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**THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MĀORI CULTURAL IDENTITY
LOSS & RANGATAHI MĀORI SUICIDE**

A thesis
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of the requirements for the degree
of
Master of Health, Sport & Human Performance

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by
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ABSTRACT:**Relationship between Māori cultural identity loss & rangatahi Māori suicide**

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This research explores the relationship between Māori cultural identity loss and rangatahi Māori suicide in Aotearoa. The McLachlan et al. (in press) *Whiti Te Rā* model of cultural identity was employed to frame the investigation with specific analysis into the six critical cultural *ara* of Whakapapa, Reo Māori, Taiao, Mahi-a-toi, Take pū whānau and Wairuatanga. A *Kaupapa Māori* research approach was utilised for cultural applicability and the promotion of *Tino Rangatiratanga*. Qualitative methodology guided data collection and analysis. Data collection involved (i) literature reviews and (ii) interviews with whānau members of rangatahi lost to suicide, seeking to understand the *āhuatanga* of the six cultural *ara* within the case studies (n=5). Interviews were governed by a semi-structured technique that looked to understand (i) the factors influencing the strength or weakness of each cultural *ara*; (ii) the state of health within each cultural *ara*; (iii) and identify causal relationships between cultural *ara* and wellbeing outcome. Reflexive thematic analysis showed that geographical location, generational knowledge transmission, and individual and whānau engagement were the global themes influencing either the diminishing or strengthening of cultural identity. Ngā Ara Wairua and Take pū whānau were also portrayed as the most compromised. The research suggests that optimal access to the three global themes potentiates rangatahi Māori to cultural flourishing and *Mauri Ora*; proposed as the most significant deterrent for suicidality. Contrastingly, suboptimal access to the three global themes is proposed as diminishing cultural *ara* as expressed in a state of *Mauri Moe*, where rangatahi Māori wellbeing is most vulnerable, and where suicidality has the greatest potentiation.

Keywords: Māori, suicide, mental, health, cultural, identity, New Zealand

MIHI:

I te taha o tōku koroua
Ko Taupiri te maunga
Ko Waikato te awa
Ko Tainui te waka
Ko Waikato te iwi
Ko Ngāti Māhuta te hapū
Ko Te Puea te marae
Ko Pōtatau te tāngata

I te taha o tōku kuia,
Ko Tarawera te maunga
Ko Tarawera te awa
Ko Te Arawa te waka
Ko Te Arawa te iwi
Ko Ngāti Rangitahi te hapū
Ko Rangitahi te marae

Ko Shaquille Eruera James Graham tōku ingoa.

My above mihi acknowledges my whakapapa (genealogy) and where I come from in terms of the kinship structures of my Grandfather and Grandmother's whenua (land), *iwi* (tribe), *hapū* (sub-tribe), whānau (family). I position myself as a young Māori male under the umbrella of *Kaupapa Māori* to conduct research within the psychological and sociological dimensions of Māori health. Māori terminology will be used when applicable, with the glossary document providing suitable translations for these terms.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

Ngā mihi nunui ki tō tatou Kaihanga mō tōna aratakina I roto I tēnei haerenga. He hōnore me korōria katoa ki a Ihu Karaiti. Ma tēnei mahi e whakahōnore tō ingoa. All honour and glory to God. I thank you for a love that knows no limits. You make ways in the wilderness and rivers in the desert. Your goodness, Your mercy, and Your grace have been unfathomable within my life. May this rangahau glorify your name.

Ehara taku toa, he takitahi, he toa takitini. I am thankful for the years of sacrifice by my whānau, tūpuna, parents, and siblings; allowing me to break the mould and not become another statistic within our small town of Rotorua. The completion of this research represents years of selflessness and sacrifice; allowing me the opportunities they were never afforded. Without you all, I would be nothing. A special thank you to my fiancée Makarita who has always pushed me and believed in me when I didn't believe in myself; it is a result of you, your support, and your unconditional love, that I am here today. Finally, to my older brother Trent who was tragically taken from this world during my university studies, this work is dedicated to you. You have been my inspiration, and will always be my inspiration.

Thank you to the following entities for the support provided throughout this research: *Te Mana o Ngāti Rangithi Trust; Waikato Tainui; Te Rau Ora; The University of Waikato; The Hamilton Club; The Ministry of Health; Te Arawa Fisheries.*

May the kaupapa of emancipation towards the betterment of tāngata Māori hauora never cease. A hope of a brighter tomorrow, where our rangatahi grow old on the whenua of our people.

PREFACE:

State of Māori Health:

Māori do not enjoy the same level of health as other ethnic groups in Aotearoa (New Zealand), with health inequities remaining entrenched throughout post-colonial Māori history (Jones et al., 2010; Coupe, 2005). These disparities are defined as “differences which are unnecessary and avoidable, but in addition are considered unfair and unjust” (Whitehead 1992, p. 431). The literature continues to document the status of Māori health in Aotearoa (New Zealand) as a continued experience of generational, systematic disparities in health outcomes and determinants of health (Jones et al., 2010; Reid et al., 2014).

Reid & Robson (2007) believe that numerous national and international human rights conventions acknowledge these health inequities as an injustice against Māori, An injustice that continues to foster and escalate further health inequities across Māoridom. Their research holds the opinion that where these unjust systematic inequities exist, the government has a due responsibility to provide intervention, affirmative action, and legislative protection. However, despite the New Zealand government's legal obligation to intervene in the current state of Māori health, the inequality divide continues to grow for Māoridom (Reid & Robson, 2007). For Māori to have optimal vitality in all levels of health, solutions must be found to combat these generational cycles of Māori health inequities. If not, Māori will continue to live shorter lives, in poorer health, with ruptured hauora (health), not fulfilling their potential as individuals, their capacity as Māori, and their capability within New Zealand society. Throughout these health disparities, mental health, and suicide mortality have become a critical issue faced by Māoridom (Jones et al., 2010; Reid et al., 2014).

The statistics:

suicide disparities in Aotearoa

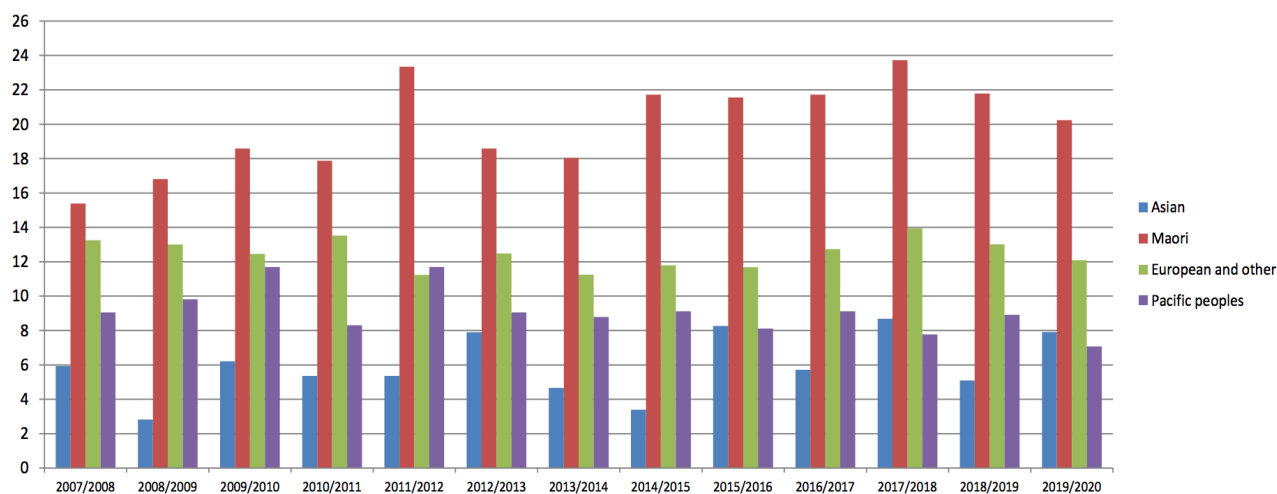


Figure 1. New Zealand annual provisional suicide rates by ethnicity (Coronial Services of New Zealand, 2020)

The 2018 New Zealand census has a total population of 4.7 million people; of this, approximately 15% identify as Māori. rangatahi Māori (between the ages of 15-24) comprise 19% of this total Māori population, as opposed to Pākehā (non-Māori) youth making up 13% of the total Pākehā population. The median age of Pākehā is 35 years, whilst the median age of Māoridom falls within rangatahi youth, at 24 years of age (Stats New Zealand, 2020).

Suicide rates show overwhelming differences between Māori and Pākehā in New Zealand; whilst also distinct mortality disparities within Māoridom age brackets, specifically the rangatahi Māori population. The annual provisional suicide data of Coronial Services New Zealand (2020) showcases New Zealand suicide rates at 13.01 deaths per 100,000 population, one of the highest suicide rates in the Western world. Suicide mortality within specifically the Māori population is at 20.24 deaths per 100,000 population, just under double that of New Zealand Pākehā (non-Māori) (Marshall, 2020). These statistics portray that 42% of Māori suicide-related deaths are rangatahi Māori.

The current Prime Minister, Jacinta Ardern has stated that “suicide in New Zealand has become a national crisis, and one of the biggest long term challenges we are facing as a nation” (Henry, 2019). Although this disparity in mental health & suicide continues to escalate, decades of government suicide prevention strategies have rendered ineffective in decreasing suicide rates, with initiatives likened to an annual ‘rearranging of the titanic furniture’. Governing health authorities must brutally ask themselves why Aotearoa continues to have a high suicide mortality; And why the ethnic disparities in suicide are continuing to grow between Māori and Pākehā?

The need for root causalities in Māori suicide perspectives:

“Every good tree bears good fruit, but a bad tree bears bad fruit; A good tree cannot bear bad fruit, and a bad tree cannot bear good fruit.”

(New International Version Bible, 1978)

As a tree has its roots, so does that of suicide, and it is the bad roots of a tree that produce bad fruit. For significant change in Aotearoa, we must metaphorically seek to find and understand the root causalities in the tree of suicide within Māoridom. ‘*He tina ki runga, he tāmore ki raro*; in order to flourish above, one must be firmly rooted below’. We can no longer sit in contentment with the continuous ineffective rendering of current governing health perspectives, policies, and research. The annual statistics show that no form of suicide intervention has effectively decreased suicide rates. New Zealand as a society can no longer be at ease with Māori, and specifically rangatahi Māori, continuing to take their own lives at one of the highest suicide rates in the world. This research now conducts an empirical inquest into the disproportionate suicide rates of Māoridom, endeavouring to uncover root-based understandings of suicide origin within Tāngata Māori (Māori people).

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GLOSSARY:

Aotearoa	= land of the long white cloud
Āhuatanga	= characteristic
Ahurei	= unique, distinguished
Ara	= way, path
Aroha	= love, concern
Atua	= supernatural beings
Awa	= river
Awhi	= encouragement
Haka	= traditional Māori war dance
Hapū	= subtribe
Hauora	= health
Harakeke	= flax
Hihi	= ray of sun
Hinengaro	= mind
Io	= Supreme God
Ira	= life principle
Ira Atua	= spiritual dimension
Ira tangata	= physical dimension
Iwi	= tribe
Kai	= food
Kainga	= home, household
Kaitiakitanga	= guardianship
Kakano	= colour
Kapa haka	= Māori cultural group
Kaupapa	= topic, policy
Kaupapa Māori	= Māori specific paradigms and research methods
Kaumātua	= elder
Kawa	= protocol
Kāwanatanga	= government, dominion, authority
Kohanga Reo	= Te Reo Māori early childhood centre
Kōrero	= speak, speech
Koro	= grandfather

Kotahitanga	= unity, solidarity
Kuia	= grandmother
Kura	= school
Mātua	= parents
Matakite	= foreseer, prophet
Mana	= prestige, power, spiritual power
Manaaki	= to support, take care of
Manaakitanga	= hospitality, generosity
Mahi	= work
Mahi-a-toi:	= Māori performing arts
Māori	= indigenous people to New Zealand
Māoridom	= Māori as a collective people
Māoritanga	= Māori culture
Marae	= Māori meeting grounds
Mātauranga Māori	= Traditional Māori body of knowledge
Mauri	= life force
Mauri Ora	= alive life force
Mauri Moe	= asleep life force
Maunga	= mountain
Moana	= ocean
Moe	= sleep
Mokopuna	= grandchild
Ngāhere	= forest, bush
Ōranga	= health, welfare
Pākehā	= Non-Māori
Papakāinga	= original home
Papatūānuku	= Earth, Earth mother
Pūrakau	= legends, myths
Rangatahi	= youth
Rangatiratanga	= chieftainship
Rangiātea	= spiritual homeland of Māori
Ranginui	= sky, sky father
Raranga	= weaving
Reo	= language

Taha	= part
Taiao	= environment
Take pū	= values
Tamanuiterā	= the sun
Tamariki	= children
Tāngata	= people
Tangata whenua	= indigenous people of New Zealand
Taniwha	= spirit, monster creature
Taonga	= treasure
Taonga pūoro	= Māori instruments
Tapa	= to call, name
Tapu	= to be sacred
Tautoko	= to support
Tā moko	= tattoo
Te Ao Māori	= The Māori world
Te Ao Marama	= The natural world
Te Ao Pākehā	= The Western world
Te Reo Māori	= Māori language
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	= The Treaty of Waitangi
Tikanga	= customs, correct procedure
Tinana	= body
Tino rangatiratanga	= self-determination, autonomy
Tukutuku	= ornamental latticework
Tūpuna	= ancestors
Tūrangawaewae	= standing place
Tohunga	= to be expert, proficient
Waiata	= song, psalm
Wairua	= spirit
Wairuatanga	= spirituality
Whā	= four
Whakairo	= carving
Whakakapi	= to conclude
Whakamomori	= suicide, suicidality
Whakapapa	= genealogy

Whakataukī	= proverb
Whānau	= family
Whānaungatanga	= family connection
Whare	= house
Whenua	= land

CHAPTER 1: Suicide history & the health sector

Whakamomori (suicide) is no new human phenomena within Aotearoa or Māoridom. Suicide has been recorded throughout world history, cataloguing similar perceived causalities as those in modern Western research (Goldsmith, Pellmar, Kleinman, Bunney, 2002). The analysis of Perring (1998) states that the early centuries of Western suicide analysis were generally conducted through philosophical, moral or religious epistemology.

In historical reflection, the act of suicide has been perceived in many views. Initially, it has been labelled sinful and morally wrong throughout the entire scope of Judaeo-Christian religious history, with suicide viewed contrary to natural law and self-love, opposing the function of life (Laragy, 2013). In juxtaposition was Eastern cultural history, where suicide was widely held as an exaltation of the ‘great death’, an act symbolic of honour and veneration (Perring 1998; Laragy, 2013). This was portrayed explicitly in Japanese culture with suicide rituals such as ‘seppuku’, or later glorification of the 20th century kamikaze pilots (Perring 1998). Suicide has also been prominent throughout human history as a perceived alternative to the cruelties and disappointments of life (Laragy, 2013). Although exemplified throughout the ages, this shifting normality towards suicide has shown most prominence within the Western 15th-century renaissance and reformation period, the Great Depression of the 1930s, and the Holocaust of World War II (Laragy, 2013; Perring, 1998).

The changing perspectives of suicide:

As research evolved into the contemporary Western methodology, suicide study within the confinement of moral, philosophical and religious parameters began to expand into the disciplinary perspectives of sociology, psychology, medical, and public health (Coupe, 2005).

Durkheim's (1897) research was a catalyst in this early sociological analysis of suicide and the relationship it has with identity and societal wellbeing. His foundational work concluded that there are four main categories of suicide based on the relationship between a person and their society.

- i) Egoistic suicide - relating to the individuals functioning and belonging in society, with a lack of social integration, self-isolation, and an overwhelming detachment from humanity.
- ii) Altruistic suicide - resulting from over integration and identification with societal groups, with the person having insufficient independence (kamikaze pilots, suicide bombings).
- iii) Anomic suicide - stemming from an individual experiencing anomie, where a societies previously common norms and values disappear, with inevitable breakdowns of societal equilibrium, individual disconnection, and abrupt disruptions of normative restraint (war-time, colonisation).
- iv) Fatalistic suicide - described as overregulation of society, with excessive constraints and oppressive conditions on a person, denying self, and individual agency (incarcerated populations).

In the 18th century, French physician Esquirol declared suicide a medical-based problem. This contemporary thought grew in public and medical health domains throughout the century, where suicide understandings shifted from sociological, to a medicalized and institutionally recognized illness; no longer held as a social failing as described by Durkheim (Pridmore, 2011). Suicide research emphasis was put on biological and psychological perspectives, and from the early 19th century to present day, the West has looked to understand suicide through a mechanistic biomedical lens of mental disorder (Pridmore,

2011). The biomedical model of health was birthed within this 18th-century scientific revolution, where academic research and medical practices began to be dominated by the natural sciences (Wade & Halligan, 2017). This domineering health model led to the presumption that science was the cure to all illness and diseases. Over the 20th and 21st century, this model of health became the constituting scientific framework, and still remains the foundational view on health held throughout the majority of modern Western medical thought (Wade & Halligan, 2017).

Contemporarily, the Harvard Medical School publication of Miller et al. (2017) exemplify these ideologies of biomedical analysis in mental health. Their research states that the biology of the human brain is the integral role player in the various mental health disorders that lead to suicide. They stipulate that within the billions of chemical reactions making up the vast brain biology system, faults within this dynamic organism do become a possibility. Their research suggests that biological depression-related suicide springs from biochemical brain abnormalities; but can also include faulty neurophysiological mechanisms in the brain, genetic vulnerability, and genetic predisposition within an individual. This ideology of systematic biomedical analysis in health is reaffirmed by the 2011 British Medical Journal who state that the opinion of health being nothing more than the absence of disease or infirmity was a perspective not challenged until 1948 (Huber et al., 2011).

Although this biomedical perspective of health is very valid, tangible and effective, it does lead to a mechanistic view of mind and body, separating them into different entities and disregarding the human body's interrelated nature (Engel, 1977). Although this is now the domineering view across academia and medical thought, it is integral to reiterate that the biomedical view does not consider sociological causality. Seemingly, we can assert that the

biomedical framework is not a complete or total health understanding, therefore, rendering the health perspective solely from this viewpoint problematic.

What has eventuated in suicide research is the analysis of exclusively physical processes in mental disease, with minimal consideration of environmental, emotional, and social factors; fundamentals of Nettleton's (2006) research stipulated as essential primers in mental-illness. Nettleton highlights that although multi-dimensional views on health are now evident within contemporary literature, the West's biomedical model continues to be held as the dominant ideological model. He believes this is primarily due to the practicality and efficiency of biomedical analysis within the health sector, where health can be quantified by determining if the disease is present or not. Consequently, within this model, treatment and diagnoses of mental health conditions continue to be reductionistic, over-dependent on medical science, focused on biological changes, and ignorant of societal and psychological factors (Nettleton, 2006; Engel, 1997).

The research of Miller et al. (2017) concedes that their biomedical view on suicide as a sole mental illness related to bio-chemical imbalances and abnormalities does not capture the totality and multi-factorial nature of mental health. They stipulate that the on-goings of humans life, and the several interacting forces within it, relate multi-dimensionally in the causality of suicide. Pridmore (2011) believes that this biomedical model of health and the medicalization of all mental health and suicide can become dangerous and should be approached with caution. 'Medicalization' occurs when non-medical problems are misclassified as medical problems; where the multi-factorial nature of human behaviours and experiences are rebadged as a medical condition (Pridmore, 2011). Chodoff (2002) illustrates that the medicalization of suicide-related mental-illnesses can occur when unpleasant or

undesirable feelings and behaviours are given medicalized diagnostic labels. This perspective of medicalization places the suicide emphasis on the individuals' biochemical makeup, downplaying sociological influences, historical influences, disregarding the diverse nature of human life in wellbeing outcomes.

The need for multi-disciplinary approaches to suicide research:

The sociological and medical health history of methodology portray conclusive evidence that both differing research paradigms are useful in suicide understandings. The current, and dominant biomedical model of health does show valuable benefits; even the opposed writings of Engel (1997) acknowledge that this reductionist view did come with significant advances in modern health diagnosis and treatment. However, it must be recognized that the biomedical view is an incomplete model that lacks the holistic diversity found in social models of health. Our attention must be drawn to the multi-dimensional nature of suicide, and the complex nature of the experienced human reality, specifically in mental health domains (Engel, 1997). A necessary transition becomes fundamental to diverse frameworks that will seek to explain more within the current body of literature, opposed to the narrowing of explanations found within biomedical analysis (Huber et al., 2011). It becomes apparent that sociological & multi-disciplinary models of approach are in dire-need within the health sector, specifically within the analysis of mental health and suicide research. Consequently, a sole biomedical analysis can be concluded as severely limiting to conclusive research evidence in the breadth of suicide understandings.

The World Health Organisation in 1948 redefined their health statement as a 'state of complete physical, social and mental wellbeing', changing their perspective from their previous biomedical definition of 'the absence of disease or infirmity' (Huber et al., 2011).

Health becoming redefined as including sociological influence, thus emphasized the importance of social models in suicide research. Browne (2005) stresses the significance of sociological analysis giving the ability to examine a range of multi-dimensional factors with a greater ranging scope than that of biomedical thought.

The Biopsychosocial Model of health:

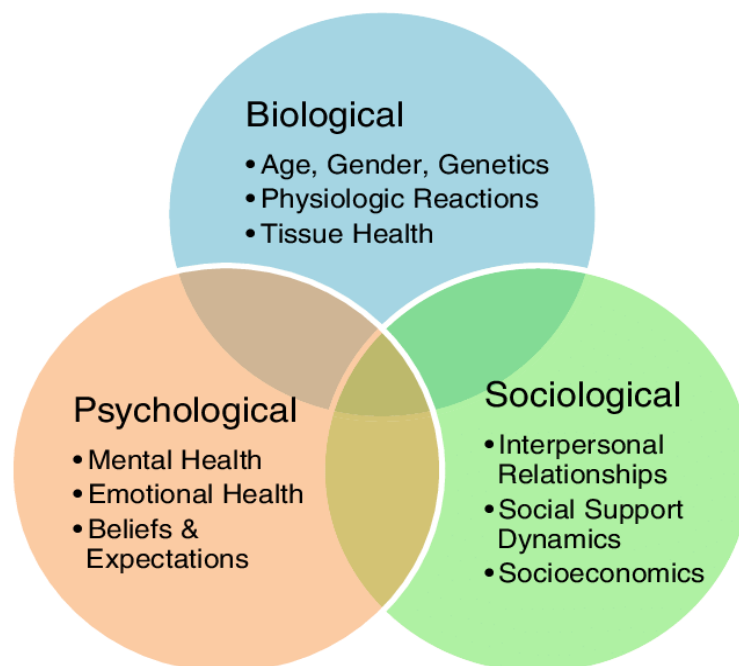


Figure 2. Biopsychosocial model of health (Gliedt et al., 2017)

Engels (1977) interdisciplinary biopsychosocial model of health epitomises the view of the world health organization, taking into account three distinct boundaries when understanding an individual's health outcome: biology (age, illness, gender), psychological state (beliefs, perceptions) and social circumstances (community, relationships) (Borrell-Carrio, 2004).

Engel's model pays explicit attention to humanness, with health viewed as a social phenomenon and a scientific construct, analysing health's concurrent psychological variables alongside the biological causes (Gritti, 2017). Engel believes that the connections between bio-psycho-social domains of the body are bidirectional, with no primacy of one domain

greater than the other; he believes that none of the domains exists in isolation, but are mutually influenced by the other. Engel's model offers a conceptual framework for multi-faceted research investigation across several body systems. The biopsychosocial model has become foundational in the expansion of Western methodology from a reductionist view on health, to the contemporary prominence of social health models in scientific research.

The Policy Rainbow Model of health:



Figure 3. Rainbow model of health: main determinants of health (Göran & Whitehead, 1991)

Engel's biopsychosocial model paved the way for social health analysis, evidently leading to the more elaborate social models of health. Göran and Whitehead's (1991) research portrays a policy rainbow model of health that proposes a vertical health policy view mapping the multi-factorial relationship between an individual, environment, and health. This model illustrates what they believe are the main, interrelated influences on health, portrayed as a series of layers, one on top of the other. It incorporates social analysis, similar to the biopsychosocial interpretation of health; however, analysis of a wider breadth of an individual's social determinants are investigated. This includes factors that threaten health,

promote health, and protect health; both fixed, as well as those that are potentially modifiable for an individual. The fixed factors of an individual are described in the model as age, sex, genetics and constitutional factors; whilst the modifiable factors are expressed as a series of layers of influence including individual lifestyle, social and community environment, living and working conditions, and broader socioeconomic, cultural and environmental conditions.

Like Engel (1977), this model again highlights the multi-factorial nature of social health analysis while also stipulating a greater correlation between an individual's social determinants and potential health inequalities. It shows health as multi-faceted, and when positive action is undertaken at one level of health in the rainbow model, it can be advantageous at another level—forming both converse and inverse relationships between health determinant. Göran and Whitehead (1991) propose that health and health policy must be viewed at several constituting levels and is far too often only considered at one. This interdependent system of the policy rainbow model is thus “reinforcing the synergetic effects of a vertical health policy, which is, in fact, the very key for improving the impact of health policies in general and strategies to reduce social inequities in particular” (Göran & Whitehead, 1991, p. 13).

In context with the research, what these social models bring attention too, is the dire importance for mental health analysis to have a research breadth spanning further than just the biomedical lens. Evidently, for a conclusive totality of health understanding, these models show that we must also incorporate greater sociological understandings within research and literature.

Māori specific health & research analysis:

For the research investigation, the standpoints of Engels (1977) biopsychosocial model of health, and Göran & Whiteheads (1991) policy rainbow model of health will guide the methodological thought and considerations in the research investigation. With Huber et al. (2011) declaring the need for sociological analysis in health research, investigating suicide through the sociological lens will optimally position the current investigation for innovative and conclusive evidence in suicide. Consequently, it is the aim to add a holistic entirety into the mental health and suicide literature that has been contemporarily compounded by a biomedical paradigm of thought.

Furthermore, for the context of this research analysis partaken within the domain of Māoridom, it must continue to build on the sociological principles of Engel (1977) and Göran & Whitehead (1991). The previously stated World Health Organisation definition of health now considers the physical, mental and social domains as a complete health model. Again, this does advocate a greater health totality than just the dominant biomedical model; however, Durie's (1985) research would portray that this insufficiently captures the entirety of a Māori perspective on health. Durie's research indicates that Māori health cannot be entirely quantified with just Engels biopsychosocial approach, nor Göran and Whitehead's policy rainbow. Although they are valid, Durie argues that added analyses are required within the dimensions of culture specificity, explicitly with Māoritanga's (Māori culture) spiritual and emotional considerations of overall health (Durie, 1998).

The culture of Māoritanga is deeply rooted in holistic understandings of life and wellbeing. What is now critically fundamental to build on is the research considerations of culture, and culturally specific research methodologies and epistemologies; aspects the overviewed

Western frameworks do not consider when analysing indigenous societies. With the analyses of Māori health, it becomes integral to understand that Māori requires specific multi-dimensional measures and processes that are attuned to Te Ao Māori (The Māori world), Māori realities, and a Māori world view (Durie, 2006).

The need for Māori specific health models arose throughout the 1970s, where a Westernized health system was believed to be inadequate for Māori, evidenced with the continual growth of health disparities (Durie, 1998). Durie believed that Māori felt alienated, not only because of health inequities but specifically the loss of *tino rangatiratanga* (self-determination) in Māori health management, with the exhibiting of a complete lack of autonomous decision making for Māori, by Māori. Māoridom believed that Western philosophy's prejudice with the predominating biomedical methodology biased the New Zealand health sector, failing the holistic and multi-dimensional needs of Māori (Durie, 1998). What followed was the campaigning for both Māori self-direction in health care and the push for Māori health perspectives into health governance (Durie 1998). What is now known in contemporary Aotearoa as *Kaupapa Māori* methodology was birthed and developed to reflect cultural practices, preferences, and Māori aspirations for *tino rangatiratanga* in health governance and policy (Durie, 1985).

Māori specific health models:

These *Kaupapa Māori* (Māori specific paradigms) health perspectives conceptualise health and wellbeing from a Māori worldview, providing the "necessary framework within which a semblance of ownership over health can be entertained" (Durie, 1998, p. 73). *Kaupapa Māori* provided the genesis of Māori health models, with the movement developing three main culturally relevant models of health:

- Te Wheke (Pere, 1997)
- Te Whare Tapa Whā (Durie, 1985)
- Ngā Pou Mana (Henare, 1988)

These frameworks possess the knowledge to the cornerstones of Māori health and give the culturally relevant sociological understandings needed to conceptualize health from a Te Ao Māori point of view. Each model was developed simultaneously and accepted within Māoridom. The research of Waiti (2007) believes that there is no formally published mention of an optimal model, with each framework being potentially more applicable within certain situations. The researcher heeds this notion, and for the purpose of the investigation, Te Whare Tapa Whā model of health (Durie, 1985) will be used for the implicit guiding of the methodological considerations throughout the research, as the framework for understanding health within a Te Ao Māori worldview.

As practitioners wanting to engage with Māori, it is fundamental that the practices and analytical thought reflect an understanding of these concepts of hauora embed within this model. Although Whare Tapa Whā will not be explicitly used within our investigation, it is essential to overview this model to highlight how health is viewed within a Te Ao Māori perspective. In attaining these understandings it positions the researcher optimally, to continue the investigation with a view on health that emanates from within Te Ao Māori.

Te Whare Tapa Whā model of health is defined by Durie (1985) as a multi-disciplinary model to the four cornerstones of Māori health. Durie created this model as a Māori based ideological framework of health and wellbeing, applicable across all health issues and domains. Te Whare Tapa Whā is compared to the four walls of the whare (house), where all

four walls are interrelated, and essential for the cohesion, strength and symmetry of the whole (Durie, 1985). These walls are recognized as *te taha wairua* (spiritual dimension); *te taha whānau* (family dimension); *te taha hinengaro* (cognitive dimension); *te taha tinana* (physical dimension).

