language, and the language of teaching. But therein is also the notion of, as an outcome, balanced bilingualism. Clause 2 of Te Aho Matua states:

Te eke o te whānau ki te matatautanga o te kōrero i te reo Māori me te reo Ingarihi—the whānau achieves full competency in Māori and English (as cited in Education Review Office, 2003, p.2).

This is a notion expressed in Goal 2 of Durie's (2001) framework for Māori educational advancement, to actively participate as citizens of the world.

While Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori represent educational institutions, both initiatives require a commitment from whānau to establish Māori language domains within the home. Both grassroots revitalisation of Māori language initiatives build on

the ‘*critical period hypothesis*’, stating that learners who are exposed to a second language before puberty have the propensity to acquire a native-like proficiency of the language (Birdsong, 1999; Harley, 1986).

According to Fishman (1991), the vernacularisation of the language in homes is the key to the re-establishment of natural intergenerational language transmission. Establishing the home as a Māori language domain requires collective commitment from all whānau members. It requires even more commitment from whānau members who have not yet reached a level of fluency in Māori to actively contribute to that goal.

The Philosophy of Te Kōhanga Reo

There are four key principles which underpin the philosophy of Kōhanga Reo. The first principle refers to the Māori language as the cultural tool and language of communication. The second principle relates to the holistic development of the child. The third principle relates to whānau development and management and the fourth principle refers to iwi and Māori development generally. The philosophy of Kōhanga Reo is outlined in (Te Whariki, 1993:11) as follows.

- Tuatahi: Ko te whāngai i te reo Māori ki ngā mokopuna kia kōrerohia te reo i ngā wā katoa, kia kore ai e mate.
- Tuarua: Ko te whakamana i te mana āhua ake o ia mokopuna, ia tamaiti.
- Tuatoru: Ko te pupuri i te mana whakahaere mo te ako i a tātou mokopuna, ki a tātou whānau.
- Tuawhā: Ko te whakapakari i te whānau, i te hapū, i te iwi, ki te ātawhai i ngā mokopuna – ko rātou hoki te iwi mo apōpō.

The principles espoused in Te Whariki (1993) assume that: (a) the validity and legitimacy of Māori is taken for granted; (b) the survival and revival of Māori language and Māori culture is imperative; and (c) the struggle for autonomy over our

own cultural well being, and over our own lives is vital to Māori survival (Smith, 1992 cited in White, 1995). In essence, the kaupapa of Kōhanga Reo provided Māori society with a vehicle for change encompassing the wider sociocultural landscape.

According to Dame Mira Szaszy, Te Kōhanga Reo has the potential to become the place where, amongst other things, Māori are socialised into:

a new Māori humanism, a humanism based on ancient values but versed in contemporary idiom (Szasy, 1995:134).

Any commitment to change which challenges the structures, policies and procedures of the hegemonic state is seen as being an integral part of the process of becoming conscientised and politicised. Kōhanga Reo as envisaged by the pioneers of the movement, therefore, also has the potential to further future aspirations for ‘Tino Rangatiratanga³⁵’. Te Kōhanga Reo as explained here has significant ramifications for whānau and approaches to childrearing. Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori are educational initiatives born within the consciousness of Māori to realise the philosophical hopes and aspirations for the Māori child.

Kia tū pakari, tu rangatira ia hei raukura mo tōna iwi
(Aho Matua, clause 6.12 p.xiv).

While Kōhanga Reo as a Māori response to the negative effects of colonisation imposed upon Māori whānau, hapu and iwi enjoyed rapid growth from its establishment in 1982 to 1994, it has been in a gradual decline since 1995 largely because of changes in government policy which have impacted negatively on resourcing (MOE, 2003). This situation has ramifications for whānau wanting to access Māori medium early years care and education settings.

³⁵ Self determination – autonomy.

Kōhanga Reo, Quality and Revernacularisation

The quality of interactions between adults and children is an issue for whānau who have understanding of how interactions and relationships contribute to children's development. There are very few facilities in this country that provide the quality of care and education that young Māori parents seek as a service. This situation does impact on the accessibility of Māori language domains for our mokopuna. It is my belief that the provision and accessibility of '*quality*' Māori language settings would motivate parents and whānau to work towards establishing the Māori language as a vernacular in the home. This situation would foster natural intergenerational language transmission (Fishman, 2001).

Intergenerational language transmission in the home would contribute towards the goal of full bilingual competency in Māori and in English. The reversal language shift strategy discussed here would promote Māori cultural ways of knowing and doing because in the same way an index of a book provides content themes, key elements and whereabouts, the language indexes its culture (Fishman, 1991 cited in White, 2003). In time, children would be conceived and born into Māori language domains within the home and would impact on the wider whānau and childrearing practices because all those participating in and contributing to a Māori language domain within the home would be speaking Māori as a language for meaningful interaction and therefore indexing culture from that language.

Access to quality in Kōhanga Reo and Māori medium early childhood settings require commitment and sacrifice on behalf of the whānau because they need to be involved on a daily basis to contribute to the quality that we aspire to. Quality in this context refers to rich Māori language domains where children's dispositions for learning include situations where young children learn and create their own knowledge and understandings through the kinds of activities they participate in while interacting with adults who are active listeners and thoughtful speakers in meaningful cultural contexts (Rogoff, 1993). The activities provided for children have implications for

the adult teachers who prepare learning and teaching environments for children. If we want children to be stimulated and motivated to learn, we need to think about how planning for their learning encourages dispositions for learning. The concept of ‘scaffolding’ described here is used in a sociocultural context (Rogoff, 1993) and describes a theoretical construct for supporting children’s learning. Vygotsky (1987) described this construct as the child’s ‘zone of proximal development’ (ZPD). Vygotsky (1978:86) described the zone of proximal development as:

....the distance between the actual development level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance in collaboration with more capable peers.

These contexts and the thoughtful skilled interaction between children and adults within those contexts support Māori language regeneration. While it is acknowledged that ‘rote learning’ as a methodology has a place in Māori pedagogy, the use of repetition and drill alone will result in children being able to use Māori as a second language correctly and automatically, but not naturally (Baker, 1993). There is a danger that the language could become automated, where it may be used predominantly for ceremonial purposes. This approach to language learning would not contribute to the natural intergenerational transmission of language and culture.

Te Ira Tangata

In pre-European times, conception and birthing reflected a Māori linguistic and cultural context where awarded great ritual and ceremony was awarded among the chiefly rank. It is noted however, that although tapu rituals prevailed in birthing among the chiefly class, conception and the receiving of children occurred with very little fuss among the common class. Te Matorohanga, a noted repository of learning from Wairarapa, recorded in Best (1975) his interpretation of the ceremonies related to rites to cause conception, rites around birthing, koroingo or maioha³⁶, tohi³⁷ and

³⁶ Welcoming.

³⁷ Baptismal rite.

pure³⁸. The ritual and ceremony around the institution of conception and birth indicate that children born of rank were acknowledged, valued and celebrated by the tribe. According to Best (1975), the term '*kunenga*'³⁹ explains conception and the beginning of the acquisition of form. Pre-european Māori believed that the eyes were the first part of the embryo to acquire form.

Te Whānauhanga

Another important ritual relevant to children who lived in pre-European times related to preparing them for future roles. According to the literature, tohunga recited karakia over children to assist them in meeting the expectations of their iwi. The following is an example of a karakia recited over boys:

Ki te mahi kai mau
 Ki te nati whare mau
 Ki te tui waka tua mau
 Ki te ta kupenga mau
 May you be industrious in cultivating food
 In building large houses
 In constructing war canoes
 In the making of nets

Karakia were also recited over girls. The following is an example:

Ki te mahi kai mau
 Ki te kerī matitai mau
 Ki te whatu kahu mau
 Ki te whatu kaitaka mau
 May you be industrious in cultivating food
 In searching for shell-fish
 In weaving garments
 In weaving fine cloaks
 (Firth, in Hemara 2000:11).

³⁸ Presentation of gifts.

³⁹ Refer to Best, 1975:11 for more information about the term '*Kunenga*'.

In pre-European Māori society infants continued to be awarded considerable attention after birth. Buck (1950) and others wrote about the attention paid by Māori to the manipulation of the body to enhance a standard of beauty of form through massage. According to Buck (1950) various forms of massage were used including stroking and kneading the muscles with the fingers⁴⁰, pressure against the spine with the feet⁴¹, and stretching the legs by pulling⁴². There is a saying amongst Māori women:

Stretch the legs of your daughter that she may walk with grace across the courtyard before the assembled people (Buck, 1950:355).

Hori Ropiha of Waipawa, in Best (1975) stated that infants were subjected to manipulation daily so that the child might develop beautiful form. He also said that when the child reached maturity the final beautifying process of tattooing began. Ropiha in Best (1975) claimed that massage and tattooing were not seen in isolation:

Ka whānau mai te tamaiti ka toia e tona whaea kia ataahua ai nga waewae, te Tinana, me te kanohi; a ka pakeke ka taia ki te moko. No reira tenei whakatauki, He tōanga ke ta tona matua, he tōanga ke ta te kauri

When a child was born it was massaged by its mother to render its legs, body, and features shapely; when grown up it was tattooed. Hence this saying, the manipulation of the parent differs from that of the tattooer (Ropiha in Best, 1975:49).

Because the case study intergenerational whānau includes a generation of mokopuna that we are all interacting with, the conception and birthing practices that we adopt are likely to be accepted as precedents in the future. For this reason, the whānau should reflect on those practices to develop shared understandings.

⁴⁰ Romiromi.

⁴¹ Takahi tread.

⁴² Toto.

Te Whakatipuranga o Mua

Although the games and past-times of children were focussed on building skills to sustain their spiritual, intellectual and physical wellbeing, there is evidence that pre-European childrearing practices were relatively indulgent in comparison to those of the Pakeha. One of the earliest European observations of childrearing described it in the following way:

...(the women) seemed to be good mothers and showed affection for their offspring, I have often seen them play with their children, caress them, chew the fern root, pick at the stringy parts, and then take it out of their mouth to put it into that of their nurslings. The men were also very fond of and kind to their children (Roth, 1891).

This view is supported by Reed (1966) who claimed that Maori children were well treated by adults, to an extent that they might be regarded as being spoilt. According to Reed (1966), Maori children were awarded a great deal of freedom when they were young and were seldom checked or punished. Reed (1966) reported that while on the one hand they were observed as being precocious, on the other hand they possessed a natural courtesy and sophistication and were easily trained. Salmond (1991) also supports this perception stating:

Children were suckled until they had teeth and could walk, and their parents carried them around with them or placed them on mats or dogskins on the floor of their houses. Fathers, like mothers, looked after the physical needs of their children and treated them indulgently (Salmond, 1991:422).

Papakura (1986) wrote prolifically on Māori life and claimed that pre-European Māori children were never punished. She stated that:

The Māori never beat their children, but were always kind to them, and seemed to strengthen the bonds of affection which remains among Māori throughout life (Papakura, 1986:145).

The perceived indulgent childrearing practices, by European standards anyway, encouraged children to assert themselves and the mana of their whānau, hapū and iwi. In order to nurture the desired assertive nature, it was important not to break the spirit of the child. Keesing (1928) supported this stating that:

The whole family and tribal training ensured that boys and girls were reared to maintain the aggressiveness, independence, and prowess of the ancestral stock (Keesing, 1928:32).

Whānau played a major role in educating children in pre-European times. It was common practice for whānau to teach whakapapa, whanaungatanga and tikanga and this was taught in numerous ways. According to Marsden in Hemara (2000), some children of chiefly rank as young as four attended hui and participated asking questions. According to Buck (1950) much of the personal instruction in early years was received from grandparents. The oriori⁴³ included events in tribal histories, ancient stories, beliefs etc (Best, 1975). In this way, children learnt about their respective roles and status within their community.

Ethnographers have reflected that the content of the oriori composed for children are the most interesting of Māori compositions (Best, 1975; Buck, 1950; Hemara, 2000). The oriori could be perceived from a eurocentric point of view as unsuitable, however, the intent was an educational one and it served its purpose well. The teaching of ‘ring a ring a rosies’ to children as a fun song could be aligned to the content of oriori, as it records the history of the plague that killed thousands of people.

Many of the pre-European protocols and practices of the Māori were considered barbaric and heathenistic by the first missionary settlers who came to the land of the Maori. Their goal was to convert Maori to Christianity thereby eliminating the institution of tapu and the practices that reinforced tapu (Barrington & Beaglehole,

⁴³ Waiata composed for children.

1974). Whether deliberate or not, the impact of colonisation on the traditional Māori way of life, including the whānau and its role in childrearing has all but destroyed it.

The move from indulgent childrearing practices in pre-colonial times to a strict disciplinarian model in contemporary times has relevance for the case study intergenerational whānau because it would be helpful for whānau members to be able to articulate which childrearing practices they prefer, why they prefer them and what values and beliefs underpin their preferred practices.

Te Whakatipuranga o Naiane

Essentially, the key pedagogical difference between Māori philosophy and western Pākehā philosophy is the concept of ‘wairua’⁴⁴. While western philosophy values learning and development as occurring within the ‘hinengaro’, Māori believe that the learning and development occurs through ‘wairua’ and that ‘hinengaro’ is only one part of that wairua (Nepe, 1991). Mataira (2000) stated that “when you look at the mauri, tapu, wehi, iho matua, mana, ihi, whatumanawa, hinengaro, auahatanga, ngākau, pūmanawa⁴⁵ – they are all features or characteristics of wairua. According to Mataira (1997):

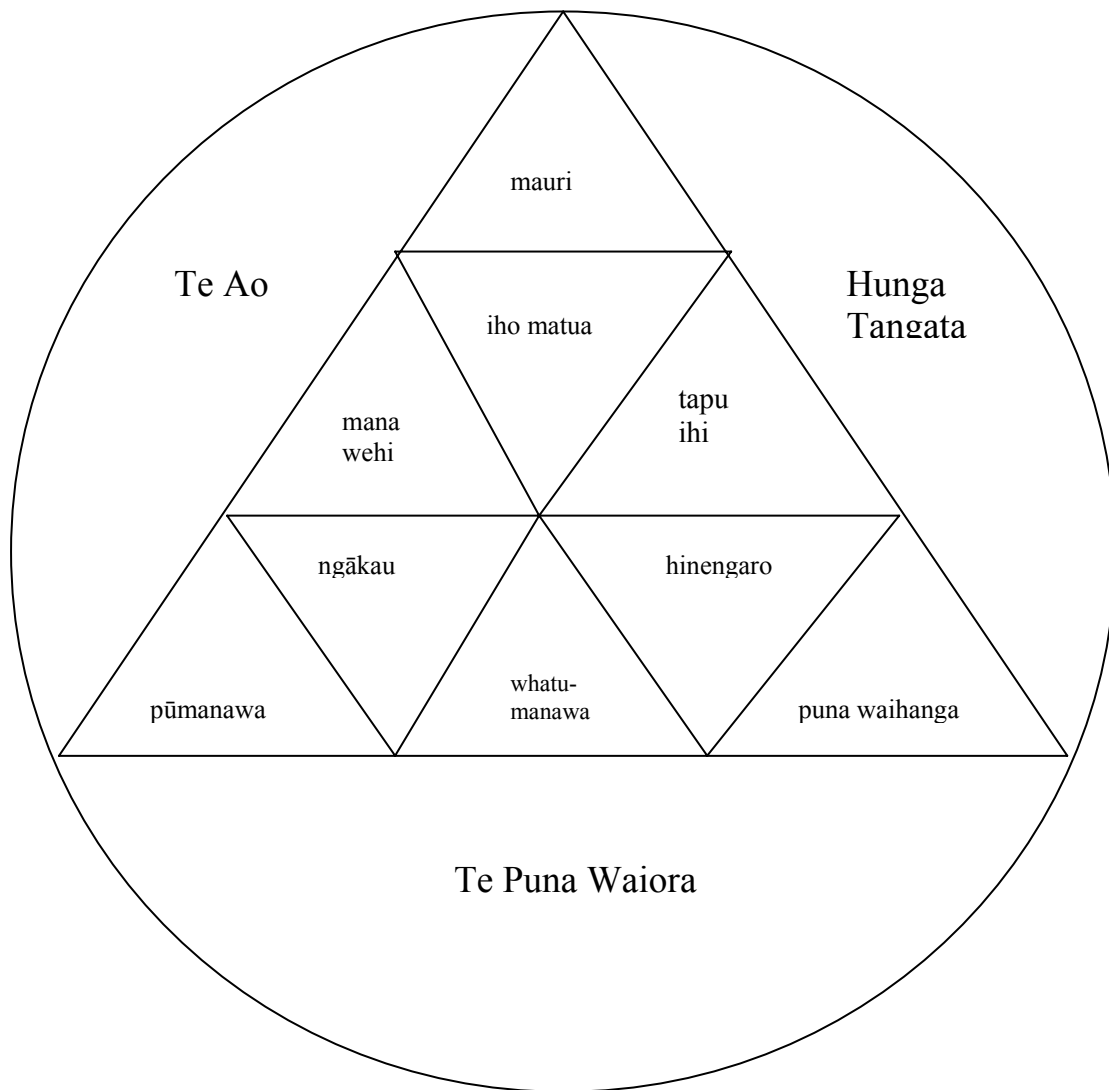
The spirits of human beings derive from the Rangi Tūhāhā, the twelve dimensions of enlightenment in which spirit entities dwell until physical life is desired and to which spirit entities return after physical death. The inference is that at the moment of conception the physical and spiritual potential of the human being becomes an individual entity endowed with the spirit qualities of mauri, tapu, wehi, mana and ihi; the spirit receptor-transmitters of whatumanawa, hinengaro, auaha, ngākau and pūmanawa; and the iho matua, which is the umbilical cord of spirit energy which links that single entity through his ancestral lines to the primal energy source which is Io.