Like the multi-faceted ideology of the rainbow model of health, if one dimension is lacking, or disregarded as less-important, health risk increases. Balance and integration of each taha within an individual, therefore becomes integral to optimizing health. What Durie's (1985) model also advantageously encompasses is a pan-tribal understanding of Māori health.

Although each *iwi* can have their own concepts of hauora, the simplicity, and flexibility of Te Whare Tapa Whā depicts the basic components of a holistic concept of health acknowledged by all of Māoridom (McNeill, 2009). This model's broad applicability and durability provide the optimal model for culturally appropriate understandings of a Te Ao Māori view on health. Consequently, the principals of Te Whare Tapa Whā will be used as chief cornerstones in the implicit guidance and selection of culturally appropriate methodology and epistemology within the research, ensuring analyses within the full scope of Māori health considerations and perspectives.

CHAPTER 2: Māori suicide research – A review of literature

Although Williams et al. (2018) indicate the sparse amount of published literature around suicide disparities in Māoridom; the research now conducts a literature review building upon the acquired knowledge of current New Zealand suicide statistics outlined in the *preface*; while also using *Chapter 1* to guide the methodological considerations. Although the body of research within the methodological prerequisites was exhibited as small, the following Chapter accounts for the review of current literature within these domains of Māori suicide. The analysis speculates two main causal themes are predominantly proposed across the scope of research.

Two key themes within literature:

Disadvantage status of Māoridom:

The disadvantaged status of Māoridom is a common theme largely affecting suicide and wellbeing outcomes. This is attested to throughout the literature, where the disadvantaged status of Māori across the social sectors of health, education, justice and welfare is held as a major causal theme in health outcome (Beautrais & Ferguson, 2006; Walker, 1989; Moeke-Pickering, 1996; Pomare et al., 1995; Reid et al., 2014; Durie, 2001). Beautrais & Ferguson (2006) suggest that when equality is found between Māori and non-Māori within the sectors of health, education, welfare and justice; suicide rates within Māoridom become similar to non-Māori groups, and mental-health disparities begin to find equity.

Effect of Colonisation:

The second highly attested explanation offered within research assumes the high rates of suicide amongst Māori are a reflection of the experiences and effects from the origins of colonisation (Duire, 2001; Lawson-Te Aho, 1998; Williams et al., 2018; Liu, Lawson-Te Aho & Rata, 2014; Coupe, 2005; Hatcher, 2016; Hirini & Collins, 2005). Lawson-Te Aho (1998) claims that the act of colonisation led to cultural subjugation, assimilation, alienation, confusion over identity, and a lasting impact on Māori history through intergenerational modelling and behavioural transfer. Durie (2001) as cited in Beautrais & Ferguson (2006) further these notions stating that Māori “suicide cannot be understood only in terms of personal history or individual psychology; for the individual is part of an ethnic history and where colonisation has occurred, the scars of oppression and humiliation have become intolerable, in so far as it ends the pain of emptiness and the futility of trying, suicide now becomes a solution” (p.165). Not only is colonisation’s role in suicide showcased within Māoridom, but Hunter and Harvey (2002), Chandler & Lalonde (2004) and Liu & Lawson-Te Aho (2010) all propose causal effect of colonisation in world indigenous wellbeing outcomes. Liu & Lawson-Te Aho (2010) describe the suicide rates of colonised first nations (indigenous/aboriginal) people being more than double that of non-indigenous people in the same country. The literature suggests that on a global scale, colonisation can be perceived as a significant deterrent on the prosperity of indigenous wellbeing, particularly that of Māori health outcomes and suicidality.

Indigenous suicide related to colonisation literature:

The research now narrows the reviews scope into the elaboration of three significant articles within the literature. These investigations have already undertaken analyses between the relationship of colonisation and the correlative origin with Māori suicide. Subsequently, the

articles will now be outlined and reviewed. It is to note that although the scope of research is small, there is an excellent depth of analysis throughout these three articles, with common themes evident across the review.

Liu & Lawson-Te Aho (2010)

Liu & Lawson-Te Aho (2010) looked into the role of colonisation in world indigenous suicide, specifically suicide within the Māori youth population of New Zealand. Their research suggests that colonisation's violent legacy has left a lasting rupture of generational trauma and a “dark shadow on the contemporary lives of young people” (p.1). This dark shadow is described as a metaphor for the contemporary consequences of colonisation in the ethnic disparities of indigenous and non-indigenous health within New Zealand. Liu & Lawson-Te Aho also suggest that with Māori understandings of health sourced and tied to the wellbeing of the collective cultural identity, healing the transgressions of colonisation’s violent past against collective Māori will enable Māori as individuals to obtain optimal health in the future. They concluded that the loss of cultural identity and cultural autonomy due to the colonisation of New Zealand are the key fundamentals driving the high rates of Māori suicide and mental health. From the article perspective, the answer to Maori youth suicide is linked to the positive forward movement of the collective culture and identity. Their research proposes the practical structures of cultural healing through community empowerment practices and social policy environments that enable the building of cultural autonomy and self-determination for Māori. This key fundamental of *tino rangatiratanga* (cultural autonomy and self-governance) is held within their research as the pathway to healing colonisation’s lasting effects on health outcomes, specifically suicide within Māoridom.

Williams et al. (2018)

Williams et al. (2018) also explored the relationship between Māori cultural identity, ethnic discrimination, and mental health outcomes for Māori youth. They believe that Māori mental health is complex and multi-dimensional with factors embedded in cultural, historical, spiritual, physiological, psychological, structural and social domains. Their research sampled a nationally representative, anonymous cross-sectional study of New Zealand Māori secondary school students in 2012 (n=1699). The analysis highlighted that ethnic discrimination has a severe negative impact on cultural identity and an individual's mental health. They concluded that "Māori youth who have a strong cultural identity are more likely to experience positive mental health outcomes" (p.1). Their research identifies that policies and practices that promote strong cultural identities and eliminate ethnic discrimination are in dire need to improve the mental health equity, and suicide mortality for the Māori youth population. They also importantly state that these policies and programmes need to be culturally and developmentally specific to Māori, and must continue to support traditional Māori knowledge and practices, promoting *tino rangatiratanga* and *Kaupapa Māori* within Māoridom. They believe the current 'status quo' of research methodology perpetuates discrimination and Western bias, resulting in inequitable outcomes for Māori.

Liu, Lawson-Te Aho & Rata (2014)

Liu, Lawson-Te Aho, and Rata (2014) looked into indigenous psychology and the means of self-determination for cultural healing. 'Indigenous Psychology' is described as a liberation psychology movement towards the decolonisation of the first nation mind (Liu, Lawson-Te Aho & Rata, 2014). This research describes suicide disparities of both Māoridom and other first nation nationalities as a consequence of psychological trauma; a trauma stated by Duran and Duran (1995) as intergenerational "soul wounds inflicted by colonisation" (p.144). These

disparities are described as not resultant of epidemiological factors, rather the collective experience of cumulative Colonial trauma across the generations of indigenous peoples. Their research concluded that cultural healing through the empowerment of collective identity and action “will transform the bitter harvest of generations of damage due to colonisation” (Liu, Lawson-Te Aho & Rata, p.145). They believe that without historical trauma being confronted and healed to essentialise and repair indigenous cultural identity, Māori will continue to struggle in the emancipation of mental health inequities. Their research proposes that practical approaches to mitigating suicidality and healing indigenous psychological issues must weave liberationist strands of protest together with cultural identity healing through a process of decolonisation. They stipulate this may be achieved through the employment of theories and practice grouped into the two themes of (i) psychological resistance and endurance; and (ii) the building of social relations for psychological creativity and generativity.

Summary of Māori suicide literature:

The concluding evidence within the reviewed scope of research proposes the fundamental origin in potentiation of Māori suicide stems from the effects of the colonisation of Māoridom. Research shows that colonisation has generationally ruptured Māori cultural identity and the *tino rangatiratanga* of tangata Māori; this has now resulted in Māori occupying a vulnerable position in New Zealand society. Consequently, the loss of Māori cultural identity due to colonisation is leading to a vast complexity of socio-economic problems throughout all sectors of Māori within society. Historically and empirically, colonisation is perceived to be a significant role-player in the genesis of Māori health and wellbeing inequities in New Zealand.

Based on the scope of prior literature, the research now proposes the ideology that colonisation is perceived to be a major determinant in the fracture of cultural identity, leading to the adverse health and wellbeing outcomes of Māori, specifically that of suicide. The longitudinal ‘butterfly-effects’ of a past of colonisation, based on this evidence, can be assumed to have prominent contemporary consequences within Māori health and wellbeing. Beautrais & Ferguson (2006) affirm this, whilst also notably positing the importance and need for the continuing of research into these domains stating “conclusive evidence of these explanatory frameworks accounting for the high rate of Māori suicide are currently lacking” (p.165). The researcher now looks to investigate the causal relationship between Māori cultural identity loss stemming from colonisation, and the adverse wellbeing outcomes of Māoridom, specifically suicide. Through this process, we aim to add objective reliability, validity, and additional knowledge to the existing evidence that affirms Māori identity loss as a fundamental factor in Māori suicide.

Through the literature review of this Chapter and the preface's statistical analysis, there has been identification of key areas that the researcher believes need more exploration. With 42% of Māori related suicide identified within the rangatahi ages of 15-24, our analysis will focus particularly within this problematic population of Māoridom. Secondly, the use of in-depth interviews for data collection was sparse within the research methods of the literature, and as such we will be implementing this method of interviewing to gain a greater depth of knowledge and analysis within our specific topic. It is believed that this is an imperative factor, as the analysis is looking to build upon research conclusions already evident within the literature.

Furthermore, research methods need to be culturally and developmentally specific to Māori and must continue to support traditional Māori knowledge and practices, promoting *tino rangatiratanga* and *Kaupapa Māori* within Māoridom (Williams et al., 2018). The researcher views health research outside of the frameworks of *Kaupapa Māori* methodology as problematic for the perceptual validation of conclusions within Māoridom but also leaves research conclusions lacking within the totality of a Te Ao Māori worldview. There is an evident need to continue to push *Kaupapa Māori* across current literature and will be viewed as a critical implementation within the proceeding research (*Kaupapa Māori* methodology found in *Chapter 5*). The literature review has also highlighted the ideology of cultural identity loss as a fundamental component in suicide causality. However, Māoritanga is a broad, multi-faceted culture, and the literature is perceived to lack a depth of understanding in how the specifics of cultural identity are correlating with the health and wellbeing outcomes for Māori. The investigators believe this is the most critical factor identified as needing greater depth of research within the current body of literature; consequently, the continuing investigation will dive deeper into this analysis of Māori identity factors.

To continue the investigation in understanding modern-day identity loss in Māoridom, and examining the relationship this has within rangatahi suicide, the research must first establish the foundational understandings of what comprises Māori identity, before secondly, analysing what specific components of cultural identity loss have causal effects in suicide. In establishing these foundational pillars on Māori cultural identity, an empirical base can be used as a reference point throughout the research to quantify cultural identity. The research now moves forward into *Chapter 3 Traditional Māori identity origins*.

CHAPTER 3: Traditional Māori identity origins

‘E kore au e ngaro, he kākano i ruia mai i Rangiaātea.’

‘I will not be lost, I am a seed descended from Rangiaātea.’

The above *whakataukī* (proverb) depicts *Rangiaātea* (the original spiritual homelands of Māoridom) as a seed that will never be lost; a seed in which all Māori descend from and eventually return. The proverb personifies the continuity and resilience of Māoridom, whilst implying that the Māori identity is sustained through culture and reo (Ritchie & Rau, 2010). The holistic wellbeing of Māori is depicted within this *whakataukī* as inextricably linked to the collective belonging of Te Ao Māori (Joseph, 2007).

Traditional Māori identity origins:

The study of Moeke-Pickering (1996) highlights that in traditional Aotearoa, Māori identity was formed in an environment devoid of Pākehā (non-Māori) people. Māori ethnic identification developed out of a binary opposition between Māori and Pākehā in the early 1800s; typified by the name Māori, meaning natural, only given to the Tangata Whenua (people of the land) post-European arrival as a distinguishment from the foreign nationalities (Walker, 1989). The name Māori became the definition of all *iwi* throughout Aotearoa, reducing the identities of tribal and *hapū* affiliation to the uniformity of one group (Broughton, 1993; Moeke-Pickering, 1996).

Before pre-European contact, personal and collective identification emanated from outside of Māori, primarily from the strata of tribal structures: *whānau* (family), *hapū* (subtribe), *iwi* (tribe), *waka* (canoe) (Moeke-Pickering, 1996). Walker (1989) positions that traditional Māori identity was formulated around the two integral components of tribal structures, and

cultural practices and customs. The interactions within tribal structures, intertwined with the cultural practices of Māoridom were how early Māori identity was formulated, established and fostered.

Whakapapa & tribal structures:

Initially, identity was a derivative from the multi-factorial interaction, membership, and learning from within ones tribal structures of whānau, *hapū*, *iwi*, *waka*; with individuals able to strengthen their identity through their ability to whakapapa (genealogy) to each of these structures, upholding their obligatory cultural responsibilities (Durie, 1994). This concept of whakapapa was stated by Rito (2007) as “firmly embedded in the Māori psyche of identity” (p. 4), with whakapapa viewed as a comprehensible paradigm of everyday life. The knowledge of whakapapa and connection to genealogy, history and traditions were stored by Māori within the mind, transmitted orally from generation to generation; a process of laying one upon the other, from the foundational ancestors systematically through to the present (Walker, 1993; Ngata, 1972).

This layer upon layer of whakapapa was seen as growing through each generation, connecting Māori to their environment, *tūpuna* (ancestors), and the past, present, and future; a holism of symbiotic interconnection with the world around Māori. Attaining this knowledge of whakapapa was seen as grounding one in belonging, solidifying purpose, and connecting beyond the sense of merely existing on the earth (Rito, 2007). As such, the Māori identity became powerfully linked with whakapapa to the whenua (land), or the physical localities within their whānau and *tūpuna papakāinga* (village). Consequently, the whenua became an integral component to Māoridom tribal structures, with significant land markers such as mountains, rivers, lakes, and *iwi* whenua boundaries becoming an intrinsic part of cultural

identification. The Māori identity now emanates from the whenua, where Māori self-awareness, *mana* (spiritual authority), and importance of identity find origin, the basis of being Tangata Whenua or people of the land (Bennet, 1979).

This view on cultural identity is seen by Walker (1989) as a contrast to Western thought constructs, where identity is not held as material, but deeply cultivated in the spirituality of whakapapa, connection with the whenua and tribal structures. This spiritual connection with the land is held as integral as the placenta is to a new-born baby, an ideology portrayed in the traditional *whakataukī*, ‘te toto o te tangata, he kai; te oranga o te tangata, he whenua - while food provides the blood in our veins, our health is drawn from the land’.

Cultural practices & customs:

“Cultural practices are based on a shared system of understanding that a group deems to be important and meaningful to them” (Moeke-Pickering, 1996, p.3). Traditional cultural practices & customs within Te Ao Māori were vast, but most significantly composed of: *Tikanga Māori* (Māori traditions & customs), *kawa* (protocols), *Take pū Māori* (Māori values), Te Reo Māori (Māori language), *Mahi-a-toi* (culturally expressive art forms), *Wairuatanga* (spirituality), and specific *iwi* and *hapū* traditions (McLachlan et al., in press; Moeke-Pickering, 1996; Walker, 1989; Durie, 1998; Rangihau, 1977). The literature portrays these fundamentals as integral to the socialisation and growth of one's Māori identity.

Within each Māori community, participating in and learning the *iwi* customs and traditions was an integral part of day-to-day life; with identity strengthened by the satisfactory fulfilment of these social obligations (Houkamau, 2010). Rangihau (1977) states that participation in these shared belief systems of *tikanga* and *kawa* was the practical and

tangible affirmation of walking out one's own Māori identity through cultural practices and customs. This ideology is again reiterated by the late Māori Marsden, who stated that “the route to Māoritanga through abstract interpretation is a dead-end” (Marsden, 1992, p.117). Māori identity is not found abstractly, or from a measure of blood quantum, rather, the upbringing, teachings and participation in Māori societal practices and customs, these being the active socialisation of one's very own Māori identity (Karetau, 1990; Parata, 1990).

Within the overviewed literature, various focal points in cultural identity become evident. Traditional identity measures formed within a Māori ecology were that of tribal structures and cultural practices and customs. The literature portrays these being fundamentally built on the foundations of relationship across whānau, *hapū*, *iwi*, and connection to the whenua. Whilst importantly held together holistically by whakapapa and *wairuatanga*, interrelating all elements to the past, present and future of Te Ao Māori.

Traditional Māori identity in a contemporary landscape:

In contemporary post-colonial Māoridom, the traditional tribal structures, and cultural practices are still held as the foundational pillars underlying identity (Walker 1989; Rangihau, 1977; Moeke-Pickering 1996; Houkamau, 2015; Paringatai, 2016). Te Huia (2015) reiterates this, believing within contemporary Aotearoa, there continues to be the intergenerational transmission of traditional knowledge and customs fostering traditional Māori identity structures.

However, as Durie et al. (1995) allude too, the traditional identity has become detrimentally affected by a host of influencing factors within contemporary society. Identity itself, and how Māori identify has been forced to evolve with the changing socio-economic, political, cultural

and historical climates of post-colonial New Zealand. These changing patterns within Aotearoa society, economy, ecology, demography, technology, lifestyle characteristics, and cultural beliefs have created a dynamic diversity of affiliation, self-identification and engagement in traditional identity structures (Duire, 1995; Moeke-Pickering 1996). Greaves et al. (2017) portray that Māori whakapapa is now consequently held by a wide range of people, with varying ethnic compositions and differing cultural engagement levels.

Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor (2019) build on this notion describing the changing socio-cultural landscape of New Zealand leading to the contemporary loss of identity in cultural connection with traditional geographical tribal structures. They believe that this proceeding loss of *tūrangawaewae* (ones place to stand) has led to Māoridom being forced into cultivating and maintaining identity in environments counterintuitive to their growth. Durie (1995) and Te Huia (2015) support this concept, stipulating that traditional Māori identity has been forced to adapt within several cultural, ecological and socioeconomic realities, significantly leading to a loss of identity for Māori. Consequently, the loss of the conventional Maori lifestyle is having a significant effect on the socialisation and ability to engage with Māori traditional identity structures.

What has become evident is that contemporary New Zealand has forced a changing of dynamics within Aotearoa society, with Māori now situated within a Pākehā ecology (Moeke-Pickering, 1996). Durie (1997) summates this as very problematic, with contemporary Māori unafforded the ability to maintain cultural integrity in societal participation, without abandoning the essence of their own identity. Consequently, the literature suggests contemporary existence for Māori at a precipice of ultimatum; abandon the

essence of cultural identity to fit Western normality, or maintain cultural integrity and risk participation and integration in society.

The genesis of Māori existence within a Pākehā ecology:

Māori existence within a Pākehā ecology has shown to be incredibly problematic for culture and identity; consequently, the researcher believes this causal theme warrants more in-depth analysis. When looking through the archives of history between Māori and Pākehā, the researcher finds genesis around the colonisation of New Zealand (McCan, 2001). From this point in history, Māori as people have battled to maintain *tinō rangatiratanga* under the Crown's sovereignty (Liu & Lawson-Te Aho, 2010). Māori's existence within a colonised New Zealand has forced both individual and collective identity to "change or be damned" (Gibbons et al., 1994, p.1, as cited in Moeke-Pickering, 1996).

The research of Liu & Lawson Te-Aho (2010), Durie (1997), and Moeke-Pickering (1996) all portray that the impact of colonisation on Māori society has left centuries of generational hurt, and a lasting rupture within the Māori identity. They believe Māori have become disbanded from their *tūrangawaewae* due to this contemporary Pākehā ecology. Māori individuals have become forced to fit their identity within European hegemony's cultural paradigms and socioeconomic realities, a common theme throughout world colonisation on indigenous populations (Liu & Lawson Te-Aho, 2010). This process of colonisation and European assimilation has not only affected how Māori choose to engage or fit within a Pākehā society but has severed and subjugated the cultural foundations of Māoritanga. What has resulted from this legacy and history of cultural subjugation, is contemporary Māoridom now dealing with the fall out of cultural identity loss.

To fully grasp the changing dynamics of *Māori identity loss* within Aotearoa, *Chapter 4* will continue to digest this ideology in the chronicles of Māori and Colonial New Zealand history. Through this process, the research aims to develop a greater depth of exploration on the ideology of Māori identity loss, continuing to build the understanding of the impact of colonisation, while also investigating the present-day consequences and detrimental legacy colonisation has left on Aotearoa (Liu & Lawson Te-Aho 2010; Durie, 1997; Moeke-Pickering 1996; Reid & Robson, 2007; Houkamau, 2010; Durie, 1998; Walker, 1989; Te Huia, 2015).

Chapter 4: Māori identity loss

‘Toi tu te kupu, toi tu te mana, toi tu te whenua’.

‘Hold fast to our culture, for without language, without mana,
and without land, the essence of Māoridom will cease to exist.’

The following *Chapter* will further unpack the ideology of Māori cultural identity loss, continuing to digest a corrosive history of Māori culture and identity change, suggested by the researcher as finding root in the colonisation of Aotearoa.

However, to grasp the full scope of Māori identity loss stemming from colonisation, we must first understand the historical overview of Pākehā arrival within the shores of Aotearoa. This arrival opened the door to European exploration and migration, consequently catalysing the Crown’s languishing for the land of New Zealand. The Treaty of Waitangi is held within the literature as playing the explicit role in this process of colonising New Zealand, whilst also still contemporarily held as the integral document within the New Zealand constitution (McCan, 2001; Hitchcock, 2018; New Zealand Ministry of Justice, 2020; State Services Commission, 2005; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2001; Liu & Lawson-Te Aho, 2010). The Treaty is therefore the focal point of investigation for understanding the genesis of colonisation over Māoridom, and the proceeding relationship between Pākehā and Māori. This will be reviewed explicitly, unpacking the Treaty’s writings, proceeded by analysis into the legacy the Treaty of Waitangi and the colonisation of Aotearoa has left on the Tāngata Māori existence.

History of European arrival & Crown sovereignty in Aotearoa:

The brief 1642 expedition by Dutch explorer Abel Tasman lifted the veil on Aotearoa to the Colonial World. The earliest European voyage to witness its shores, with Tasman conducting the first geographical mapping of the islands and naming them New Zealand (Anaru, 2011; Rewi, 2000). In 1769, 127 years later, explorer James Cook under the Crown's commission, used Tasman's coordinates to reach the islands of Aotearoa again, charting both the North and South Islands clearing the century of ambiguity around New Zealand's geographical characteristics. This catalysed an opening of flood gates for European navigation, and over the proceeding decades, New Zealand became the focus of intense commercial exploitation, trade, and missionary evangelism. By the 1830's the number of British migrants began to amass within New Zealand, with the Crown initiating plans for extensive settlement, and the colonisation of Aotearoa to a British Colony (Anaru, 2011; Rewi, 2000).

In 1839 William Hobson was commissioned to Aotearoa as Lieutenant Governor, tasked with securing British sovereignty over the land and people; a process of colonisation the British monarchy had a 300-year legacy in. Hobson's commission was to establish an amicable Treaty between the British Monarchy and the indigenous Māori Chiefs as wars to enforce Crown sovereignty were described as becoming "extremely costly, and to be avoided" (McCan, 2001, p.11). By 1840 Lieutenant-Governor William Hobson and British Resident James Busby had prepared the Treaty of Waitangi, with missionaries Henry and Edward Williams translating a second copy into Te Reo Māori, known as Te Tiriti o Waitangi (McCan, 2001).

On the 6th February 1840, following days of debate between Māori and the Crown, the Te Reo Māori version of the document was signed by roughly 40 Māori Chiefs, notably famous

Māori leader Hone Heke. However, the uncertainty of the Treaty's intentions in Māoridom remained prevalent, with chiefs still refusing to sign the document (Anaru, 2011). It took the Crown a further six months to secure a majority of chieftain signatures at estimations of 500. British sovereignty was proclaimed by the Crown on the 21st May 1840, with forced application throughout all of Māoridom. New Zealand was thus pronounced a British colony globally, with the Treaty of Waitangi facilitating the colonisation of Māori and Aotearoa (State Services Commission, 2005; Lawson-Te Aho, 2010).

Te Tiriti o Waitangi:

The Treaty document is described by the State Services Commission (2005) as a broad statement of the principles, or the spirit of partnership, participation and protection, on which the British and Māori made a political compact or covenant to found a nation-state and build a functioning government within New Zealand. This Treaty of Waitangi is still “widely regarded as the most important event in New Zealand history and the founding document of New Zealand” (Liu et al., 1999, p.6). Although the Treaty was not initially drafted as a constitution or a statute, the Ministry of Justice (2020) state that the Treaty today is now widely held as Aotearoa's constitutional document, establishing and guiding the relationship between the Crown and Māoridom.

The research of Kirkwood, Liu, and Weatherall (2005) describe the Treaty being “initially proposed to serve as the centrepiece of a bicultural narrative wherein national sovereignty was based on a reciprocal covenant agreement between Maori, The Crown, and importantly God” (p. 6). However, as we begin to take a more in-depth analysis at the specific Treaty of Waitangi documents, the individual articles, and the language translation differences within these, the illumination of problematic discrepancies and potentially deceptive differences

within the two texts becomes evident. This notion of ambiguity has carried distinctively throughout its history and into contemporary New Zealand, where the Treaty is seen as a constitutional document, yet, holding status and role in New Zealand law that is less than settled (Ministry of Justice, 2020).

The Treaty of Waitangi & Te Tiriti o Waitangi discrepancies:

Opinion and consensus on how these language translation discrepancies came to pass are still divided within societal judgment and research literature. It has been proposed that the Treaty was prepared too hastily with an unintentional mistranslation of words between the two texts that favoured the Crown. Some propose that it was intentionally mistranslated to deceptively convey a different fabricated meaning to Māoridom. Whilst others suggest that the oral discussions had between treaty translators the days before signing may have involved different promises that potentially mattered more to Māori as a distinctly oral culture (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2001; Kirkwood et al., 2005; Liu et al., 1999; State Services Commission, 2005; Ruka, 2017).

Te Puni Kōkiri (2001) holds the opinion that the differences between the texts were not always apparent in discussions, proposing that the explanations given by the Crown representatives and missionaries were intended to assuage the key misgivings felt by Māori, by reassuring them that their *mana* would remain uncompromised. However, the Crown's benevolence and protection were emphasised in the Treaty instead. Te Puni Kōkiri believes it was probable that Māori as an oral culture with distinct familiarity in verbal agreements placed at least as much emphasis on the oral discussion as they did to the commitment of the written texts. Regardless of what the Crown intentions were prior to the Treaty, by May 1840, the ink had been spent by Māori. This partaking in the Treaty

represented what Te Puni Kōkiri (2001) describes as a benign, unintended ceding of absolute sovereignty from Māoridom, over to the British Monarchy.

As the research unpacks the translation differences between the two texts, vast difference of covenantal agreement and an utter lack of uniformity is evidenced between both documents. The researcher now provides a brief overview of these variances within each article. It is to note, that for this section Te Puni Kōkiri's (2001) '*Guide to the principals of the Treaty of Waitangi as expressed by the Courts and the Waitangi Tribunal*' will be used for the overview, due its validity as a governing resource for policy and advice on the Treaty of Waitangi within New Zealand.

The English version of the Preamble stipulates that British intentions are to protect Māori interest from encroaching British settlement, provide for their emigrated population to New Zealand, and establish government to enact law, order and maintain peace. The Māori text suggests that the Queen's main objective was to provide a Government with Māori securing tribal *tinō rangatiratanga*, chiefly autonomy and authority over the *iwi* boundaries, with Māori maintaining land ownership for as long as they wished to maintain it. "Most Māori present at the signings were probably left with the idea that their authority over their customs and law would remain intact, that their tribal *rangatiratanga* (chieftainship) would be enhanced, and that British governance would restore law and order, and also ward off French interest in the new colony" (Te Puni Kōkiri, p. 32).

The English version of Article 1 stipulates that Māoridom would give all absolute and without reservation rights and powers of sovereignty which all chiefs respectively exercise or possess. The Māori text was translated as Māori giving the crown 'te kāwanatanga katoa', or

purely the ‘government over their land’. Te Puni Kōkiri believes that Māori knew the meaning of *kāwanatanga* in relation to that of governance in familiar biblical literature, where the words used for power is more abstract than the concrete understanding. Māori also knew of this term in relation to its use for the ‘*kawana*’ or Governor of New South Wales. Māori believed this article’s definition kept their authority to maintain cultural autonomy, whilst ceding a right of governance or limited concession of power/*kāwanatanga* to the Queen, in return for Crown protection (State Services Commission, 2005). Te Puni Kōkiri (2001) interestingly notes that in the 1835 declaration of independence, the word *mana* was used to describe power and authority. In their perspective, no Māori Chief would have relinquished his or her *mana* to the Queen due to *mana*’s connection with Māori identity, culture, and spirituality.

Article 2 states that the Māori chieftains, tribes and people, collectively and individually, were guaranteed exclusive and undisturbed possession of their lands, estates, forests, fisheries and other properties they possess so long as it is their wish and desire. The article also outlined that the Crown had exclusive rights of ‘pre-emption of their land’. In contrast, the Māori text did not convey a notion of sole exclusivity in land sales, but more or less an agreement to give the Crown the first right of refusal. Furthermore, the Māori translation guaranteed Māoridom’ ‘te tino rangatiratanga o rātou whenua o rātou kāinga me o rātou taonga katoa’, translated as ‘the unqualified exercise of their chieftainship over their lands, villages and their treasures’. The Māori concept of *tino rangatiratanga* is referred to by Te Puni Kōkiri (2001) as a far more encompassing, broader capacity than just rights over property, with Māori believing that they would have the general unqualified and complete exercise of chiefly authority over their tribal domains and all ‘*taonga*’ (treasures). For Māori,

the concept of *taonga* includes not only material treasures, but also intangible values such as culture, customs, language, and genealogical knowledge (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2001).

The purpose of Article 3 was to satisfy humanitarian interests, whilst serving the overall goal of settlement. The English translation states that the Crown would ‘extend Her royal protection on Māori’ and ‘impart to them all the rights and privileges of British Subjects’. This was seen as a closer translation to the Māori text, stating that ‘the Crown promises to protect the indigenous people of New Zealand, and give them equal rights and duties of citizenship as the people of England’. Te Puni Kōkiri (2001) attain that “Māori almost certainly understood that their existence as a distinct people and their ways of life would be protected (reinforcing their understanding of the Crown’s obligations in Article 2), and that they would enjoy an equitable share in all the benefits and innovations of settlement” (p.40).

The epilogue was used to confirm that both parties note that they have entered into the Treaty. The English version of the postscript states that the chieftains had been ‘made to fully understand the provisions of the foregoing Treaty, and entered into its full spirit and meaning’. Whilst the Māori translation holds a lot more ambiguity, stating that the ‘Chief’s meeting at Waitangi have seen the shape of these words, and accept and agree to record their names’ (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2001).

The signing of the Treaty was the formation of a highly contentious constitutional document, becoming the unstable pillar to the New Zealand Colony. The translations differences portray a treaty that severely lacked reliability in language translation and the validity of supposedly credible Crown intentions. The focal points concluded from both documents were that in the Te Reo Māori text, Māoridom was not ceding sovereignty to the Crown but allowing

kāwanatanga or Crown governance, whilst maintaining *tino rangatiratanga* or the self-determination and autonomy of their people, culture, and lands. In contradiction, the English translation refuted both these translated statements, with Māori ceding all power and authority of sovereignty to the Crown.

What remained in the newly formed British colony of New Zealand was a host of questions of sincerity towards the proposed symbiosis of partnership and relationship the covenant agreement was supposed to entail amicably. However abstruse, deceptive, or disingenuous the details of the Treaty of Waitangi were for Māori, what was not ambiguous was the signing of the Treaty now gave British Monarchy the fundamental mandate to initiate and accelerate Crown aspirations towards the colonisation of Aotearoa and Māoridom.

The Treaty of Waitangi catalysing the colonisation of Māoridom:

By the 1870's, a mere forty years after the Treaty signing, the Māori population were outnumbered ten to one by British immigrants, with the reciprocal Treaty agreement described as appearing to have been dropped from settler consciousness (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2001).

Where humanitarian concerns had dominated much of the planning within the Colonial Office between 1835 and 1852, with the passage of the New Zealand Constitution and the institution of self-governance by the settlers, as well as the greatly increased number of migrants to New Zealand, the focus quickly shifted away from the deliberations of the Colonial Office towards settlers and their own agendas (Durie, 2004; p. 4).

What proceeded the Treaty were decades of Sovereignty wars throughout New Zealand, with Māori battling to uphold *tino rangatiratanga* over their lands and people. The research of O'Malley (2019) describes plainly the apparent cause of the Land Wars being that Māori occupied the land, and the British wanted it. By 1870, over two-thirds of Aotearoa, roughly estimated at 40 million acres of land, had been acquired by the Crown. Accumulated through pressure on Māori to sell their lands, land warfare, and the multitude of new preferential legislation and policies enforced for the Crown's legal justification for land confiscation, and indigenous subjugation and assimilation (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2001). The state of the new Colonial society a paradox to the ideological principles the Treaty of Waitangi was signed by Māoridom to uphold.

Māori were continuing to protest the honouring of the Treaty, and assert it in their dealings with unsympathetic New Zealand Courts and Colonial Legislation. This culminated in *Wi Parata v The Bishop of Wellington* at the New Zealand Supreme Court in 1870. Chief Justice Prendergast ruled that “the courts lacked the ability to consider claims based on aboriginal or native title... The Treaty of Waitangi was found to be worthless in his beliefs as it had been signed between a civilised nation and a group of savages who were not capable of signing a treaty” (New Zealand History, 2020, para.4). Since the Treaty had not been incorporated into domestic law, it was stated by the chief justice to be nothing but a ‘simple nullity’.

This aftermath of the Treaty of Waitangi left Māoridom fighting for the honouring of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, whilst struggling to uphold autonomous sovereignty and self-determination of their lands, people, and culture. Not only was this incredibly problematic, but Māoridom were now faced with what history shows as an autocratic government that tyrannously viewed the constitutional document as a simple nullity. This description of a nullity rendered

the Treaty as legally void, and of no importance. Māori were left clutching at straws, disbanded from their *tūrangawaewae*, and fighting to maintain more than just identity, but the survival of Māoridom.

The colonisation of Aotearoa:

By the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in the mid 19th century, the empire of the Crown already encompassed 11.5 million square miles, ruling over a quarter of the World's population; a lust for Crown expansion driven by trade, capitalism and consumerism (Waitangi Tribunal, 2012). By the time Great Britain began the colonial conquest of Aotearoa, they had already amassed considerable experience in the techniques of indigenous domination and subjugation through colonisation (Walker, 2016).

Blakemore (2019) portrays colonisation as control by a dominant power over a dependent area or people, where the nation's subjugation occurs, conquering, exploiting, and forcing cultural hegemony upon the inhabitants. Blakemore describes how in this process of colonisation the dominant group will justify their conquest by asserting legal, peace, and religious obligation. Through this assertion Blakemore describes the fostering of hegemonic indoctrination that the colonial power as the superior race are indeed acting in the best interests of the land and people they exploit. Throughout the array of the British colonialism archives, these oppressive and nepotistic acts have had many heinous manifestations throughout indigenous populations; ranging from the subjugation and destruction of culture to the ravenous pillaging and violent plundering of people and land, the spread of disease, and a multitude of human rights violations from slavery, to the climaxing of mass human genocide (Blakemore, 2019).

The research of Walker (2016) highlights the historical technique of Crown colonisation in great detail. He believes trade was used at the frontier, opening up new lands and resources for exploitation. This was followed by cultural invasion where treaty-making gains a foothold on the land and imposes the Colonial worldview on the natives. Tribalism is then manipulated to divide and rule through military invasion, political domination and the confiscation and expropriation of resources by legal means. Walker (2016) describes this as creating a “state of terrorism and intimidation of non-conformist pacifist populations” (p.20).

This hegemony process works by inundating the societal structures and institutions of the subordinate culture in the authority of the dominant culture (Darder, 1991). Dominant values, beliefs and social practices are systematically structured within all forms of societal regulation, where the culture and the values of the oppressive become promoted over the subjugated people (Ka’ai-Mahuta, 2011). The adverse effects of colonisation and cultural hegemony were copious for Māori, resulting in population decline, loss of chiefly *mana*, loss of power, political marginalisation, impoverishment, and generations of erosion in language, culture, and self-respect (Walker, 2016).

Through the years following the Treaty of Waitangi, this hegemonic assimilation process on the indigenous Māori population continued to grow. The Crown began to push the investment of infrastructure, trade, dissemination of medical and technological knowledge, the input of religious doctrine, encouragement of literacy, the adoption of Crown human rights standards, and also the implementations of frameworks for democracy and governmental systems within New Zealand (Blackmore, 2019). However well-intentioned the portrayal of the Crown's quest for civilisation, coupled with this process of colonisation was the forced coercion of assimilation, where the British racial hierarchy placed Europeans above all indigenous

populations, opening the door to a tyrannous legacy of autocracy and nepotism (Walker, 1989; Walker, 2016; Te Whāiti, McCarthy & Durie 1997; Lawson Te-Aho, 2010; Durie, 1995; Durie, 1997; Walker, 2016).

The research of Te Whāiti et al. (1997) and Durie (1997) illuminates this process from the indigenous perspective. They define colonisation in New Zealand as enabling the assertion of force, power, control and subjugation over the indigenous population; a tyrannous act of assimilation to colonial power and British ideologies. They believe this was a process of destruction and violation over Māoridom and their lands, likened to an act of rape, robbing the culture of their healing practices and purposefully severing their development. Te Whāiti et al. (1997) believe this forced alignment to a hegemonic discourse of European enculturation creates a society built on a Crown cultured echo chamber, facilitating the generational rupture of Māoritanga, and Māori self-determination and autonomy. Consequently, the identity of Māori and the culture collective Māoridom continued to be eroded year in, year out following the Treaty.

Colonisation within Aotearoa was a structural relationship of Pākehā domination and Māori subordination, with this existence of a dominant European ecology becoming a pivotal factor in the weakening of Māori identity (Walker, 2016; Moeke-Pickering, 1996). This colonial despoliation refined Māori and Pākehā ethnicity to the identification of binary opposites, competing for land, resources, status and power, suppressing Māoridom, and enculturating the society in European hegemony (Walker, 1989). Walker believes that Crown masked full control over Māoridom, through the function of power, and the disciplinary procedures and self-regulation of everyday life. Again, the words of Gibbons et al. (1994) ring true, where Māori were forced to “change or be damned” (p.1).

Crown governance & the structural dismantling of Māoridom:

What becomes evident throughout the research review is that the mandate of the Treaty of Waitangi initiated British colonisation processes towards the corrosion of the Māori society. Māoridom were losing their whenua and *tino rangatiratanga*, consequently dismantling cultural practices, customs and tribal structures (the key Māori identity fundamentals outlined in *Chapter 3*). Māori faced an antagonistic Pākehā societal system of law, governance, education, economics and health, dominating Aotearoa. These structures of nepotistic governance continued to facilitate Māori cultural subjugation through hegemonic societal regulation. This functioned to maintain a structural relationship of British domination and continued Māori subordination and cultural destruction of the colonisation process.

Loss of whenua:

Te Puni Kōkiri (2011) state that Māori were given “repeated categorical assurances at Waitangi and Hokianga that the Queen did not want the land, but merely the sovereignty, that she, by her officers might be able more effectually to govern her subjects who had already settled, or might arrive, and punish those of whom be might be guilty of crime” (p.32). Te Puni Kōkiri (2011) also describe how Crown representatives pledged to never forcibly take Māori land, stating that truth and justice would always typify the interactions of the Crown, “with both Hobson and Busby assuring the chiefs that all lands unjustly held would be returned to Māori” (p.32).

History however shows a stark contradiction to the statements of Hobson & Busby. By the year 1870, over two-thirds of Aotearoa land was residing in European ownership; a mere thirty years on from these promises to Māoridom (Waitangi Tribunal, 2012). This mass taking of whenua alienated tribal and *hapū* groups away from their ancestral origins and tribal

organisations, a loss of tribal structures and *tūrangawaewae* that would become incredibly problematic in the future of Māoritanga (Walker, 1989; Duran & Duran, 1995; Te Whaiti et al., 1997). The research of Reid et al. (2016) also stipulates that these mass traumatic events of displacement and land loss during colonisation continued to degrade the Māori identity; incurring generations of chronic and acute collective sufferings on Māoridom.

These causal effects of land loss and adverse wellbeing are enlightened when viewed in perspective of a Te Ao Māori World view. Māori place themselves within the natural World, not apart from it, a mutualistic view of relationship in a symbiosis between human and land (Reid et al., 2016). Māori relationships with the land were built over thousands of years and generations, permeating all aspects of Māori being and living, with Māori viewing the whenua as life-giving as the placenta of an unborn baby (Rito, 2007). As highlighted in *Chapter 3*, Māori culture and identity are fundamentally intertwined with these reciprocal relationships with whenua. Consequently, alienation from ancestral whenua had significant effects on Māoridom, corroding identity, breaking the *take pū* (values) of interconnectedness within the people and tribal groups, as well as significant socio-economic depravity where the loss of land resulted in lack of accessibility to living, working, and developing an economic base (Walker, 1989; Durie, 1995). This loss of whenua for Māoridom also compromised cultural and psychological well-being and created intergenerational economic problems still evident in contemporary Māoridom today (Reid et al., 2016).

Through comprehending the Māori perspective on what whenua embodies, an understanding is garnered that the mass land loss throughout Aotearoa was more than merely the loss of a material or economic resource, but an assault on Te Ao Māori, Māori identity, and the *tūrangawaewae* of Māoridom (Reid et al., 2016). Kirkwood (2000) describes this powerful

concept of *tūrangawaewae*, as the external World or whenua being a reflection of an inner sense of security and foundations, found in the mountains, rivers and waterways to which one can claim a relationship and identity. This internal sense of connection being ones *tūrangawaewae*, their foundations and their place to stand. Consequently, the loss of 95% of Māori land has had traumatic consequences with Māori identity so intimately associated with place and whenua. Broughton (1993) describes *tūrangawaewae* being unequivocally dismantled, and the life beat of Māoridom, the whenua, taken from beneath their feet.

Loss of tino rangatiratanga:

Tino rangatiratanga in Māoridom is the concept of autonomy, self-determination, sovereignty and self-governance; Māori maintaining charge of whenua, resources, and authority and independence over Māori aspirations and ongoings (Liu & Lawson-Te Aho, 2010). *Tino rangatiratanga* is described by Hitchcock (2018) as “living according to our *tikanga*, striving wherever possible to ensure that the homes, land, and resources guaranteed to us under Te Tiriti o Waitangi are protected for the use and enjoyment of future generations... It is about ensuring that our communities are healthy, well-educated, and can live a good life” (para.2). Nevertheless, the Colonial history of Aotearoa portrays these promises of *tino rangatiratanga* signed by Māori under the expectation of being honoured, a far cry from the Colonial New Zealand reality.

Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor (2019) portray Maori sovereignty being under attack since before the writings of the Treaty, as a central practice of the Crown colonisation process. Throughout Te Tiriti, specifically the preamble and article 2, *tino rangatiratanga* was a guaranteed promise for Māoridom in a pledged reciprocal power relation between both Māori and the Crown. However, the English translation of the Treaty of Waitangi contradicted this,

with Māori losing all land governance, ceding all sovereignty, power and authority to the Crown. *Tino rangatiratanga*, an essential component to the flourishing and self-determination of Māori, was left in the hands of Crown rule inside a Pākehā ecology.

Discriminatory legislation & policies:

After the signing of the Treaty, and the loss of *tino rangatiratanga* for Māori, the possibility of a legal system that would accommodate for Māori custom quickly gave way to an expectation that there should be one law for all, that of English law (Durie, 2004). Māori were forced into subservience of British rule and law where the pre-Treaty propositions of incorporating Māori traditional law into legislation was only viewed as a temporary matter. Taonui (2012) describes the governing Crown structures as assuming all Māori would eventually become assimilated into settler society, rendering all peoples within New Zealand subject to an English body of law, that would no longer account for Māori specific measures.

Not only did Māori customary lore fall to the wayside of Colonial legality, but the newly formed New Zealand Governments began to introduce Māori specific discriminatory legislation and policies that directly assaulted the cultural aspirations and self-determination of Māoridom, subjugating *tino rangatiratanga* on collective and individual levels. Durie (2004) depicts this driving force for legislative programmes in parliament as a thirst for the acquisition of Māori land, with a host of statutes being enacted from 1862 onwards. He describes this period's political ideology in New Zealand legislative history as the 'colonisation process', the transitions to assimilation, and the attempted absorption of Māori into a monocultural nation.

Whenua and tino rangatiratanga:

The *Native Lands Acts* of 1862 and 1865 provided the mandate for large scale land alienation, giving Crown a legal means of land acquisition and land confiscation from Māori at their discretion (Durie, 2004). This directly dismantled the *tino rangatiratanga* of tribal leaders and the systems of social and economic organisation in Māoridom. Māori resisted this encroaching land confiscation, resulting in Crown orchestrating further legislative means.

The *Suppression of Rebellion Act 1863* and *The New Zealand Settlement Act 1883* was hastily passed by all Pākehā parliaments enabling the seizure of Māori land without compensation; this confiscation of land was viewed by O'Malley (2019) as more than an afterthought or a response to Māori actions, but an integral part of the overall colonisation process. After *iwi* began taking up arms against imperial invasion, wars between Māori and the Crown ensued with *The Māori Prisoners Trial Act of 1879* introduced to give Crown the right to imprison Māori without trial.

A further three years later, the *West Coast Peace Preservation Act of 1882* was passed in parliament, enabling the Crown rights and jurisdiction of indefinite imprisonment of Māori without trial, juxtaposed in the same act offering indemnity to British settlers who were described as having to commit offences while dealing with the same land war difficulties (Durie, 2004). Māori resources within the land also began to be appropriated by legislative means that assumed no Māori interests over the protection of *whenua*. The *Oyster Fisheries Act of 1866* (also expanded on in 1874) provided the leasing of Māori sea and foreshore oyster beds for commercial gain; the autocracy of Crown justification for appropriating the *whenua* resources highlighted in Durie (2004) as “the natives would have acquired other tastes” (p.6).

In just over half a century since the supposed amicable Treaty was signed, The *Tohunga Suppression Act of 1907* was also passed. “At its most basic meaning, the term *tohunga* merely refers to an expert” (Stephens, 2001,p.4). *Tohunga* in Māoridom were diverse, more than just traditional healers, but also the traditional knowledge holders and experts across all fields of Te Ao Māori. Subsequently, the act made it illegal and an offence for *Tohunga* to practice forms of traditional Māori healing, or any form of tohungaism, legislatively subjugating and outlawing the experts and leaders of Māoridom. The *Tohunga Suppression Act* did not veil its nepotistic intent as the earlier discriminatory laws but was a clear and decisive Act of suppression, subjugation and colonial imperialism against the *Tohunga* and experts within the Māori community. The Act of suppression stood for well over half a century until repealed by the *Māori Welfare Act of 1962*.

Stephens (2001) and Durie (2004) also allude to the *Tohunga Suppression Act* being far more than just the discrimination of Māori cultural practice restrictions, but a repressive act out of an acute fear for Māori *tinō rangatiratanga* in Pākehā colonial aspirations. Both Durie (2004) & Stephens (2001) describe that the *Tohunga* and prophets within Māoridom were seen as obstacles to the enculturation and amalgamation of colonial New Zealand. The acts were directly related to counteracting the growing influence of Māori leaders who offered the potential to be subversive to Crown rule and authority.

Te Reo Māori:

Before European colonisation, Te Reo Māori or the Māori language was the only language spoken within Māoridom. It was a pan-tribal language with minute dialectical differences between various *iwi* and regions (Ka’ ai-Mahuta, 2011). Te Reo Māori was held at the core of Māori culture and *mana*. Ngā Puhi leader Sir James Henare once summated this ideology

stating ‘ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori, the language is the life force of the *mana* Māori’ (Jenkins & Ka’ai, 1994). Whilst further emphasised in the traditional *whakataukī* ‘*ko taku reo, taku ohoho, ko taku reo, taku māpihi māūrea* - my language is my awakening, my language is the window to my soul’.

By 1860, less than a decade on from the signing of the Treaty, English had become the dominate language of New Zealand, with Te Reo Māori confined to Māori specific communities existing outside of Pākehā (Ka’ai-Mahuta, 2011). By 1979, merely 130 years after the Treaty of Waitangi promised protection of Te Reo Māori, language loss had become so severe it was believed Māori would suffer a language death (Walker, 2004). The research of Te Whāiti et al. (1997) and Ka’ai-Mahuta (2011) attribute language loss to colonisation and the State policy of assimilation through the Treaty mandate eroding the status of Te Reo Māori. From its inception, the researchers suggest that the New Zealand Government continually passed legislation, directly and indirectly, detrimental to the Māori language, furthering the colonial agenda of cultural assimilation and language domination through the State education system.

The Education Ordinance Act of 1847 was introduced for the purpose of assimilation, requiring English to be the language of teaching and instruction in all boarding schools (Ka’ai-Mahuta, 2011). This ordinance led to the establishment of boarding schools throughout New Zealand that Walker (2004) describes as being initiated by the Crown to take rangatahi Māori away from the colonial perception of a demoralising influence of Māori villages. This separated rangatahi from their language and cultural base and hastened the Māori assimilation to the usages and habits of the British (Walker, 2004). What followed was *The Native Schools Act of 1867*, enabling a national system of state control on rangatahi

Māori within the native schooling system (Walker, 2016). The department of native affairs controlled the schools, with Māori given no say in the curriculum as *Mātauranga Māori* (traditional Māori knowledge) was seen as low down in the hierarchy of knowledge (Walker, 2016). This presumptuous ideology of Māori inferiority was explicitly highlighted by School inspector Henry Taylor declaring “I do not advocate for the natives under present circumstances a refined education or high mental culture ... they are better calculated to get their living by manual than by mental labour” (Simon, 1998, p.11).

This *Native Schools Act* played the catalyst for the forbidding, fining and punishment of Māori for practising their language, culture or customs. These schools enforced cultural surrender, and for the majority of Māori become a site of resistance and cultural conflict (Walker, 2016). The inspector of Native Schooling enacted the *Native School Code of 1880*, progressively displacing Te Reo Māori with English as the medium for Native School teaching. Walker (2016) suggests that the teachers translated this Native Schools code into a generalised prohibition of te reo within schooling, resulting in Tāngata Māori right up to the mid 20th century claiming these sanctioned language prohibitions were enforced with corporal punishment. New Zealand History (2021) state that in the “Māori perspective, the place of the language in the life of the nation is indicative of the place of the people” (para.9). If the Treaty was signed under the proposition of amicability and partnership, one could only question the fulfilment of these promises when Māori were not even afforded the validation of Te Reo Māori in their day-to-day life, nor its validity within a court of law.

Contemporary consequences of discriminatory legislation & policies:

What becomes overwhelming evident in the consequences of these assimilative policies is the subjugation and reduction of societal opportunity and participation for Māori. The Ministerial

Advisory Committee (1988) highlight that by using these structures of discriminatory policy and legislation, the foundations of the traditional Māori society could be weakened at its base, dismantling the *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*. “Through land alienation, economic impoverishment, mass settler immigration, land warfare, cultural marginalisation, forced social change and multi-level hegemonic racism, Indigenous cultures, economies, populations and rights have been diminished and degraded over more than seven generations” (Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019, p.19). By weakening the tribal structures, the Crown, in turn, were reducing the primacy of the Māori identity, the key fundamental in the colonisation process. This constant erosion of the traditional structures of Māoridom took away the foundation of the cultural identity, severed connection with the land, diminished history and *whakapapa*, almost deconstructing the entire Māori cultural world view; critical fundamentals in the colonisation process (Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019).

This colonisation process was catalysed through the Treaty of Waitangi and discriminatory legislative policies, leading to a proceeding inundation of Pākehā ecology within Aotearoa. These processes were highlighted as the vehicle to the subjugation of Māoritanga, and the identity loss of Māoridom through the assimilation of Western hegemonic culture, ideologies and practices. This has detrimentally lead to the suppression of *tino rangatiratanga* fracturing the various tribal structures and cultural practices and customs of Māoridom, severing the foundational pillars of the Māori identity.

CHAPTER 5: Māori identity measurement & frameworks

Due to the corrosive influences of a Pākehā ecology on the Māori identity, Māori must now choose how to identify and engage, as prior to colonisation Māori had inherent identification processes through whakapapa and the *tikanga* and *kawa* of their *iwi* and *hapū* (Te Whāiti et al., 1997). Within the scope of modern literature, several frameworks have been developed to conceptualise this multifactorial ideology of contemporary Māori identity and how Māori now identify. These frameworks have all looked to qualitatively and quantitatively locate identity measures in reference to specific characteristics of Māori identity, culture, wellbeing and knowledge. Through a review of literature, varying Māori cultural identity frameworks have been assessed throughout the empirical research base. The researcher now presents a brief overview of the popular Māori identity typologies that laid the groundwork for present-day frameworks, whilst also suggesting the best frameworks for assessing Māori identity contemporarily for the purpose of the investigation.

The early studies of Ritchie (1963) proposed a simple 10-item scale in assessing the “degree of ‘Māoriness’ of individuals” (p.38). These scale items were comprised of the following: three quarters or more Māori; visit *marae* often; uses the services of *Tohunga*; uses a Māori name; conversational Māori better than fair; Te Reo Māori spoken at home 50% or more of the time; can name traditional canoe; can name tribal affiliation; can name *marae*, lives in a *papakāinga*. By the 1990s research measures began to transition to incorporate contemporary Māori, and accommodate the changing social landscape of Aotearoa. Durie (1998) was an early catalyst into the study of contemporary Māori cultural heterogeneity. His analysis identified three main Māori subgroups: One group Durie argued were ‘culturally’ Māori,

Māori who understood whakapapa, Te Reo Māori, and *Tikanga Māori*. The next group were ‘biculturally’ Māori, Māori who identified as Māori, however, operated effectively in Te Ao Pākehā (The Pākehā world). The third group were ‘marginalised’ Māori, Māori who were not able to relate to either Māori or Pākehā groups effectively (Durie, 1998). In parallel, the study of Williams (2000) describes a similar typology to Durie, with his model grouping Māori identity with four main themes. Group one represents a ‘traditional Māori core’, the most enculturated of the groups, usually dwelling outside of urban environments, whilst speaking both Māori and English. Group two were classed as ‘primarily urban’ and bicultural Māori. Group three were described as ‘unconnected’, biologically Māori but knew little of their whakapapa and culture. Whilst group four were typified as a large group of people who are culturally indistinguishable from that of Pākehā (Williams, 2000).

The research field within New Zealand began to evolve, as portrayed in Stevenson (2004) where he looked to “standardise the use of a single factor measure of cultural identity based on cultural indicators” (p.37). This quantitative framework proposed a single measure of Māori cultural identity, relative to a weighted aggregate of an individual’s score on seven Māori cultural indicators. These indicators were: Māori language with the highest weighting, followed categorically by whānau involvement, whakapapa knowledge, self-identification, marae visits, Māori contact, and financial interest in Māori whenua (Stevenson, 2004). Stevenson’s rationale for the weighting was based on a subjective assessment of each factor's contribution to a unique Māori identity, under the belief that identity could be approximated through the prioritising, quantification and aggregation of these cultural indicators. This methodology type was similarly proposed by the Houkamau & Sibley’s (2015) multi-dimensional model of Māori Identity and Cultural Engagement (MMM-ICE2). This framework was developed as an empirical base for Māori identity when quantitatively

analysing the extent of Māori identity in an individual. The framework is a 7-factor measure that assessed the following aspects of identity and cultural engagement as Māori: group membership evaluation, socio-political consciousness, cultural efficacy and active identity engagement, spirituality, interdependent self-concept, authenticity beliefs, and perceived appearance.

The above typologies and methodologies were foundational in developing valid and reliable identity report measures within the varying dimensions of Māori identity and cultural engagement within empirical research. However, drawing upon the knowledge acquired throughout the previous Chapters, the researcher believes that the holistic identity of Māori cannot merely be 'quantified' in its trueness using Western methodologies, nor the scientific method as the reviewed scope of empirical research has utilised.

Quantifying measures within Te Ao Pākehā or Western academia are very specific, finitely detailed and do not always translate into a Te Ao Māori worldview. The cultural perspectives within Māoridom produce a holism of thought, very metaphorical, generally descriptive and not prescriptive, holistically connecting ideologies that Western lenses of analysis often interpret as too broad, or lacking specificity. The researcher believes that to produce an optimal, multifactorial framework that analyses Maori identity from a Te Ao Māori worldview; practices must be conducted through a lens that emanates from within the culture, drawing upon *Kaupapa Māori* methodology. This is not done to invalidate previous research, nor the reliability of their methodologies, but to garner culturally relevant and applicable information to Māori. Stevenson (2004) affirms this, explicitly highlighting that in analysing Māori identity, *Kaupapa Māori* methodology becomes critical, as an array of cultural indicators and cultural commonalities from all aspects of Maoritanga need to be viewed from

within the culture in order to produce a valid and reliable measure that summates the Māori reality within Te Ao Māori.

Kaupapa Māori methodology:

Kaupapa Māori methodology can be described as a derivative of distinct cultural epistemological and metaphysical foundations, incorporating all that is *Mātauranga Māori*, Māori pedagogy, and *Tikanga Māori* (Nepe, 1991; Waiti, 2007). It is research by Māori, for Māori and with Māori (Waiti, 2007; Smith, 1997). *Kaupapa Māori* challenges the dominant Western approach, addressing Māori needs and giving full recognition to all that is Māoritanga (Nepe, 1991). *Kaupapa Māori* promotes critical thought, developing critiques of Pākehā constructions and definitions of Māori, affirming the importance of Māori self-determinism and self-evaluation (Smith, 1997). The timeless words of the great Māori philosopher Māori Marsden summate these ideologies well:

the route to Māoritanga through abstract interpretation is a dead end; The way can only lie through the passionate, subjective approach... Māoritanga is a thing of the heart rather than the head... analysis is necessary only to make explicit what Māori understands implicitly in daily living, feeling, acting and deciding... from within the culture (Marsden, 1992, p.117).

Kaupapa Māori research paradigms were developed in response to cultural practices, preferences and Māori aspirations for *tino rangatiratanga* in health and wellbeing (Smith, 1997). The fundamental research of Smith (1997), Pihama (2001) and Pohatu (2013) identify the key elements incorporated within *Kaupapa Māori* research:

- Tino Rangatiratanga - self-determination
- Taonga tuku iho - validating cultural aspiration

- Ako Māori - culturally preferred pedagogy
- Kia piki ake I ngā rauraru o te kainga - socio-economic mediation
- Whānau - extended family structure
- Kaupapa - collective philosophy
- Ata - growing respectful relationships
- Te Tiriti o Waitangi - the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi

With the current state of Māori health, and specifically the current research investigation into *whakamomori*, it becomes essential that research approaches are applicable, practical and specific for Māoridom. Coupe (2005) highlights that *Kaupapa Māori* models of health and wellbeing provide a context for examining the whole spectrum of Māori suicide, so that the conclusions are appropriate for Māori, addressing the broader determinants within a Māori cultural framework.