⁴⁴ Spirituality.

⁴⁵ Refer to glossary for meanings of aspects of wairua not explained within text.

The spirit qualities Mataira (1997) refers to here can be likened to proponents of energy. The strength or weakness of the proponents of energy is determined by the condition of the receptor transmitters where feelings, emotions, intelligence, consciousness and all other non physical characteristics of human personality dwell. Once a child has been conceived, it is the responsibility of the whānau (immediate, extended and metaphoric) to nurture the characteristics of wairua so that the child will develop holistically to his/her potential (Mataira, 2000; Nepe, 1991). This philosophy argues that the nurturing of the physical and spiritual in a caring environment is the greatest guarantee that children will pursue positive roles in life. It also affirms that warm, loving nurture is conducive to happy and lighthearted spirits found in caring people. There is recognition and respect for the spiritual and physical absolute uniqueness of each and every person. It is argued that this recognition and respect will encourage individuals to be mindful of not behaving in a way that may cause physical or psychological harm against oneself or others. Lastly the dynamics of the spirit qualities or proponents of energy are dependent upon the spirit being nurtured through *toi*⁴⁶ (Mataira, 1997; 2000; Nepe, 1991). Mataira's (1997) diagram below, (figure v), depicts the characteristics of wairua and the relationship between wairua, physical and holistic wellbeing.

⁴⁶ Creative arts of music and song, dance and drama, drawing and painting, prose and poetry and all other experiences that open the heart and the mind to colour and imagination.

Figure V

This philosophy is an integral part of what is now known as ‘Te Aho Matua’ or the guiding philosophy for Kura Kaupapa Maori. Many Māori whānau committed to Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori have adopted ‘Te Aho Matua’ as a philosophy for whānau and childrearing. Their belief in and commitment to the guiding philosophies of Te Aho Matua is the shared vision that draws whānau, both kinship and metaphoric together. The philosophy of ‘Te Aho Matua’ is relevant to our case study intergenerational whānau because most second generation and both third generation members have been involved with it since its inception in the late 1980s.

Ngā Raraunga

For other Māori whānau the statistics reveal different situations. Current census statistics confirm that 60% of the Māori population is under 25 years of age. Young Māori women between 15 and 19 years of age are three times more likely to be mothers than non-Māori. There is a trend of fewer Māori children living in two parent families. There were 81% two parent families in 1981 and 61% in 1991 (Statistics New Zealand, 1994). The 2001 census reports that 67,068 families out of a possible 949,407 live in extended family variables based on kinship (Statistics New Zealand, 2001). This relates to 14.1% of families within Aotearoa/New Zealand. While these statistics are not definitive, they do indicate that the extended whānau model does exist and that this variable whānau model is preferred by at least 14.1% of families within Aotearoa/NZ.

The literature suggests that factors contributing to an increase in the extended whānau model can be influenced by political agendas. For example, if we have a political agenda of increasing family self-reliance, unemployment and other economic pressures are likely to put pressure on whānau to pool resources (Allen, Waton, Purcell and Wood, 1986). While the census does suggest that there is an increase in the extended whānau model, only more indepth qualitative data will provide insights into what factors have contributed to that increase.

According to Kiro in Smith et al (2000), who is the current commissioner of children in Aotearoa/New Zealand, there is an anomaly for many contemporary Māori whānau. She argues that there is a distinct clash between 'reality and rhetoric' in terms of whānau, hapū, iwi and the notion of an extended supportive whānau. The reality is that for a number of Māori children the notion of extended supportive whānau is romantic ideology. The literature states that even for those young families who do live within tribal boundaries and have easy access to whānau support, many reject the extended whānau model in favour of western ideologies of independence and individualism (Durie in Te Whaiti et al, 1997).

Te Ara Whakamua

A review of literature suggests that monocultural policies continue to directly and indirectly shape the context within which Māori children grow up. However, since 1985, there have been significant demographic and family structural changes for Māori whānau. Māori children currently make up a quarter of all children in the population, which will grow to be a third of all children in the population in the near future (Kiro in Smith, et al, 2000). Statistics NZ In EXMSS Off Campus (2001) anticipate that within the next fifteen years, half the working-age population will be Māori, Pacific Islander or Asian. These statistics are significant for all Aotearoa/New Zealand society, especially if the huge disparities between Māori and European in terms of unemployment, housing, educational underachievement, imprisonment and poor health continue.

Children are our whakapapa, and whakapapa is our past, present and our future. As whānau and wider community we have a responsibility to nurture our children so that they are provided with opportunities and are encouraged to reach their potential. Durie (2001) proposed a framework for considering Māori educational advancement at the Hui Taumata Mātauranga held in Taupo in March, 2001. He argued that Māori are at the interface between global and Māori worlds and that there are three main goals that we as Māori have for any future Māori society. They are:

1. To live as Māori
2. To actively participate as citizens of the world
3. To enjoy good health and a high standard of living

Goal 1: Kia Marae: To Live as Māori

To live as Māori is an indigenous right of every Māori child. According to Convention 169 of the International Labour Organisation (Article 1.1) indigenous peoples have the right to retain some of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions (May, 2001). Indigenous peoples also have the right to

regenerate and transmit to future generations their “histories, languages, oral tradition, philosophies, writing systems and literatures” (Articles 14 and 15 of the Draft Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2003). These goals require a regeneration or revitalisation of the Māori language and culture.

Goal 2: Kia Rongo Ngā Hau e Whā: To Participate as Citizens of the World

The second goal asserts:

...that Māori children will live in a variety of situations and should be able to move from one to the other with relative ease (Durie, 2001:4).

In terms of Māori whānau and childrearing practices within our four generation whānau, it has reference to members of the whānau supporting our mokopuna to develop understanding of their world through bilingual, biliterate, bicognitive and bicultural development and supporting their confident and competent transition between those situations.

Goal 3: Kia Ora: To Enjoy Good Health and a High Standard of Living

This goal is historical, evidenced in ‘The Declaration of Independence’ and ‘The Treaty of Waitangi’ (Orange, 1989). This goal rationalises why Māori agreed to form alliances with non-Māori initially. It reflects recognition of and a willingness to accommodate western technologies believed to be beneficial to Māori. Durie (2001:5) supported this stating:

It makes limited sense only to prepare students for a life in international commerce if living as a Māori must be sacrificed.

In reference to whānau and childrearing, this goal is about supporting children to develop and be confident in both the Māori world and western world. It is about

nurturing our babies and our children so that they will be able to make choices that will benefit them and their wider whānau (White, 2003).

If Durie's (2001) framework was used as a quality assurance tool to develop and measure the outcomes of any future social policy developed for Māori, the current situation which over-represents Māori in negative statistics could change. (Ministerial Advisory Committee, 1986).

A factor for consideration in terms of social policy in the future is that the demographic statistics reveal Māori as having a youthful population profile, compared to the non-Māori population which is more middle age. These discrepancies mean there are going to be competing policy pressures between Māori and non-Māori population in the future. Priorities for Māori as a youthful population with a lot of families raising children will be housing, good education and income maintenance, so there is a minimum standard of living for those families. In contrast, issues for the ageing population will focus on health services and superannuation. Effectively, this will mean two competing policy agendas unless youth and ageing societies are prepared to support each other.

The intergenerational Māori whānau and the characteristics of reciprocity, rights and responsibilities which underpinned the concept of whānau before colonisation can address the issue of competing policy agendas. It is not in the interest of Māori whānau, hapū and iwi to promote one generation within the intergenerational whānau model at the expense of another. Policy developed for Māori children and families needs to be approached from a principle of collectivism rather than individualism.

Summary

This chapter has critically reviewed the literature about whānau and childrearing in an attempt to understand the values and beliefs that have underpinned the practical application of whānau and childrearing from social, historical, cultural and political

perspectives. A critical review of the definition and redefinition of the term ‘whānau’ and its relationship to childrearing was undertaken in an attempt to provide some insight into what factors may have influenced the four generation case study whānau members’ individual perspectives of whānau and childrearing.

Chapter three will address research methodology. In particular, it will discuss key methodological underpinnings of the inquiry associated to colonisation, politics and policy.

CHAPTER THREE METHODOLOGY

Piki Mai, Kake Mai

In this chapter I intend to provide a synopsis of some of the methodological issues I consider to be pertinent to research, specifically Māori research. As a mother and grandmother, a researcher and a participant, my role within the whānau is of significance to the study. Durie (1998 cited in White, 2003:95) argues

that research should be about the advancement of people – the people whose lives are directly affected by the research.

To that extent my research process sets out to promote participation and a sense of self determination, ‘tino rangatiratanga’, where all of the participant whānau members might share in a process of power sharing (Bishop, 1997b). Within that context, I find I am my own case study. Issues of bias surround the research as a consequence, but I find the complications of exploring whakapapa and looking after the future in terms of knowledge of tikanga Māori, te reo Māori, education and whānaungatanga¹, impossible to deal with, if I am not in the text as a prominent player.

The purpose of the study is to explore how the re-construction of the whānau and its approach to childrearing through colonisation of Māori society can be perceived within the experiences of the case study of four generations of one whānau. The focus on dialogic process throughout the study will empower participants of the extended whānau in a Freirean way² to conscientize their experiences and become aware of how they have the capacity to critically analyse what they do and why³, effectively linking theory and practice. The collaborative storytelling methodology will identify and capitalise on shared understandings in terms of shared participation in childrearing. Collaborative storytelling as narrative will provide a forum for identifying what, if any, tensions arise during this process, due to differences in opinion that may

¹ Nurturing responsive reciprocal relationships with people, place and things.

² Paulo Freire was from Brazil and was imprisoned for his political beliefs of educating peasants.

³ Freire, 1972 ‘Pedagogy of the Oppressed’.

exist, because of diversity in age, background, upbringing and knowledge base. We will have the opportunity as whānau to collectively theorise how we might mediate those tensions. This purpose has formed the research questions.

Ngā Patapatai o te Rangahau: Research Questions

How can the re-construction of the whānau through the colonisation of Māori society be perceived within the experiences of the case study of four generations of one whānau?

Within the context of our four generation whānau, what are the understandings regarding the individual, and shared roles of whānau members, in terms of childrearing?

What, if any, tensions arise during this process and how do we as a whānau, process those tensions?

The case study has the capacity to provide direct benefits to all participating whānau members. The ‘collaborative storytelling’ approach adopted for this study provides an opportunity for reflexivity, facilitating ongoing analysis and co-construction of meaning or explanation of the lived experiences of the research participants (Bishop, 1997). This study also provides our whānau with an opportunity to explore how we can work collaboratively to provide support, in terms of childrearing, as an investment in our whakapapa for the future.

‘Collaborative storytelling’ is a research strategy that adopts a kaupapa Māori approach to research. It means, in this instance, that a research agenda located within Māori cultural aspirations, and preferred ways of doing will promote participation and a sense of self determination, ‘Tino Rangatiratanga’, by a process of power sharing (Bishop, 1994). While this case study, exploring the potential of our whānau to collectively nurture our mokopuna, does not purport to represent or be transferable to

all contemporary Māori whānau, it could provide useful insights to other whānau interested in the concept of collaborative childrearing as an investment in the future.

My intention is to adopt this methodology to provide opportunities for my whānau to tell their own stories and reflect on their own experiences of whānau and childrearing to understand how those experiences have influenced the relationships they have with our mokopuna. Throughout the interviews, members of the whānau will be encouraged to co-theorise their role in the childrearing process to analyse if, and how their participation in childrearing can contribute to the concept of ‘reciprocity of benefit’ for themselves, the mokopuna and the whānau as a unit. The findings of this study also have the capacity to provide the basis for a larger scale study at a later date. Notwithstanding the multiplicity of social issues that could impact on such a study, the decision to restrict the study to our whānau initially, is a personal decision to gain personal insight and knowledge.

By Māori, for Māori

Bevan-Brown (1998) stated that research approaches developed by Māori have been named by Māori for Māori. She argued that while Māori researchers have developed numerous approaches focussing on different emphasis and points of reference, all approaches highlight generic characteristics considered fundamental to a Māori epistemological viewpoint. This research project through storying collects what can be termed as Māori knowledge within the context of the case study of a four generation Māori whānau. It can be argued then, that Māori data and Māori analysis together equate Māori knowledge, or at least a perspective of Māori knowledge. The storying approach adopted has required whānau participation and power sharing which validates perspectives of Māori ways of knowing.

Mutu (1998) stated that research is about the pursuit of knowledge. She argued that the pursuit of knowledge provides those in control of research, with a key to power and control, not only over their own life, but over the lives of others. Mutu (1998) warned of the dangers of allowing uniformed outsiders to control research undertaken

by Māori for Māori. She used her own experiences in research as examples to demonstrate how uninformed outsiders have abused power in order to attempt to suppress, marginalise and exclude Māori input into research on Māori issues. The approach adopted in this project will provide participants with a voice to theorise their own lived experiences and reflect on how those experiences have influenced their perceptions regarding the roles of the intergenerational whānau. Collaboratively as a whānau, we have control over the research thereby protecting the research from negative or derogatory outsider influences.

Iwi and Hapū Perspectives

Rangihau (1992) very rightly argues that there is no such perspective as a Māori perspective. There are only whānau, hapū and iwi perspectives. The dominant role of the government promoting an eurocentric epistemological approach to decision making regarding all aspects of life in Aotearoa/NZ society has contributed to a view of all whānau, hapū and iwi being perceived collectively as Māori. Because the collective confederation of tribes within Aotearoa/New Zealand is a minority group in their own country, it has become politically strategic for hapū and iwi to collaborate in order to effectively participate in decision making for tangata whenua at a national level. It is important in this project to acknowledge that fact and to encourage participants to identify different whānau, hapū and iwi perspectives regarding whānau living and childrearing.

Irwin (1992) described a kaupapa Māori research model as research which is culturally safe, relevant and appropriate in the first instance, satisfying the rigour of research in the second instance and undertaken by a Māori researcher in the third instance. Irwin (1992) argued that in order for the research to be culturally safe, it would need to involve the mentorship of a kaumātua. The collaborative storying approach adopted by this research project promotes participant sharing of power and control over the research thereby negating a situation where more power and control is awarded to any particular participant. I would argue that kaupapa Māori approaches to research do not necessarily require the mentorship of kaumātua. In

fact, within the context of this study, such a situation could act as a barrier to participants feeling confident enough to express their own points of view derived from their own lived experiences. Within the context of a Māori view, it is important to acknowledge past, present and future knowledge. While the traditional worldview is important, it is imperative that the study take cognizance of contemporary Māori worldviews and their social and cultural diversities.