Kaupapa Māori frameworks for cultural identity:

The previous typologies as a means of measuring Maori cultural identity, while all very concise, lack discrimination. Durie's (1995) study utilised a *Kaupapa Māori* methodological approach to gauge Māori identity with a culturally applicable Māori framework (McKenzie & Carter, 2010). Durie's Māori identity framework, *Te Hoe Nuku Roa*, was one of the first innovative multi-dimensional models that looked to holistically link identity from a Te Ao Māori perspective. Durie related identity with the relationship between culture, individual/group dynamics, change over time, and socio-economics. His framework was developed in conjunction with a longitudinal study by Massey University, and has continued to be adapted over time (Stevenson, 2004). The *Te Hoe Nuku Roa* model is built on a relational framework made up of four interacting axes that summate Māori identity well:

- i) Paihere tangata: or human relationships with individuals, households and whānau.
- ii) Te Ao Maori: or Maori culture and identity according to mana ake (personal identity), taonga tuku iho (cultural heritage), ngā rawa o Rangi rāua ko Papa (natural resources), and whakanōhanga Māori (Māori institutions).
- iii) Nga āhuetanga noho-ā-tangata: or the socio-economic circumstances including ārangā tangata (wellbeing), whai tūnga (societal standing), and whai hunga (economic position).
- iv) Ngā whakanekeneketanga: or change over time in relation to impact of particular policies on the Māori individual and household, change in household dynamic, mobility, and their improvement or deterioration in socio-economics (Durie, 1995).

Although all overviewed frameworks were shown as valuable throughout the differing investigations into Tāngata Māori, they are not considered suitable for this research's specific purpose. The focal conclusions of *Chapter 3 (Traditional Māori identity)* are what this research has used as the prerequisite to the key requirements of an optimal identity framework measure; where traditional Māori identity are the cultural markers used to assess the current state of contemporary Māori. To reiterate, these traditional identity measures & markers formed within a Māori ecology were broadly comprised of the following: tribal structures, cultural practices, cultural customs, and Te Reo Māori; built on the foundations of relationship with whānau, hapū, iwi, and whenua; with whakapapa and *wairuatanga* weaving and interrelating these elements holistically to the past, present and future of Te Ao Māori.

The present research now proposes that throughout the current body of literature, the McLachlan et al. (in press) *Whiti Te Rā* framework is the ideal model of identity, health and

wellbeing for the investigation. The researcher deems this framework as fulfilling the ideological prerequisites, whilst also elaborating and building upon a *Kaupapa Māori* paradigm. This health and identity model was initially created to build health and wellbeing resilience in Māori by conceptualising an active therapeutic framework for engagement in cultural pathways. It is also to be reiterated that the six cultural *ara* (pathways) outlined by McLachlan et al. (in press) also encapsulate, and expand on our review of literature, affirming and expanding on the traditional Māori identity markers in *Chapter 3*.

Whiti Te Rā Model of health and identity:

The McLachlan et al. (in press) *Whiti Te Rā* model of health, wellbeing and identity (see Figure 4.) intrinsically links Māori cultural identity to health and wellbeing outcomes. The model was formulated by McLachlan et al. as a response to what they believed was a lack of deep understandings of Māori cultural concepts in Māori health models and treatment modalities, with current frameworks not uncovering the complex interactions of Māori wellbeing and identity. *Whiti te Rā* enables what McLachlan et al. (in press) propose as the optimal framework for analysing *Mātauranga Māori* in health. This model links cultural identity with wellbeing outcomes, positioning identity and health as synonymous with one another, never existing independently. The framework proposes that strengthening the individual's cultural identity will also strengthen the pathway to optimal health and wellbeing. This is a traditional Māori ideology evidenced within the *whakataukī* ‘*he tina ki runga, he tāmōre ki raro* - in order to flourish above, one must be firmly rooted below’. This pathway towards optimal health and wellbeing is highlighted by McLachlan et al. (in press) as a quest for *Mauri Ora* (enthrallment of life) within Māori.

Mauri (life force) within Māoridom is the concept of inner life force, shaping the *wairua* (spirit), balancing the *hinengaro* (mind), contextualising the body, evidenced by the vitality, integrity, energy and establishment of relationships in an individual’s environment (Pohatu, 2011). Subsequently, *Mauri Ora* is the concept of one's mauri flourishing, suggesting “robust spirituality, optimism, cultural engagement, emotional control, positive thinking, vitality and energy, rewarding relationships and a readiness to engage with others” (Duire, 2017, p.62). If optimal health, vitality and *Mauri Ora* is to be achieved, the task is to ensure that the mauri can become strong, and in a vibrant state of *Mauri Ora*. McLachlan et al. (in press) believe that through the strengthening of the six fundamental cultural identity pathways highlighted within the *Whiti Te Rā* model, restoration of *Mauri Ora*, or optimal wellbeing and vitality can be achieved across all dimensions of health. Evidently, securing these fundamental aspects of Māori identity serves as the most significant pathway to optimal hauora (health).

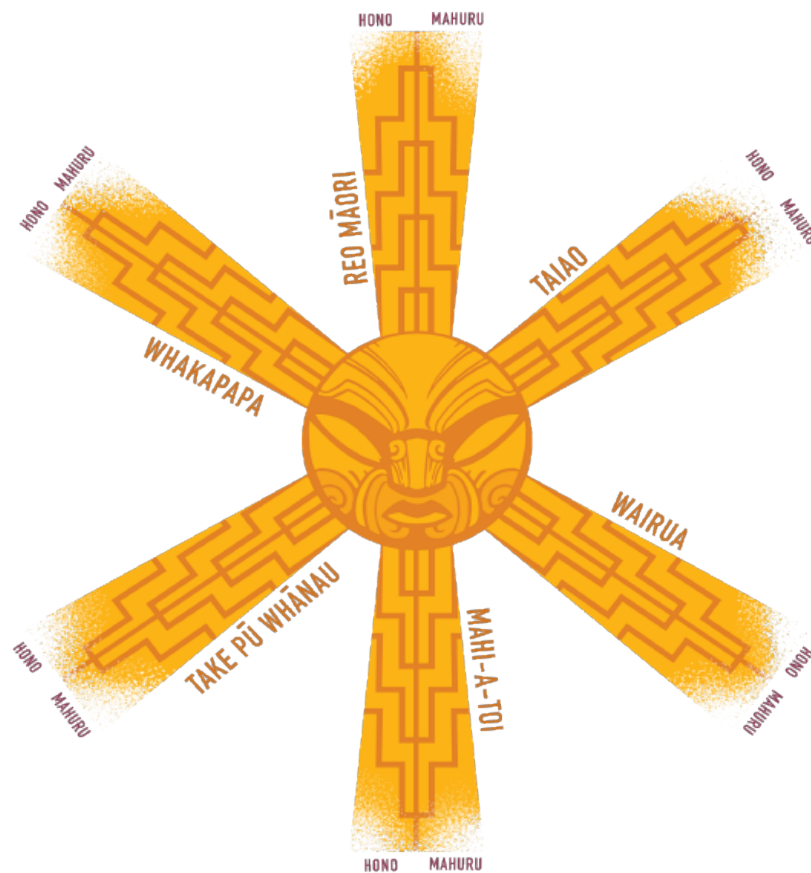


Figure 4. Whiti Te Rā Model of Health (McLachlan et al., in press)

The *Whiti Te Rā* model of health is firmly rooted in *Kaupapa Māori* methodology, derived within a Te Ao Māori worldview. The researchers utilised *Mātauranga Māori*, whakapapa, *tūpuna kōrero* (conversations), and historical *pūrākau* (stories) in the formulation of their model. The framework conceptually represents wellbeing as *Tamanuiterā* (the sun), with the six *hihi* (sunbeams) depicting the six key cultural *ara* (pathways), termed *ngā āhutanga* or dimensions of the Māori identity.

Ngā āhutanga:

1. Ngā Ara whakapapa
2. Ngā Ara Wairua
3. Ngā Ara Mahi-a- toi
4. Ngā Ara Reo Māori
5. Ngā Ara Taiao
6. Ngā Ara Take pū whānau

Each *hihi* or dimension of identity is enabled to burn brighter or strengthen through the increase in *mahuru* (knowledge and comfort) and *hono* (active engagement) of that specific *ara*. As each *ara* strengthens, the wellbeing of the person correlatingly increases. By active engagement in these cultural pathways, Māori are encouraged to connect and locate themselves in terms of belonging, fulfilling roles, participating in intergenerational knowledge transmission, and developing a strong cultural identity (McLachlan et al., in press). The framework positions that through this strength in identity, Māori are afforded the optimal pathway to *Mauri Ora* or the flourishing of their wellbeing. The framework also stipulates that if Māori are to exhibit diminished or weakened *ara*, a state of *Mauri Moe* (asleep life force) becomes prominent. McLachlan et al. (in press) suggests *Mauri Moe* is a

cultural state of unknown potential, correlating to susceptibility of adverse health and wellbeing outcomes.

The researcher now conducts an overview of each of the six *āhuatanga* (characteristics) proposed in the *Whiti Te Rā* model of health and cultural identity. Traditional *whakataukī* will be given for each dimension, exemplifying their relevance to Māoritanga and the Māori identity; followed by a descriptive overview of the cultural *ara*.

Ngā Ara Reo Māori: Māori language

‘*Ko taku reo, taku ohooho, ko taku reo, taku mapihi maurea* - my language is my awakening, my language is the window to my soul’. ‘*Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori, ko te kupu te mauri o te reo Māori* - the language is the life force of the mana Māori; the word is the life force of the language’.

As alluded to in the *whakataukī*, the language is the essence of Māori wellbeing, and that language use is the essence of language flourishing. Through the language's nurture, the Māori identity is correlatingly nourished and given the greatest opportunity to flourish. The *āhuatanga* of reo Māori can involve any use of the Māori language, both formally and informally. The use of Te Reo Māori is an intimate way of connecting and accessing culture, language, knowledge, strengthening relationships, and a significant protective factor for cultural identity and personal *mana* (Rata, 2012; McLachlan et al., in press). Māori language is identified continuously within the literature as a prominent marker of Māori identity, the security of identity, and a significant contributor to Māori wellbeing (McLachlan et al., in press; Durie, 2001; Te Huia 2015).

Ngā Ara Taiao: Connection to environment

‘Te toto o te tangata, he kai, te oranga o te tangata, he whenua - while food provides the blood in our veins, our health is drawn from the land’.

‘Ko au te awa, ko te awa ko au - I am the river, and the river is me’.

These *whakataukī* talk about the importance of a holistic connection to the whenua within a Māori world view. That is, the significance of symbiotic relationships and reciprocity with the whenua, reliance on the whenua, and engagement with the mauri or the element of life residing within *te taiao*. The *āhuatanga* of *taiao* is thus described as the environment, reflecting the connection, knowledge, and engagement by Māori. *Taiao* incorporates the land, trees, rivers, oceans, forests, and winds, all-natural elements seen as reflections of atua Māori (Māori gods) within Māori whakapapa (McLachlan et al., in press). For Māori, *te taiao* is raised from merely a natural resource to a personified living being, where engagement with the land becomes equally relational, rather than unrequited, an immensely significant component to the Te Ao Māori world view (McLachlan et al., in press; Moeke-Pickering, 1996).

These connections are both physical; living off the land, navigating the oceans, and reading and understanding the natural environment; whilst also spiritual, being able to whakapapa to the land and using the land as a place of belonging and healing. Connection and engagement in *te taiao* is held as an integral part in the development of identity, *tūrangawaewae*, as well as the health and wellbeing of all Māoridom (Durie, 2006; Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019). Connection with the environment also builds on and reaffirms the traditional Māori roles and values associated with *kaitiakitanga* (the primary principles of protection, stewardship and guardianship Māori have for the land) (McLachlan et al., in press).

Ngā Ara Wairua: Māori spiritual beliefs and practices

'Ka oho te wairua, ka matara te tinana, he aroha ki te aroha, ka kā te māramatanga

- when your spirit awakens, when your body is alive,
when love is unconditional, enlightenment flows'.

The *whakataukī* highlights the importance of ones *wairua* being 'awakened' in Māoridom, catalysing the body becoming truly vigorous and alive, with love unconditional and the enlightenment of one's spirit. This awakening is seen as occurring on all levels between the realms of *ira atua* (spiritual realm) and *ira tangata* (the physical realm), with *wairuatanga* (spirituality) fundamental to creating unison, balance and harmony between both. This *ara* of *wairua* or *wairuatanga* includes traditional cultural beliefs/practices, religious practices, and all formal and informal ways of being, understanding, and connecting integral to Te Ao Māori (McLachlan et al., in press).

Māori see themselves and their environment as an intersection of the two *ira*; thus, Ngā Ara *Wairua* is viewed as a pathway to upholding the *mana* and connection with both *te taiao*, and the connections to the past, present and future of Te Ao Māori (McLachlan et al., in press). It is essential to add that *wairua* is also held as one of the most vital links to cultural identity, as well as an integral component to enhancing wellbeing, and creating personal resilience (Houkamau, 2010; Ritchie & Rau, 2010; Te Whāiti et al., 1997; Williams et al., 2018).

Ngā Ara mahi-a-toi: Māori expressive art forms

'Hei pupuri te aho o te wānanga, hei kawē i ngā kura huna a Rua - hold fast to the strands of valued learning, to perpetuate the hidden schools of Rua.'

This *whakataukī* embodies the ideology that traditional Māori knowledge infused within the Māori creative arts must be treasured, protecting the sacred wisdom, reinforcing the importance of learning these elements of Te Ao Māori (McLachlan et al., in press). Ngā Ara Mahi-a-toi is the cultural dimension of the creative and performing arts, deeply connected to every aspect of Māori culture. These arts cover a range of physical skills, reflecting Māori knowledge, Māori values, and historical Māori narratives. *Mahi-a-toi* is an important, culturally congruent pathway to identity, health, and wellbeing for Māori (Hollands, Sutton, Wright-St Clair, & Hall, 2015).

The concept of *mahi-a-toi* encompasses all Māori expressive art forms, both traditional and contemporary. However, the predominant *mahi-a-toi* engaged within Māoridom is that of *kapa haka* (Māori cultural group), *raranga harakeke* (flax weaving), *whakairo* (Māori carving), *tā moko* (traditional tattoo), *taonga pūoro* (Māori instruments), and *pūrakau* (Māori stories) (McLachlan et al., in press). This is not to say however, that these examples reflect the breadth of *mahi-a-toi*. With Māoritanga a highly oratory culture, *mahi-a-toi* was used not only for physical wellbeing, but significantly as a transmission of *Mātauranga Māori* to a process of re-acculturation of ones Māori identity, tribal history, spirituality and whakapapa (Hollands et al., 2015). The acts of *mahi-a-toi* consequently sustained tradition, becoming integral for the transmission, and passing down of information, knowledge, and wisdom for future generations. Evidently, *mahi-a-toi* became synonymous with everyday Māori life (McLachlan et al., in press).

Ngā Ara Take pū whānau: Māori relational values

‘Waiho i te toipoto, kaula i te toiroa - let us keep close together, not wide apart’.

‘*Toi tu te kupu, toi tu te mana, toi tu te whenua* - hold fast to our culture, for without our language; without the land; without the spirit of being tangata whenua; our essence would be diminished.’

These *whakataukī* emphasise the importance of *kotahitanga* (solidarity), speaking of collectiveness and working together for the holistic prosperity of Māoridom. They allude to finding and affirming common views, opinions and positions. Take pū whānau are the values and actions that guide these connections within Te Ao Māori, as gatekeepers to the solidarity of *Tikanga Māori*, and the Māori cultural identity (McLachlan et al., in press). *Tikanga Māori* is the embodiment of intergenerational knowledge and protocols, guided by the values of take pū; “when one speaks of *Tikanga Māori*, they are often speaking about applying Take pū Māori” (McLachlan et al., in press, p.17). As such, the *ara* of take pū whānau is the specific *take pū* or *tikanga* values related to the relational and community values of Māoridom.

Take pū whānau in the pathway to wellbeing are the vital values and behaviours for the building up of both the individuals and the collective (Waitoki, Nikora, Harris & Levy, 2014). Boulton and Gifford (2014) refer to the take pū whānau values as pivotal necessities in each individual's successful growth within the whānau unit. Love (2004) reemphasises their importance describing the *take pū* and *tikanga* associated with *whānaungatanga* (building /maintaining relationships), *aroha* (love), and *manaakitanga* (kindness) being integral to the development of wellbeing of the individual and the whānau. Evidently for Māori to live in optimal health and wellbeing, practising *take pū* within a Māori world view are positively affirming cultural approaches to living and relating well, whilst optimal take pū whānau within the family unit can be held as an integral environment to the nurturing and nourishing of rangatahi wellbeing and identity (Jenkins & Harte, 2011).

Ngā Ara Whakapapa: Intergenerational relationships

‘Ko tātou ngā kanohi me ngā waha kōrero o rātou mā kua ngaro ki te pō - we are but the seeing eyes and speaking mouths of those who have passed on’. *‘He kākano ahau i ruia mai i*

Rangiātea - I am a seed which was sewn in the heavens of Rangiātea’.

The *whakataukī* are a reminder of the Te Ao Māori worldview of generational connection, the importance of genealogy to collective cultural, and individual identity. They describe that identity is more than self-agency, but a connection to those who have gone before, as well as the future generations of Māoridom (McLachlan et al., in press). Whakapapa is both connection and foundation, a foundation the *whakataukī* reference as never to be lost, for Māori are a seed sown in the ancestral homelands from the dawn of time. Within Māoridom, Ngā Ara Whakapapa, or the genealogical relationship dimension tell Māori where they come from, and whom they are related to, connecting them to whānau, *hapū*, *iwi*, *taiao*, and all that is Māoridom (McLachlan et al., in press).

Whakapapa can be held as the foundational platform of secure belonging within Te Ao Māori, vitally important to connect with identity and upholding integrity and *mana* of ancestral ties. McLachlan et al. (in press) and Moeke-Maxwell, Nikora & Te Awekotuku (2014) specifically highlight that whakapapa is a crucial protective factor in cultural identity, preventing the cultural deconstruction of Māoritanga when identity is subjugated or attempted to be assimilated. Both research publications also link Māori understandings of their whakapapa to positive health and wellbeing outcomes.

CHAPTER 6: Research methodology

Purpose:

The purpose of the investigation is to further understand Māori cultural identity across the six critical *āhuatanga* of the *Whiti Te Rā* model of health, analysing how this is perceived to interreact in the causality of health and wellbeing outcomes, specifically with rangatahi Māori lost to *whakamomori*. The literature review of previous Chapters will continue to shape the analysis, localising investigation within the problematic population of rangatahi Māori (15-24 years old). Through case study analysis of rangatahi *āhuatanga* within the *Whiti Te Rā* model of health framework, the research is positioned optimally to find specific correlations between each of the six *ara* of cultural identity and the health and wellbeing outcome; while also identifying the cultural *ara* needing the upmost protection and strengthening for the nurturing of *Mauri Ora* within rangatahi Māori.

Through this process, validity and additional knowledge can be added to the existing literature that affirms Māori identity loss as a fundamental factor in Māori health outcomes, specifically suicide. A conscious reshaping to understand the paradigms of Māori suicide through the significance of Māori identity loss is integral, and critically fundamental in the fight against *whakamomori* in Aotearoa. New Zealand has continued to produced decades of failed suicide prevention strategies, with no long term effect on suicide rates within the Māori population (Henry, 2019). The statistics speak for themselves with Māori suicide rates at an all-time high (Marshall, 2020). Consequently, the researcher proposes a radical shift on Māori suicide understandings needed on a state-sanctioned level. It is the research aim to have valid, reliable and conclusive evidence that can inform mental health policy, and assist

future suicide prevention strategies for Māoridom. Subsequently, the significance of this research is the unearthing of root-based suicide understandings that will contribute towards the vitality and *Mauri Ora* of Tāngata Māori, and specifically the problematic rangatahi Māori population.

Procedure:

Participants:

Given the study sought to understand the *āhuatanga* of deceased rangatahi Māori, whānau members of the rangatahi lost to *whakamomori* were sought as participants. All whānau members (n=5) were of Māori whakapapa and were recruited through word-of-mouth. They were selected via a purposeful sampling method for in-depth ‘information richness’, a technique widely used in qualitative research to identify and select information-rich cases, allowing the purpose of the inquiry to be of central importance (Palinkas et al., 2015; Patton, 2002). The researcher was of the opinion that this selection criteria specifically garnered the most significant depth of vicarious understanding for the case studies.

Whānau were selected using the following criteria:

1. They were related to the deceased rangatahi.
2. They had also spent significant periods with the deceased rangatahi before the suicide had occurred.

Patton (2002) mentions that there are no rules or parameters for qualitative inquiry sample size. Given the need for information richness, specificity of topic inquiry and participants’ potential vulnerability, it was decided that five (n=5) rangatahi would form the case studies. These rangatahi were analysed through a semi-structured interview with one of their whānau

members. The intent was to incorporate *iwi* diversity throughout analyses, not localising case studies to a specific *iwi*, but the breadth of Aotearoa. The overall sample of the case studied rangatahi included whakapapa to the following *iwi* or *waka*:

1. Te Arawa
2. Tainui
3. Tūhoe
4. Ngāi Tahu
5. Te Whānau-ā-Apanui

Due to the sensitivity of the topic researched, and the vulnerability of participants, no further details will be given regarding the deceased rangatahi or their whānau member participants.

Experimental Design:

The study employed a qualitative experimental design. Qualitative analysis was viewed as optimal, with the majority of researchers conducting investigations in culture through this methodology (Kellehear, 1993). Qualitative methodology enables investigation and collation of rich information, whilst also acknowledging context and meaning (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Concerning investigation within Te Ao Māori, Ritchie (1963) highlights how qualitative research methodology does also have similarities to a Māori way of doing. Ritchie positions that qualitative research offers the following four classification and functions within the methodology:

- i) Contextual: contextually, qualitative methodology within the investigation provides optimal interpretation for *Kaupapa Māori* concepts and *Mātauranga Māori* ideologies, enabling contextualisation that captured the fullness of a Te Ao Māori perspective.

- ii) Explanatory: explanatorily, the qualitative methodology enables explanations to describe the correlations between the *Kaupapa Māori Whiti Te Rā* framework of identity, and wellbeing outcomes within rangatahi Māori.
- iii) Evaluative: evaluatively, the qualitative methodology enables the research analysis to evaluate how specific *ara* of *āhuatanga* are interacting with health and wellbeing outcomes, specifically *whakamomori*.
- iv) Generative: generatively, the qualitative methodology facilitates the research in developing causal theories of cultural identity and correlated health outcomes, specifically suicide within the rangatahi Māori population.

As alluded to previously, little research has been conducted around the specifics of the cultural identity *ara* (as portrayed in the *Whiti Te Rā* model), and their identifiable relationships with health outcomes within Māoridom. Consequently, qualitative analysis becomes paramount in the research endeavours, as it is often used throughout the literature where few definitive hypotheses have been concluded, or the research is minuet (Patton, 2002). This is further affirmed by Ritchie (2003) who states that qualitative analysis is fundamental to initial research investigations to garner greater clarity of the understandings and evidence before extensive quantitative analysis occurs.

Furthermore, the ideology of Pike's (1967) 'emic perspective' was a philosophy utilised throughout the investigation and analysis to ensure *Kaupapa Māori* perspectives (as outlined on p. 68) were upheld. The Emic perspective is defined as an insiders account or perspective, traditionally seen as more subjective and culturally specific (Pike, 1967). Similarly, *Kaupapa Māori* is derived from distinct cultural epistemological and metaphysical foundations, incorporating all that is *Mātauranga Māori*, Māori pedagogy, and *Tikanga Māori* into its

methodology (Smith, 1997; Nepe, 1991; Waiti, 2007). Thus, *Kaupapa Māori* can be viewed as a culturally specific emic perspective, upholding *tinu rangatiratanga* and enabling a Te Ao Māori world view in the investigation. *Kaupapa Māori* ensures the research findings are culturally relevant, culturally appropriate, and culturally specific. Therefore the research investigation partook from a qualitative method, coupled with an emic perspective typified in *Kaupapa Māori* methodology.

Data collection:

Data collection involved the following:

- (i) Extensive online literature reviews of research articles, historical documents, government documents, and newspaper articles.
- (ii) One-on-one semi-structured type interviews with whānau informants of rangatahi lost to *whakamomori*. The semi-structure of the interview allowed for flexible conversations with participants, where follow up conversations were made with new information provided by whānau respondents. This interview technique was believed to be the most sensitive to individual needs and could be tailored to suit them accordingly. An interview schedule was given to participants before conversations and used to guide the process of the korero (talks). The questions focused on the *āhua* of the deceased rangatahi, specifically enquiring around the six *ara* of Māori cultural identity as stipulated in the *Whiti Te Rā* model of health framework. Through these *kōrero*, each *ara* of the rangatahi identity was individually assessed, unpacked and elaborated on with the whānau participant. The purpose was to garner understandings of correlative relationships across our *whakamomori* rangatahi case studies, and specific *āhuatanga* lacking within the six dimensions of their Māori cultural identity.

- (iii) The additional influence of both the researcher's knowledge and experiences in suicide aided in the investigation.

The proceeding databases produced the relevant literature from within the review: Scopus, PubMed, ResearchGate, GoogleScholar, APA, ScienceDirect. The key words utilised were: Māori suicide, whakamomori, Māori mental health, cultural identity loss, Māori cultural identity loss, colonisation, Māori health, indigenous suicide, colonisation and suicide.

Data Analysis:

Following the data collection, reflexive thematic analysis was employed when reviewing data to find the common themes and identify patterns of meaning across the six critical *āhuatanga* discussed throughout the interview transcripts. The advantage of reflexive thematic analysis is the theoretical flexibility across the sciences, as well as the suitability with research related to people's experiences, understandings and perceptions (Braun & Clarke, 2019). The researcher viewed thematic analysis as optimal and believed this approach was pivotal for the purpose of the research.

Furthermore, a deductive method to reflexive thematic analysis was utilised, where the researcher brings a 'top down' approach to the data (Braun & Clark, 2019). This was where the coding and theme development of interview data was pre-directed by the existing concepts and theoretical construct of Māori identity formulated within the *Whiti Te Rā* framework's six cultural dimensions. Themes and pattern identification throughout data were identified through Braun & Clarks (2019) four-step reflexive thematic analysis framework:

- (i) *Data familiarisation* and immersing in the interview content.

- (ii) *Data coding* that identified and labelled essential features and patterns across the six key *āhuatanga*.
- (iii) *Generating themes* within each specific *āhuatanga* from the data coding. The Braun and Clarke (2006) research was used for theme definition where they proposed that a theme is the important data concerning the research question, whilst also representing a level of patterned response or meaning within the data set.
- (iv) *Reviewing these themes*, defining them, and naming them accordingly.

Equipment:

The following equipment was used for data collection & analysis. Rhode® NT2A carotid condenser microphone relayed into Logic® ProX digital audio software; Mac® laptop used for the workstation. Whilst Temi® audio to text transcription software and Microsoft® Word and Excel were used for qualitative data analysis.

Ethical considerations:

For the five family members of deceased rangatahi, there was significant selection bias using the purposeful sampling method. The researcher selected immediate whānau (family) or extended whānau that had close relationship and significant rapport with the researcher. The Purposeful sampling method used enabled intentional selection for information richness around the studied topic; however, the primary intention with this form of participant selection was the sensitivity of the *kaupapa*, and the protection of vulnerability of each participant when discussion potentiation for trauma (Palinkas et al., 2015; Patton, 2002). The researcher believed their dual role in the research, as researcher and as whānau members of the participants enabled the greatest amount of protection in all aspects of hauora for each

interview. Also, interview participation was not considered if they had experienced a suicide death within the previous two years, as vulnerability protection was a key concern.

Due to the nature of the study, and the potential emotional trauma of the discussed topic, various steps were taken due to the participants' vulnerability. An informed consent form was given to the participants before conducting the interview, ensuring their human rights were protected through this research. This included an information sheet that outlined the aims, procedure and potential emotional risk involved in the interview process. The participants were informed during this process that at any time they had the right to pause, finish, or leave the interview. The interview's guiding questions were also given to the participants before meeting, where they could choose if they do, or do not want to answer specific questions.

Furthermore, the participants could select at any time to have their data withdrawn from the study. Whilst also allowing participants to have a support person(s) with them during the interview process, mitigating the potential for emotional distress. Following the conclusion of the interview, all participants were given an informative pamphlet on a range of mental health, counselling, and holistic services available to them should it be required. Also, once interview dialogue had been transcribed, transcriptions were given back to the participants to overview and edit with whānau before accepting for use in research.

It is significant to note that all participants and participant data were kept confidential, and identity anonymous of both whānau participants and the deceased rangatahi. Throughout the course of this research, no interviewee name was given; however, for the purpose of the analysis, each rangatahi case study was labelled under a different alias. These were comprised of the following names:

1. Rangi
2. Hemi
3. Hami
4. Tū
5. Tama

Theoretical framework:

Using a deductive analysis approach as the theoretical framework to the research means that prior theoretical understanding is to be acknowledged at the starting point as influencing the research question and proceeding research investigation (Kyngas, Kaariainen, & Mikkonen, 2020). The deductive approach to scientific investigation is used when a “researcher studies what others have done, read existing theories of whatever phenomenon he or she is studying, and then tests hypotheses that emerge from those theories” (DeCarlo, 2018, p.155).

Evidently, through the previous chapters of literature reviews and examination of prior research, we have looked to understand the relationship between cultural identity and health and wellbeing outcomes, specifically with cultural identity loss hypothesised within the literature as a significant determinant in the causal outcomes of rangatahi suicide. The researcher will now subsequently analyse the interview data, and move to a specific level focus of the research question through the three-step deductive content analysis approach:

The three steps too deductive content analysis: (De Carlo, 2018)

General level focus → Analysis → Specific level focus

Through this theoretical framework, the general level of focus has been the analysis of cultural identity loss and its relationship with suicidality amongst rangatahi Māori. This will

now be proceeded by interview data analysis that will be followed by a specific level of focus that looks to find more in-depth understandings of:

- i) What factors are affecting and influencing the health of cultural identity *ara*
- ii) what is the state of health within Māori cultural identity *ara* of rangatahi lost to *whakamomori*
- iii) What is the causal relationship between cultural identity *ara* and health & wellbeing outcomes

Empirical based presuppositions to deductive research:

Consequently, before elaboration on data collection and analysis, it becomes imperative to acknowledge the previous chapters of empirical research attesting to the validity of deductive reasoning for the two presupposed statements in the general level of focus:

- i) That Māoridom explicitly and implicitly suffers from cultural identity loss.
- ii) That the state of cultural identity strength correlates to positive or adverse health and wellbeing outcomes for Maori.

Thus, the proceeding establishments within the research that postulate these statements, are not assumptions, or theories but what the researcher holds as presupposition based pragmatism, anchored on reliable empirical evidence. With these ideologies validly presumed, the research proceeds through data analysis from the presupposed empirical foundations that cultural identity loss within Māoridom is already established, and that Māori cultural identity loss is correlating to adverse health and wellbeing outcomes for Māoridom. Reasoning these ideologies from assumption to pragmatic fact has enabled the researcher to investigate a greater depth in this field, searching for new and informative conclusions that

would do more than affirm existing evidence, but add to the concurrent body of literature around cultural identity, and health and wellbeing outcomes for Māori.

Accordingly, the proceeding research analysis will look past merely re-establishing empirical conclusions of cultural identity loss relating to negative health outcomes; but find relational understandings around what specific dimensions of the Māori cultural identity *ara* are strengthened, weakened or absent within rangatahi who have committed suicide. Whilst also understanding how each of these specific *ara* of identity has a relationship with the health and wellbeing outcome of rangatahi Māori.

CHAPTER 7: Emergent themes

The *Whiti Te Rā* cultural identity markers provided the framework for whānau participant *kōrero*, vicariously analysing the rangatahi's knowledge and understandings of each cultural dimension and their frequency or practice within the cultural *ara*. Through a deductive reflexive thematic analysis of these interviews, the following *Chapter 7* and *Chapter 8* have reviewed the whānau participant dialogue that discussed each of the cultural dimensions of identity around their deceased rangatahi. Through the thematic analysis of this data, garnering understandings around each of the rangatahi's specific elements of Māori cultural identity was facilitated.

This process of thematic pattern identification across the case studied rangatahi has generated the following three themes that were highlighted as significantly correlating to the flourishing or weakening of identity *ara*:

1. *Geographical location*: the physical location of residence
2. *Generational knowledge*: continuation and transmission of generational knowledge
3. *Engagement*: willingness to engage in identity *ara* on both individual and whānau levels

It is to be noted that overlap of these themes was very prominent, and can all be viewed as interrelated and heavily proportional to one another. However, each theme within the following results has been predominantly localised to garner the greatest depth of information around their relationship with each cultural *ara*. Consequently, through this proceeding process, the research explores the cultural *āhuatanga* of the rangatahi lost to *whakamomori*,

understanding the causal interactions of identity and wellbeing and the research *kaupapa* of the relationship between Māori cultural identity loss and rangatahi Māori suicide. *Chapter 7* proceeds with an overview of the three emergent global themes from the results, with a description of their relationship to the strengthening and weakening of Māori culture and identity. This current section will be ensued by *Chapter 8*, unpacking the case study interview data across each of the six *Whiti Te Rā* key cultural *ara* of Māori identity and health. Through this analysis, the relationship of the global themes to rangatahi Māori cultural identity will be evidenced and elaborated, while also highlighting the state of *āhuatanga ōranga* (health/welfare) within the studied cohort.

Geographical location:

‘Kua hoki mai nei ki te ūkaipō o te whenua,

return to the spiritual and physical nourishment of the land’.

‘Tangata whenua, tangata ora, healthy land, healthy people’.

Many examples from the whānau cohort connected the global theme of geographical location to the *ōranga* of numerous cultural identity *ara*. The relationship between cultural identity health and geographical location was encompassed by the following four key concepts throughout the case studies:

- Accessibility to Māoritanga
- Availability of Māoritanga
- Exposure to Māoritanga
- Nurturing of Māoritanga

The research of Groot et al. (2010) highlights the importance of geographical location to ones whenua or *papakāinga*, as “to be Māori is to have tūrangawaewae” (p.1). In essence, Māori as Tāngata Whenua view identity outside of the construct of western epistemologies, as not material but in its spirituality deeply rooted in whakapapa and connection with the whenua, specifically the whenua of their *hāpu*, *iwi*, and the prevailing tribal structures within ones *papakāinga* (Walker, 1989). Subsequently, Māori attain empowerment and connection through tūrangawaewae, or ‘ones place to stand’, found within specific geographical locations where the external world is seen as a reflection of internal security and foundation (Kirkwood, 2000). One’s tūrangawaewae is thus found in geographical locations across *maunga* (mountains), *moana* (seas), *awa* (lakes and rivers) and *marae* (Māori meeting grounds) to which one claims relationship and identity. These external localities for Māori are internal foundations in which sense of self is culturally and relationally geographically located.

Māori concepts of knowledge demonstrate the interwoven nature between human and whenua wellbeing, a dominant ideology that can never be viewed as separate within Te Ao Māori (Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019). The geographical location of Māori becomes imperative for their ability to access and connect with whēnua, *papakāinga* and the concept of tūrangawaewae, as key fundamentals and facilitators in the *oranga* (health) of various Māori cultural identity *ara* (Walker, 1989; McLachlan et al., in press). These ideologies were very prominent throughout the interview extracts, exemplifying the importance of geographical location to the relationship and strengthening of cultural identity *ara*.

Historically, before colonisation Māori dwelled within the whenua of their *hapū* and *iwi*; accessibility to these lands was assured, with ones whenua held as life-giving as a mothers

placenta, their source of sustenance both physically and spiritually (Walker, 1989; Moewaka-Pickering, 1996; Rito, 2007). As our present-day case studies have evidenced, Māori identity is still strengthened by optimal geographical location to ones whenua or *papakāinga*, relational empowerment affirmed within the name Tāngata Whenua. Contrastingly, through the colonisation of Aotearoa, and the 20th-century urbanisation of Māoridom, Māori began to lose this traditional relationship and symbiosis with their whenua, where dwelling within the lands of one's ancestry was no longer an inherent assurance (Reid et al., 2016). The interview examples continue to highlight how the *ara* of Māori identity became significantly vulnerable and at risk of weakening when Tāngata Whenua are no longer residing in or around the whenua of their whakapapa.

Generational knowledge:

*‘Whāia te mātauranga hei oranga mō koutou,
seek after learning for the sake of your wellbeing.’*

For the purpose of the results, generation knowledge is the blanket term used to encompass the generational transmission of *Mātauranga Māori* within the five case studied rangatahi. Traditional Māoridom was a culture based on oral transmission, as such, *Mātauranga Māori* was passed on orally from generation to generation. *Mātauranga* enables Māori to make sense of their cultural existence within this world, through the stories, the environment, the *kawa* and *tikanga* of Māori. *Mātauranga* is stated by the Waitangi Tribunal (2011) as including “language, whakapapa, systems of law and social control, systems of property, forms of expression and much more” (p.22). It is a body of knowledge passed down in the genealogy of Māoridom, a derivative of *Te Ao Marama* (the natural world) and as such, the methodologies stemming from *Mātauranga Māori* explain the Māori experience of the world

(Royal, 2008). *Mātauranga Māori* is held in Māoridom as a complete knowledge system of culture and identity (Broughton & McBreen, 2015).

Mātauranga Māori or Māori based knowledge, comprehension and understanding of everything Te Ao Māori, becomes dependent on the generational oral delivery from Māori to Māori (Winiata, 2003). Oppose to the Western constructs of learning, heavily based upon cultural normality of written knowledge, the continual stewarding of *Mātauranga Māori* and development of this generational knowledge becomes vitally dependent on each generation's ability to disseminate and transmit the *mātauranga*; nurturing the next generation as the holders of knowledge. The breakdown of generational knowledge has become a significant consequence of colonial Aotearoa for Māoridom, subsequently affecting all *ara* of Māori identity. The colonisation process brought assimilative enculturation over Tāngata Māori to the hegemonic culture of the colonial dominion. Māoridom were losing the whenua, their *tinorangatiratanga* and facing the erosion of tribal structures, cultural practices and customs (Walker, 1989; Te Whāiti et al., 1997). Māori became dominated by an antagonistic Pākehā ecology of governance, law, education, economics, and health; and regardless of nepotistic intent, these structures of Crown governance inundated Māori into British cultural hegemony, facilitating structures of society to assimilative and subjugated regulation (Moeke-Pickering, 1996).

What has ensued throughout the past 150 years of postcolonial New Zealand, is Māori fighting to regain a culture and identity in a society where Māoridom were held as subordinate and inferior to that of Pākehā (Walker, 1989). The colonial history of New Zealand, the assimilation and subjugation of all things Māori has created significant intergenerational ruptures of Māoritanga and broken the cyclical, generational transmission

of *Mātauranga Māori* (Walker, 1989; Te Whāiti et al., 1997). In contemporary Aotearoa, this generational thwarting of proliferation and dissemination of *mātauranga* becomes overwhelmingly prominent throughout the cultural *ara* of the five case studies. Although the catalysing point of generational knowledge breakdown stems from colonisation within Aotearoa, various proceeding consequences become evident from the flow-on effects of *mātauranga* cessation in Māoridom.

Engagement:

*‘Kia mau koe ki ngā kupu ā ōu tūpuna, kia mau ki to Māoritanga,
hold fast the words of your ancestors, hold fast your Māori culture.’*

For the purpose of the results, the concept of ‘engagement’ of Māoritanga was used as a blanket-term encompassing the following four key concepts:

- engagement
- motivation
- activation
- participation

Similar to the key concept of generational knowledge transmission in the previous Chapter, engagement levels within the case studies were also heavily linked to intergenerational traits where whānau engagement within a specific *ara* was correlated across the generations. Consequently, the theme of engagement will encompass analysis of the case studies’ engagement within their cultural *ara* and the engagement of their families. Māori engagement with culture has become significantly affected by the processes of colonisation (Stevenson, 2004). Prior to colonisation engagement with ones Māori identity was an autonomous lived

culture, where engagement with all that is Māori an inherent and innate act of life (Walker, 1989; Reid et al., 2016). The research of Te Whāiti et al. (1997) highlight that within contemporary New Zealand, Māori now have to choose how they identity and the extent of their engagement, as before colonisation Māori lived according to the *tikanga* and *kawa* of their *hapū* and *iwi*, identifying according to their whakapapa. Contemporary Māori cultural engagement levels are described by Durie (1995) as now far from homogenous, both dynamic and diverse, with Māori existing in several different cultural and socio-economic realities inside postcolonial New Zealand; thus, engagement is now individualistic, differing from one person to another, and one whānau to another.

Māori levels of engagement are identified by Houkamau & Sibley (2015) as directly correlated to the strengthening of cultural identity and the cultural *ara* of an individual. Without active engagement, Māoritanga is described by Marsden (1992) as abstract, and of the head and not the heart. As such, the principal of engagement becomes a key fundamental to the health of Māoritanga within our case studies. Māoridom no longer identifies homogenously but exhibit a plethora of different engagement levels that find genesis in the processes of colonisation eroding the Te Ao Māori World (Te Whāiti et al., 1997). The ripple effects this has created have taken many negative manifestations, as outlaid through the proceeding results. Evidently, with cultural engagement linked to the strength of cultural *ara* for Māori, a lack of engagement is shown within our examples to have confounding repercussions on one's Maoritanga, Māori identity and wellbeing (Walker, 1989; Durie, 1995; Reid et al., 2016; Moeke-Pickering, 1996).

CHAPTER 8: Relationship between Cultural Ara & emergent themes

The three fundamental global themes of *geographical location*, *generational knowledge* and *engagement (whānau and individual)* all portrayed highly correlative relationships across the strengthening or weakening of the six cultural identity *ara* of the case studies. Subsequently, the research now proceeds with a detailed overview of these causal relationships, unpacking the case study interview data across each cultural *ara*, and elaborating on the evidenced connection between the global themes and rangatahi Māori cultural identity. To again reiterate, *Chapter 8* has been arranged around the key Māori cultural identity pathways within the *Whiti Te Rā* model of health (McLachlan et al., in press).

Each *ara* within the *Whiti Te Rā* framework will now be presented in isolation with a description of how the global themes related to the strengthening or weakening of the cultural *ara*. These *ara* will be represented in the following order:

- 1) Ngā Ara Wairuatanga
- 2) Ngā Ara Whakapapa
- 3) Ngā Ara Take pū whānau
- 4) Ngā Ara Mahi-a-toi
- 5) Ngā Ara Taiao
- 6) Ngā Ara Reo Māori

Ngā Ara Wairuatanga

‘Ka oho te wairua, ka matara te tinana, he aroha ki te aroha, ka kā te māramatanga.’

‘When your spirit awakens, when your body is alive,
when love is unconditional, enlightenment flows.’

Throughout the results, the strength or weakness of Ngā Ara Wairuatanga showed causal relationship across the following themes:

Table 1 – Relationship exhibited between geographical location and Wairuatanga

Case study name	Identification of a relationship between <i>geographical location</i> and Ngā Ara Wairuatanga	Oranga of ara
<i>Rangi</i>	N/A	N/A
<i>Tama</i>	Yes	Strengthened
<i>Hemi</i>	Yes	Strengthened
<i>Hami</i>	Yes	Strengthened
<i>Tū</i>	N/A	N/A

Table 2 - Relationship exhibited between generational knowledge and Wairuatanga

Case study name	Identification of a relationship between <i>generational knowledge</i> and Ngā Ara Wairuatanga	Oranga of ara
<i>Rangi</i>	N/A	N/A
<i>Tama</i>	Yes	Weakened
<i>Hemi</i>	Yes	Weakened
<i>Hami</i>	Yes	Weakened
<i>Tū</i>	Yes	Weakened

Table 3 - Relationship exhibited between engagement and Wairuatanga

Case study name	Identification of a relationship between <i>engagement</i> and Ngā Ara Wairuatanga	Oranga of ara
<i>Rangi</i>	Yes	Weakened
<i>Tama</i>	Yes	Weakened
<i>Hemi</i>	Yes	Weakened
<i>Hami</i>	Yes	Weakened
<i>Tū</i>	Yes	Weakened

Emergent theme: Geographical location

Relationship: Strengthening Ngā Ara Wairuatanga

Māori have a longstanding connection with the land, deeply rooted in spirituality, with the whenua a primary provider of identity and sustenance. Māori spiritual relationship with the land or *Papatūānuku* (Earth mother) is rooted at the beginning of the world, in the formation of earth, man and all living creation (Challenger, 1985). Subsequently, *wairua* pervades all things, is in all things, and permeates every interaction across Te Ao Māori. The whenua thus becomes a reflection of *wairua*, and in essence, the whakapapa and genesis of *Māoritanga* itself, attested throughout the creation narratives of Māori, and the prevailing history of Māoridom (Lockhart et al., 2019). As a result, the relationship with *te taiao* becomes a powerful conduit for Māori identity as Tāngata Whenua, the practice of *wairuatanga*, and the vitality of their *wairua* as a whole. *(It is to be noted that this causal relationship of results, also encompasses geographical relationship with the ara of Te Taiao).*

In the case study of Tama, it is exemplified how the whenua empowered his *mana* and Māori identity when residing on his *papakāinga*:

“Growing up on the Pā, it made us [interviewer and Tama] feel planted, rooted. We didn’t know all the ins and outs [of our Māoritanga] ... we didn’t know much really... but we knew spiritually we were just meant to be there. No one could tell us

we weren't meant to be there, we could feel it. I suppose it's like a peace, you know what I mean?"

Moewaka Barnes and McCreanor (2019) postulate the interwoven nature of Māori wellbeing to the position of themselves within *te taiao*, and the health of their whenua, waters and environment being proportional to that of their own. In the example of Tama living on his *papakāinga*, this connection to his whenua is described as a spiritual practice that made him feel “*rooted*” in his Māori identity; a connection that was inherent and innate for him. This ideology of innate relationship is attested to in the research of Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor (2019) and Walker (1989), describing the whenua as the primary determinant in Māori health and identity, deeply spiritual, with relationship to the land governed by whakapapa and *wairua*, intrinsic to the DNA of Māoritanga. Although Tama was described as not that competent in his other *ara* of identity, his innate connection to the whenua and his ability to reside within his whenua was enough for him to feel “*peace*” in his Māoritanga and connection to his *wairuatanga*. This connection of location, identity and *wairua* is again highlighted in Tama by the following statement:

“Seeing my brother [Tama] roll around when he was on his whenua, you know it was like he was 10 foot tall, our mana was well intact, and our wairua was empowered, it was just the whenua... it gave us life.”

The whenua described in Tama’s examples as “*life-giving*” directly correlates to the definition of the polysemous word of whenua itself. Not only is whenua a word for land, but also the word for the placenta, an essential organ critical in the survival of a mother’s unborn baby (Rito, 2007). It is Māori’s symbiotic connection and sacredness of relationship with

land that enables an insight into the description of Tama's upbringing on his whenua being an enriching and 'wairua empowering' experience.

Again, this generational connection of Māori to the land and dire importance of accessibility to exercise this association can be reiterated in the example of Hemi & Hami:

“He [Hemi] loved being out in the taiao when he could get away... he very much loved fishing, hunting, camping, he was doing it all the time... but within his thoughts and actually knowing that connection for him as Māori, he didn't really know... but it was natural for him, he loved it.”

“Hami wasn't spiritual or anything like that, but he was very connected to the land. Just innate within him... his passion was fishing and outdoors, whenever we would come home to New Zealand he just wanted to go camping, out in the bush over the coast where all our whānau lived... he had a real spiritual connection to the land. When he would disappear, that's where he would go, go walkabout. He'd go on his own and he loved it... It was just natural within him.”

These examples presuppose the relationship of Māori to the whenua is an innate and naturalistic connection that transcends the physical and spiritual world of Te Ao Māori, all past, present and future; inherently a natural part of who they are. Moeke-Pickering (1996) highlight this notion, suggesting that when Māori are given the exposure and accessibility to the whenua, particularly their *papakāinga*, inherent growth in their holistic identity's totality occurs almost autonomously. This intrinsic passion for the environment and inherent strengthening within the *taiao* and *wairua ara* becomes overwhelming increased when Hemi and Hami were enabled exposure to the whenua. The geographical location of Māori to the

whenua is shown as vital to the accessibility of *te taiao*, and the ensuing fostering of relationship with the whenua. The results show that even if these are implicit relationships, or inherently innate, strengthening of the *wairuatanga ara* was still evidenced.

Emergent theme: Generational knowledge

Relationship: Weakening Ngā Wairuatanga

Wairua is described by Marsden and Royal (2003) as the source of all life and existence for Māori. With *wairuatanga* the connecting element between all that is, was, and is to come; a connective interlinking of the natural world, the unseen world, and the world beyond space and time (Ruwhiu, 1999). These interconnections of *wairua* pervade all that is Māori; not only religious beliefs and practices but all of Māoritanga, linking whakapapa, the environment and all *taonga* of Te Ao Māori (McLachlan et al., in press). *Wairuatanga* is the mortar to the foundation of life itself for Māoridom and was held in traditional times in the utmost importance for not only the *oranga* of cultural identity but the essence of life itself.

However, as vital as *wairuatanga* was held in traditional Māoridom, the research continues to portray the intergenerational aftermath colonisation had on the cessation of *Mātauranga Māori* and consequently, *wairuatanga* transmission and practices. This becomes a critically fundamental rupture for Māoritanga, with *wairua* essential to all that is Te Ao Māori (Pihama, 2001). Repercussions of the breakdown of the *wairuatanga ara* can be highlighted throughout the case studies where each exhibit a cessation of *wairuatanga* practices and a lack of knowledge around the *ara*. Initially, this is illustrated in the case of Tama:

“I would say that he didn’t have much to do with wairuatanga at all, we didn’t really have that knowledge... wairuatanga wasn’t fostered or anything like that growing up too.”

Tama is shown as not having adequate knowledge around *wairuatanga*, nor it being a practice he nurtured growing up. It is alluded to as being a repercussion of intergenerational transmission, where Tama's surrounding whānau did not have that knowledge, and evidently could not pass that on. This lack of transmission is also portrayed in the case of Hemi, where "*Hemi had zero input of wairuatanga in his life*"; as well as Hami, who had "*no affiliation with their wairuatanga or anything like that*". This thwarting of *wairuatanga* transmission was further emphasised in the case of Tū. Tū's inability to be taught understandings of *wairuatanga* was an intergenerational consequence that his parents were also exemplified as not being afforded:

When Tū was born, my parents weren't Christian yet, so they didn't really know about their wairuatanga or anything like that. So in terms of his wairuatanga probably not that strong at all... I just don't think he believed to be honest like he didn't have any spiritual beliefs or anything like that... I think that was a big reason why he struggled."

Tū's illustration also references the connection between his *wairuatanga* and the state of his wellbeing, where he was described as struggling because of this lack of faith and relationship. Moeke-Maxwell (2014) reaffirms this conclusion stating how *wairua* is a fundamental dimension of health, built upon by Durie (1985) as he explains that a lack of spiritual awareness for Māori makes them susceptible to illness and misfortune. The following example of Tū continues to correlate this prominent ideology of interconnection between *wairua* and health outcomes:

"So Tū grew up in a non-Christian household, not immersed in understandings of Wairua and Te Atua or anything like I did growing up later on... And see the difference between me and him is that I knew God... and if I just had my wairuatanga

I could get through all things, I'd be one hundred percent fine like if the whole world was falling down around me, I wouldn't care... but for Tū not having an understanding of that... he didn't realise there is a God who can help him through his tough times... Him not knowing that was huge."

This assertion that cultural and holistic wellbeing finds a connection with *wairuatanga* in Māoridom is very prominent within the examples and the literature, an ideology continuing to be portrayed in Hami's case study:

"When you get to that point of hurt and darkness in your mind, and the point of doing those things [suicide], your wairua is what's damaged, it's not the thoughts in your mind; it's your wairua."

Not only do these examples highlight the importance of *wairuatanga* to wellbeing, but also the importance of *wairuatanga* to psychological resilience. The research of Smith et al. (2013) reaffirms this conclusion in their description of strong *wairuatanga* being a generator of powerful health outcomes, with *wairua* the major protective factor for resilience strengthening. This interconnected nature of *wairuatanga* to health and identity continues to be reiterated in the examples. The following extract portrays how Hemi's aunty realised the whānau's important need to regain the knowledge around *wairuatanga* for their health and the generations to come after the suicide of Hemi:

"I realised that I needed to regain the knowledge of wairua and our culture, so it didn't keep on going generationally [lack of knowledge and suicide]. I needed to put it into my whānau, and take it all back to wairua as the most important thing for our health and identity."

It becomes evident that the *oranga* of the *wairuatanga ara* across the examples were seriously depleted due to generational knowledge breakdown within their families. As a result, the proceeding generations faced the consequences of knowledge loss and could not practice their *wairuatanga*, nor build on it due to a lack of understanding. The examples show that the transmission of knowledge around *wairuatanga* becomes imperative to the strength of the *ara*, with the strength of the Ngā Ara Wairuatanga vital to both psychological and physiological health and wellbeing; whilst also the overall cultural strength of the individual with *wairua* pervading all of Māoritanga.

Emergent theme: Engagement

Relationship: Weakening Ngā Ara Wairuatanga

Wairua pervades every aspect of Māoritanga (Durie, 1994), and as such, the case studies participation in any element of Māoridom inherently orientated them towards *wairuatanga*. However, it becomes evident throughout the examples the intentional and explicit engagement with *wairuatanga* as a spiritual practice was a severely compromised *ara* of identity. Initially, in the case study of Hemi, he is described as having “*no affiliation with wairuatanga or anything like that*”. Hemi’s lack of engagement is shown to be a generational consequence of his elder’s forced cessation of engagement with their *wairua* and Māoritanga:

“In terms of wairuatanga generationally in our whānau, it was actually stopped out by my mum who was brought up on the marae and was very immersed... we come from a whānau of matakite, a line of matakite that we whakapapa to... very spiritual whānau... but my mum would try and put barriers up for us to stop it... Māori wasn’t looked upon favourably in that generation, especially us growing up down south... it was kind of a norm within that generation.”

In this example of engagement cessation, Hemi's whānau are described as coming from a whakapapa of 'matakite' (seers). *Matakite* are acknowledged and culturally accepted within Māoridom as people incredibly endowed with spiritual giftings of *wairuatanga*, or having insights and abilities into the spiritual realm (Marsden & Royal, 2003). However, the domineering perceptions of rejection throughout society compelled Hemi's grandmother to force her whānau to cease development of this relationship with *wairua* and cease the continuation of their line of *matakite*. This was a common theme within Māori society, where the perception of Māoritanga was not viewed favourably by Pākehā society (Moeke-Pickering, 1996). In the case of Hemi, he is also described as having "zero input of *wairuatanga* in his life" due to the lack of engagement of his mother. This resulting lack of engagement by Hemi's mother is also exemplified as being a repercussion of societal subordination and offence towards Māori:

"[Hamis mum] grew up with no identity. We grew up around that stigma of 'typical Māori'. So we were growing up in that generational put down of our Māori, and my sister really wore that, so strongly that she wasn't proud to be Māori... so that stemmed generationally... her kids grew up not really knowing anything."

The research of Te Whāiti et al. (1997) affirms this notion where they describe the hierarchical societal perception of Māori inferiority savagely broke down the mentality of Māoridom, leading to internalised racism, personal self-hate and decreased engagement with Māoritanga. Jackson (1994) also believes that this alienation and self-negation of Māori has significantly damaged Māori spiritually, affecting the very essence of Māoridom. Through this societal cultivation of perceptual subordination and self-hate within Māoridom, the research continues to illuminate the intergenerational cessation of engagement with Māoritanga, and consequently, that of *wairuatanga*. The severity of this lack of engagement

exemplified within the whānau of Hami, where they witness a complete ceasing of *wairuatanga* practices, even within a strong lineage of *matakite* practice.

Furthermore, it is to be noted that engagement levels were also heavily correlated to the global theme of generational transmission. As highlighted previously, both Tama and Tū had no engagement with their *wairuatanga* due to a lack of generational transmission with knowledge:

“I would say that he [Tama] didn’t have much to do with wairuatanga at all, we didn’t really have that knowledge... wairuatanga wasn’t fostered or anything like that growing up too.”

“When Tū was born, my parents weren’t Christian yet, so they didn’t really know about their wairuatanga or anything like that. So in terms of his wairuatanga, probably not that strong at all.”

Again, the research of Grusec et al. (2017) alludes to youth engagement and motivational patterns being correlated to the predispositions of their parents and previous generations. Their research would suggest that not only were Tū and Tama unable to engage due to a lack of knowledge and exposure to *wairuatanga* practices but would also suggest that their nurture predisposed them to the same lack of *wairuatanga* engagement as their parents.

Additionally, the case of Rangi shows a distinct difference to Tū and Tama, where generational knowledge didn’t necessarily result in high levels of engagement, but the opposite. This abnormality in the relationship between knowledge and engagement was also portrayed in Valentine (2009), where “strong orientations to *wairua* and strong cultural

identity did not necessarily co-occur” (p.138). Rangi was exhibited as growing up confident in his identity, quite assured in this ability with adept knowledge of his Māoritanga; however, this *mātauranga* was not reflected in his willingness to engage with *wairua*:

“He had the knowledge of wairua... you can have all the knowledge in the world and not use it though... There must have been a disturbance somewhere along his ara wairua, cause everyone who goes to whakamomori you would assume does... He had that knowledge around him, but I don’t think he was really practicing or engaging with it that much... Wairua can be scary for people, see if you’re a matakite or a Tohunga, that can push you to a point where it’s too much wairua, that could really stuff you up.”

Ripikoi’s (2015) research into *wairua* and wellbeing emphasises how spiritual practices for Māori can be unnerving, scary or fearful without experience, guidance and knowledge. Regarding Rangi, this may have been a causal factor in his lack of willingness to engage with *wairua*, with the perception of it being “*scary for people*” and able to “*stuff you up*” highlighted above. This ideology was also attested to by Hami’s Aunty, stating that:

“Our mum denied us anything to do with Māori, so wairuatanga wouldn’t affect us... she really believed in makutu [spiritual curses] and things like that.”

What is further emphasised in Ripikoi’s (2015) research is that if Māori are to open themselves up to their *wairua* but not trust in their *wairua*, it diminishes the *tapu* (sacredness) within themselves, significantly detrimental to their overall wellbeing. Although *wairuatanga* within the case of Rangi alludes to a sense of ‘fear of the unknown’, research would show it still becomes imperative for him to develop competency and engagement within this *ara* for his holistic health, and also his overall cultural wellbeing (Ripoki, 2015; Walker, 1989). This

binding nature of strong *wairua* in overall cultural identity was also reiterated in Rangi's case study:

“See for us, wairua underlies every other ara. Reo Māori, you always have wairua in there, be it spoken or be it just the syntax of sentences in Te Reo Māori, there's always a wairua element in there. Whakapapa is your tūpuna and wairua; whānau, exact same thing. Mahi-a-toi, that's an expression of culture which is wairua; And relationship with te taiao, that's deeply wairua.”

Wairua is showcased as critical for engagement with its inherent connection to all cultural *ara* and presence in all elements of the Te Ao Māori world. Throughout the results, there is the suggestion that *wairuatanga* is the critical and most important cultural *ara* for wellbeing and hauora in Māori. Specifically, in the case of Rangi, his results showcased proficiency in knowledge and engagement across all of his other *ara* except *wairuatanga*. Consequently, this cultural *ara* sticks out as integral for overall Māori hauora and evidently can be proposed as the most critical for the *oranga* of cultural identity.

Ngā Ara Whakapapa

‘Ko tātou ngā kanohi me ngā waha kōrero o rātou mā kua ngaro ki te pō’.

‘We are but the seeing eyes and speaking mouths of those who have passed on.’