Smith (1992, 1999) argued that the Māori attitude to research is that it should aim to empower people in their day to day lives. Smith (1992, 1999) and Walker (1979) argued that Māori people who have a commitment to the survival of Māori culture and language need to be conducting the research with Māori using Māori processes. This aspect again highlights the need to be able to articulate what Māori knowledge is and how that knowledge is reflected in Māori preferred ways of knowing and doing. If we accept that traditional and contemporary perspectives of Māori knowledge should be legitimated and validated, the landscape for the development of Māori approaches to research becomes interesting and exciting.

While there are aspects of the various and diverse Māori approaches to research that are different and can be argued for or against in particular contexts, there is a consensus that frameworks and guidelines for Māori research prioritise the importance of justifying the relevance and benefits of the research for Māori.

Research underpins the critique of traditional and historical knowledge and the ongoing pursuit of new knowledge. As such, research is a key component of university business. Māori need to be at the forefront driving research for Māori, by Māori with Māori to ensure that Māori views of knowledge are valid and legitimate. Any perceived reluctance by Māori to conduct research for Māori, with Māori would provide justification for non-Māori uninformed outsiders to research Māori knowledge from their own views of the world. There is an urgent need for Māori to be conducting research, which puts pressure on Māori academics to engage in research, to disseminate the results in their areas of interest, and have first hand experience of the research process through supervised participation prior to

graduation. Walker (1996) used the metaphor of “publish or die” to illustrate the requirement of academics to undertake research and publish their findings. Māori researchers have been encouraged to consider and develop culturally preferred research frameworks that have the capacity to provide interest for and share benefits with research participants.

This study attempts to address these issues. Issues related to reciprocity of benefit for all participants are addressed in this study. At the very least, participants will develop a greater understanding of the issues that have impacted on the way our Māori whanau now choose to live and approach childrearing. Our whānau stories are the basis of this research inquiry. The nature of the inquiry is identified because it facilitates power and control issues in terms of whānau participation using narrative as a culturally preferred methodology (Bishop, 1996).

The literature regarding research within minority groups also confirmed that by the late 1980's and early 1990's demands to recognise research methodologies that were relevant and acceptable to particular settings were being heard and beginning to be actioned. A 1993 volume of the *American Journal of Community Psychology*, dedicated a special issue to culturally-anchored methodologies, and a 1996 volume of the *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* contributed an entire section to research processes within minority ethnic groups.

Kaupapa Māori Research

Cunningham (1998) has noted that while there is not yet consensus on a definition of kaupapa Māori research there are a number of emerging themes in the literature. Most prominent is the theme of ‘ka piki te ora o te iwi Māori’ (research which has positive outcomes for Māori and the notion of challenging the dominance of the Pākehā worldview in research (Bishop, 1996). Underpinning this is the

empowerment of Māori in the research process and the research content. When we consider that Māori have not historically benefited from the process of research, and that kaupapa Māori or emancipatory research approaches are relatively new (late

1980's – early 1990s), there is a lot of work to be done to restore Māori confidence in research. Linda Smith reflected on this situation and responded in the following way:

One of the challenges for Māori researchers working in this context has been to retrieve some space—first, some space to convince Māori people of the value of research for Māori; second, to convince the various, fragmented but powerful research communities of the need for greater Māori involvement in the research; and third, to develop approaches and ways of carrying out research which take into account, without being limited by, the legacies of previous research, and the parameters of both previous and current approaches. What is now referred to as Kaupapa Māori approaches to research, or simply as Kaupapa Māori research, is an attempt to retrieve that space and to achieve those general aims (Smith, cited in White, 2003:93).

Smith in White (2003) has captured the essence of the situation that Māori researchers are working within. For our whānau and this case study, it means that I have had to invest some time in convincing the whānau of the merit of investigating and recording our experiences and processes related to our attempts to approach childrearing. In terms of the research fraternity, I may need to explore measures to protect my whānau from potential attacks from researchers who do not value and/or understand Māori ways of knowing and doing. The recent attack by Rata (2004) on kaupapa Māori education is a good example of the intolerance of academics who do not value Māori ways of knowing and doing. What is particularly disturbing about Rata's (2004) attack is the arrogance she portrays in assuming a right to measure kaupapa Māori initiatives against eurocentric ways of knowing and doing. In terms of the research approach, the collaborative storying methodology rejects impositional models while embracing emancipatory approaches.

Those involved in indepth analyses of kaupapa Māori concerns in research are in the space where they are defining and redefining what constitutes kaupapa Māori research (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Cunningham, 1998; Smith, 1997; Smith, 1999).

Kaupapa Māori – Māori centred

Cunningham (1998) identified research standards and controls as the differences between kaupapa Māori research and Māori-centred research. He asserted that in Māori-centred research the standards and control stay with kaupapa Pākehā organisations whereas in kaupapa Māori, the research team reflects Māori personnel and the standards and control stay with Māori organisations. In terms of a Treaty of Waitangi framework, the kaupapa Māori research parameters would be compatible with Article ii sovereignty assertions, and Māori-centred research with Article iii citizenship and equity claims. If we use Cunningham's (1998) definition, it means for this study that the research is Māori centred rather than kaupapa Māori. While, we like to think that the research is driven and controlled by our whānau, the reality is that the standards and control are firmly with the university. The university standards control the research process from proposal through to final submission. They also reserve the right to have a copy in their library, which raises issues regarding ownership.

Despite this anomaly, Cunningham's (1998) definition of Māori centred approach to research provides Māori undertaking research within university protocols and parameters the space to work towards achieving the goals that Smith in White (2003) refers to. More importantly, in terms of this study, our whānau are becoming aware of the value of research for Māori, including the value of their participation in the research process.

Ngā Tikanga Rangahau o Iwi Kē

Within the wider indigenous framework of culturally appropriate research methodology, qualitative methods which provide for the understanding of phenomena through the participants' cultural viewpoints have been identified as a fundamental characteristic. Qualitative research methods that fit this context have the potential to positively impact on participant contribution throughout the duration of the research process (Hughes, Seidman & Williams, 1993).

Qualitative research is defined as being descriptive and indepth, focussing on single case studies rather than statistically generalised findings of large sample groups (Cziko, 1992). As a research methodology, it provides a framework within which participants can express their understandings in their own words (Maykut & Morehouse, 1998; Patton, 1987). Denzin and Lincoln (1994) supported this perspective stating that: "Qualitative researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researchers and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry" (p.4). These descriptions of qualitative research fit well with the approach adopted in this study exploring the understandings of the individual and shared roles of our whānau members in terms of childrearing. In terms of identifying any tensions that may arise during this process, including how we as a whānau process those tensions, the qualitative research methodology provides participants with the framework to communicate their perceptions in their own words. Because my study focuses on participant observation, it also reflects an ethnographic model.

Ethnographic Approach

Atkinson (1994 cited in White, 2003) argues that ethnographic methods in research support the qualitative approach because they rely substantially or partly on 'participant observation'. In practical terms ethnography has the following features:

- a strong emphasis on exploring the nature of a particular phenomenon, rather than setting out to test a hypothesis
- a tendency to work with unstructured data, that is data that has not been coded at the point of collection
- investigation of a small number of cases, perhaps just one, to get to the core of the matter
- interpretive analysis of data that involves explicit interpretation of meanings and functions mainly through verbal descriptions and explanations (with any quantitative component taking a subordinate role).

Atkinson (1994) argued that *all* social research is a form of participant observation because one cannot study the social world without being part of it. In terms of this study where whānau members are participants in the research theorising and co-theorising their own lived experiences to develop clear understandings regarding the phenomena of a collaborative approach to childrearing, Atkinson's (1994) clarification of ethnographic fits well. The qualitative nature of my study into intergenerational whānau follows those principles which Cunningham (1998) identified as Māori centred and is ethnographic according to Atkinson (2004) because it sets out to be descriptive and indepth while focussing on a single case study rather than on a large sample.

Case Study as Participatory Model

Case study as a research method according to Denzin & Lincoln (1994) relies on documenting what happens at the interactional level. The documentation is gathered from interviews, observations and analysis. Excerpts from the actual data are woven in to give participants a voice. In terms of a 'participatory model' such a study can be described as a 'research journey'. There is acknowledgement of the importance of the researcher as being a knowledgeable insider. Techniques used in such a model could include participant observation, interviews, questionnaires and analysis of documents. For the purpose of this study, the researcher is a research participant and all

participants involved in the study are well known to each other. We are whānau. The techniques used to undertake the study will include participant observations, semi-structured interviews and co analysis within the interview forum. The last dimension of the qualitative approach to this study involves the '*collaborative storytelling*' methodology.

Collaborative Storying

A data gathering approach that employs 'collaborative stories' as part of its methodology (see Ballard's (1994) 'research as stories' approach) is an attempt to facilitate the power and control issues that constitute what Bishop (1994, 1997b) defines as Kaupapa Māori research methodology. Bishop (1994, 1997b) argues that despite the impact of the neo-colonial concept of cultural superiority which led to a western epistemological view of the world, the reality is that there are still cultural preferences among Māori people for narrative. Heshusius (1994) makes links to the narrative methodology when he refers to a mode of participatory consciousness where the researcher establishes a relationship with the research participants that is 'open and totally receptive' and moves away from the interests of self.

Collaborative storytelling research methodology requires that one have an established relationship with participants. It is envisaged that the participation of whānau members will facilitate this process. It is acknowledged that for the purpose of this study these relationships may require re-negotiation.

This project involves an open-ended questioning technique where the precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but instead will depend on the direction in which the interview develops.

Potential conflict or compromise of interests between the participants and the researcher are minimised through the following protocols defined in Bishop's (1996) kaupapa Māori research model that relates to power-sharing and self-determination.

The metaphoric construct within which this kaupapa Māori research operates is the whānau. Within the context of this research, whānau can be interpreted in its purest form, as all participants will be either blood relatives or relatives through marriage. In addition, as a whānau we will be coming together for a common purpose and with a commitment to adhere to a common agenda in the pursuit of its aims. The whānau is an important construct for this collaborative methodology, particularly for incorporating ethical procedures and debating issues associated with the research.

Because the chosen methodology requires the ongoing willing participation of identified whānau, the researcher cannot proceed without their co-operation and support. I plan to collate the whānau stories, which will evolve from this project to present to the whānau as a reciprocal measure.

I am aware of my personal agenda which is premised upon my desire to explore the complexities of my intergenerational whānau, and the inherent dangers involved in intellectualising what is perhaps a simple procedure depending on how it is viewed. It concerns me that embarking on a research of this nature could serve to alienate me from members within our whānau if in the long term future, their story is minimised or trivialised by academics who view research as a process based on scientific evidence only. Despite this ethical concern, I believe that our whānau journey and experiences in attempting to strengthen support infrastructures in childrearing for our mokopuna are valuable stories relating our lived experiences.

Ngā Tuwatawata: Research Aspects to Consider

I acknowledge that according to Cunningham (1998), the collaborative storying methodology in the context of this project does not constitute a kaupapa Māori approach because the research standards and controls are not located with Māori, they are located within Waikato University. There are only three Māori wānanga within Aotearoa/New Zealand. Those undertaking research as a process to attaining high qualification would need to be enrolled with one of the three Māori wānanga in order

for the research standards and controls to remain with Māori. While Cunningham's (1998) definition of kaupapa Māori research reflects Durie's (2001) goal 'to live as Māori' and supports May's (2001), argument that indigenous peoples do have the right to retain some of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions, it is problematic because the three Māori wānanga are relatively new institutions and are still in the process of developing programmes and robust infrastructures at postgraduate level. The reality is that the wānanga cannot yet accommodate the numbers of Māori wishing to enrol in postgraduate programmes.

Ngā Hua: Outcomes

Despite the fact that Māori do not have 'Tino Rangatiratanga' over the research standards and controls within the context of this study, collaborative storying is identified as a research strategy that institutes a kaupapa Māori approach to research because it argues that the agenda is located within Māori cultural aspirations, preferences and practices. As such kaupapa Māori agendas have the capacity to promote self determination through a process of power sharing (Bishop, 1994). 'Collaborative stories' as a research approach therefore, have the capacity to include intricacy of human experiences reflecting on many perspectives of those experiences without promoting any of those perspectives as dominant (Bishop, 1996). The collaborative stories will be developed by a means of sequential, semi-structured, in-depth interviews as conversations, conducted in a dialogic, reflexive manner. These interviews will facilitate ongoing collaborative analysis and construction of meaning/explanations about the lived experiences of the research participants (Bishop, 1997). The interviews with participants will be recorded and, in some instances, stimulus, such as photographs and video tapes will be used as prompts.

The recorded interviews will be transcribed and then, in collaboration with the interviewee checked to ensure that what is recorded is true and correct. The interviewee, with the guidance of the interviewer, will then be invited to critically analyse the data. This process will involve at least two interviews with the

interviewee, who may, at any point prior to research completion, withdraw any information they feel is inappropriate. Where possible, interviews will be conducted as group interviews.

Problems with ‘Collaborative Storying’ Approach

Within the context of this study, maintaining a balance in terms of diversity and intricacy of experiences was difficult to facilitate because not all adults in the project were receptive to listening to, and legitimising other member’s perspectives as relevant and as important as their own. It was particularly challenging for the parents of our mokopuna who assumed that because of their position in relation to the mokopuna, their perspectives would be allowed to dominate. The situation required ongoing negotiation. Younger members of the whānau became reluctant to share the intricacy of their perspectives in a collaborative forum because they perceived that those perspectives might be assertively challenged by their tuakana.

Problems with Relationships in the Study

Many relationships exist within whānau. Tuakana teina represents one such relationship. Tuakana Nepe (1991:21) wrote about tuakana teina as it related to her personal knowledge of whānau, hapū and iwi:

...at my immediate whānau generation level I am teina to my older sisters, and tuakana to my younger sister and two younger brothers. This information influences how we interact, in terms of our reciprocal roles and commitments, to one another. By virtue of our standing as either tuakana or teina to each other these roles and commitments are binding and fixed

This explanation appears self explanatory. Nepe (1991:28) further defined the roles of tuakana and teina in the following way:

...the tuakana as the eldest child is classified as the overseer, the convenor, the director of the whānau ...roles and responsibilities are numerous and often onerous...the status of teina is of lesser importance and often means relegation to carrying out the more menial tasks within the whānau...this often places a strain on the relationship, and more so if the teina happens to be more assetive and more intelligent than the tuakana

Within any whānau, it is critical to identify the significance of both the tuakana and the teina and their respective roles. Members of our whānau had definite preconceived views regarding how the tuakana/teina relationships impacted on issues related to power and control within the whānau and their participation in the project. Metge (1995) and Tangaere in Te Whaiti et al (1997) argued that the role of the tuakana is to support the teina. Tuakana members in this project assumed that any strong opinions they had regarding their roles and the roles of their teina in terms of childrearing were superior to any views held by teina. This situation was intensified because the teina accepted that they were junior and any opinions they had relating to their childrearing roles were inferior to those of their tuakana. In terms of the Bishop's (1997) collaborative storying kaupapa Māori approach to research, the negotiation of shared power and control over the process became challenging.

A way forward was to conduct individual interviews, transcribe those interviews and co-theorise 'kanohi ki te kanohi' (researcher and participant). The transcripts were shared with the wider whānau in order to give them time to reflect on the content of the transcripts and consider the concepts of diversity and intricacy. This strategy, not only gave all participants the space and time to consider other perspectives, it also encouraged inclusive participation from both tuakana and teina enabling the project to be shaped by the process.