Throughout the results, the strength or weakness of Ngā Ara Whakapapa showed causal relationship across the following themes:

Figure 4 – Relationship exhibited between geographical location and Whakapapa

Case study name	Identification of a relationship between <i>geographical location</i> and Ngā Ara Whakapapa	Oranga of ara
<i>Rangi</i>	Yes	Strengthened
<i>Tama</i>	Yes	Strengthened
<i>Hemi</i>	N/A	N/A
<i>Hami</i>	Yes	Weakened
<i>Tū</i>	Yes	Weakened

Figure 5 – Relationship exhibited between generational knowledge and Whakapapa

Case study name	Identification of a relationship between <i>generational knowledge</i> and Ngā Ara Whakapapa	Oranga of ara
<i>Rangi</i>	Yes	Strengthened
<i>Tama</i>	Yes	Strengthened
<i>Hemi</i>	N/A	N/A
<i>Hami</i>	Yes	Weakened
<i>Tū</i>	Yes	Weakened

Figure 6 – Relationship exhibited between engagement and Whakapapa

Case study name	Identification of a relationship between <i>engagement</i> and Ngā Ara Whakapapa	Oranga of ara
<i>Rangi</i>	Yes	Strengthened
<i>Tama</i>	Yes	Strengthened
<i>Hemi</i>	N/A	N/A
<i>Hami</i>	Yes	Weakened
<i>Tū</i>	Yes	Weakened

Emergent theme: Geographical location

Relationship: Strengthening of Ngā Ara Whakapapa

The crucial factor of Māori positioning in relation to the whenua was shown as imperative not only for Ngā Ara Taiao but also Ngā Ara of Whakapapa. The below example highlights Rangi’s *tūrangawaewae* being his *hapū papakāinga*, and notably how this geographical location afforded him the ability to grow up on ancestral whenua exposing him and surrounding him with the whakapapa of his *tūpuna* (ancestors):

“Rangi grew up down the Pā (papakāinga), lived right next door to the marae, and spent lots of time over there... they loved the Pā... always at the marae no matter what occasion... From spending that time down there they knew they were Pīkiao, their whakapapa was strong.”

Rangi living on his *papakāinga* both implicitly and explicitly accessed connection to culture and identity, with the example highlighting the strengthening of his whakapapa *ara* as a direct result. Rua et al. (2017) affirm this, stating that “to be connected to the whenua of one’s ancestors is important for Māori to sustain whakapapa... a core part of the Māori interconnected self” (p.57). The proceeding example again locates the causal relationship between geographical location and the strengthening of the identity *ara* of whakapapa:

“We [interviewee & Tama] grew up in and around our Pā... so we knew our whakapapa, our tipuna; we knew where we came from because we lived on it you know... we were very proud of being mana whenua, it made us feel strong... it gave us pride.”

Tama exemplifies the importance of geographical location in strengthening the *ara* of whakapapa. Tama was made to “*feel strong*” in his identity from growing up on his *papakāinga*, and living next to his *maunga* and *awa*. Through optimal geographical location, Tama’s identity was strengthened and also described as giving him confidence knowing the physical localities of his whakapapa surrounded him:

“and that’s where we got a lot of confidence, knowing the stories of our tipuna took place around us.”

Tama was able to walk his ancestors’ lands, connecting him to his whakapapa and helping him understand who he was and where he was from. He stood on his *papakāinga*, his *marae*, and knew that was his *tūrangawaewae*, that his genealogy was etched in everything around him. Smith (2001) states that “land as a recognised tribal area serves a utilitarian purpose as the place from which the community draws its sustenance... In this sense, the land is more than just a portion of the earth’s surface but has an emotional significance which transcends geographic boundaries” (p.54). What becomes evident is that one’s geographical location around the whenua of their *tūpuna* is far more than physical boundaries, but an integral component to strengthening cultural identity, specifically the *ara* of whakapapa.

Emergent theme: Geographical location

Relationship: Weakening of Ngā Ara Whakapapa

The following example of Hami portrays the notion of geographical location weakening identity, specifically in the *ara* of whakapapa:

“So Hami and his family had moved over to Australia when he was three years old... he and his siblings didn’t get to learn where they were from, they didn’t know their pepeha... they didn’t really know the importance of whakapapa... their mum didn’t teach them, and the knowledge wasn’t around them.”

Walker (1989) portrays how Maoridom’s move away from ancestral whenua severed the connection of genealogical ties for many Māori, removing Māori from their whenua, breaking down their orientation to their whenua, and corroding intergenerational transmission of knowledge. Hami’s inability to name his whakapapa in *pepeha* (genealogical speech) reaffirms the consequences faced by many Māori whose geographical residence is no longer around the whenua of their whakapapa. Taonui (2005) reiterates that many urbanised Māori no longer know their whakapapa, where he describes 20% of those distinguishing as Māori in the 2001 New Zealand Census could not identify their *iwi* or *hapū* affiliation. These consequences of urban drift are again reiterated in this example from Tū:

“In terms of whakapapa, like [Tū] knowing where he was from, it was pretty minimal ay. We grew up pretty far away from our homelands... grew up in the city... we were street kids... we went home once while he was alive and learnt a bit about Dads village and that... but other than that he didn’t really know too much... whakapapa didn’t really affect the way we lived or anything like that, to be honest.”

The example of Tū highlights the consequences of Māori urbanisation, where he and his brothers were the first generations to be raised in the city, significantly affecting their ability to return to the whenua of their whakapapa, stated as only occurring “*once in their life time*”.

Belich (2001) expresses that the urbanisation of Māoridom happened at one of the fastest rates in world history, where 83% of Māori were residing in urban-dwelling by 1986. Taonui (2005) describes Māori urbanisation as predominantly young single Māori escaping landlessness, land confiscation, poverty and a lack of opportunity, all consequences of colonisation. The trade-off for this urban drift was the enculturation of a Pākehā society; where the sentiment of “change or be damned” was a reality for the urban Māori (Gibbons et al., 1994, p,1). Consequences of this rapid urbanisation and enculturation of Māoridom is highlighted by Walker (1989) and Moeke-Pickering (1996) as corroding the foundations of Māoritanga, especially that of whakapapa, with Māori no longer being exposed to, or able to organise themselves around tribal structures and their *papakāinga*. Consequently, these case studies exhibit what the literature portrays as the negative repercussions of urbanisation and suboptimal geographical location to the whenua for Māori, significantly compromising the identity of contemporary Māori, and their strength across Ngā Ara Whakapapa.

Emergent themes: Generational knowledge & Engagement

Relationship: Strengthening Ngā Ara Whakapapa

In the specific *ara* of whakapapa, the global themes of generational knowledge & engagement were intrinsically linked across the results, with the engagement of whakapapa directly proportional to the generational knowledge of the case studies and their whānau. As such, the following two sections will exhibit the two themes as one when describing in relation to the *oranga* of Ngā Ara Whakapapa.

Rangi’s case study emphasised being raised on his *papakāinga* surrounded by his elders, whānau and *hapū*. Paringatai (2016) states that the social groups of whānau, *hapū*, and *iwi* are responsible for the intergenerational transmission of the whakapapa knowledge that cultivates

Māori identity. The following extract highlights how this abundance of knowledge around Rangi, and constant interaction and socialisation within his tribal structures enabled the passing down of *mātauranga* to occur almost autonomously through the *mahi-a-toi* of waiata (song) and haka (dance):

“Growing up down there (the Pā)... they were surrounded by their elders and their people... they were taught all the Pikiāo waiata and haka... all those songs were about whakapapa, our whenua, and everything... the thing about Pikiāo was the kids are strong in whakapapa because they hear those all the time down there.”

Rangi’s ability to be raised around his elders is alluded to as a core and catalysing element in his learnings of *mātauranga*. This can be reaffirmed in the research of Makereti (1938) postulating that although the traditional Māori whānau unit would have several generations of members with responsibilities for rangatahi, it was the elders or *kaumātua* (grandparents) that had the greatest nurture and influence on rangatahi Māori in their journey of culture and identity. The case of Tama continues to portray the prominence of relationship between specifically rangatahi and *kaumātua*, with the example of his *Koro* (Grandad) reiterating the vital role his elders played in the generational transmission of knowledge around his whakapapa and *taiao*:

“My Koro would always tell us the pūrākau of our village, the stories of the names, the history of the battles on the land, how my tīpuna overcame heaps for us to be there. So for us knowing that it become a significant place, quite a spiritual place too... this was just knowledge everyone grew up being taught.”

This intergenerational relationship was also evidenced in Tama's *Kuia* (Grandmother), where her knowledge, wisdom and understanding of her place in Te Ao Māori was portrayed as enlightening him to be empowered in his understanding of whakapapa and Māori identity:

“And down the Pā we'd quite often have tourist come and holiday cause we were close to the lake. And you know these people were rich people, and it was just a natural thing we would start to kind of think we were beneath them... But Nan would always tell us, 'don't forget, this is your land, don't ever feel down on your own land boy' ... Our Nan and her generation down the Pā, they really put it into us, the stories of our land, this history of it, the mana of it... it empowered us... we would walk around like we owned the place.”

Kaumātua within traditional Māori society were considered the holders of wisdom, experience and knowledge, and as such, were positioned to have an integral role in the upbringings of Māori youth to pass on acquired *Mātauranga Māori*. The importance of this Te Ao Māori worldview is appreciated when undertaking closer examination of the Te Reo Māori word used for grandchildren, '*mokopuna*'. Edwards et al. (2007) describe '*moko*' referring to an image or persons mark or signature; whilst '*puna*' refers to a spring or pond of water. When combining both these words, you have the metaphor for an image reflected in a pool. This is the Te Ao Māori view of a grandparents relationship to the grandchild, with *mokopuna* reflecting their elders. Through this understanding, the integral importance Māoridom placed on intergenerational relationship is illuminated, while also highlighting the dependency of rangatahi Māori on the transmission of wisdom and knowledge from their elders.

Generational knowledge, specifically within the *ara* of whakapapa, is evidenced within our examples and the literature as primarily held within the *kaumātua* and elder cohort of Māoridom. Therefore it becomes imperative for *Mātauranga Māori* to be continually passed on from elders to rangatahi, continuing the cyclical nature of knowledge transmission through each generation of Māoridom; enabling rangatahi Māori to flourish in their *ara* of whakapapa.

Emergent themes: Generational knowledge & Engagement

Relationship: Weakening Ngā Ara Whakapapa

Whakapapa binds all things Māori; it clarifies mythology, legend, history, knowledge, customary practices, philosophies, spiritualities, and transmission from one generation to the next (Taonui, 2015). Without this transmission of whakapapa, Māori cultural identity is left in a state of vulnerability and at risk of diminishing when challenged (Moeke-Pickering, 1996). The powerful consequences of cultural subjugation and erosion are explicitly shown in the *mātauranga* transmission of whakapapa within the case study of Hami:

“My sister [Hami’s mum] she was very Pākehā like, and grew up with no identity. We grew up around that stigma of ‘typical Māori’. So we were growing up in that generational put down of our Māori, and my sister really wore that, so strongly that she wasn’t proud to be Māori... so that stemmed generationally... her kids grew up not really knowing anything... not knowing where they were from... and they weren’t really that interested... whakapapa didn’t play a role in their life.”

Māori have predominantly passed down whakapapa through oral recital and transmission, a traditional intergenerational practice of Māoridom, with the proceeding generation dependent on the elder generation for the acquisition of this knowledge (Joseph, 2007). In the case of

Hami, he grew up away from his homelands in isolation from his wider whānau; subsequently, his mother became the sole means for him to access or be exposed to any form of *Mātauranga Māori*, with the ability to know who he was, and where he was from dependent on her. This example exemplifies the psychological distress the societal negativity towards Māori culture had on Hami's mother's worth in her cultural identity, and in turn, how that hurt manifested into the cessation of Māoritanga transmission to her children. Ka'ai-Mahuta (2011) emphasises how these negative attitudes of New Zealand society towards Māori impacted Māori sense of self-worth and reinforced the hegemonic belief that Māori were inferior. This belittlement of Māoritanga is described by Ka'ai-Oldman (1988) as negatively affecting the attitude of Māori towards themselves, their self-esteem and their view of Māori culture; evidently this is typified in Hami's mother not being "*proud to be Māori*", consequently not enabling Hami to understand his own whakapapa and connection to Māoridom.

This impact of societal hegemony on the *oranga* of cultural *ara* is evident throughout the examples, and continues to be reiterated in the example of Tū. The allure of assimilation equalling participation in New Zealand society meant that Tū's Grandparents withheld *Mātauranga Māori* transmission under the presumption that it would help their children fit into Te Ao Pākehā:

"You know my Grandparents, all they wanted was for my Dad and his siblings to succeed in the Pākehā world, fit in... they didn't really pass down their knowledge of culture, of whakapapa, the language... for them fitting into New Zealand society meant their kids wouldn't go poor or hungry... it would give them opportunity they didn't have."

Without Māori conformity and assimilation within New Zealand, Thomas (1994) highlights how this would result in alienation and reduced opportunities for Māori in society. Through this enculturation, Māori began to lose the knowledge of Māoritanga both implicitly and explicitly (Walker, 1989; Thomas, 1994). In the case of Tū, this assimilative process resulted in his Grandparents not passing on the knowledge of whakapapa to their children, and the transmission of this knowledge to Tū being disabled. The breaking of this intergenerational flow of knowledge for Māori is stated by Lilley (2015) as leading to a loss of *mana*, critically detrimental to the wellbeing of Māori. Lilley's research states how the failure to understand or know whakapapa can have dire after-effects in Māori legitimising of identity, disenfranchising their identity, and severely limiting their participation in Māori society. Ngā Ara Whakapapa is thus a key component and foundation for the solidifying of identity in rangatahi Māori; a process significantly compromised through colonisation and the proceeding cessation of Māori generational knowledge transmission (Thomas, 1994; Ka'ai-Oldman, 1988).

Ngā Ara Take pū whānau

‘Waiho i te toipoto, kaua i te toiroa.’

‘Let us keep close together, not wide apart.’

Throughout the results, the strength or weakness of Ngā Ara Take pū whānau showed causal relationship across the following themes:

Table 7 - Relationship exhibited between geographical location & Take pū whānau

Case study name	Identification of a relationship between <i>geographical location</i> and Ngā Ara Take pū whānau	Oranga of ara
<i>Rangi</i>	Yes	Strengthened
<i>Tama</i>	Yes	Strengthened
<i>Hemi</i>	Yes	Weakened
<i>Hami</i>	N/A	N/A
<i>Tū</i>	Yes	Weakened

Table 8 - Relationship exhibited between generational knowledge & Take pū whānau

Case study name	Identification of a relationship between <i>generational knowledge</i> and Ngā Ara Take pū whānau	Oranga of ara
<i>Rangi</i>	N/A	N/A
<i>Tama</i>	Yes	Weakened
<i>Hemi</i>	N/A	N/A
<i>Hami</i>	Yes	Weakened
<i>Tū</i>	N/A	N/A

Table 9 - Relationship exhibited between engagement & Take pū whānau

Case study name	Identification of a relationship between engagement and Ngā Ara Take pū whānau	Oranga of ara
<i>Rangi</i>	Yes	Weakened
<i>Tama</i>	Yes	Weakened
<i>Hemi</i>	Yes	Weakened
<i>Hami</i>	Yes	Weakened
<i>Tū</i>	Yes	Weakened

Emergent theme: Geographical location

Relationship: Strengthening of Ngā Ara Take pū whānau

As a tribal people, Māori identify themselves in the collective sense, where community is paramount to culture and identity. McLachlan et al. (in press) describe the values that govern socialisation within the various tribal structures of whānau, *hāpu* and *iwi* as integral to optimal hauora and strength in identity. This is typified within the traditional *whakataukī* ‘*waiho i te toipoto, kaula i te toiroa* - let us keep close together, not wide apart’.

Subsequently, geographical location becomes integral for Māori to access tribal structures of community, to stay close together and cultivate take pū whānau values. The following statement of Tama continues to reiterate the strengthening of *take pū* through optimal geographical location:

“All our whānau lived around our papakāinga... all my Nans brothers and sisters lived around the village... all us moko, me and my brother, we all grew up with our cousins and everything else like that too, we were very close with our cousins... we all played in our little village growing up as kids... we had awesome whanaungatanga when it came to our village like that.”

This statement of Tama’s upbringing exemplifies the strength of growing up on one’s own *papakāinga*, and how the affordability of geographical location enabled him and his whānau

unit to thrive, living in collectiveness and *kotahitanga* within their *papakāinga*. The Moeke-Pickering (1996) research reiterates Tama's example highlighting that traditional living in the collective whānau unit enabled the maintenance of collaborative relationships, where meaningfulness and belongingness to *iwi* and culture were nurtured. Positive relationship between geographical location and take pū whānau is again reaffirmed in the case study of Tama:

“Although our family nucleus had problems in the home, we had awesome wider take pū whānau you know, we all enjoyed hanging out, having barbeques, family sports and events around the Pā and stuff like that, even the adults were involved too... Everyone hung out and looked after each other.”

The examples of Tama allude to the collective community being a prime cultivator of *take pū* values, as we see the nurturing of *manaaki* (hospitality), *aroha* (love) and *tautoko* (support) within Tama and his whānau through their time together. Durie (1994) reaffirms this ideology maintaining that the whānau structures are the place where teaching and socialisation of things Māori occur, specifically the acculturation of Māoritanga, and in Tama's case, the fostering of *take pū* values. The above example also portrays that although Tama had problems within his house and nuclear family, *take pū* values were still fostered in his extended whānau due to the affordability of geographical location, where growing up on his *papakāinga* resulted in being surrounded by these wider social groups.

This advantage for Māori residing within their *papakāinga* is described by the Ministry Advisory Committee (1988) stating that in traditional Māoridom, an entire village would help to raise children in their formative years, with rangatahi upbringing viewed as integral to the collective health, wellbeing and prosperity of the tribal whole. This tribal *kotahitanga* and

manaaki for one another intrinsically linked individual health to the entire village's joint health. Subsequently, the geographical location of Māori concerning their whānau, *hapū* and *iwi* community becomes fundamental to the nurturing and socialisation of their take pū whānau *ara* of identity, an integral component of overall Māori hauora.

Global theme: Geographical location

Relationship: Weakening of Ngā Ara take pū whānau

Urbanisation resulted in Maori no longer being exposed to or organising themselves around their whānau, *hapū* and *papakāinga* (Moeke-Pickering, 1996). As a result, the cultivation of take pū whānau values becomes significantly affected when Māori are isolated from these traditional structures. The case study of Hemi portrays the *take pū* of *whānaungatanga* inherently linked to the coming together of whānau and fellowship of community:

“When we came back home [on holiday] and were together with our whole whānau again, my nephew [Hemi] told me that whānaungatanga had come back, that ‘thing’ that brought everyone together... he really longed for it, that whānau love... for our whānau to all be together again... but when we left [our holiday back home] my nephew said it had gone again.”

If Māori are no longer dwelling within the social structures of whānau, *hapū* and *iwi*, the socialisation of *take pū* or Māori relational values are not afforded, nor given the same ability to nurture or cultivate; opportunities inherently abundant within traditional Māori structures. Subsequently, the example of Hemi echoes the sentiment of Durie (1994) that specific geographical location of Māori to their community structures of whānau, *hapū* and *iwi* are integral to the fostering of *take pū* values. The proceeding example of Tū again reiterates the primary need for Māori as a tribal people to have a sense of community:

“Honestly bro, when he passed away, he was living overseas by himself, no family with him... he had broken up with his girlfriend at the time... and couldn't get a hold of his parents... so the whānau dimension played a big role in it ay... I think in his mind he had no one to reach out too, no one to support him.”

Not only does living amongst community provide the fundamentals of *whanaungatanga* and *kotahitanga* for Māori, but importantly becomes a structure of *tautoko* and *awhi* (encouragement) for resilience and support, fundamental characteristics of Māori societal emphasis on collective wellbeing (Merritt, 2002; Waiti & Kingi, 2014). This need for collectively and interdependence has thus become an innate need for Māori identity and health. Merritt's (2002) research alludes to the power of Māori collective structures and the *take pū* values these exhibit as robust buffers for Māori under stress and anxiety. His research highlighted, in particular, the need for Māori to have more than just the nuclear family, but extended family structures for optimal mental health support.

Merritt's ideology that whānau structures and wider community access being pivotal for the wellbeing of Māori rings a sad and sombre truth in the case of Tū. Tū's geographical location resulted in him dwelling outside of whānau structures, and away from the location of his whakapapa and whānau. The McLachlan et al. (in press) research highlights Māori as a social and collective society that draws strength and resilience from healthy relationships within their community structures. Evidently, Tū's geographical location did not give him this affordability or protection of the traditional Māori community structures. It becomes overwhelmingly evident that the optimal hauora of Māori becomes correlated to their geographical location; with geographical location pivotal for accessing community within whānau, *hapū*, and *iwi*, fostering the vital take pū whānau values these structures generate.

Global theme: Generational knowledge

Relationship: Weakening of Ngā Ara Take pū whānau

The research of Jenkins & Harte (2011) analysed traditional Māori parenting methods and the pre-European socialisation of whānau. They conclude how Māori methods were based on philosophical beliefs finding genesis in the creation narratives of Māoridom; specifically in *pūrākau* of *Io* (supreme being) and *ngā atua Māori* (Māori gods). These philosophical views of Te Ao Māori resulted in children being held in a perspective of '*ata āhua*' or as the face of *Io*, the supreme being. Consequently, the perspective of rangatahi Māori was perfect underneath everything; and it was this belief and perception that stopped any maltreatment of rangatahi, as to harm the child was to harm the *atua* and *Io* (Jenkins & Harte, 2011).

What Jenkins & Harte's research exemplifies is how *Mātauranga Māori* around *take pū* values was fundamental in the child-rearing process, and a considerable need within the whānau for rangatahi Māori. Rangatahi were seen as incredibly *tapu*, with *mana* that was treated with delicacy and *aroha*, nurtured throughout their growth by their elders. However, what becomes significantly illustrated throughout the analysis is the break-down of this traditional knowledge of rangatahi importance, sacredness and spiritual significance in Te Ao Māori; an ideology initially exemplified within Hami:

"His wairua was very tainted by put-downs, by all these words that were spoken over us as children, that were said to us by our parents, that we then said to them, it became more abusive than the way that it was given too. His confidence was diminished, and the taniwha [of whakamomori] within him spoke louder. They were bought up in environments where those words weren't squashed... he was never good enough to his mother, never good enough."

Hami's upbringing and hauora were considerably affected by the words spoken over him and his mother's severe lack of *awhi* and *tautoko*. Jenkins & Harte (2011) illuminate this causal relationship in applying the concepts of *ihi*, *wehi* and *wana* in the description of the traditional parenting process. They portray *ihi* as a "vital psychic choice, or a personal essence; *wehi* as the awe, respect or wonder in children which they should never lose; and *wana* as the thrill, exhilaration, and excitement which describes the child's love of life"(p.29). They believe that when children are raised with any form of abuse, this *ihi*, *wehi* and *wana*, or delight for being alive becomes incredibly damaged. Hami's example alludes to these negative words continually spoken and cultivated in his life feeding the "*taniwha*" of suicidality within him, taking the *ihi*, *wehi* and *wana* from his *mauri*, diminishing his confidence, and severely affecting his wellbeing.

What also becomes very evident in the case study of Hami is that the cultivation of verbal abuse in his life stemmed from intergenerational traits where verbal abuse had been passed down throughout the family. The proceeding example highlights the complete breakdown of traditional *take pū* knowledge within his whānau, where Hami's Mother grew up so inundated by verbal abuse that she did not know or learn how to communicate any different:

"I think, with my sister [Hamis mum] it was excessive [the abuse to Hami] because that was the only way she learnt how to communicate growing up... we didn't really know how to love in our communication, how to manaaki or awhi with words."

The breakdown of generational transmission of traditional knowledge within Hami's whānau was rampant, with his mother's actions a consequence of her own upbringing. This negativity towards Hami is alluded to being similar to the communication she received from her parents growing up, not learning how "*to love in communication*" or how to show "*awhi*" and

“*manaaki*” to her children. Jenkins & Harte (2011) would depict this *take pū* within Hami’s whānau as contradictory to the traditional Māori parenting methodology, and severely diminishing in his hauora. These intergenerational traits of *take pū* breakdown are also shown in the case of Tama:

“We had an abusive father, a physically abusive father... that was probably a big strain on our family, and my brother, he got it the worst cause he was always up for the battle, so he’d take the beatings for us... Looking back now, I can see it’s a bit of a generational thing, almost hereditary. Talking to the uncles and aunties, they say that my Dad got horrendous hidings from my Koro growing up... take pū within our nuclear whānau wasn’t very good.”

Taonui (2010) suggest the *take pū* whānau breakdown within Māoridom are overwhelming present in contemporary Aotearoa, portrayed in the grossly disproportionate statistics for Māori versus Pākehā child abuse. Taonui describes that pre-European Māori society was principled on a non-violent whānau unit embodying the lived *tikanga* of *aroha* and *whanaungatanga* for one another. The welfare of rangatahi ensured the future of the tribe, and as such, children were to be protected from harm at all costs. This is showcased in the traditional *whakataukī* ‘*maku e kapu i te toiora o ā tāua tamariki* - by my hand will our children be kept unharmed’, and ‘*ngā huka kokoti kōmata*, just as frosts will cut down young shoots, so too will the ill-treatment of children disrupt their upbringing’. These *whakataukī* highlight traditional Māori perceptions of the love and nurture needed for children, and the generational effects of raising children in these environments. Jenkins & Harte (2011) also attest to these views, with their research showing how children were *tapu* and untouchable, a freedom in growth given to facilitate bold, brave and independent youth.

The literature entails a profound insight into how the physical abuse Tama was subject to in his upbringing was a stark opposite to the *take pū* values of traditional Māoridom, where physical punishment or reprimand of children was described by Jenkins & Harte (2011) as “not an option for the parent” (p.24). Even in the case of Hami, the verbal abuse talked over his upbringing would be paradoxical to traditional practices of parents where Jenkins & Harte state that “punishment... verbal or emotional was not used to train children” (p.27). These traditional parenting ideologies are again attested too in the *whakataukī*, ‘*he tangi tō te tamariki, he whakamaā tō te pakeke* - children cry, but the embarrassment or shame is the parents or elders’.

This breakdown of knowledge and practice towards traditional parenting philosophy and *take pū* are evidenced in the verbal and physical abuse both Tama and Hami were subject to. It is also prominent in both cases that this diminishing of *take pū* is suggested as an intergenerational breakdown within the whānau. These consequences of *Mātauranga Māori* not being transmitted across the generations of Māoridom continue to manifest in adverse wellbeing repercussions. Specifically within Ngā Ara Take pū whānau, the corroding of optimal upbringing foundations is overwhelmingly thwarted within the results without the passing down of *Mātauranga Māori*.

Global theme: Engagement

Relationship: Weakening Ngā Ara Take pū whānau

The following results analyse take pū whānau regarding a lack of engagement across the case studies; however, it is to be noted that the global theme of engagement was portrayed as significantly correlated both implicitly and explicitly with the previous global theme of *generational knowledge* transmission across the examples. As described within both the

geographical location and *generational knowledge* results, traditional *take pū* values and structures afforded rangatahi Māori with optimal upbringings of nurture, love, and the ability to thrive in their spiritual and physical wellbeing. This ideology is portrayed from the genesis of Māori creation, where love and commitment were the fundamental messages of the primordial parents of the world *Ranginui* (Sky Father) & *Papatūānuku*, and even in their unwanted separation due to their children, they did not look to punish or reprimand their children (Jenkins & Harte, 2011). Traditional Māoridom held this *pūrākau* as a template of whānau socialisation, with these embedded primal constructs of *aroha*, *kotahitanga*, *whanaungatanga*, *manaaki*, grace and patience to be reflected in parental practices as directives and instruction on how to engage rangatahi across Te Ao Māori (Jenkin & Harte, 2011). However, it becomes evident within examples of both Tama and Hami that these fundamental *take pū* values were not engaged with by their parents. Tama was described as having “*a physically abusive father*” where he took “*the worst of the beatings*” in his family; beatings that are described as lifelong trauma that played a role in his suicidality:

“I suppose the trauma through that from a young age, played a big part in the final decision of my brother's suicide.”

Whilst also, Hami was described as “*never being good enough for his Mother*” with his mother’s tirade of verbal abuse described as:

“Tainting his [Hami] wairua... and allowing that taniwha [of suicide] to sit heavy on him.”

Jenkins & Harte (2011) portray whānau inability to engage with *take pū* values in rangatahi upbringing seriously detrimental to their health, wellbeing and potentiation for *Mauri Ora* or a flourishing of life. This is particularly evident in Tama and Hami, where both the physical

and mental abuse, and lack of engagement in take pū whānau by their parents was interpreted as having a significant role in the causality of their diminishing health and wellbeing, as well as the eventual act of *whakamomori*.

This reoccurring theme of lack of engagement by parents in rangatahi lives became overly prominent in the results, exhibiting significant breakdowns in the nuclear whānau unit. The following examples explain how both Hami and Rangi grew up in households without their Father:

“He [Hami] never knew his Dad... and had a fragmented relationship with his Mum; she was quite dysfunctional.”

“His [Rangi] Father wasn’t around much... and only saw him now and again... their Father left when they were young so that Father figure wasn’t really there... his Mother basically brought him up and had his back the whole time... I’m not blaming his Father, but that was a big factor for him, not having him around... he had lots of elder males around him, but for Rangi, he was like well your still not my Father, you can be great but your still not my Father.”

Jenkins & Harte (2011) highlight how, within traditional Māoridom, Mothers were not necessarily the caregivers, with Fathers also having an integral role in the upbringing of rangatahi. However, in the case of both Hami & Rangi, a stark contrast to this traditional whānau unit is observed, with Hami never once “*knowing his Dad*” and Rangi’s Father labelled as “*not around much*”. This lack of engagement and participation by fathers in their children’s childhood is held as contradictory to Early European observation of traditional Māori child-rearing. Jenkins & Harte (2011) state how early colonial research made

particular note of the paradoxical warrior Fathers being “devotedly fond of his children, as they were his pride and delight... the fathers took the children everywhere with them... with fathers like mothers looking after the physical needs of the children, and they were excellent nurses” (p.21). The delicate nature of traditional Māori Fatherhood was also exhibited as non-evident in the upbringing of Tama, where the abuse he sustained broke the relationship with his Father, forcing his Mother solely to nurture his growth and raising:

“Us having an abusive Father, meant we didn’t really have a relationship with him... that was probably a big strain on our family... so we confided in our Mother quite a lot.”

Traditionally, Māori fathers are described by Jenkins & Harte (2011) as the constant child carer, if not an equal co-parent. Penehira and Doherty (2013) reiterate this in their statement that pre-European Māori fatherhood viewed their rangatahi as their pride and joy, with fathers seen by early colonial explorers spending considerable time holding their children, singing to them and nursing them to sleep. The literature is overwhelming in the importance of the role of the father in traditional Māoridom, where both constant engagement and delicacy were held as pivotal to one’s child. What is evident in Tama's case is his upbringing and relationship with his Father did not afford him either of these pivotal philosophical standpoints, where a complete lack of engagement with these take pū whānau values were exhibited. This breakdown of parent relationship and the traditional take pū whānau philosophies and values was also evidenced in the life of Tū:

“Tū grew up with his parents split up... and they didn’t have a good relationship like they didn’t even stay as a couple before he was born... that really hurt him knowing he didn’t have a solid set of parents... he was between houses a lot and he would have felt like his identity was all over the place.”

With Tū's parents splitting up and him being raised in between houses, Tū was consequently described as never being afforded a *“solid set of parents”*. Parental love and commitment to one another are described by Jenkins & Harte (2011) as the fundamental messages of the Māori creation narrative of *Ranginui & Papatūānuku*, and as such, the significance of rangatahi being raised around both parents within the whānau is a *pūrākau* held in high esteem since the beginning of Māoridom. Elkington (2016) highlights how these philosophies transcend into the fulfilment of traditional whānau structures in rangatahi upbringing, with parental coexistence as well as wider whānau imperative in creating a dynamic, interconnected web, where various roles, rights and responsibilities are shared for the prosperity of the rangatahi. Tū's example highlights the significance of this *take pū* breakdown within his life, a loss of identity evidenced in how he is described as feeling like *“his identity was all over the place”* without these foundational structures within the *take pū* engaged and participated in.

Hemi's case study also portrayed significant break down in the family nucleus; however, in contrast to other examples, Hemi was brought up by solely his Dad:

“When Hemi was about four, his Mum and Dad split up... she moved overseas, and he lived with just his Dad.”

Although fathers in traditional Māoridom have been described as fundamental to the upbringing of a child, both the research of Elkington (2016) and Jenkins & Harte (2011) also ascertain the equal importance of mothers engagement within the childhood of rangatahi Māori. Hemi's mother was described earlier within the results as moving away when he was four, with Hemi consequently spending the rest of his life, and the critical years of his upbringing raised by solely by his Father. The relationship between mother and child was

held in incredible importance within traditional Māoridom also, testified to in the traditional *whakataukī* of ‘*he aroha whāerere, he pōtiki piri poho* - a mother’s love, a breast-clinging child’. This *whakataukī* exemplified the traditional perspective of a mother's love towards a young child, the significance of this interdependence, and the need for it to be cherished. The repercussions of Hemi’s inability to be raised with the co-parenting nurture of his mother can consequently be viewed as potentially detrimental to his health and cultural wellbeing.

Māori have exhibited a developed system of relationship building with two prospective parents since the creation stories of Māoridom. Both mother and father were responsible for the constant nurturing of children, and critical influences in both the physical and spiritual wellbeing of their rangatahi. However, the research continues to highlight the reoccurring theme of rangatahi childhoods exhibiting parents no longer present in the child’s life. Without this engagement of traditional *take pū* philosophy around parenthood, the cohort of case studies exhibit suboptimal *take pū whānau* cultivation, and reflect the causal effects of this lack of engagement. The literature and examples evidence the imperative nature of the traditional philosophies of *take pū whānau* parenting to be applied in contemporary Māoridom.

Ngā Ara Mahi-a-toi

‘Hei pupuri te aho o te wānanga, hei kawē i ngā kura huna a Rua.’

‘Hhold fast to the strands of valued learning,

to perpetuate the hidden schools of Rua’.

Throughout the results, the strength or weakness of Ngā Ara Mahi-a-toi showed causal relationship across the following themes:

Table 10 - Relationship exhibited between geographical location & Mahi-a-toi

Case study name	Identification of a relationship between <i>geographical location</i> and Ngā Ara Mahi-a-toi	Oranga of ara
<i>Rangi</i>	Yes	Strengthened
<i>Tama</i>	Yes	Weakened
<i>Hemi</i>	N/A	N/A
<i>Hami</i>	Yes	Weakened
<i>Tū</i>	N/A	N/A

Table 11 - Relationship exhibited between generational knowledge and Mahi-a-toi

Case study name	Identification of a relationship between <i>generational knowledge</i> and Ngā Ara Mahi-a-toi	Oranga of ara
<i>Rangi</i>	Yes	Strengthened
<i>Tama</i>	Yes	Strengthened
<i>Hemi</i>	N/A	N/A
<i>Hami</i>	N/A	N/A
<i>Tū</i>	N/A	N/A

Table 12 - Relationship exhibited between engagement and Mahi-a-toi

Case study name	Identification of a relationship between engagement and Ngā Ara Mahi-a-toi	Oranga of ara
<i>Rangi</i>	Yes	Strengthened
<i>Tama</i>	Yes	Weakened
<i>Hemi</i>	N/A	N/A
<i>Hami</i>	Yes	Weakened
<i>Tū</i>	Yes	Weakened

Emergent theme: Geographical location

Relationship: Strengthening Nga Ara Mahi-ā-toi

The proceeding example of Rangi’s childhood portrays the potential of *mahi-ā-toi* to infuse traditional knowledge into Māori performing arts, strengthening various cultural *ara* of identity. What is most significant in Rangi’s case is how the geographical location of his upbringing enabled constant access, nurturing and strengthening of *mahi-ā-toi*:

“Growing up down there (the Pā) they were taught all the Pikiāo waiata and haka... all those songs were about whakapapa, our whenua, and everything... the thing about Pikiāo was the kids are strong in whakapapa because they hear and sung those all the time down there... they don’t realise that they know all the songs, but they do because they’ve heard them around them all the time.”

Rangi’s upbringing on his *papakāinga* both implicitly and explicitly engrossed him in the waiata, haka and *pūrākau* of his *hapū*; performed by him, to him and around him from a young age. An inundation of Māoritanga, Walker (1989) portrays as typical when dwelling within ones *papakāinga*. As a result, his geographical location affordability can be shown as a major causal factor for his strength in *mahi-ā-toi*. This rich fostering of *mahi-ā-toi* in his

upbringing was also shown as leading to the strengthening of other *ara* within his cultural identity:

“And these waiata we sung and haka we did relate to all of these ara that you talk about, they actually relate to all of those, whakapapa, wairua, taiao, reo, one song can cover all of those easy.”

McLachlan et al. (in press) highlight the interconnected nature of Māori *ara* of identity, expressing that *mahi-ā-toi* facilitates connection with whānau, *hapū* and *iwi*, and connection to whakapapa. Shortland (2011) stresses the importance traditional Māoridom had on waiata and haka as transmitters of knowledge and whakapapa from generation to generation. As a predominantly oral culture, the archives of Māori history were found within the Māori performing arts. Clements (2015) also affirms this notion's position that within Māori culture, waiata was the “primary social adhesive that sustained culture, identity and heritage for hundreds of years” (p. 133).

Emergent themes: Engagement & Geographical location

Relationship: Weakening Ngā Ara Mahi-ā-toi

In the following examples, it is exhibited how geographical location and engagement were significantly correlated in both Hami's relocation and the move of Tama from his *papakāinga*. These geographical changes were evidenced in affecting their exposure, access and engagement in the *mahi-ā-toi* of *kapa haka*:

“Hami and his Mum moved away from New Zealand when he was 10, but before that he grew up going to kōhanga reo... he went to Kura Kaupapa and things like that before leaving... but once he moved away it didn't continue, it went... that's where he used to get it from, it wasn't from within the home... He was very much involved with

kapa haka through his Kura Kaupapa... but it wasn't from inside the whānau home. It was only given, the connections, outside the home."

"Growing up on the Pā with Tama we had like ahurei (kapa haka festival) for Tuwharetoa as primary school kids, you know performing for the parents and that sort of thing; but as we moved away to boarding schooling and what not, we didn't really continue on with any kapas [kapa haka] ay."

Both the example of Hami and Tama showcase the importance of geographical location in *mahi-ā-toi* engagement. For Hami specifically, his geographical location before moving enabled him access to *mahi-ā-toi* and *Mātauranga Māori*, even though it was not an affordance within his family home. However, once they had moved overseas, he lost all retention of this *Mātauranga Māori* and ability to engage with *kapa haka*. The prime purpose of *kapa haka* is described by Whitinui (2008) as enabling the ability to strengthen links and knowledge of Māoritanga, an active socialisation and builder of one's *Mātauranga Māori*. Evidently, in the case of Hami, his inability to engage with *kapa haka* rendered his retention of Māoritanga lost, severely impacting his cultural identity.

Furthermore, Tama's example continues to reiterate this ideology; he grew up on his *papakāinga*, with an ability to access and engage with *mahi-ā-toi* described as almost an inherent act for all the rangatahi. However, once he had moved away from his *papakāinga*, the trend of participation loss continued to be evidenced in *kapa haka* and *mahi-ā-toi*. This relational outcome was also profound in the case study of Tū. He showed a complete lack of engagement in *mahi-a-toi*, attributed to the generational consequences of sub-optimal geographical location, and their father moving away from his village at an early age:

“We [interviewee and Tū] didn’t really have any engagement in like culturally expressive art forms... like when my Dad moved away from his village when he was young, and us growing up in the city, we didn’t really know or do much culturally.”

Whitinui (2008) believes that *kapa haka* is a powerful and dynamic learning stimulus for Māori, significantly nurturing language, but all elements of culture. Consequently, the critical diminishing throughout Ngā Ara Mahi-ā-toi are highlighted within the literature as overwhelmingly detrimental to Tama, Tū and Hami's complete cultural well-being. An overwhelming need for optimal geographical location for Māori becomes very prominent, where accessibility, engagement and generational knowledge transmission are shown within the results to be anchored around geographical residence.

Global theme: Generational knowledge & Engagement

Relationship: Strengthening Ngā Ara Mahi-a-toi

In the results of Ngā Ara Mahi-a-toi, the global themes of generational knowledge and engagement were intrinsically linked with the relational strengthening of *mahi-a-toi*. As such, the proceeding section exhibits the two themes correlatively when describing their relationship to the *oranga* of *mahi-ā-toi*. The strength of Rangi’s *mahi-ā-toi ara*, as shown in his participation with *kapa haka* was described as being a direct consequence of his whānau’s interaction and passing down of this *mahi-ā-toi*:

“Kapa haka was one of those things he loved to do... it was really an ingrained thing that our whole whānau just did, because the whānau does it, and has always done it, we do it, it was just innate for us... when Rangi performed, he did it with all his cousins... We had kapa haka for competition, and kapa haka for knowledge of songs and stuff like that... our whānau did it all.”

Rangi's example shows how whānau engagement led a continual cycling of engagement across the generations, where *kapa haka* became almost an “innate” participation for the whānau. It's also important to note that whānau engagement instilled a passion within Rangi for autonomous engagement with *kapa haka* where it was “*one of those things he loved to do*”. It continued to be exemplified in Rangi that this love and passion for *kapa haka* spanned not only performing but also watching *kapa haka*:

“Rangi and his mum would drive all around the country for Matatini, Rangi loved going on those trips with his mother, he really loved kapa haka in that way.”

Rangi's examples highlight how both the whānau and individual engagement considerably strengthened his *ara* of *mahi-a-toi*, with his evident love and passion for *kapa haka*. Hindle (2002) describes *kapa haka's* fundamental purpose as to strengthen the links of whānau, *hapū* and *iwi*; growing their knowledge of Māoritanga and revealing their potential of culture and identity through creative expression. The literature alludes to Rangi's engagement level towards *kapa haka* becoming a foundational principal in him being described in the case study as “*confident in his Māori identity*”.

Tama's case study also evidenced participation of *mahi-ā-toi* directly related to the intergenerational *kapa haka* engagement of his *hapū* and whānau living on their *papakāinga*:

“Growing up on the Pā with Tama we had like kapahaka ahurei (distinguishments) for Tuwharetoa as primary school kids, you know performing for the parents and that sort of thing... everyone did it.”

Tama exhibits how the intergenerational engagement of *kapa haka* within his *papakāinga* correlated in the next generation growing up with higher accessibility and engagement with

the *mahi-ā-toi*. The research of Pihama et al. (2014) also describes how *kapa haka* is one of the most accessible *mahi-ā-toi* and a key vehicle for language and culture engagement. With Tama's engagement linked to the generational engagement of his Pā, Pihama et al. would portray this as a fundamental potentiator to strengthening his overall cultural competency. This ideology is further elaborated on by Pihama et al. in their description of *kapa haka* as "the embodiment of what it is to be Māori, capturing the history, the power of the language, the power of the music and the absolute *wairua* of Te Ao Māori"(p.17). Subsequently, the intergenerational engagement and generational knowledge of *kapa haka* for Tama was not only strengthening his *ara* of *mahi-ā-toi*, but implicitly his reo Māori, his *wairuatanga*, and overall cultural competency and identity.

Evidently, in both Rangi and Tama, we see that their whānau transmission and whānau willingness for rangatahi *mahi-ā-toi* engagement was not only passing down intergenerational knowledge, but a means in which *kapa haka* strengthened their *Mātauranga Māori*, fostering all cultural identity *ara*.

Ngā Ara Taiao

‘Te toto o te tangata, he kai; te oranga o te tangata, he whenu.’

‘While food provides the blood in our veins, our health is drawn from the land.’

Throughout the results, the strength or weakness of Ngā Ara Taiao showed causal relationship across the following themes:

Table 13 - Relationship exhibited between geographical location & Te Taiao

Case study name	Identification of a relationship between <i>geographical location</i> and Ngā Ara Taiao	Oranga of ara
<i>Rangi</i>	Yes	Strengthened
<i>Tama</i>	Yes	Strengthened
<i>Hemi</i>	Yes	Weakened
<i>Hami</i>	N/A	N/A
<i>Tū</i>	N/A	N/A

Table 14 - Relationship exhibited between generational knowledge & Te Taiao

Case study name	Identification of a relationship between <i>generational knowledge</i> and Ngā Ara Taiao	Oranga of ara
<i>Rangi</i>	N/A	N/A
<i>Tama</i>	N/A	N/A
<i>Hemi</i>	N/A	N/A
<i>Hami</i>	N/A	N/A
<i>Tū</i>	N/A	N/A

Table 15 - Relationship exhibited between geographical location & Taiao

Case study name	Identification of a relationship between <i>engagement</i> and Ngā Ara Taiao	Oranga of ara
<i>Rangi</i>	Yes	Strengthened
<i>Tama</i>	Yes	Strengthened
<i>Hemi</i>	Yes	Strengthened
<i>Hami</i>	Yes	Strengthened
<i>Tū</i>	N/A	N/A

Emergent theme: Geographical location

Relationship to Ara: Weakening of Ngā Ara Taiao

Māori *pepeha* begin with the whenua and geographical markers of their whakapapa as the most important factor of identification; these markers of belonging will always precede one's name. Subsequently, the relationship with *te taiao* can be centralised as the integral component of the Tāngata Whenua identity, with land and man viewed as equals in a symbiotic union of interconnection (Walker, 1989). However, without physical accessibility, the concept of a connection with whenua, and importantly *tūrangawaewae* is held in an abstract sense, as to have *tūrangawaewae* is to have a physical place to put your feet (Groot et al., 2010). This ideology is evident in the case of Hemi:

“He lived away from home, but Hemi knew his pepeha... but that was as far as it went, there was no tikanga with it, there was nothing else involved... just something you did without much thought.”

Although Hemi knew his *pepeha* and how to identify himself concerning genealogy, his inability to access his whakapapa physically rendered his relationship to his whenua weakened. Māori separation from their whenua is highlighted in Walker (2004) “where Māori movement away from their whenua destabilised place-based whānau, *hapū* and *iwi*

identities, breaking long-established knowledge-practices around land... undermining the very fabric of Maori society” (as cited in Moewaka-Barnes, 2019, p.24). The research of Marsden (1992) states how the inability to dwell within the physical localities of one’s whenua becomes counterintuitive to growing in cultural identity, where abstract interactions with Māoritanga are eventually rendered “a dead end” (p.117). Hemi’s example shows us that for Māori, the strengthening of relationship to *te taiao* is mediated by physical accessibility to the whenua, significantly, the whenua of whakapapa.

Emergent themes: Engagement & Geographical location

Relationship: Strengthening Ngā Ara Taiao

As highlighted across the previous results sections, connection to the environment was observed as innate in the majority of case studies. This theme continues to be prominent, with relationship and inherent connection continuing to be highlighted as empowering levels of engagement with specifically *te taiao*. This is first exemplified in Rangi:

“Rangi loved the outdoors... if we were helping at the marae, he and his brother would latch onto the hunters [kai mahi] and go with them to do their part... if we were at the Bay, they would take every opportunity to go fishing, hunting, diving, anything outdoors they loved... outside all the time... They were content with the bush, Taiao, home, that’s all they needed for their peace.”

Rangi portrays an incredible love and passion for the environment and outdoors, an engagement with *taiao* that made him feel “*content*” and at “*peace*”. This casual peace Rangi exhibited through his engagement is highlighted in the research of Durie (1998) with relationship to the whenua being positioned as the foundation of one’s overall hauora, reaffirmed in the Moewaka-Barnes & McCreanor (2019) statement that connection of people

to place is a “conceptual and practical way of promoting wellbeing” (p.28). It is evident that Rangi’s *taiao* relationship from his role as *kaimahi* (worker) on the *marae*, to recreationally in his spare time, fostered a very strong connection with the whenua; a relationship Māori have had with the land since the beginning of time (Walker, 1989).

This innate relationship of Māori to the whenua continues to be portrayed in the case of Tama. Although the explicit awareness of connection and *tikanga* to *te taiao* was low, an innate love for engagement with the whenua was still very evident. He is described as “*not very aware*” of the spiritual practice his time in the environment entailed; however, his innate passion and connection with the environment was still described as very strong:

“On our papakāinga, my Koro was kaimahi, my dad was kaimahi, and that became our role on the marae... in terms of understanding the tikanga it was only basic for us... but we [interviewee at Tama] loved getting out for a hunt, being in the bush... my brother, in particular, he was well endowed with the skill, just a natural, it wasn’t a problem for him to shoot up the bush and get a pig or deer... my brother loved to hunt, if he was going hunting he had no other priority... The ngahere, that was his playground sort of thing.”

From the beginning of this example, the generational engagement of *te taiao* in Tama’s whānau is prominent, specifically in the role of *kaimahi* at the *marae* with the intergenerational tasking of hunting food for the *papakāinga*. This led to Tama’s participation also catalysing his inundated love for the *taiao*, a love and a passion for hunting that had “*no other priority*”. The research of Grusec et al. (2017) suggests that the modelling of one’s parents heavily influences behaviour and engagement within rangatahi, which creates predispositions for the following generation, an ideology portrayed in both Rangi and Tama’s

intergenerational engagement with *kaimahi*. What also becomes evident through both the examples is how hunting and fishing were the bridge to engagement with *te taiao*, a strong conduit for building relationship with the whenua. Traditional Māoridom was a prominent culture of hunter-gatherers across both land and sea; evidently, these skills and naturalistic love for hunting continue to be exemplified in present-day Māori.

It is also important to note that both Tama and Rangi show how favourable accessibility and geographical location to the whenua enables a relationship with *te taiao* to be strengthened. Through Rangi's advantageous upbringing around "*the Bay*", it is described as motivating him to spend the time hunting, fishing, diving or anything with an outdoor connection. Simultaneously, Tama's constant accessibility to the *ngahere* (bush) behind his *papakāinga*, was also alluded to as a significant catalyst in a strong relationship with the environment.

This theme of Māori innateness with *te taiao* continues to be prominent across the case studies of Hami & Hemi. Both rangatahi are described as not possessing the generational knowledge of *te taiao*; however, it is again portrayed as not affecting their love and passion for engaging with hunting, fishing and the whenua:

"Hami wasn't spiritual or anything like that, but he was very connected to the land. Just innate within him... his passion was fishing, hunting, outdoors; whenever we would come home to New Zealand he just wanted to go camping, out in the bush over the coast where all our whānau lived... he had a real spiritual connection to the land. When he would disappear, that's where he would go. Go walk about. He'd go on his own, and he loved it... It was just natural within him."

“He [Hemi] loved being out in the taiao when he could get away... he very much loved fishing, hunting, camping, he was doing it all the time... but within his thoughts and actually knowing that connection for him as Māori, he didn’t really know... but it was natural for him, he loved it.”

It is overwhelmingly evident through both the examples of Hemi and Hami that Māori have a naturalistic engagement with the whenua and practices across the *taiao*; an intergenerational longing that continues to show prominence in all case studies. Both Hemi and Hami’s passion for engagement is alluded to as existing even without the possession of *mātauranga* around *te taiao*; an ideology again evident across the cohort. This conclusion is attested to in the research of Challenger (1985) where he believes Māori will always have a connection with the land regardless of *mātauranga* transmission, stating that although “intimate knowledge of the whenua has diminished with urbanisation, at an emotional level it lives on” (p.24). Māoridom’s traditional and innate connection with the land as Tāngata Whenua can still be viewed as a prominent inherent relationship of engagement within the results of contemporary Māori. What is also quite evident within the case study results is that if Māori are given accessibility to the *taiao* and optimal geographical location, each displayed a powerful connection and strength in a relationship with the whenua as a result. This proposes the ideology that if Māori are afforded the ability to access the whenua regularly, their innate willingness to engage gives the potential for Ngā Ara Taiao to be one of the strongest *ara* of the Māori identity, and one of the quickest to enable flourishing.

Ngā Ara Reo Māori

'Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori; ko te kupu te mauri o te reo Māori.'

'The language is the life force of the mana Māori;

the word is the life force of the language.'

Throughout the results, the strength or weakness of Ngā Ara Reo Māori showed causal relationship across the following themes:

Table 16 - Relationship exhibited between geographical location & Te Reo Māori

Case study name	Identification of a relationship between geographical location and Ngā Ara Reo Māori	Oranga of ara
<i>Rangi</i>	Yes	Strengthened
<i>Tama</i>	N/A	N/A
<i>Hemi</i>	N/A	N/A
<i>Hami</i>	Yes	Weakened
<i>Tū</i>	N/A	N/A

Table 17 - Relationship exhibited between generational knowledge & Te Reo Māori

Case study name	Identification of a relationship between generational knowledge and Ngā Ara Reo Māori	Oranga of ara
<i>Rangi</i>	Yes	Strengthened
<i>Tama</i>	Yes	Weakened
<i>Hemi</i>	Yes	Weakened
<i>Hami</i>	Yes	Weakened
<i>Tū</i>	Yes	Weakened

Table 18 - Relationship exhibited between engagement & Te Reo Māori

Case study name	Identification of a relationship between engagement and Ngā Ara Reo Māori	Oranga of ara
<i>Rangi</i>	Yes	Strengthened
<i>Tama</i>	Yes	Weakened
<i>Hemi</i>	Yes	Weakened
<i>Hami</i>	Yes	Weakened
<i>Tū</i>	Yes	Weakened

Emergent theme: Geographical locationRelationship: Weakening Ngā Ara Reo Māori

Geographical location within the case studies has been portrayed as an integral factor to the health of Māoritanga. Specifically, the ability to live in and around environments like that of traditional *papakāinga*, or similar Māori community has shown strong causal relationships in the strength of identity *ara*. In the following example of Hami, this trend continues; it is shown that once his geographical location was moved away from “*home*”, the element of lack of accessibility to Māoritanga became very prominent in the weakening of his cultural identity *ara*:

“Hami and his Mum moved away from New Zealand when he was 10, but before that he grew up going to Kōhanga Reo... he went to Kura Kaupapa and things like that before leaving... but once he moved away it didn’t continue, it went... there was no more connection outside the home, and he lost his reo and that... that’s where he used to get it from, it wasn’t from within the home.”

The above example of Hami highlights that his ability to nurture his reo Māori was directly proportional to the accessibility of location to *Kaupapa Māori* institutions, and those who held *Mātauranga Māori*. These *Kaupapa Māori* structures of education can be described as

schooling of critical Māori pedagogy, birthed out of a response to failing western schooling systems deemed a significant causal factor in declining reo Māori statistics (Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2011; Walker, 2004). These institutions such as *Te Kōhanga Reo* (Māori pre-school), *Te Kura Kaupapa Māori* (Māori schools) and *Te Wharekura* (Māori secondary schools) immerse rangatahi like Hami, not only in language but also values, traditions, customs and stories of traditional Māoridom (Glynn, 2015; Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2011). *Kaupapa Māori* in contemporary Māoridom has become pivotal to the revitalisation of Māoritanga, teaching rangatahi Māori through a lens of their world view, reorientating them towards *Mātauranga Māori*, and the reo Māori and *mahi-ā-toi* cultural *ara* (Glynn, 2015; Walker, 2004).

The research of Bell (1991) paradoxically affirms the need for a *Kaupapa Māori* push, stating that “languages die when they are no longer spoken... usually, the speaker shifts to another language and the language becomes killed by the other language” (p.67). These words of Bell are evidenced in the case of Hami. He is described as a student of *Kaupapa Māori* institutions for the first ten years of his life. Although Te Reo Māori was not spoken at home for Hami, his *kura* accessibility entailed him with the exposure and capability to grow in his Māoritanga, specifically his Te Reo Māori *ara* of identity. However, Hami's example portrays that his move away from his homelands *rendered* minimal Te Reo Māori exposure, with a proceeding lack of accessibility to *Kaupapa Māori* institutions and *Mātauranga Māori* holders. The consequences of this suboptimal geographical location entailed minimal nurturing of his Māoritanga, consequently weakening the reo Māori *ara* and his overall cultural wellbeing.

Emergent theme: Geographical location/Generational knowledge & Engagement

Relationship: Strengthening Ngā Ara Reo Māori

The results highlighted Rangi as the only fluent Te Reo Māori speaker, a causal effect of his reo Māori *ara* afforded the three global themes of geographical location, generational knowledge and engagement in his upbringing. Rangi's example shows how his childhood was on his *papakāinga* surrounded by a wealth of whānau who were first language Te Reo Māori speakers. The following statement portrays how the geographical location and surrounding abundance of knowledge in culture enabled the passing down of this *mātauranga* from the older generation through to Rangi's:

“So his Koro spoke Māori, which is why his mother spoke Māori... his Father learnt Māori when they were kids... his cousins spoke Māori too... when they came to me [uncle] and my friends and whānau, we all spoke Māori, so they had that knowledge around them all of the time, they were surrounded by it... and you know it's not just the language, along with that comes culture and everything else... the reo was his first language, as was ours, he was confident in his Māori identity.”

In the above example, Chrisp's (2005) research becomes evident with his four key interrelating themes governing the intergenerational language transmission from Rangi's elders to himself. These four themes consist of the following:

- i) Language knowledge: parents have sufficient knowledge of the reo
- ii) Situation: environmental factors that encourage the use of reo Māori
- iii) Motivation: parents want to transmit knowledge
- iv) Critical awareness: parents intentionality of transmitting the reo

The passing down of the ability to *kōrero* Māori for Rangi was a direct correlation to the exposure of his elders, and the implicit and explicit engagement in the four key fundamentals of language transmission (Chrisp, 2005). Rangi was placed in an environment that nurtured

reo Māori, surrounded by generations of whānau with knowledge in the reo, willing to transmit the knowledge in awareness of its critical implications in his cultural identity.

Language within Māoridom is held as one's own cultural and spiritual awakening, and the very window to one's soul, embodied in the traditional *whakataukī* '*ko taku reo taku ohooho, ko taku reo taku mapihi maurea*'. Subsequently, language becomes vital to the essence of Māoritanga itself and in the case of Rangi, it is exemplified through his description of being "*confident in his identity*" as a result of being well versed in his reo Māori. Affordability enabled through the intergenerational passing down of knowledge across Chrisp's (2005) four key factors for transmission.

Global theme: Generational knowledge & Engagement

Relationship: Weakening Ngā Ara reo-Māori

In the Nicholson (2000) research of Māori language re-gensis, the author states that "when parents cease to pass on their language to their children, the language becomes endangered... and their culture seriously weakened" (p.15). This notion of Nicholson is evident within the case of Hemi. His mother is described as not being "*proud to be Māori*", and as a result "*her kids grew up not really knowing anything*". As a consequence, Hemi is described as having no understanding of his Māori language as a direct result of this breakdown of generational transmission:

"Kāo, Hemi had no understandings of the Māori language".

Te Reo Māori within contemporary Māoridom is described by Nicholson (2000) as thrust into a state of decay due to colonisation, resulting in the thwarting of transmission of reo Māori between generations. This cessation of reo transmission and engagement was also evident in the example of Hami:

“Hami went to kōhanga reo as a kid, but reo wasn’t used in the home, so he only ever knew the basics, but that didn’t carry on as he moved away when he was older, he lost it... he no longer could access it or have others around him who spoke”.

Ka’ai-Mahuta (2011) suggests that these language ‘deaths’ do not happen internally within the culture, but predominantly as a result of outside influences, affirming Nicholson's (2000) notions. This ideology is portrayed in the example of Hami; Hami grew up in a household that did not receive the intergenerational transmission of reo Māori. As a result, once Hami was no longer able to access a *Kōhanga Reo*, the lack of generational knowledge within his household resulted in him no longer participating and engaging with reo Māori, losing his ability to *kōrero* Māori.