Problems with Hui

Whānau hui can be problematic because of the intense debates that ensue. Keeping control of the debate and trying to get consensus or an understanding of each person's

position can be quite overwhelming if a tight rein is not maintained. The diversity and intricacy of whānau experiences meant that understandings regarding the roles of members within our whānau were also diverse. The hui forum provided a platform for challenging conflict resolution. It is acknowledged here that the hui forum is not always successful in determining a resolution where everyone is completely happy. Despite this, the hui forum reflects a whānau framework that is fundamental to Māori ways of knowing and doing. Kaupapa Māori research methodologies typically affirm the hui forum as a process that allows the time, space and tikanga necessary to progress korero and therefore development (Bishop, 1996; 1997b).

Kaupapa Māori Framework

The most accepted principle underpinning kaupapa Māori approaches to research underpin the concept of benefits to all participants. Convincing participants of the worth of the study and benefits to them was an ongoing challenge. At least two of the seven second generation members of the four generation whānau challenged more than once that specific members of the whānau would benefit from the study more than others. Convincing them that all of their perspectives told through their stories contributed to Māori knowledge in terms of whānau and childrearing was an ongoing issue. In the end I, as the researcher, hold the ultimate power because I have to select the tools of analysis and make the decision about what knowledge I will or will not use. In respect of encouraging and empowering case study participants to contribute their views about whānau and childrearing, my insider influence has been useful. My position as an insider researcher has encouraged ongoing reflection, theorising and co-theorising of whānau stories. Reflection of the storying, theorising and co-theorising process helped members of the whānau to identify how the research had the capacity for advancement and benefit to our whānau now and in the future.

Conscientising Processes

Becoming conscientised through the research process meant for me as research participant that I was continually reflecting on and analysing how I was actively contributing to aspects of life that I was hypothesising were essential to healthy Māori whānau development. The situation meant that I was not able to shut myself off from whānau, hapū and iwi obligations to complete a thesis. Rather I needed to be involved in both the academic and the wider sociocultural, sociopolitical world. There was a need to constantly balance whānau and childrearing obligations with work commitments, academic commitments, board of trustees commitments, extended whānau responsibilities attending huritau, tangihanga, kawē mate, responsibilities of commitment to Marae activities and responsibility to support Māori political issues, for example the protest regarding the foreshore and seabed bill. As a participant researcher within a Māori whānau context I was expected to meet social and political commitments in a genuine meaningful way. Bishop & Glynn (1992) referred to this situation as ‘he kanohi kitea’⁴. Freire (1972) called it praxis and Rogoff (1990) called it ‘sociocultural’. Measuring accountability in Māori terms is personal. It would be inappropriate to write about contexts from a theoretical rather than a lived point of view, lest one is asked “I whea koe i te tauritanga o te rau o te kōtukutuku?”⁵

In the current climate where Māori researchers are working to develop acceptable kaupapa Māori approaches to research, it is important that the people developing the approaches are represented in meaningful life contexts modelling the approaches they write about to legitimate and validate the knowledge. Within the context of this study, these aspects were very relevant. Whānau members were not receptive to others hypothesising perspectives that were not observed in their behaviours.

⁴ Kanohi kitea refers to ‘kanohi kit e kanohi’ or having a physical presence.

⁵ Where were you when the fuchsia began to put on its leaves

Issues Related to Participant/Researcher

The methodological approaches employed in this study acknowledge the benefits of the researcher having inside knowledge about the topic being investigated. As stated previously, Atkinson (1994) argued that all social research is a form of what he calls participant observation because one cannot study the social world without being part of it. Denzin & Lincoln (1994) argue the importance of the researcher being a knowledgeable insider. Within the context of this study, I acknowledge that I am a prominent figure. I carry multiple roles as daughter, daughter in law, wife, mother, mother in law and grandmother. I have an indepth knowledge of whānau lived experiences and what influences have impacted on those experiences. I can use that knowledge to assist other whānau members to co-theorise their own experiences to help develop understandings about those experiences.

Tiakiwai (2001) used the notions of emic (insider) research and etic (outsider) research to explain the difference between insider and outsider perspectives. Emic research is identified as ‘insider as belonging’. This perspective argues that the researcher with the insider knowledge has the capacity to explore issues to depths that no outsider could possibly reach because of their lack of knowledge. Etic research is totally dependant on the quality and quantity of the data collected. In terms of social research, there are huge limitations regarding undertaking research where the researcher does not have indepth knowledge.

Despite the arguments for and against researcher participation, I acknowldge that the primary criticism regarding ethnographic approaches to research, is that ethnography considers explanations (theory and/or abstract ideas) as authentic reality, when they are not (Atkinson, 1004). There is also a criticism that there is a capacity for the researcher to gain and maintain power and control over participants in the study. I would argue that the ‘collaborative storying’ research methodology adequately addresses the issues of power and control in terms of initiation, benefits, legitimation, representation and accountability (Bishop, 1997b).

Summary

The main aim of this study is to explore how the re-construction of the whānau and its approach to childrearing through colonisation of Māori society can be perceived within the experiences of the case study of four generations of one whānau. This chapter focused on methodological considerations related to my positioning in the research as a kaupapa Māori researcher/participant and the research methods employed to conduct the inquiry. As a kaupapa Māori researcher, the focus has been about promoting participation and shared power and control over the research so that all participants might collectively benefit within the context of kaupapa Māori advancement. Kaupapa Māori advancement within the context of this study can include socio-cultural, socio-political, psychological, socio-economic, linguistic, spiritual and educational aspects. Within this context, kaupapa Māori researchers inquiring into the concept of 'whānau' need to have lived understanding of what it means to participate as Māori being responsible and accountable to whānau, hapū and iwi.

The inquiry is ethnographic in nature and qualitative in form. Chapter three discussed methodological approaches I considered to be relevant to this study. The collaborative storying approach was highlighted as a preferred cultural methodology because it promoted collaborative participation and sharing of power and control of the research using narrative. Collaborative storying as a methodology encourages participants to theorise their own experiences to develop understandings regarding lived experiences. Discussion in this chapter has also focused on rationalising and justifying the exploration of the phenomenon of whānau and childrearing within a particular cultural context (four generations of one whānau) rather than setting out to test a hypothesis. Excerpts taken from actual data through the case study approach to this inquiry encouraged participants to include intricacy of their experiences. Collaborative storying as narrative facilitated a context where many perspectives, including the intricacies of those experiences, were heard without promoting any of the perspectives as dominant (Bishop, 1996). If we accept that we as Māori have the

right to define what being distinctly Māori within an intergenerational whānau means for us in contemporary Māori society, then we must argue for the space and the right to define what that identity is, and how it influences our lives.

Chapter four will attempt to portray the diversity and intricacy of our whānau experiences and the conscientising processes that we pursued in an attempt to develop understandings of individual and shared roles related to childrearing. Narrative is used to relay the stories of the research participants.

CHAPTER FOUR

WHĀNAU STORIES AS NARRATIVE

Introduction

The intergenerational case study whānau represent diverse socio-cultural backgrounds. Two of the case study whānau are native speakers of Māori from Te Whānau-a-Apanui and Tuhoe. Those iwi are geographically isolated from the urban areas meaning that they have not been as influenced by urbanisation as other iwi living in more centralised areas. Other whānau members have strong kinship links to Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Kahungunu, Rangitane and Ngāti Hāmua. All intergenerational case study whānau members bring with them cultural ways of knowing and doing that are reflective of their own experiences. There is only one member of the intergenerational case study whānau who does not speak Māori. The case study whānau comprises four qualified teachers, and most second generation members have lived experience of Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori. The storying as narrative methodology is powerful in maximizing opportunities for all participants to share in the power and control regarding what they want to share about their own lived experiences and how those stories will be retold by me, the researcher.

Bishop's (1997) collaborative storying methodology argues that the power and control over research does not rest with the researcher, it is instead shared with participants. The process of learning to share power and control took some practice both with the participants and the researcher/participant. The first interviews comprised a set of semi-structured indepth interviews. It wasn't until the interviews were transcribed that I realised how structured they were and how much I as an interviewer was leading the participant's responses. It took several attempts at interviewing to be able to step back and allow the participants to tell their own stories without me as researching interrupting and taking back the lead. I believe it was not until that time that the power and control in the process was truly shared. Participants became more

interested, not just in their own stories, but also the stories of other participants. All participants read their transcribed interviews to check authenticity. They also agreed to share their interviews with other members of the whānau. This process provided a vehicle for participants to share in the veracity and diversity of each other's experiences. I believe that if we had continued with the shared or collaborative storytelling as first indicated, participants would not have been disciplined enough to step back and allow each other the time and space to tell their own stories through their own perspectives without interrupting. When whānau members interrupted the stories of an individual, it was usually because they wanted to investigate what was being said from another perspective, usually their own. It is actually the second and third interviews as stories that I employ in this chapter because of the close insights that they were able to reveal.

The whānau stories were developed initially from semi-structured interviews as conversations. These conversations were conducted in a dialogic, reflexive manner about the lived experiences of the research participants (Bishop, 1997). The goal was to merge the stories of the research participants to create a mutually constructed story out of our lived experiences. In exploring the understandings of the individual and shared roles of our four generation whānau members, our contemporary context uncovers the tensions we face and how we as a whānau address the principles of collectivism and continue to show respect for one another and deal effectively with our individual rights and responsibilities. The case study is going to unfold and show the intergenerational emphases of what is significant to whānau and childrearing, both in their lived experiences and their approaches to whānau and childrearing in the future.. Stories begin with excerpts from the fourth generation members.

For the purpose of identifying generational voices in the relaying of stories, generations will be coded in the following way:

Fourth generation members = 4A and 4B

Third generation members = 3A and 3B

Second generation members = 2A, 2B, 2C, 2D, 2E and 2F

Attitudes to Whānau and Childrearing Practices

Fourth Generation Perspectives

Gathering stories about childhood experiences of the fourth generation members who grew up in rural Māori communities in the 1930's provides other intergenerational members of the whānau with some insight into the transitions they have experienced from that time until now. Fourth generation whānau members are philosophical about what they consider to be important when approaching childrearing, perhaps because of their own lived experiences of childhood and childrearing across four generations. 4A commented on qualities or values that she considers to be important when approaching childrearing in the following way:

Caring about each other and being helpful to each other are qualities that I observed when I was growing up. When there is strife with children, other whānau members will step in and help. Aunt Lil and Uncle Dick reared thirteen children, including my six brothers and my sister and I, and they had no children of their own. They brought up Uncle Dick's sister's children because those families were unable to provide for them. They also took care of a baby who was left in a sack at the river by her whānau, and they were continually contacted by the welfare to take in children who needed care and support.

The dwelling that accommodated this large whānau only consisted of three bedrooms and there were also third and fourth generation members living there. The experience of whānau and childrearing talked about here reflects a setting where the concept of whānau is all embracing. A4 further comments about her memories of her childhood stating:

I was only four years old when Mum died at home. She died in the house opposite the pa. Immediately after her death, aunt Lil and uncle Dick looked after us. I remember aunt Lil washing us all in a corrugated bath tub. Eventually, nanny Wira who was in her 70's moved into our house and looked after us. Maybe that was because there were so many living at the homestead and it only had three bedrooms. I don't recall us ever being disciplined while we were

living at the pa. Aunt Lil and uncle Dick were never known to lay hands on kids. Nanny Wira used to make steam pudding for us, which consisted of flour, water and sultanas. That was our pudding in those days. We used to have it with cream. I don't remember us having to do a lot in terms of chores when we were children, although I suppose we made our beds and washed dishes, but I don't remember.

The reflections about whānau and childrearing described here suggest that childhood was enjoyable with little (if any) discipline. While the reflections regarding the pudding that nanny Wira made for them as a treat, indicate that there may have been a shortage of money to buy delicacies, as children, the fourth generation did not recognise the situation as being deficit in any way. While memories of living at the pa with the extended whānau appear to be happy and balanced, that was not always the experience.

Nanny Wira sent us off to school as usual. Our stepmother came and got Tangi and I from school, when I was about eleven years old, and told us that we were going to the dentist, but she took us to her home. Our stepmother used to keep me home from school to look after the kids. She took my stockings so that I couldn't go to school. There was little affection in those days with our stepmother. There was love with aunt Lil and uncle Dick and nanny Wira, but not with our stepmother. I was kept home from school a lot and was unable to sit my exams as a result. I walked out to aunt Lil's place (about three miles) and she bought me stockings so that I could go back to school. A child welfare officer came to interview me during that year and we eventually had to go to court. During the court, we were asked whether we wanted to stay with dad or go under the welfare. I said that I wanted to go under the welfare. Tangi (my younger sister), said that she wanted to stay with our dad. It was dad himself, who said we should stay together and that Tangi was better off under the welfare. It was at that time that we became wards of the state.

The stories of this generation provide some insight into the qualities of endurance and resilience evidenced in the way they responded to issues that affected them, and in the way they were able to continue to learn and develop despite adversity. Because of issues within the whānau, the remnants of what was once known as the mission schools became a big part of life for 4A.

I shifted from St. Pat's school to St. Bride's in 1947 under the guidance of the welfare. I went from there to St. Joseph's. I was greatly influenced by St. Joseph's where we were taught to look after our own things and be independent. My job was cleaning the chapel, so that maybe where I got my values from about keeping the place clean and organised.

The values of cleanliness and being organised have continued to be identified as key points in terms of childrearing, evidenced in the following philosophical statements.

The intergenerational whānau have a role in the childrearing process. They can teach the child to be methodical and return play things to their appropriate places. They can encourage the child to be obedient, independent, show appreciation and treat others and their belongings with respect. They can also share in giving the child praise when due.

The second fourth generation whānau member spoke about his recollections of his childhood in the following way:

What I remember about my growing up on the coast is that it was a hard life. I worked really hard and I learnt the value of a dollar. My mother died when I was young, so I was brought up by the old man Swinton and he made us work. I remember, we were shifting stock one day and I saw a lot of people at the marae and asked if there was a tangi. The old man said that my nanny had died. I remember thinking that if my nanny had died, why wasn't I at the tangi with the other mourners. When I asked the old man Swinton, he replied that I needed to focus on work and not be worried about being at the tangi.

The work ethic evident in this narrative dominates life, even the responsibility or obligation of whānau to farewell their own. This fourth generation member of the whānau was a native speaker of Māori and very conversant with tikanga Māori. While he knew his Māori side very well he also stated:

I always go back to the words of Sir Apriana Ngata. Pick up and make use of the tools of the Pākehā. That is how you are going to be able to make a living and provide for whānau. We all need to earn and know the value of a dollar. I learnt that early in life. It's all very well learning

to speak Māori, but they also need to be educated in English. They need to have a balance. Those of us who have good jobs have a good command of the English language. That's the language of the world.

The issue of language is an important one. 4B grew up in a Māori community, where the Māori language was the language of communication. It is interesting to note that he does not mention tikanga Māori when he refers to language. His own childhood experiences reflect a situation where Māori language and culture were not always interacting with each other. In reference to childrearing practices 4B said:

We can assist the parents with practical support, clothing and food if in need. In later years, we can assist them with seeking further education or employment and assist with financial and physical resources for accommodation where necessary.

He also made an interesting comment stating: "Children should be seen and not heard".

This comment suggests that 4B had empathy, but perhaps not the patience and tolerance for young children. 4B suffered poor health in his later years which impacted on his ability to cope in numerous situations.

Third Generation Perspectives

This generation uses reflexive dialogue to search for models from their past to explain what their values and beliefs about childrearing look like in practice. In reference to whānau and childrearing 3B commented:

Coming from a big family of two brothers and eleven sisters, who apart from two young sisters are all older than me, I have experienced shared childrearing. My elder sisters were the nannies and the aunties all in one.

These comments reflect a situation where fourteen children were born into one whānau over a thirty year period. Effectively, 3B grew up with brothers and sisters

who were a generation older than he was. 3B recalls experiences with older sisters in the following way:

I remember that my older sisters were teaching at the school. I think that Haromi and Rereahu were the teachers at the time and there was lots of homework at home at night. In the evening there was always homework and the piano. The piano, and occasionally the radio, constituted our entertainment. My parents lied about my age so that I could go to school when I was four years old. I went to school with my sisters and spent most of my time with them, because one older brother was at high school and the other one was at boarding school. School was good for me because I had all my sisters looking after me.

3B reflected on his childhood to provide some insights into how their large whānau operated on a daily basis..

I can remember that we always had about three or four under twelve year olds sleeping in each bedroom. After school, we had set chores and just getting to school was a big task. Kai, getting dressed and having to walk at least a mile to the bus was a big routine in the mornings. In the winter, when it was really cold, my Dad would light fires along the main road. We would run between fires to get warm. Dad would light fires all the way to the bus stop. Mum would put hot stones into our gumboots and just before we were ready to leave, we would tip them out and the boots would be warm. We would put them on and run to the first fire to get warm. I can't recall any of us missing school as kids unless we were really sick. At that time, you had to be really sick to miss school.

The reflections show that the whānau adopted routines and applied practical and effective strategies to care for children. 3B commented on the high expectations of his parents, especially his father.

I always knew my father to be very hard. He was a hard man who really loved his sport, especially rugby. He worked and hunted most of his life. Hunting was his pastime, but it was also a way to provide kai for the whānau. He worked on the roads, so I don't think he earned that much money. Not long after my youngest sister was eleven years, I had to prove myself being a provider of food. Dad gave me a 22 and a box of bullets, and told my sister and I to go up to the Opawa bush and bring

back as many pigeons as we could shoot – plucked and ready to be stored. My parents pushed us to achieve and they recognized achievement by putting on a dinner and inviting all the extended whānau. I responded well to the challenge and excelled in education, sports and my application to the work ethic. I could drive a tractor and strop trees at a young age. I knew how to use a chainsaw and could drive a tractor, a car and a truck by the time I was twelve. I was never paid, but money was not the reward. I just enjoyed the work. Looking back now, I think my values have been passed on from my dad in particular, who set high work, education and sporting expectations. If you fell below that mark, you felt you were exiled. My dad judged people by what they were achieving as opposed to what sort of heart they had. If you weren't a worker, you were no bloody good.

Providing for whānau, and being the very best you can be were qualities encouraged in 3B's childhood. He speaks of other aspects of learning and development almost as if they are insignificant.

My mum was the one who was always there for the other stuff. I guess it was the emotional and practical stuff. You could always talk to her about stuff that was happening that you didn't want the old man to know about, like clothing you needed, and how to get rid of pimples and all that sort of stuff.

In terms of how 3B's whānau and childhood experiences have influenced his own approaches to childrearing he states:

I now have four mokopuna and it would be fair to say that I have little contact with my mokopuna in Palmerston North. I would be lucky to have seen them a couple of times a year. I have a special bond with the mokopuna I have spent a lot of time with. I am intolerant of laziness, sloppiness and unmotivated individuals and when it's whānau, it's even worse, because they don't know what my mum and dad had to sacrifice for us kids. Putting it into perspective, I guess it's my own fault for not teaching them in a user friendly way about what my parents' values and beliefs were and how we came to be here. It's easier to talk to the mokopuna as opposed to talking to the young adults. To put it in a nutshell, I see my role as safeguarding the values and beliefs that I have been held responsible to. The responsibility for ensuring that our ancestral land is protected for future generations through whakapapa is huge. One of my biggest fears is that my daughters will marry the wrong men and that is a real issue for me. I have always challenged Colleen's commitment to Māori language initiatives, especially kōhanga

reo and kura kaupapa Māori, because I interpreted that her commitment compromised us as a whānau. Our kids have not been satisfied with the quality of education they received. Colleen has a career in education as a result though, so I suppose you could say that that is the trade off.

3B's comments regarding ancestral land reflect a situation where generations of his whānau have inherited tangata whenua¹, guardianship rights and responsibilities over the land. 3B is politicized and conscientised about issues relating to the land that has been in their whānau since Tuwharetoa settlement in the Taupo/Turangi area.

My experience of whānau and childrearing is somewhat different from 3B's because I grew up in an urban setting. Because of my experiences, my values and beliefs as the other third generation member are more centred on education and healthy, responsive, and reciprocal relationships with people, places and things. While every whānau member should be reflecting on how they contribute either positively or negatively to our intergenerational whānau, I have increased responsibility because I represent a central 'mother' figure.

I grew up in an urban whānau setting with a Māori mother who was empowered and politicised by her involvement in pan urban marae activities and a Pākehā father who was focused on providing for his whānau. We maintained contact with my mother's kinship whānau in the Wairarapa in weekends and in the holiday periods, however, it was the urban setting that impacted and influenced our lives on a daily basis. My grandparents lived at the pa and spoke Māori within the context of their involvement in the marae as kaumātua. My observations of how Māori whānau operated and my experience within that context made me feel good about being Māori. Being Māori was normal. The urban context however, was quite different. Our whānau was exposed to overt and covert racism, which resulted in me feeling angry towards those who spoke about and treated Māori in derogatory ways.

This situation reflects the 1950's and 60's when Māori were struggling being assimilated into Pākehā ways of knowing and doing. The pressure from Pākehā society for Māori to conform to expectations of Pākehā was quite blatantly racist.

¹ People belonging to the place, natives.

While I was young, I did not notice racism, however as an older child I became aware of racist attitudes towards my mother when she was looking for accommodation for the whānau in between the purchase of new whānau homes or looking for employment. She would always get my dad who was Pākehā to speak to real estate agents because they would say that there were no rental properties if she asked. I also became very aware of racist attitudes towards my younger sister who was quite a bit darker than me. I would try and defend her against racist comments, like hori and blackie. The hostile racist attitudes encouraged my mother to look for support from other pan urban Māori individuals and groups. That's how she became involved with the establishment of the pan urban marae and the Māori women's welfare league.

The league² brought Māori women together. They organised activities around the caring and nurturing of whānau.

There were dress making competitions where we all paraded the garments made by our mum and our aunty. There were preserving and baking competitions and big hui where everyone would be dressed in their finest creations. As children, we benefited because our mum would buy new shoes to match the outfits and we modelled the creations on the catwalk. An aspect I did not enjoy was being marched down the aisle of the catholic church on Sundays, in single file so that the whole congregation ood and aahed my mother's skill in dressmaking and organisation. I was the eldest female child and the second oldest of the children, so I did not enjoy the uniformity of dress. Although we wore different colours, the designs would be exactly the same. That aspect along with the strict discipline and manners meant for me that there was little, if any room for what I perceived as my own individuality.

Having eight children, seven of whom were born in seven consecutive years cannot have been easy for my mother. My father worked very long hours working two jobs to support the whānau, so most of the childrearing and whānau life responsibility was undertaken by my mother. She approached life and childrearing in a methodical way.

As far back as I can remember, we had chores and our household ran on routines. We had rosters for everything from setting the table, karakia for kai, washing dishes, making beds, cleaning the silverware, polishing furniture, hanging out washing (even though we had to stand on a chair to reach the clothes line), bathing, polishing school shoes and in fact every aspect of life within the home.

² Māori Women's Welfare League is a national group of Māori women that was formed after the 2nd World War in response to the growing 'urban shift'. Many Māori families were in desperate need of food and shelter and frequently there was no father figure in the urban household.

The adherence to routines and the methodological way those routines were approached reflects the influence of the mission schools on my mother's life. The catholic influence was also reflected in other aspects of our life.

We attended the catholic children's camps at the 'Ngā Tau e Waru' Marae in Te Ore Ore, Wairarapa in the school holidays. We frequented the little Catholic Church in Te Ore Ore on Sundays, when we weren't in attendance at the Catholic Church in Upper Hutt where we lived. We attended the catholic primary school in Upper Hutt and the catholic secondary schools in Upper Hutt and Lower Hutt. Two of my sisters attended St. Joseph's Māori Girls School in Greenmeadows, Napier. Priests frequented our homes and we participated fully with the catholic community.

The race issue and the methodoligcal approach to living is identified as an issue. I struggled to come to terms with my Māori heritage and my desire to be my own person. I was not informed enough about issues to be politicised, yet I knew that the racist attitudes I experienced were unjust. I felt anger listening to people talk about Māori in a derogatory manner and was often frustrated that there seemed to be no focus on looking for positive Māori experiences. The murmurings of discontent were sown.

When I married and moved with my husband and my son to live at my husband's turangawaewae in Tūwharetoa, I became involved with kōhanga reo initially, then kura kaupapa Māori and finally, wānanga Māori. These experiences conscientized and politicised me to take an active role in reclaiming Māori ways of knowing and doing. During that time, I became committed to education and sought formal academic qualifications for myself. My adult life commitment to establishing Māori language domains for my children and my whānau taught me that language rights are a political issue and not a linguistic one.

The commitment that was required to contribute to the development of Māori education options for my children and my mokopuna through kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori and wānanga Māori have been both illuminating and disheartening. My personal development during the journey has been significant. What is disheartening is that my children verbalise that they have paid the price for my passion and commitment, effectively eliminating any freedom of choice for them in terms of educational opportunities. While it was difficult establishing Māori language domains for my own children, it seems to be even more difficult developing and maintaining those domains for my mokopuna.

For me, thinking about how to nurture ‘te tuakiri o te tangata’ begins within the womb. As a Māori mother and grandmother, I acknowledge, value and celebrate conception and birthing. I have attended the births of three of my mokopuna. While I did not attend the birth of my second mokopuna, I arrived the night after she was born and spent the first couple of days with her. I delivered our fourth mokopuna with the support and guidance of a mid-wife in our whānau home within Tuwharetoa. I have made a commitment to only speak Māori to all my mokopuna. It saddens me to know that my own children who have experienced kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori refuse to speak Māori to our mokopuna. The sadness reaches greater depths to when my oldest mokopuna who is five and attending a mainstream kura say that she does not understand what I am saying when I interact with her.

I have always spoken Māori to this mokopuna and she perceived it as normal until she started school in late August 2004. Her exposure to the widespread use and acceptance of the English language as dominant and superior has had a negative impact on her willingness to continue to accept Māori language as a language for intimate dialogue.

My experience with personnel working in senior positions at the school my mokopuna attends has not been positive. Even though 60% of the children at the school are Māori, it is like stepping back in time where cultures collided. Policies and practise reflect ingrained Pākehā values and beliefs. It greatly upsets me that my mokopuna is rejecting Māori language and culturally preferred ways of knowing and doing as inferior because of her experiences at the school. My concern is that the school policies and practices are institutionally racist. A bigger concern for me

is that the personnel at the school are not able to identify that the policies and practices are racist. Where to from here is the big question.

The energy required to challenge and shift attitudes and beliefs of people who have enjoyed power and control over others for long periods of time is huge and unrelenting. In order to challenge racist, oppressive policies and practices, the challengers need to be conscientised into political action. The process is a struggle which requires huge amounts of energy and commitment. Personal lives are put on hold during the process. The journey pursuing emancipation from oppressive policies and practice is all consuming. It becomes a lifetime commitment. My concern is that my children may choose an option that frees them from the responsibility and commitment of fighting for a socially just society. The second generation members have witnessed the struggle of their parents in pioneering the development of Māori education initiatives. Their perceptions of how those experiences impacted on them will influence decisions they make about education in the future.

Second Generation Perspectives

These are the actual parents of children here and now. It's interesting how 2A reaches across generations to reach for meanings.

When I was really little, about two years old, my koro used to look after me while my mum and dad worked. He used to take me around in his Morris 1100 car. He would buy me ice-creams and stuff and then he would leave me in the car while he went into a meeting or tangi at the different marae. I remember one day, when I took off with my dog, he was driving all around Hatepe in his car looking for me. He was still looking for me when mum and dad got home from work. I think it was then, that they decided to put me into childcare. My koro complained profusely, but he was a korōua and had lots of political stuff to do, so he couldn't really manage looking after me as well.

2A comments on how those close to her attempted to politicize her about ancestral land issues at a young age.

I remember that issues to do with the land (our turangawaewae) were always contentious. My dad and his brothers, and more his sisters, were always arguing about the land. I could never understand why my dad tried to conscientise me about the issue to do with land so early in my life. I loved all my aunties and uncles and I didn't want to hear about their conflict. When I was only two years old, my grandfather took me to a land meeting and gifted shares in the land to me. It was a ceremonial gesture, because he said that it was history repeating itself. He was gifted land by his grandparents at the age of two years, so the event was very historical and significant to him. Perhaps, that's why my dad tried to talk to me about the land when I was young. I thought it was wrong and I was not receptive to listening.

The rights and responsibilities for shared guardianship of ancestral land cannot be denied indefinitely. The ancestral land in question is leased out to tenants providing the shareholders with an ongoing financial resource. A percentage of the financial resourcing is invested in education. Shareholders can apply for education scholarships to further education on a yearly basis. Shareholders need to make themselves available to undertake managerial and administrative tasks related to managing and maintaining the land as a resource. While issues to do with the land are significant in 2A's reflections about her childhood, she also spoke about her perceptions of her whānau experiences in the following way:

I was brought up at Hatepe where all my cousins and I grew up together. Hatepe is my turangawaewae, and as children we had freedom within that environment. There were no identified dangers which meant that the environment was our playground. My whānau wasn't just my parents, it was my aunties and uncles and all my cousins, especially aunty Maria and uncle Mark. As children, we stayed over at my aunty's place a lot, and it was never a big deal. We all went to the same country school, so my aunties and uncles could pick me up and drop me off while Mum was at kōhanga reo. Responsibilities in terms of childrearing were shared. At every house in Hatepe, we had jobs to do, so everyone contributed to communal living. Anywhere we went, we had to contribute by washing and drying dishes and cleaning up if we ate there. We were part of a rural community.

When reflecting on how her whānau and childhood experiences influenced her own childrearing practices, she commented.

For my tamariki, I want my partner and my wider whānau to support us in doing the best job we possibly can in terms of childrearing. My partner's Tuhoe whānau speak Māori as their first language and my whānau have spent most of my life learning to speak Māori as a second language. It would be great if my tamariki spoke Māori and could understand and practice Māori cultural ways.

While 2A's reflections indicate that she values the Māori language and culture, she does not comment on her contribution to the commitment and responsibility this would require. The non-committal attitude is interesting because it indicates that while she has not made a personal commitment towards initiating Māori language domains, there is still a desire to benefit from them.

2B is a native speaker of Māori and has strong opinions about how language operated within the whānau. What is important about his view is that it is an outsider view to the whānau. He doesn't readily volunteer his opinion within the whānau, so his contribution is precious. He focuses on the centrality of the marae and the traditional demands on the whānau. His storying reflects the extremities in which he grew up.

My dad's whānau are from Hahuru Marae at Onepu and they were all strong in te reo Māori. We spent on average, every second weekend with my dad's whānau. The language of communication was Māori. Everyone spoke to us in Māori. We did a lot of mahi kai. It was like in the days, the life there. The people there still provided for their pa, their iwi and their whānau collectively. Eeling, fishing, diving and rugby league were all part of our everyday activities. I spent a lot of time with my elders and cousins there. Mahi kai and providing for whānau is a big part of life for my dad's whānau. We were taught tikanga regarding why we needed particular kai, what it was for, and how it should be gathered and processed. We were also taught the right times to gather kai. The moon was the calendar that the whānau went by. We were taught by elders and parents, especially my dad, both formally and informally. Kōrero was based around respect for the land, the moana and the kai that the moana and the land provided. We were taught to be resourceful, to not waste kai because it was there to replenish. My dad's whānau went to great lengths to ensure that we all understood how kai sources could be depleted if people took more than they needed. We were taught to take just enough to feed the whānau.

The narrative speaks of a strong sense of responsibility for conserving the natural resources while still providing for whānau. The snapshot into the whānau living at Onepu is almost like stepping back in time where industrialization, commercialism and independence and individuality did not exist. He spoke about non specific gender roles within childrearing stating:

Dad's whānau were really loving and caring towards their moko. They never raised voices to tamariki or anyone else. The elders had a lot to do with the babies and the kids. The tamariki and women were always fed first. The men only ate what was left. All adults had a responsibility for all kids on the marae. Tamariki were involved in everything, and there was no distinction between whose children were whose. The boys were taught from a young age the responsibility for providing for whānau, in terms of employment, kai and other mahi. The girls did the same work as boys in terms of mahi maara, mahi kai, however, they weren't expected to work as hard in terms of manual work, eg cutting firewood. The main role of the girls was linked to gathering and preparing kai. Everyone did the work in the kāinga. It was not considered just a female responsibility. The hahi at Hahuru was Ringatu and Ratana which underpinned the way everything was approached.

2B spoke about his internal conflict with different whānau values and beliefs.

I lived in a suburban setting where my grandparents on my mother's side tried to influence us towards their Mormon beliefs. I always found it difficult, because I preferred the Māori ways and I became very antagonistic towards what I perceived as Pākehā ways. I was angry a lot in my suburban setting, and vented my anger towards even my grandparents for trying to assimilate me into their hahi ways when they knew that I believed in Ringatu and Ratana ways. In that way, I lived two completely different lives. I always preferred the Māori ways. I spoke Māori right up until I started intermediate school when I stopped going back to Kawerau. That was when my father stopped going home. My grandfather on my mother's side was hard and from my perspective, he treated me badly. He was unpleasant to be around. He was just a mean old man and I didn't have a lot of time for him.

2B reflected on his childhood and analysed what he wanted for his children saying:

I want my tamariki to know my Tuhoe side. I want my tamariki to experience what I experienced as a child. I am proud to say that I am from Tuhoe, and I want them to feel the same way. Everything that I saw as good, I want to keep for them to experience and everything that I saw as bad, I want to bury. Education was something that I didn't have value for. I left school at the end of third form and went to work doing a man's job when I was only fourteen years old. I worked in a mill for eighteen months and then I went to work in the bush when I was sixteen. I have been there for ten years. The money is good, but I hate the work. I wish I had other career pathways. As soon as Pinny is stable in her profession, I will look at retraining.

2B's reflections indicate that he has been receptive to embracing values that will promote benefits for his children and his whānau. He is philosophical about eliminating any experiences that he perceives as negative for his own children and reliving what he reflects as being positive. He is also receptive to accepting support with childrearing from those who are genuinely concerned about the welfare of the mokopuna.

2C provides thought provoking comments about what he considers to be important in terms of whānau and childrearing. He has strong Christian beliefs and can see the value in being part of an extended whānau. He identified that:

The child benefits from being part of extended whānau because they are exposed to expansive knowledge of whakapapa and various perspectives on tikanga as it is applied in everyday life.

2C has lived away from the case study whānau for some years now and is in the process of moving home. The isolation from whānau and the practical barriers the isolation created in terms of whānau participation in the lives of mokopuna have been identified as reasons for wanting to shift home. 2C commented that he perceived that the extended whānau had in a role in childrearing:

....teaching, reaffirming, reassuring, discipline, providing for taha tinana, taha whānau, taha wairua, taha hinengaro, taha kakahu, taha ice cream and lollies), quality time, giving parents time out, teaching parents, helping parents to establish boundaries.

His comments reflect that he acknowledges the benefits of whānau and shared childrearing, while he also alludes to indulgent kai practices that he does not

encourage. When asked how he thought the whānau should address different points of view or any perceived tension arising from differing points of view, he replied:

There is likely to be a certain level of confrontation depending on whether or not the parties involved have strong convictions about their values etc. However, parents should conduct themselves with humility and with an attitude of submission to their parents and kaumātua as these issues are worked through. Mostly, it is easier not to discuss such issues and avoid conflict concerning childrearing, however, this may either develop tensions between parties or exclude parties from more meaningful involvement with the child or lead to parties undermining each other's kaupapa when dealing with the child.

While 2C doesn't suggest how conflict or tension caused through differing points of view can be addressed, he does make the following comments:

He Waka Eke Noa

E hara na tētahi noa iho te kawenga nei, ara te whakatipuranga o te mokopuna. Ēngari, na te whānau katoa. Otira, mena ka hoe tētahi ki te raki, ka hoe tētahi atu ki te tonga, ka hoe tētahi atu ki tai Ka takahurihuri, ka poraru haere, ā ka ngaro haere te waka (ara te tamaiti). Na te mea, ma te whakakitenga (watea) ka ora.

Perhaps 2C's decision to be closer to his kinship whānau indicates that he is now prepared to address the dynamics required to work towards developing shared understandings in terms of whānau and childrearing.

2D does not yet have any children of her own, but contributes to the childrearing of her nieces. When reflecting on her own childhood, she has brought forward the issues about the significance of the land and the ongoing conflict around it.

Dad's whānau fight all the time over the land and who's going to be boss, so we are determined to not let that happen to our generation. The land and making decisions about it shouldn't interfere with whānau and

how they get on. We all lived at each others houses and played together all the time and could swim whenever we wanted to and play tennis whenever we wanted. We stayed with aunty Maria a lot because mum was always at meetings at kōhanga reo.

The Māori language is part of her childrearing reflections which she describes in the following way:

.....kōhanga reo was choice then. The kōhanga whānau were choice. I still remember Kui Miria as being our teacher in the little office at the kōhanga reo. Whaea Ivy, whaea Karina, whaea Chrissy, whaea Erana and mum were all our teachers. It's different now because there is not the same commitment to Māori language regeneration. While the kura went through a difficult period, it is awesome now. Since there are more pouako, all the tamariki speak Māori, even in the playground and the whānau don't seem to be causing trouble all the time like they were before. I would love to work in the kura as a pouako.

2D has developed close relationships with her nieces and reflects on those relationships in the following way:

I love having Shaniah and Piata and am happy to help out any time I can. Piata enjoys staying with me and so we have had some quality time together.

Conflict, or tension arising from differing perspectives does not seem to be an issue with 2D.

It used to be a big issue if we had differing views on things, but somehow, that seems to have disappeared. Pinny doesn't mind if we do things differently as long as the babies' health and safety is not compromised. I think that she realizes now that the babies can adapt to people's different ways and still be secure. Shaniah's school work books are a testament to her success and achievement and the support she receives at home. I am so proud of her.

2E is the youngest female member of the generation. Her reflections are poignant. They indicate that if you don't get the relationships right, there are so many issues that can't be addressed. In her childhood 2E reflects unhappy memories.

When I was born, my mum was already involved in kōhanga reo, so we went to kōhanga every day. I wasn't happy there without my mum, so I cried a lot when I couldn't see her. Those memories still haunt me so I must have been unhappy for whatever reason. I think I was allergic to rules. I had a strong will and used to annoy dad when I cried incessantly. My dad and I didn't really get on when I was little. Perhaps, we both have very strong wills. Anyway, we seemed to be working against each other. I don't remember him being loving towards me.

Obviously 2E's relationship with her dad is an issue that continues to impact on her in her young adult life. Despite the relationship with her dad, 2E does reflect on memorable times with whānau. She stated:

Whānau to me means my mum's whānau, and my dad's kinship extended whānau. I also consider all those I have close relationships with whānau. I remember going to all the birthdays at our marae in Hatepe. I remember hanging out with all the cousins at night time and having a fire down at the lake. I used to pick flowers and sell them from a makeshift stall outside our house to the Pākehā residents to make spending money.

2E's relationships with her extended whānau are recalled with happy memories. She reflects on her lived experience of Māori education initiatives counteracting the Māori language emphasis. I am undermined for my commitment to the regeneration of Māori language.

Our pouako at the kura were cool. They were all our aunties and we called them whaea. My days at the kura were enjoyable. When we reached wharekura, there were problems because there were not the resources to ensure that we had a quality education. There weren't teachers for every subject, so we had to access video link which sucked. Most of the time, things seemed terribly disorganized and there seemed

to be a lot of conflict within whānau. I wish there was a bigger subject choice and more ‘on to it’ teachers.

2E commented on her view of education stating:

I think that education is important. Without education, you can’t get far in life. I think that my nieces should go to an English speaking big school so that they become socialized into the wider world. That way, opportunities will open up for them. I will assist in any I can to help them reach their potential in life. I will also try and help out my whānau whenever they ask. Whānau is the most important thing in the world to me.

There is a perception that 2E has been disadvantaged because of her education experiences that focused on the Māori language as the language of instruction and communication to the detriment of the English language. It is a well known fact that those who are bilingual and bicultural are advantaged over those who are monolingual and monocultural. Perhaps it becomes too convenient to blame a lack of motivation to succeed in education on Māori educational initiatives.

2F also has poignant reflections about his experiences in Māori education. He also reflects on his younger years and recognises his own indulgence as a pampered child.

I was the youngest of five children and so I was rather pampered as a baby. I attended kōhanga reo with my mum and my two sisters from the time I was born, so you could say that I was around the kaupapa since my conception.

He is the political conscience of society undermining my commitment to Māori education initiatives in a blatant and unrelenting manner.

I had some mates at kōhanga reo who were my age. We spent a lot of time together and we were whānau in every way except blood. I also had lots of cousins at home in Hatepe and we all hung out together. I graduated from kōhanga reo and went on to kura with my sisters. My experience at the kura has not been that great. I did not have great

teachers in the infant years, so I missed out on the basics in literacy and numeracy and spent years trying to catch up. The teachers I was exposed to in wharekura were not professional. Teachers should have been at kura by half past eight to start kura at nine o'clock. If people were not there on time, including teachers, there should have been consequences. Instead, the teachers were the ones who were late. They would often not arrive until 9.30am and think nothing of it. That was the sort of modelling I was exposed to. Their job should have been to model the best behaviour and motivate us to reach our potential in life. The kura should have prepared me for the real world where the English language dominates.

2F does not understand the imperialist vice like grip the English language has on culture. It is all penetrating. Māori education initiatives fully comprehend the issues and have made a conscious well informed decision to not let the the English language and culture dominate in Māori education initiatives. This conscious decision allows Māori the time and space they need to develop their own cultural perspectives.

2F comments on his perspective of his role in childrearing in the following way:

I'm the one who plays with my nieces. I play with Shaniah all the time. I'm better for short periods of time. I really miss my nieces when I don't see them, but I also get hoha quickly. It annoys me when they make such a mess at home and I have to clean it up. I am good at playing the role of uncle who spends short periods of quality time with them. I can do that well. I wish we saw more of Tali and Te Kakara. Because of their parents' commitment to their church community, our relationships are compromised. I actually think they are more committed to their church community than they are to us.

Summary

The whānau stories reveal aspects about the diversity and intricacy of lived childhood and childrearing experiences that the individual case study intergenerational whānau members perceive as important. What has been emancipatory about the stories as narrative is that each whānau member has been supported in telling their own stories. The experiences of the case study whānau and the reflection and theorising of those

experiences, has encouraged each whānau member to think about and articulate why they have highlighted certain aspects of childrearing as important.

Chapter five will discuss and analyse issues about intergenerational relationships of whānau that have been highlighted in the case study whānau stories.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

Overview

As an overview this chapter will focus on issues which surround various intergenerational values and beliefs about whānau and childrearing. Attitudes to ancestral land are explored as being integral to whānau values and concerns that have to be negotiated by members as rights, roles and responsibilities. Socio cultural theoretical frameworks which are interpreted using the Māori metaphor of ‘Te Pāharakeke’, form part of the analytical study of whānau and childrearing and the influence of those approaches on learning and development within the Māori family as perceived by the case study participants. Issues of whānau organisation and discipline will be addressed. The importance and centrality of cultural behaviours are issues of discussion along with the way Māori language is core to Māori identity and the education of the whānau. Nurturing the whānau is the central theme of tikanga – the Māori cultural practices that are adopted in their childrearing processes and practices.

Introduction

After researching into the context of four generations of one whānau, what did I learn from the data I gathered? As an ‘insider’ within the study, I shared in the reconstruction of the whānau where we tried to discuss values, practices and understandings that each thought was important to being part of our whānau. The lens of the study became a shared one and I was able to perceive greater insights into the many perspectives of the lived experiences of whānau members. My own views have changed considerably because of the study and I have been surprised at the diversity and intricacy of the relationships that exist within our whānau. I have been challenged by their thinking and surprised by the depth of emotion that each has expressed as they volunteered their ideas about childrearing and the influence of

whānau on the way children are taught. In this chapter the task is to produce the findings of the study and in doing so, to evaluate those findings through an engagement with the theories and points raised in the literature and the interview data in my research methodology.

Intergenerational Whānau Values and Beliefs

It is clear that whānau members, in reflecting on their own childhood, have a general acceptance of the notion of the intergenerational whānau model. However, a more indepth analysis of the data did expose contentious issues related to intergenerational values and beliefs about what is important when approaching whānau and childrearing. There were also issues about the status of whānau and anxiety about whānau values, the quality of the care, being supportive, how whānau could be more helpful to each other regardless of blood ties¹. The care ethic was a core value referred to in the data. The reference to ‘outsiders’² within the whānau was an issue and was explained as those members who were not of the direct line of descent but were taken in and accepted as whānau because they needed care and support at the time.

Through this discussion it is possible to hear the antithesis to the notion of kinship which is an anthropological definition which explains the rights of common ancestry in societal structures. In such a definition, kinship whānau would exclude anyone who did not have whakapapa links to common ancestors³. An anthropological definition is not useful for this case study because it is limiting. The intergenerational case study whānau is better represented by the pāharakeke whānau model. The pāharakeke whānau model is a metaphoric reference to whānau which defines a

¹ See thesis data entry page 69.

² Those needing care and support who were not kinship whānau.

³ Buck (1950) and Metge (1995) are notable anthropologists who write extensively on ancestral history of the Māori.

diversity of ‘non-traditional’ set of circumstances where Māori with similar interests and shared goals, but not necessarily whakapapa ties form a cohesive group⁴.

Signifying Features of Ancestral Land

The ties between childrearing and concerns for ancestral land, is a quantum leap in any research process, but, in my case study, it was an underlying issue for members in my intergenerational whanāu study. Some spoke of whanāu values as including the care for/of ancestral land and how they worried about protecting the resource base for future generations⁵. Guardianship over ancestral land was an issue and young children were encouraged to begin thinking about their roles in caring for the land. There was a concern expressed about how more ancestral land could be saved from alienation through intermarriage and how spouses should not be able to inherit whanāu land.

In terms of whanāu, hapū, iwi and whenua, the significance of whakapapa is exemplified⁶. From a Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Te Rangiita viewpoint, the significance of the land through whakapapa is a whānau value that has been passed on to case study member 3B, to ensure that what is left of his whānau ancestral land is not alienated through indirect succession⁷. His commitment to and obsession with the land reflects his understanding of the spirituality of the land and his connection with that spirituality as tangata whenua⁸. The influence of the land has created a dichotomy where signifying features transition between divisive and unifying.

From the interviews I got a strong sense of how the history of the land unified the descendants with their past ancestors as if they still lived. They carried a heavy

⁴ Durie, in Te Whaiti et al (1997) and Metge (1995) write about models of whānau who are not necessarily linked by whakapapa.

⁵ See thesis data entry page 74.

⁶ Buck (1950) discusses the significance of whakapapa and land inheritance in some depth.

⁷ See thesis data entry page 74.

⁸ Walker (1986) writes of tangata whenua and their connections with land. In his 1990 work he gives a history of the land including who lived there, who died there, whose blood was spilled there, who was born and buried. He argues that the histories of the land cannot be obliterated.

burden of guilt that they might not be able to live up to the expectations of the ancestors, yet they shared the same expectations of the future generations to carry on the legacies of the whānau – to keep histories alive. Any hint or danger of further alienation and or fragmentation of the land acted as a unifying motivator as it kept the faith with past ancestors and protected the legacy of the future. Part of the childrearing process had to be about teaching children about ancestral obligations and how their identity is linked to the tradition of an ancestral whānau and their duty to protect the land legacy. Guardianship and maintenance of the land as a resource, was therefore of prime concern to the whānau. The land in question provides a significant economic resource to the shareholders⁹.

In my opinion, the western perspective of land and its commodification and economic potential intensify the debate. Fear of losing the land through alienation of direct succession and/or government policy is intensified because of the current situation where there is not enough ancestral land to accommodate all descendants. Thousands of shareholders in multiple owned lands are left arguing over who will benefit from the resource. While second generation members in the intergenerational whānau understood the significance of the land¹⁰, they expressed a desire for change in the power dynamics. They were dissatisfied with the way decisions were made about Māori land matters and fears of alienation of land. They would rather relinquish their responsibility to land in favour of nurturing good relationships with their extended whānau¹¹. The irony of the situation is that this situation could eventuate because of second generation anxieties over the volatile relationships between whānau when dealing with issues to do with the land. Waru (1987) argued that in pre colonial times, Māori fought and were prepared to die for land, women and utu. While an element of these values for and belief in land is evident in the third generation of the case study whānau, it is being challenged by second generation members, who hate the fighting over land. This factor has significance for childrearing because second

⁹ Descendants through whakapapa.

¹⁰ See thesis data entry page 79 & 84.

¹¹ Comments expressed by member of second generation in case study.

generation members are the parents of today's children. They will influence the future generation.

Te Pāharakeke and Socio-cultural Theory

Bronfenbrenner's (1986) socio-cultural theory which promoted Vygotsky's (1987) ideas of the importance of the interactions that occur between the people surrounding a child and the child itself is useful here in analysing how children are influenced by the whānau dynamics around them. I see danger in whānau attempts where one generation tries to teach first generation members their rights and responsibilities in relation to ancestral land, but who are then undermined by another generation dismissing the kōrero as insignificant. Pitting one generation against another in continual struggle over contentious issues to do with the land will result in all round loss of the assets and the disbanding of the whānau unit.

Te Tuakiri o te Tangata

Socio cultural theory aligns well with kaupapa Māori understanding of how the transmission of spiritual elements can impact positively or negatively on the spiritual characteristics of human personality¹² because it focuses on how the quality of interactions that occur between people, impact and influence their development. Informants to the study highlighted the nature of interactions between other people, places and things in the past, present and future as significant determinants in the development of positive and/or negative relationships¹³. One second generation whānau member spoke about feelings of rejection from a very young age. All informants to the study spoke about the importance of developing positive relationships with mokopuna¹⁴.

¹² For more information about the spirit qualities, refer to writings of Nepe (1991) & Mataira (1997; 2000).

¹³ See thesis data entries pages 69, 70, 71, 74, 75, 77, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86 & 87.

¹⁴ First generation case study members.

I think that whānau members need to focus more on how they interact with and treat each other. Tangaere in Te Whaiti et al (1997) refers to relationships using tuakana/teina to explain how scaffolding learning occurs within a Māori cultural context where the tuakana supports and assists the teina. If we consider that the fourth, third and second generation members are tuakana and the first generation are teina, the tuakana are modelling for the teina and teaching them how to speak to and treat each other. These humanistic qualities were devalued by one third generation whānau member¹⁵ who relegated them as insignificant when prioritising his values and beliefs about how to approach whānau and childrearing. I think that if we get to a point where the humanistic elements of life are ignored, the capacity of whānau to operate in a functional manner is at risk.

Manaakihia te Pāharakeke

Childrearing and meeting whānau needs were symbiotic elements which were central to the case study. These elements spoke of the care, support and guidance ethic was raised as being critical to whānau ethics¹⁶. Meeting whānau needs alluded to help with childrearing. Such help required that ‘other’ whānau members ought to instantly help without needing to be asked. The help was a taken-for-granted assumption of care, support and guidance being readily available. Writers like Metge (1995) spend time describing the characteristics of the Māori whānau and how they socially organise themselves to meet their everyday needs. Māori writers like Smith (1994), and publications from Te Kōhanga Reo (1990), make statements about the importance of the whānau ethic of ‘manaakitanga’ – an element of reciprocity of care and nurturing. Such a notion of ‘reciprocity of benefit’ where all intergenerational whānau members can benefit from a support infrastructure where everyone contributed mutually to meeting the needs of the whānau, was inherent in the data volunteered from the case study participants.

¹⁵ See thesis data entry page 74.

¹⁶ See thesis data entry page 69; 71;72;77.

Pere (1994; 1997), argues that the elements of care, support and guidance, are about ‘whanaungatanga’. To ensure the elements functioned cohesively she argued that a commitment to ‘aroha’ was vital to the practices of whanaungatanga. According to Pere (1994; 1997), aroha, loyalty, obligation and commitment contributed to a support infrastructure for kinship whānau. While it has already been established that the intergenerational case study whānau goes beyond the anthropological definition of ‘kinship whānau’, the argument is that these qualities of care, support and guidance are still relevant to our understanding of the metaphoric whānau.

In line with Pere’s (1994, 1997) discussions the arrangements that exist within the Ngāti Hika intergenerational whānau reflect a societal organisation where all tasks related to the collective sustenance and wellbeing of the whānau are perceived as being gender neutral. A second generation informant also spoke about his Tūhoe whānau in the same way. Other mythical¹⁷, metaphoric¹⁸ and narrative¹⁹ references to whānau highlight the significance of the role of women as nurturers and leaders within whānau. The metaphoric nature of the Māori language²⁰ signals the importance of the role of women within whānau where it is not unusual to see women in leading roles in terms of whānau and childrearing. The values of nurturing, caring, manaakitanga, whanaungatanga, aroha, wairua and organising whānau are central to the way women operate within the whānau context.

Organising the Home around the Disciplining of Whānau

In her comments about the influence of regimental structures of catholic boarding schools on her values and beliefs about routine and organising the home and whānau²¹, 4A gave indications of her anxiety that traditional whānau values were being lost in favour of more indulgent childrearing practices. She expressed a fear

¹⁷ Refer to cosmological reference to the female element in Walker (1989); Mikaere (1994); Yates-Smith (1998) and Kahukiwa (1984).

¹⁸ Refer to ngā mōteatea Part i, ii & iii in Ngata (1949, 1961, 1970).

¹⁹ Refer to writings of Ballara (1993); Jenkins (1986); Mikaere (1994) and Yates-Smith (1998).

²⁰ Refer to Buck’s (1950) anthropological writings about whānau, hapu and iwi.

²¹ See thesis data entry page 70.

based on her observations and knowledge over the last years, that whānau no longer kept the kind of order, routine and control²² that was necessary to effectively lead and organise whānau in a functional way. While she speaks of ‘order and control’ she is not referring to a Spartan or authoritarian regime of tough discipline. On the contrary, she herself recalls that she does not remember being disciplined as a young child²³. A second generation member spoke about the problem of too much discipline²⁴ and the negative consequences that might have.

Writings of the indulgent childrearing practices of the Māori are sourced to some of the the earliest European observations of whānau and childrearing. The writings record that Māori children were treated with kindness and love²⁵. Keesing (1928) in his anthropological research observed that in order to nurture the desired assertive nature of children, it was important not to break the spirit of the child. Barrington and Beaglehole (1974), focus on politeness, manners and a disciplinarian approach to childrearing as a residue of missionary influence based on Victorian nineteenth century values. It is likely that Māori whānau began to adopt this approach to childrearing because of two factors. Firstly, whānau no longer needed to maintain the aggressive, independent fighting spirit to defend their communities, and secondly, the culminating effects of colonisation meant that whānau were expected to take responsibility to ensure that the behaviour of their children [which in Spoonley’s (2000) view] conformed to western values and beliefs

²² See thesis data entry page 71.

²³ See thesis data entry page 69.

²⁴ See thesis data entry page 82.

²⁵ See Reed (1966), Salmond (1991) and Papakura (1986).

The Influence of Tikanga Māori on Childrearing Practices

Māori writers have theorised²⁶ how Māori cultural contexts can be incorporated into and underpin learning and development for Māori children. All participants made reference to what can be identified as tikanga²⁷. One of them – 4A – had some anxiety about the integration of ‘tikanga’²⁸ into childrearing practices. She felt that the rigour was lacking in the way tikanga was incorporated into modern whanau practices. Some informants recalled how tikanga played a significant role in their own childhood. One informant talked about how difficult it was for her to adhere to any sort of tikanga. On the whole though most informants conceded that tikanga needed to be integrated into Maori childrearing practices.

In my opinion the implementation of tikanga Māori cannot be isolated from te reo Māori, which I see as integral to practising a tikanga Māori approach to childrearing. An anthropological understanding of the place of language within culture is that language is the culture bearing unit. Therefore as language indexes the culture, it is impossible to fully comprehend and therefore implement culture/tikanga without the language because the language signifies and carries cultural meanings. For a long time it has been my concern and commitment that we as whānau must make a concerted effort to using the Māori language. I have not been alone in this belief and practice. Many Māori families led by people of my generation were the founders and teachers of Kōhanga Reo in the 1980s and 90s. We were so passionate in our beliefs of the identifiable links between language and tikanga and were convinced that past schooling practice of teaching only in English cost Māori society three generations of language loss that was identified in the Benton studies of language in the late 1970s.

²⁶ Tangaere in Te Whaiti et al (1997) developed the ‘poutama’ metaphor to explain Māori human development learning theory. Pere (1997) developed an holistic Māori education framework showing how tangible and non tangible phenomena interact with each other to influence learning. Mataira (1997; 2000) is known as the matriarch of kura kaupapa Māori. She has contributed significantly to the guiding philosophy for kura kaupapa Māori called ‘Te Aho Matua’. Her work focuses on the spiritual aspects of learning and development.

²⁷ See thesis data entries pages 69-88.

²⁸ Custom - applying what is right in a given context.

Without a real understanding of the purpose and meaning of the practices of tikanga, the adoption of tikanga processes would simply become an exercise in abstract thought, resulting in limited understanding. The thought of a Māori childrearing process as a social structure void of tikanga is frightening to contemplate, but listening to the criticisms of the second generation in the study [which I discuss shortly] and watching them choose mainstream alternatives so that my mokopuna are not being taught te reo me ōna tikanga as they [my children] were under my guidance and tutelage, is painful for me to accept as an intergenerational participant in our whanau.

I riro Māori atu, me hoki Māori mai

The issue of Māori language was a prominent point raised by most informants in the study²⁹. While there was strong support for the relevance and importance of Māori language, there was no mention of any individual or shared commitment to establish Māori language domains within the home to reverse the shift³⁰ away from Māori language to English. Third³¹ and second generation³² whānau members challenged my commitment to Māori language initiatives because they perceived that the quality of education provided was compromised by my commitment and passion to develop kaupapa Māori education opportunities to re-establish Māori language and culture through intergenerational language and culture transmission.

The reluctance of the second generation intergenerational whānau to make any commitment to re-establishing Māori language domains within the home is of real concern to me because it has huge ramifications for childrearing. As I am a big part of my own case study the future presents a gloomy horizon from the new dawning of hope that the third generation group once held through their dreams and aspirations of

²⁹ See thesis data pages 71, 75, 77, 78, 80, 81, 85, 86, 87.

³⁰ Fishman (1991, 2001) has written profusely about the theory of ‘reversal language shift’. He talks about creating language domains to maximise opportunities for natural intergenerational language transmission.

³¹ See thesis data page 74.

³² See thesis data pages 86 & 87.

Kōhanga Reo. If the second generation whānau members continue with their reluctance to use the Māori language within the home, the regeneration strategies that consumed my young adult life have not been able to be sustained past one generation. It demonstrates how quickly a language can be regained and how quickly it can become a metaphor of paradise lost.

Childrearing and the First Generation

In the intergenerational case study, the first generation do not feature as participants – instead they are the objects of our intergenerational gaze towards the future. I persist with them in using the Māori language as the medium for communication when interacting with them. I chase the illusive horizon and take my mokopuna with me in the hope that they will realise the goals I have for them to be fluent speakers of Māori. I cannot bear to entertain the possibility that faces me of the predicted demise of the Māori language³³.

Māori Education Initiatives

Te manu ka kai i te miro, nōna te ngahere
Te manu ka kai i te matauranga, nōna te ao

This whakatauki refers to the importance of education in the Māori world. Informants to the research identified education as being a dominant feature when reflecting on their own childhood and approaching childrearing in the future³⁴. A fourth generation whānau member referred to Apirana Ngata's whakatauki 'e tipu e rea' to highlight the need to pursue western education while holding on to the Māori

³³ May (1999) argues that half of the world's 6,500 languages are endangered and that Māori language is included in that category. Krauss (1992) argues that some put that figure as high as 90%. Crystal (2000) speculated that all societies could be reduced to one language – English, by 2100AD. Spolsky (1989) says that while Māori language regeneration strategies have substantially increased the number of people who know how to speak Māori, the initiatives have not yet led to the re-establishment of natural intergenerational language transmission.

³⁴ See thesis data entries pages 72, 73, 74, 77, 82, 84, 86 & 87.

cultural values and beliefs³⁵. Second generation whānau members criticised their experiences of kaupapa Māori education because they perceived that my generation – third generation - who pioneered Māori education initiatives within Tūwharetoa, did so at the expense of the quality of content and provision of curriculum subjects that were offered within those initiatives. In our zeal we had prioritised a philosophical ideology of by Māori, for Māori, in Māori but could make no guarantees about quality of staffing and resources to support such radical interventions into Maori education. As pioneers we envisaged more support than we actually got. We survived on hope and the goodwill of whānau who joined us.

During the years of the renaissance of kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori, those initiatives gave Māori people hope to be emancipated from the imperialistic grip the colonisers had on education for Māori. Pioneers of the initiatives gladly seized the opportunity to reclaim Māori ways of knowing and doing³⁶ in the belief that our mission was the flagship of Maori education and that it validated and legitimated Maori teaching and learning. Such was our commitment to the moment, we were in a euphoria of our own making. We were encouraged by the growing numbers of whānau members. As we grew, we went from strength to strength and did not take the time to take stock of our situation or invest resources that would put measures in place to guard us against a rainy day in the movement. The warning coming from the second generation case study members if I am prepared to hear it, is that area of greatest vulnerability in our initiatives were our children themselves. They too were in the struggle, but they were not the power-brokers of the struggle – they were the pawns in the process. They were the ones who were moved from pillar to post, whose education was always at stake. They were the ones who frequently were disadvantaged by lethargic government policies that were slow to support alternative schooling for Māori. When staffing was short, or unscheduled hui were called, classes were disrupted. Most reading and writing materials were unsophisticated and sports resources were limited, so many programmes were restrictive. It is little

³⁵ See thesis data entry page 71.

³⁶ Refer to the writing of Smith (1992); Hohepa, Smith, Smith & McNaughton (1992); Nepe (1991) and Mataira (1997; 2000) to read about the development of kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori.

wonder therefore, that second generation members of the intergenerational whānau study show signs of weariness and have become very tired and battle scarred by the process of alternative schooling. I interpret their reluctance to continue the struggle for the philosophical aspirations of ‘Te Aho Matua’³⁷ and the goals highlighted by Durie (2001)³⁸ towards Māori educational advancement as warning signs that we must heed if we are to retain their confidence, trust and interest in maintaining and promoting the aspirations of the 1980s and 1990s for Māori education alternatives. Should third and fourth generation members fail in these promotions there will be a slide to the abyss for Māori education and knowledge. We must motivate and turn second generation reluctance to active involvement in the struggle otherwise the ramifications for first generation children – our mokopuna – heralds a grave future where Māori cultural ways of knowing and doing will give way to Western epistemologies and practices.

The Pursuit of a Māori Approach to Conducting Research

A perspective on research by Maori, for Maori³⁹ raises the question, ‘is that enough’? I am an informed ‘insider’⁴⁰ researcher participant within this study about intergenerational relationships and childrearing. In terms of the protocols of Waikato University, the ethics committee approved this research process including the process for obtaining participant consent⁴¹. It could be argued that the power and control over the research rests with the university and the ethics committee. I argue that the real power and control is with the participants. The ‘kanohi kitea’⁴² methodological practice constituted the real consent. The fact that participants engaged in dialogue about their perspectives of intergenerational whānau and childrearing demonstrates

³⁷ The guiding philosophy of kura kaupapa Māori.

³⁸ Refer to Durie’s (2001) paper presented to the Māori education forum in Taupo.

³⁹ Bevan-Brown, (1998) writes about research approaches developed by Māori. She states that those approaches have been named by Māori, for Māori underpinning characteristics fundamental to a Māori epistemological viewpoint.

⁴⁰ Mutu (1998) writes about the dangers of allowing uninformed outsiders to control research undertaken by Māori for Māori.

⁴¹ Attached as appendix.

⁴² Refers to kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face) methodological practice.

their willing participation⁴³. There is an element of trust here that I would present their stories in a sensitive manner so that they benefit⁴⁴ from the participation. This context is about whanaungatanga and reciprocity of benefit that Bishop (1996) talks about in his storying as narrative methodological practice.

My research project is written for a Māori audience and is unlikely to benefit or be of interest to non-Māori researchers. The research project has been about convincing the intergenerational whānau of the value of the project for them and implementing approaches to research that reflect Māori preferred ways of knowing and doing while maximising benefits to participants.

⁴³ Refer to Bishop (1996) and his writings on ‘collaborative storying’ using whakawhanaungatanga.

⁴⁴ Bishop (1996); Bevan-Brown (1998); Cunningham (1998); Smith (1992;1999); Walker (1996); There is a general acceptance that kaupapa Māori approaches to research prioritise the importance of justifying the relevance and benefits of research for participants.

CHAPTER SIX CONCLUSION

As a result of the explorations of my case study within four generations of one whānau¹, from the questions I raised, I have gleaned insights into the lived understandings of whānau and childrearing in order to explain the intergenerational values and beliefs. My lead question about the reconstruction of the whānau model found me at the outset of the study searching literature and examining several works including the works of Spoonley in McLennan et al (2000) and Durie in Te Whaiti et al (1997), who found that there was a general move away from the intergenerational whānau model, arguing² that the intergenerational whānau model was a barrier to industrialisation and capitalism because it was underpinned by principles of collectivism and reciprocity. Because of this, they said that it negated western values of competitiveness and individuality. Among the findings of the research project, I contest their argument and find in contrast that far from being an impediment to progress in a capitalist society, that those in the case study find the intergenerational whānau model to be the essence for survival for the concept of whānau and whanaungatanga. When I analyse what all participants had to say about the intergenerational whānau model, their comments indicate how fundamental the model is to shaping their perceptions of the survival and wellbeing of the whānau as a collective unit. Collectivism and reciprocity were essential features of being whānau and not viewed as barriers to their economic survival in the world of work.

Another of my questions was interested in the context of generational studies and how individual and shared roles were perceived. Highlighted within the writings of Koopman-Boyden (1987) and Spoonley in McLennan et al (2000) was the way our government adheres exclusively to the nuclear family model when they develop family policy within Aotearoa/New Zealand society. In my opinion, I conclude that such approaches to family and childrearing subjugate other cultural perspectives as being inferior to the nuclear family model. From my case study I clearly perceive that

¹ Case study whānau.

² Spoonley in McLennan et al (2000) and Durie in Te Whaiti et al (1997),

the participants find the intergenerational whānau model, despite the persistence of government to promote the nuclear family model, to be the preferred mode of family relationships. They referred to the wellbeing of whānau as being at the centre of their being Māori. In exploring the well-being of the whānau, and whether ‘being Māori’ was a factor in the intergenerational model, another key question to the study concerned the tensions that arose as a result of the determination to be Māori in the whole colonising process.

What is inherent in the stories of whānau members in the study was the constant tension they have to mediate in their lived experiences between the western philosophies of individualism and competitiveness and the benefits for individuals³ and the philosophies of collectivism and reciprocity of benefit for all whānau members⁴. Through the relived stories of participants about their perceptions of whānau, hapu and iwi, their values and beliefs about whānau and childrearing were intrinsically linked to the significance and importance of whakapapa, which Buck (1950), Eruera in Salmon (1980), Pere (1994) and Walker (1990) all talk about as being the responsibility of whānau to nurture and teach children about. Most of the research participants, in particular, 4A, 3A and 2B focused on how they have pursued those intergenerational values and beliefs and how whakapapa was integral to their cultural identity. Linked to such identity was the place and importance of language which Buck (1950), describes as having a metaphoric nature. He explains that the Māori language exists within the cultural context of traditional Māori whānau units. I conclude from this that cognisance of the metaphors about language, requires educators and responsible whānau members to make a conscious effort to promote the metaphors about language such as ‘Ka ngaro reoreo tangata, Ko taatarakihi anake e kiikii mai⁵’.

³ Particularly prominent with second generation whānau members.

⁴ The fourth and third generation members are philosophical and very articulate about their values and beliefs related to the collective wellbeing of the whānau as a unit and the intergenerational transmission of that knowledge.

⁵ A metaphor implemented as a prominent Kōhanga Reo philosophy meaning ‘if the voices of people die out/are lost, then only the cicadas will be left to speak for us’

Historically the concept of whānau has survived because of its resilience to be able to keep up with change. While I believe that change and transformation will occur to reflect the values and beliefs which second generation members within my case study expressed in terms of the waning relevance of Maori language⁶, third and fourth generation whānau members need to lead with integrity and work to find ways to convince whānau of the philosophical and practical importance of accepting and passing on intergenerational whānau knowledge. I believe that the key to the strengthening and maintenance of the intergenerational model is through developing and promoting respectful, responsive and reciprocal relationships with whānau members underpinned by tikanga.

Strong Māori whānau and childrearing practices of the past continue to be a legacy to us of the present and I believe, we have to embody and evolve those traditional philosophical hopes and aspirations to live by as whānau today and for our mokopuna and generations of mokopuna in the future:

Kia tū pakari, tu rangatira ia hei raukura mo tōna whānau, tōna hapū, tōna iwi

Through such childrearing practices the intergenerational whānau model will continue to offer a robust structure of socialisation for the Māori family of the future.

⁶ This generation are the parents of today's children.

Glossary

āhuatanga	likeness
ako	teach and/or learn
ana	a particle denoting continuance of action
ao	world
ao hurihuri	contemporary world
ao marama	world of light
Aotearoa	Land of the Long White Cloud, New Zealand
aroa	unconditional love derived from the presence and breath of the Godhead
ara	pathway
auahatanga	creativity
e ai ki te Pākeha	according to Pākeha
eke	reach
kōhanga Reo	language nest
ha, tāonga tuku iho	breath, treasures that have been passed down
haere mai	welcome
hakari	gift, including food or entertainment
hapū	sub-tribe
harakeke	flax
hinengaro	the female who is known and also hidden - mind
Hine nui te po	guardian of people in the afterworld
hoe	row
hua	benefits
hui	congregate
hui taumata	summit conference
hurihuri	changing
ia	him/her
ihi	power/authority
iho matua	umbilical cord
Ingarihi	English
iwi	tribe, people
kai	food
kāinga	home
kaimoana	sea food
kaitiaki	guardian
ake	ascend
kanohi kitea	face to face or physical presence
karakia	prayer, incantation
karanga	ceremonial call
karu	eye
kaumātua	elder
kaupapa	philosophy
kaupapa here	policy
kaupapa Māori	Māori philosophy
kawai rangatira	lineage of chiefs

kawanatanga	government
kere	float
kōhanga reo	language nest
kōrero	talk
kōrero tāwhito	stories of old
koroingo	function held to welcome a newly born infant of rank
korōua	elderly (male)
kōrua	you (two people)
kūia	elder (female)
kunenga	conception
kupu	word
kura	school
kura kaupapa Māori	kaupapa Māori immersion schools
mahi a Rongo	peaceful pursuits eg arts and crafts
Māhuika	grandmother of Māui
maioha	greet affectionately
mana	psychic force
manuhiri	visitor
marae	formal Māori gathering place
mātou	our
matua	father
mātauranga	education
mātua	parents
matatautanga	knowledgeable/fluency
Māui	mystical character in Māori stories
mauri	life principle
mirimiri	massage
mokopuna	grandchild
mōteatea	lament
na	from
naianeī	now
nau mai	welcome
ngā	some (plural)
ngā hau e wha	the four winds
ngākau	heart
ngeru	cat
noa	ordinary, neutral, free from restriction
ohaoha	economics, including domestic affairs
ora	well in health
oriori	lullaby
pā	traditional fortified site
pāharakeke	flax bush
pākēhā	non-Māori New Zealanders
pakeke	adult
pakiwaitara	folk lore
Papatūānuku	mother earth
patapatai	question

pepeha	figure of speech
piki	lift
pumanawa	talent/s
pūrakau	ancient stories
pūtake	essence
rangahau	research
rangatiratanga	leadership
Ranginui	Sky Father
raupatu	colonisation
raraunga	statistics
rito	centre shoot of heart of plant (eg flax)
romiromi	press, squeeze
taha tinana	physical dimension
taha wairua	spiritual dimension
takahi	trample, stamp
tamariki	children
tāne	male
tangata mauri	talisman of human well being - politics
tangihanga	funeral rites, ceremonial mourning
tāonga	treasure
tapu	sacredness
tau	year/s
taumata	summit
tautohetohe	protest
tawhito	old
te	the
te aho matua	guiding philosophy
Te Aorangi	the universe
teina	younger sibling, child or less expert other
te ira tangata	seed of life
te ra	the sun
te reo	the language
tīkanga	custom – applying what is right in a given context
timatanga	beginning
tino	emphasiser
tino rangatiratanga	self-determination, autonomy
tiriti	treaty
tirohanga atu	view
tō	your
tohi	ceremony performed over newborn infant
toi	art
tōna	his/her
toto	blood
tuakana	older sibling, child or more expert other
tupuna	ancestor
tūpuna	ancestor (plural)
turangawaewae	place of origin – a place to stand as of right

tuwatawata	barrier
wahine	woman
wāhine	women
waiata	song
wairua	door to the heart
waiwai	watery
wehi	fear
whakairo	carving
whakaahua	shaping/presenting
whakamua	forward
whakapapa	geneology
whakataki	abstract
whakatauakī	proverbial saying according to someone
whakatauki	proverbial saying
whakatipuranga	descendants
wharekura	a building or areas in which the learned impart
knowledge	
whatumanawa	deepest seat of emotions
whakawhanaungatanga	relationship building
whānau	family (including extended)
whānauhanga	birth
whanaunga	relation
whanaungatanga	relationship
whare tāngata	womb (the house of people)
whare wānanga	school of learning
whenua	land

UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO SCHOOL OF EDUCATION ETHICS
COMMITTEE

Participant's Consent Form

I

Hereby consent to be a participant in a human research study to be undertaken by **Colleen Morehu** and I understand that the purposes of the research are:

1. To explore how the re-construction of the whānau through colonization of Māori society can be perceived with the experiences of the case study of four generations of one whānau?
2. To investigate the understandings regarding the individual and shared roles of whānau members in terms of childrearing within the context of our four generation whānau?
3. To explore what, if any, tensions arise during this process including how we, as whānau, process those tensions?

I acknowledge:

1. That the aims, methods and anticipated benefits and possible risks/hazards of the research study have been explained to me.
2. That I voluntarily and freely give my consent to my participation in such research study.
3. That it has been explained to me that the results of this study will be used for research purposes.
4. That my stories will not be released to any person except at my request and on my authorisation.
5. That I am free to withdraw my consent at any time during the study, in which event my participation in the research study will immediately cease and any information obtained from me will not be used.

Signature _____

Date _____

UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO SCHOOL OF EDUCATION ETHICS COMMITTEE

Plain Language Statement of Understanding

Tēnā ra tātou katoa e te whānau.

*'ano te pai, ano te āhukatanga reka o te nohongatahi o teina me ngā tuakana i runga
ano i te whakaaro kotahi'*

He mihi nui tēnei ki a koutou i runga ano i ngā āhukatanga o te wa. E tika ana kia whakamohio atu kia koutou ngā āhukatanga o tēnei mahi rangahau āku. Kia mohio ai koutou, ko te tino pūtake kia hua mai he tikanga kia pai ake te poipoi o a tātou tamariki mokopuna i runga i te whakaaro ano, ko rātou hoki te iwi Māori mo apopo.

As you all know I have been studying for some time and am now working towards completing my Masters Degree in Education. As part of the requirements for this degree I am conducting a research project based on whānau and childrearing. Since the birth of our first moko, Shaniah Pehungaiterangi Morehu-Hunia on the 21st August 1999, I have been interested in documenting how we as a whānau can provide support for our mokopuna and their parents. We all know that bringing up children is not an easy task, and so these responsibilities must be even more challenging for young parents.

The birth of mokopuna within our whānau means that our whānau has now extended to four generations. In order to explore how we can work together to support childrearing, I would like to interview members of the whānau to hear about their own experiences of whānau to understand how each member of the whānau perceives whānau and childrearing. I would like to be able to gather the stories and preserve them as historical documents for our mokopuna. At the end of my research, my mahi will be marked by the university and stored in their library, however, everything that is recorded, transcribed and written up will go back to the people who own it i.e. you the whānau.

The research project is called 'A Maori Perspective of Whānau and Childrearing in the 21st Century' - A Case Study of one Four Generation Family. The research questions are:

1. How can the re-construction of the whānau through colonization of Māori society be perceived with the experiences of the case study on four generations of one whānau?

2. Within the context of our four generation whānau, what are the understandings regarding the individual and shared roles of whānau members in terms of childrearing?
3. What, if any, tensions arise during this process and how do we as whānau, process those tensions?

I would therefore like to invite you to participate in this project documenting some of our whānau stories. This will mean that we will meet at least three times to record your stories, to check your stories and to interpret the stories. I estimate that we will need to spend at least 2 hours per session together. We will also meet as a whānau at various stages throughout the project to collaboratively discuss issues which may arise, including the general progress of the project. If this project works for us, maybe it can also work for other whānau. No reira, te tūmanako ka whakaae koutou.

Safety concerns:

The following considerations have been documented to ensure your personal, intellectual and spiritual safety, should you choose to participate.

- **Invasion of privacy** - you are free to withhold, delete, add or change any information that you regard as sensitive, private or potentially harmful to you.
- **Accuracy of reporting** - you will receive copies of all tape transcripts, meeting notes, etc., so that you can change and/or edit. As well, you will see any written material intended for the purposes of this degree study so that you can make changes.
- **Personally/culturally sensitive issues** - your concerns should be addressed by the processes outlined above. Since this is a collaborative effort, you should feel free at any time to consult with other whānau members if you do not feel comfortable and secure with the research process, or with any other matter concerning my conduct or integrity.
- Some of the topics we are likely to explore may be considered sensitive especially the details of your own stories. The power-sharing of the collaborative processes should remove any anxiety you feel in this regard, and the processes outlined above apply.
- This project involves an open-questioning technique where the precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops. Consequently, although the ethics committee is aware of the general areas to be explored in the interview, the committee has not been able to review the precise questions to be used.
- In the event that the line of questioning does develop in such a way that you feel hesitant or uncomfortable you are reminded of your right to decline to answer

any particular question(s) and also that you may withdraw from the project at any stage without any disadvantage to you at all.

Confidentiality of records, and data storage and access

Data will be secured in accordance with university guidelines:

- Identifiable consents will be stored separately to encoded data collected.
- Written data will be disposed of by shredding after a minimum period of six years.
- My supervisors, Margaret Nicholls and Angus McPharlane from the University of Waikato, you and myself will be the only people to have access to the data/records.
- Tapes of our individual interviews will either be returned to you after transcribing, or kept in a locked drawer at Hatepe, at your request.

Participation

- You are free to participate or not, to any extent, and free to withdraw at any time. If you decide to withdraw, information gathered from you will not be used. This information will either be destroyed or returned upon withdrawal, at your request.
- All participants will be informed of the results of the study, and receive copies of the completed project.
- For further information about participation and the project itself, you may contact Margaret Nicholls or Angus McPharlane (Project Supervisors), at University of Waikato or myself.

**UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO SCHOOL OF EDUCATION ETHICS
COMMITTEE**

I agree

- 1) To ensure that the procedures concerning the ethical conduct of this project will be followed by all those involved in the collection and handling of data;
- 2) To submit for approval any amendments made to the research procedures outlined in this application which affect the ethical appraisal of the project.

Signature of Principal Researcher _____ Date _____

Approval

Application approved _____ Date _____

Chairperson of School of Education Ethics Committee or nominee

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