The case study of Tū also portrayed similar circumstances where the intergenerational transmission of Te Reo Māori was prevented due to their grandparent's belief that reo Māori would not be accepted, nor advantageous living within the postcolonial New Zealand society:

“Yeah, there wasn’t a lot of pass down of knowledge for te reo... it was pretty bad; like my Dad was fluent through his younger years, but because back then New Zealand wasn’t as inclusive [culturally], my Grandparents began to try to get my Dad and his siblings to only speak English so that they could get a better chance of getting a job and fitting into the society.... Because of that, my Dad lost his language by the time he was in his late teens. So when we were born, we never really had a good upbringing in Te Reo Māori, and never got the chance to learn it.”

Walker’s (1989) research highlights how colonial New Zealand set Māori and Pākehā in binary opposition, marked by fierce competition for resources and opportunity within an

antagonistic Pākehā society. This is overwhelmingly evident in the example of Tū, where his parents as first language Te Reo Māori speakers were forced to “*only speak English*” in order to compete for job opportunities, but also to fit into a society dominated by Pākehā ecology. This enculturation led to the inability of Tū’s Father to *kōrero* Māori later on in his life, stemming to the breaking of reo Māori transmission within the generations of their family. Tū was no longer afforded the ability to learn Te Reo Māori in his upbringing, with his father no longer holding that *mātauranga* to transmit it. Again, these intergenerational consequences are perceived to be widespread within this study’s cohort, as exemplified in the case of Tama:

“Te reo was really low in our lives [interviewee and Tama], none of us were fluent or anything like that... Our Nan and Koro were, but you know, they grew up in a time where you got the cane for speaking the reo. So I mean that kind of got bred into them and was something they carried on to our parents and then onto us... it was almost something not spoken about... we wanted to know it... but Te Reo Māori didn’t really play a role in our lives.”

Colonisation forced Māori to a precipice of “change or be damned” (Gibbons et al., 1994, p.1), where the subjugation of one’s own Māori culture enabled opportunity, accessibility and participation within Pākehā society. By 1980, 140 years from the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, the loss of reo Māori was so prevalent, that it became assumed that reo Māori would suffer language death (Ka’ai-Mahuta, 2011). The breaking of intergenerational reo transmission for Tama and Tū is portrayed throughout the literature as a sorrowful reality that spanned across the generations of subjugated Māori (Ka’ai-Mahuta, 2011; Gibbons et al., 1994). Corrosion that not only affected language but culture and identity; for the language is held within traditional Māori *whakataukī* as ‘the heart and soul of the Māori people - *ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori*’.

Furthermore, the corrosion of reo Māori is highlighted by Ka'ai-Mahuta (2011) as not only a result of the intrinsic need for Māori to assimilate for participation within society but references colonisation's assimilative State policies eroding the status of the language. Examples of this State-sanctioned subjugation is again attested to in the case studies of Tū, and Tama:

"They [Tū's parents] weren't allowed to use their native tongue at school and stuff like that ay, they only encouraged English speaking."

"They [Tama's Nan and Koro] grew up in a time where you got the cane for speaking the reo. So I mean, that kind of got bred into them."

Both case studies of Tū and Tama reference a culturally suppressive state education system, "that would be considered illicit under current international regulations" (Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2011, p.207). Colonial New Zealand enacted multitudes of State-sanctioned language and culture policies of assimilation in the schooling of rangatahi Māori (*as outlined in Chapter 4*). This led to the widespread prohibition of reo Māori, where Ka'ai-Oldman (1988) reiterate that eventually rangatahi Māori within the native schools were forbidden to speak Te Reo Māori, where corporal punishment became freely used as an oppressive tool against those who disobeyed. Te Whāiti et al. (1997) highlights how the majority of graduates across these schooling eras within New Zealand have deliberately ceased the intergenerational transmission of reo Māori to their children due to the following factors:

- i) That Te Reo Māori is of no practical use in Pākehā society
- ii) That learning Te Reo Māori would submit their children to the same corporal abuse

- iii) That the psychological effect subjugation had on their cultural identity resulted in them putting little value in the worth of their own culture and language

Evidently, within the case studies, Te Whāiti's language cessation factors are overwhelming prominent throughout the exemplified exerts, as we are highlighted the integral role generational knowledge transmission has on the state of the case studies *ara* of reo Māori. Without this generational transfer of *mātauranga* within one's whānau or surrounding environment, the case studies coupled with the literature portray it an almost impossible task for rangatahi Māori to learn their native tongue of Te Reo Māori.

CHAPTER 9: Discussion

This research looked to provide answers to the following three questions:

- 1) What are the major themes affecting and influencing the Māori cultural identity *ara* of the rangatahi cohort lost to *whakamomori*?
- 2) What is the state of health across the six Māori cultural identity *ara* of the rangatahi cohort lost to *whakamomori*?
- 3) What are the significant relationships between the cohort's Māori cultural identity *ara* and their health & wellbeing outcomes?

Through the results analysis the research now has the greatest insight into answering these three research questions while also comprehending the overall investigation aim of understanding the relationship between Māori cultural identity and rangatahi Māori suicide in Aotearoa.

Key themes affecting and influencing cultural identity:

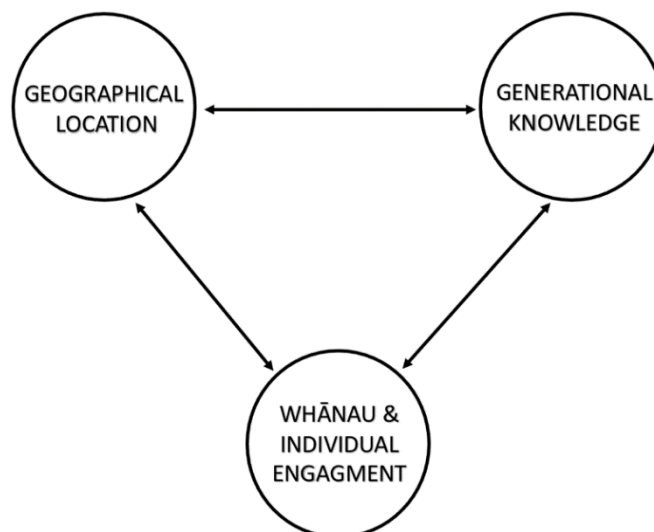


Figure 5. Key themes influencing Māori cultural identity Ara

The three fundamental global themes of *geographical location*, *generational knowledge* and *whānau & individual engagement* all showed highly correlative relationships across the health of the six cultural identity *ara* within the case studies. These themes were also shown to be highly interdependent and relational to one another.

Geographical location:

Geographical location had an integral role across the *oranga* of cultural identity *ara* throughout the case studies. The results highlighted that geographical location was a prime catalyst to the subthemes of:

- accessibility to Māoritanga
- availability of Māoritanga
- exposure of Māoritanga
- Nurturing of Māoritanga

Optimal geographical locations were highlighted as dwelling on one's *papakāinga* or within the whenua of their whakapapa. If this affordability of location was enabled, the flourishing of various cultural identity *ara* was prominent; however, if these optimal geographical locations were not afforded, the consequences of diminishing cultural *ara* became evident. Consequently, relationship and orientation with the whenua of one's *hapū* or *iwi* was shown within the results to have wide practical impacts on both identity and culture within each case study, directly correlating to the strength and weakness of each of the six cultural *ara*.

Generational knowledge:

The concept of *Generational knowledge* was also fundamental in the *oranga* of each of the case studies cultural identity *ara*. Results exhibited the critical role intergenerational

knowledge transmission had in the connection and possession of *Mātauranga Māori* within each case study. *Mātauranga Māori* has been traditionally dependent on the intergenerational oral delivery from elder to rangatahi, and this reliance was evident throughout the examples. *Mātauranga Māori* enabled case studies to make sense of the world and gave them a generational framework for understanding all things Te Ao Māori, and their place within it. If this generational knowledge was present or afforded to the cohort, it was shown to enable the prospering of cultural *ara* of identity. In contrast, if this generational passing of knowledge was not afforded to the cohort, it directly correlated to the diminishing or weakening of their cultural identity.

Engagement:

Engagement of Māoriritanga was a key concept encompassing not only engagement of cultural *ara* but also the following subthemes:

- participation
- activation
- motivation

It was notable the significant impact the process of colonisation had across the lives of rangatahi Māori and the generations of their families. The results showed that contemporary engagement of culture was in stark contrast to the inherent and innate participation of traditional Māoridom, where the studied cohort portrayed rangatahi Māori now choose how to culturally identify and actively engage. Levels of engagement on both an individual basis and the surrounding whānau were shown across the results to directly correlate to the flourishing or weakening of the case studies six cultural *ara*. High engagement of Māoriritanga enabled the greatest potentiation of cultural flourishing, whilst low engagement portrayed the

weakening of cultural *ara* and identity. It is to note that the results emphasised the interrelated nature of the three global themes. The analysis showed those who were afforded optimal geographical location to one's *papakāinga* or whenua of whakapapa were more likely to have generational knowledge around them and were more likely to engage.

In contrast, if sub-optimal geographical location was portrayed where rangatahi were raised away from home, or overseas, the cohort was more likely to exhibit lower cultural *engagement* levels, whilst also not being afforded the same transmission of Māori *generational knowledge*. Furthermore, it was also very evident that even if the rangatahi were not afforded optimal *geographical location*, *generational knowledge* and *engagement* levels were still very co-dependent. If shown to possess higher levels of *generational knowledge*, they were shown to be more likely to *engage* with their Māoritanga. While in contrast, this relationship was also portrayed in lower levels of *generational knowledge*, exhibiting lower *engagement levels*.

Relationship of global themes to Cultural Ara & Health and Wellbeing:

The McLachlan et al. (in press) *Whiti Te Rā* Model of health was used throughout the research as the cultural markers to the six essential *ara* of Māori identity. As described previously, this framework functions under the reasoning that the strengthening of Māori identity across each of these cultural *ara* correlates to strengthening health and wellbeing outcomes. McLachlan et al. (in press) state how the active engagement across Māori culture enables Māori to connect and locate themselves in terms of belonging: fulfilling roles, participating in the transmission of intergenerational knowledge and developing a strong cultural identity.

The research results propose that the three global themes of *geographical location*, *generational knowledge* and *whānau and individual engagement* are instrumental factors in the strengthening or diminishing of each cultural *ara* and their proceeding impact on Māori wellbeing. The McLachlan et al. (in press) proposition that Māori wellbeing outcomes are a consequential result of cultural *ara* strength is shown within the research to find a predominant genesis in the three global themes. Figures 6 and 7 highlight the interconnected nature between optimal and sub-optimal orientation to the global themes, their influence on cultural *ara*, and the consequential outcome this has on the health and wellbeing for rangatahi Māori.

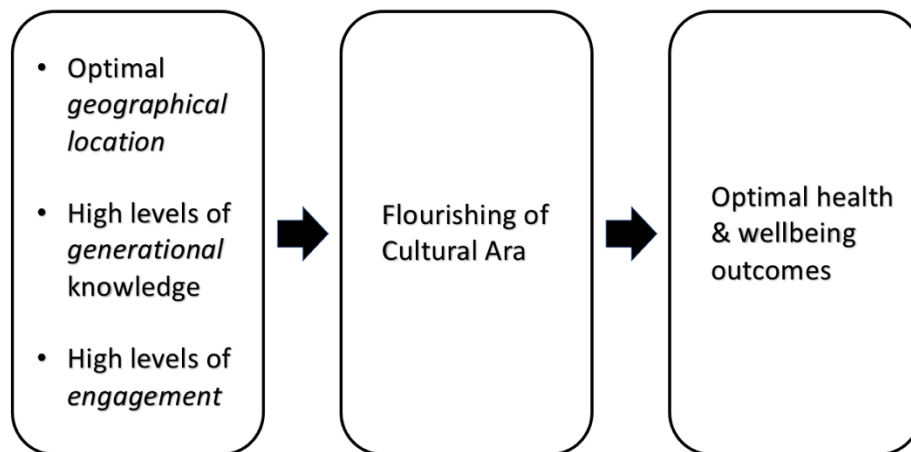


Figure 6. Optimal relationship between global themes, cultural identity & wellbeing outcomes

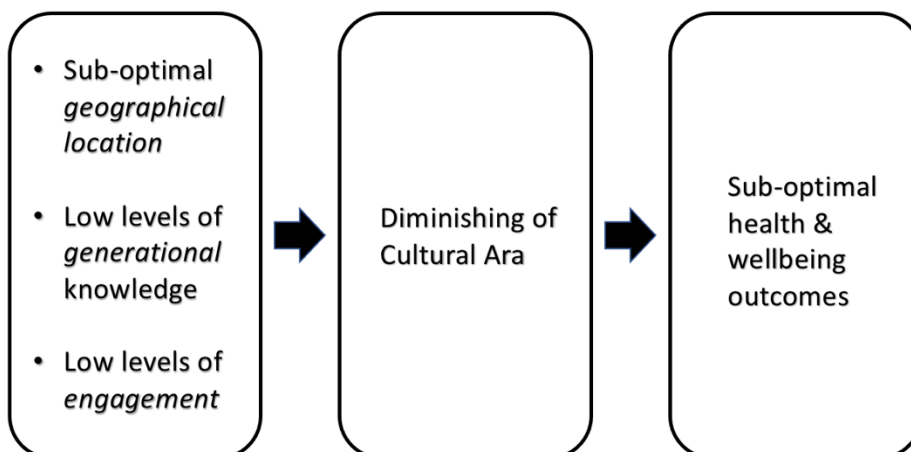


Figure 7. Sub-optimal relationship between global themes, cultural identity & wellbeing outcomes

As a result, our research conclusions can now be implicitly and theoretically synthesised within the McLachlan et al. (in press) concept of the *Whiti Te Rā* model shown in Figure 8. When *Tamanuiterā* is enabled ideal *geographical location*, *generational knowledge*, and *individual and whānau engagement* levels, the core is optimally primed and each cultural *ara* (depicted as the *hono* and *mahuru* of the *hihi* within the model) are given the greatest ability to flourish and burn bright. The stronger the core of *Tamanuiterā* through relation to the global themes, the brighter the *hihi* or cultural *ara* potential. Contrastingly, if the core of *Tamanuiterā* is given sub-optimal *geographical location*, *generational knowledge* and *individual and whānau engagement* levels, the *hihi* will evidently burn low with the strength of each cultural *ara* most likely to dissipate and diminish.

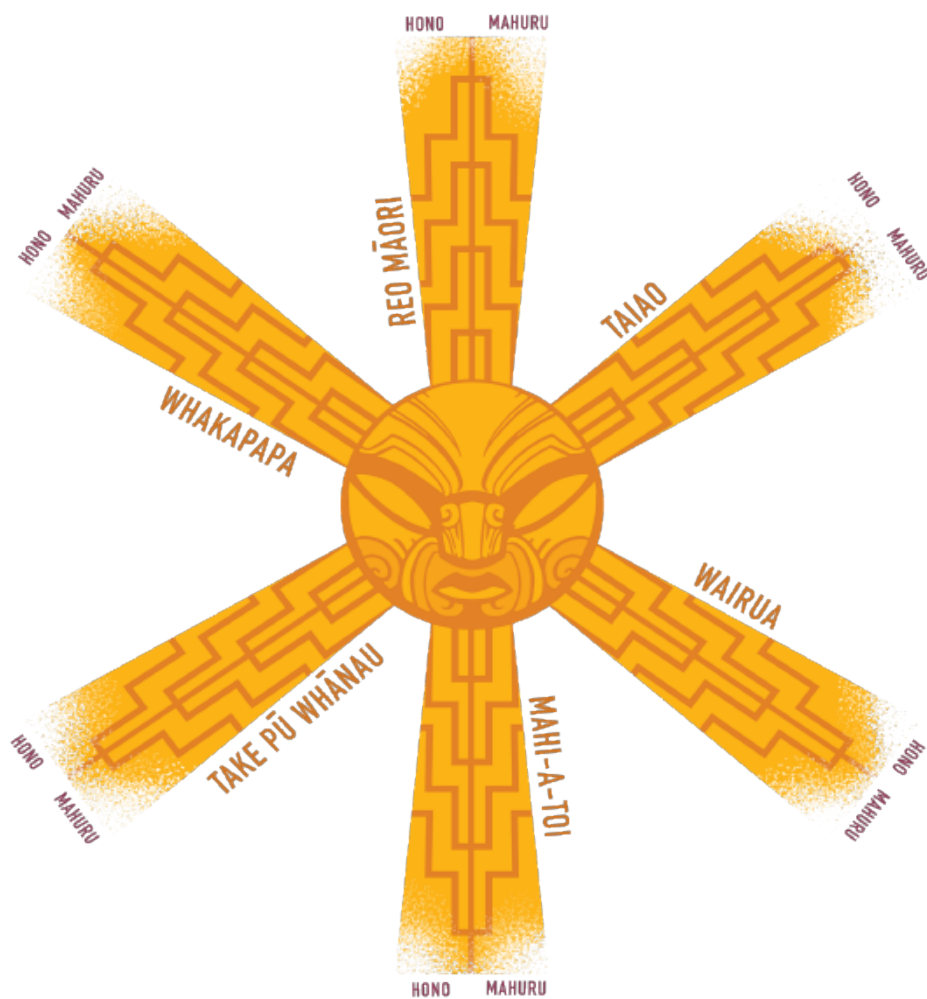


Figure 8. Whiti Te Rā Model of Health (McLachlan et al., in press)

State of Cultural Ara across rangatahi lost to whakamomori:

Through establishing the global themes (i.e., geographical location, generational knowledge, engagement) affecting the cultural identity of the rangatahi case studies (as shown in *figure 8*), the research now illuminates greater understanding of how and why the rangatahi exhibited cultural *ara* in states of weakness and strength. The proceeding overview will continue to build on this, outlining the positive and negative relational outcomes exhibited between the global themes and each *ara* of cultural identity.

Ngā Ara Whakapapa:

Initially, the results exhibited Ngā Ara Whakapapa as a cultural pathway which was both strong and weak within case study examples. Strengthening of whakapapa was directly related to (i) geographical location orientating rangatahi with the whenua of their whakapapa; (ii) generational knowledge of whakapapa being orally transmitted to rangatahi from elder generations; (iii) and whānau elders of rangatahi exhibiting a willingness to engage and participate in this whakapapa transmission to *tamariki* (children). The weakening of whakapapa was correlated to (i) a geographical location of residence that was not of their *tūpuna* or genealogy; (ii) cessation of generational transmission of whakapapa knowledge from elders to rangatahi; (iii) and correlatingly a lack of engagement with whakapapa by both whānau elders and rangatahi.

Ngā Ara Mahi-a-toi:

Again, the *ara* of Mahi-a-toi was prominent within results in both states of strength and weakness. Strengthening of *mahi-a-toi* was correlated to (i) a geographical location orientated around *papakāinga* or whānau whenua, increasing accessibility and participation in Māoritanga; (ii) strong transmission of intergenerational knowledge around the different

forms of *mahi-a-toi*; (iii) high levels of engagement and participation with Mahi-a-toi within previous whānau generations. Weakening of *mahi-a-toi* was correlated too: (i) sub-optimal location of residence away from one's *papakāinga*, or the whenua of whakapapa; (ii) cessation of whānau generational knowledge not passing on the *mātauranga* of *mahi-a-toi*; (iii) low levels of engagement in the surrounding whānau group of the individual.

Ngā Ara Taiao:

Ngā Ara Taiao was a cultural *ara* that was shown to be predominantly strong across the case studies. Although no relationship between generational knowledge and Ngā Ara Taiao was explicitly exhibited, both the global themes of geographical location and particularly engagement were prominent in the *ara* of *taiao*. Strengthening of this *ara* correlated to (i) accessibility of the whenua, specifically *ngāhere* and *awa* in the location of upbringing (ii) and innate passions, and longing for engagement with the environment. Although diminishing of the *taiao ara* was minimal, weakening correlated to (i) a lack of accessibility with the whenua of Aotearoa or more importantly whakapapa; resulting in an inability to foster a relationship with the *taiao*.

Ngā Ara Reo Māori:

Ngā Ara Reo Māori was shown to be a considerably compromised *ara* throughout the case studies, where strength in Te Reo Māori was prominent across only one example. This strengthening of reo Māori was correlated to (i) a geographical location around one's *papakāinga*, where it was more likely that whānau complexes nurtured and spoke reo Māori; (ii) rangatahi surrounded by Māori elders who were more likely to possess and transmit the generational knowledge of te reo; (iii) if generational knowledge was afforded, higher levels of engagement both individually, and within the surrounding whānau ensued. As stated, the

diminishing of the *ara* of reo Māori was very prominent across all other case studies, correlating to the following: (i) a geographical location outside of one's *papakāinga* or whenua of whakapapa, reducing the accessibility and orientation around reo Māori speakers; (ii) a breakdown in generational transmission within the whānau, where the parents and elders did not know reo Māori and could not engage nor pass on the *mātauranga*; (iii) if these previous factors were prominent, low engagement levels of the individual were portrayed, unable to participate in language without the knowledge.

Ngā Ara Wairuatanga:

Ngā Ara Wairuatanga was showcased as one of the two most diminished cultural *ara* across the case studies. Strengthening of *wairua* within the rangatahi cohort was only evidenced as an unintentional act where (i) time and relationship with the whenua was implicitly strengthening the individuals' *wairuatanga ara*. In contrast, the weakening of Ngā Ara *Wairuatanga* was very prominent, overwhelmingly correlated to the following two themes: (i) generational knowledge not being transmitted to enable understanding of *wairua* and *wairuatanga* practices; (ii) and a distinct and a complete lack of engagement by individuals and their surrounding whānau in *wairuatanga* practices. This fundamental demise of engagement and participation was portrayed within every case study, and as such, will continue to be elaborated on below.

Ngā Ara Take pū whānau:

Like Ngā Ara Wairuatanga, Take pū whānau was the second *ara* exhibited as severely affected within the case studies. Strengthening the *ara* was present when (i) rangatahi were afforded a geographical location around their *papakāinga*, enabling dwelling within a wider whānau unit with inherent nurturing and fostering of *take pū* Māori values. In contrast, the

weakening of the take pū whānau *ara* significantly correlated to (i) not being afforded optimal geographical location around *papākainga*, diminishing the access to wider whānau structures; the prime cultivators of *take pū*; (ii) breakdown in the generational knowledge transmission of *Mātauranga Māori* whānau methods and philosophies; (iii) and lack of engagement in take pū whānau values, specifically within the nuclear family of the rangatahi. Ngā Ara Take pū whānau also showed a heavily compromised state of health within all participants, as such this will also be elaborated below.

Significant findings across the state of Cultural Ara:

The cultural *ara* of *Whakapapa*, *Mahi-a-toi*, *Te Reo Māori* and *Taiao*, were all shown to be in variable states of strength and weakness across the cohort. Strength in these *ara* were described within the results to have positive correlations with identity and wellbeing; whilst weakness within these *ara* were also described as correlating to the decline of cultural identity, with negative wellbeing outcomes. Furthermore, within the research sample of rangatahi, the results significantly identified that each case study indicated severely diminished and compromised *ara* in both *Ngā Ara Wairuatanga*, and *Ngā Ara Take pū whānau*. *Wairua* in Māoridom is described as pervading all that was, is, and is to come; foundationally interrelating the six cultural *ara* of Maori identity, as well as connecting the past, present and future of tangata Māori (Bell, 2006; Walker, 1989; Marsden, 2003; Pihama, 2001). *Wairua* is essential to all that is Te Ao Māori, with the *ara* held in the greatest precedence within Māoridom and the Māori cultural identity. With the five case studies exhibiting no engagement with *wairua*, the literature would imply that a flourishing of cultural identity is severely unachievable until this *ara* was in a state of strength.

Wairua can also be held as not only the most integral factor in *Te Ao Marama*, but the vital component to enhancing cultural identity, wellbeing, and personal resilience (Houkamau & Sibley, 2010; McLachlan et al., in press; Rameka, 2016). *Wairua* is stated by Durie (1985) as the “most basic and essential requirement for health... and without spiritual awareness, the individual is considered to be lacking in wellbeing and prone to disability” (p.485). Māori perception and understanding of the world is inherently fixed in a process of holistic construction, where *wairua* is the integral component in optimising health and wellbeing (Durie, 2001; Pere, 1994). Again, the results showcasing this complete lack of engagement in *wairuatanga* is suggested within the literature to have disastrous consequences for the wellbeing of the rangatahi in each of the case studies; without it, ill-health repercussions are an inherent assurance.

Whānau and the *take pū* values of the whānau unit are viewed as the critical elements to the teaching, socialisation and nurturing of all things Māori; the prime cultivating structure of all six *ara* of the Māori identity (Moeke-Pickering, 1996; Walker, 1989; McLachlan et al., in press). Not only is the Māori identity nurtured by the whānau, but also emanates from within the whānau, where individual identity is tied to the collective. Māori perspectives of identity are held as a derivative of family and a manifestation of the interactions between these structures (Harris et al., 1995; Durie, 1985). The literature would propose that the case studies exhibiting the complete breakdown of whānau and *take pū*, would result in disastrous consequences for identity, with the whānau construct the custodian of wellbeing and the fosterer of all that is comprised of the Māori identity.

Whānau within Māoridom is also viewed as the integral multi-dimensional support system for individual and collective wellbeing throughout entire lifecycles (Durie, 1985).

Specifically, in the upbringing of rangatahi, take pū whānau affords optimal child-rearing structures, where spiritual and physical wellbeing is enabled to thrive (Jenkins & Harte, 2011). Throughout rangatahi lives, take pū whānau is not only the optimal platform for emotional, spiritual and physical wellbeing but the fundamental structure for socio-economic and socio-cultural support and stability (Dure, 1985; Durie, 2006). The literature again suggests that the complete breakdown of this *ara* across all of the case studies would result in tragic repercussions to the entire holistic wellbeing of each rangatahi.

Ngā Ara Wairua and *Take pū whānau* were portrayed as the ‘missing links’ to complete flourishing across the cultural *ara* of the case studies, with significant weakness evident in all five case studies. The compromising of these *ara* within the studied rangatahi is indicated to be incredibly problematic, with both alluded within the literature as the primary cultural *ara* in identity, health and wellbeing for Tāngata Māori (Bell, 2006; Walker, 1989; Marsden, 2003; Pihama, 2001; Houkamau & Sibley, 2010; McLachlan et al., in press; Rameka, 2016; Jenkins & Harte, 2011; Durie, 1985).

CHAPTER 10: Conclusions

What the literature portrays are two fundamental concepts held within Ngā Ara Wairua & Ngā Ara Take pū whānau:

- i) That *Ngā Ara Wairua* pervades all that is Māoridom.
- ii) That *Ngā Ara Whānau* cultivates and fosters all that is Māoritanga.

These *ara* in isolation can be positioned as the most critical *ara* across cultural identity and health, foundational for all that is Te Ao Māori; and fundamental in the outcome of Māori wellbeing.

Again, this proposition of importance is affirmed when viewing these *ara* as a collective in the *Whiti Te Rā* framework. Due to the *wairua* and take pū whānau *ara* deficiencies, cultural flourishing across all six *ara* is not achievable. This is severely detrimental with strength or competency across all cultural pathways a requirement for the potentiation of optimal wellbeing (McLachlan et al., in press). McLachlan et al. highlight that even if specific cultural *ara* are in states of strength, without the flourishing of all six, Māori cannot reach optimal cultural identity, nor the vital health & wellbeing outcome of *Mauri Ora*. *Mauri Ora* is defined by Durie (2017) as “robust spirituality, optimism, cultural engagement, emotional control, positive thinking, vitality and energy, rewarding relationships, and a readiness to engage with others” (p.62).

Reaching a state of *Mauri Ora* can be held as the vital spark to enthrallment with cultural identity and life itself, becoming pivotal in the manifestation of optimal health and wellbeing outcomes. Again, the researcher emphasises the severity of deficiency within Ngā Ara

Wairua and Ngā Ara Take pū whānau within the case studies, as regardless of strength identified across *whakapapa*, *mahi-a-toi*, *Te Reo Māori* and *taiiao*; without collective flourishing of all six cultural *ara*, the rangatahi could never reach optimal health and wellbeing, typified in the state of *Mauri Ora*.

Flourishing Mauri Ora through Cultural Ara:

It is important to reiterate *Mauri Ora* and hauora being inextricably linked to cultural identity strength. Within the literature, it is held that through the strengthening of the six fundamental cultural identity pathways, restoration of *Mauri Ora*, or optimal wellbeing and vitality can be achieved in hauora (O'Hagan et al., 2012; Moeke-Maxwell et al., 2014; Durie, 1985; McLachlan et al., in press; Durie, 1995; Pihama, 2001; Greaves et al., 2017; Stevenson, 2004). Subsequently, McLachlan et al. (in-press) becomes paramount for Māori to secure and foster all six fundamental aspects of the Māori identity serving as the greatest pathway to optimal hauora and wellbeing. When viewed in the purpose of the current research investigation, the importance of this relational outcome is overwhelmingly critical. The literature attests to *Mauri Ora* being the most significant protective factor for psychological distress, adversity, increased resilience, and significantly, suicidality or *whakamomori* (Durie, 2001; Houkamau & Sibley, 2015; Muriwai, Houkamau & Sibley, 2015; Waiti & Kingi, 2014).

As such, the research positions *Mauri Ora* as the greatest protective factor for *whakamomori* in rangatahi Māori. *Mauri Ora*, as portrayed within the *Whiti Te Rā* model requires cultural flourishing across all cultural *ara*. If rangatahi Māori possess this strength of cultural identity, a state of *Mauri Ora* is potentiated. This state of health is suggested as the greatest deterrent to ill health and wellbeing outcomes, specifically that of *whakamomori* (Durie, 2017;

McLachlan et al., in press). The concept of *mauri* is imperative to understanding suicide through a Te Ao Māori perspective. *Mauri* is the inner life force of humans, shaping the *wairua*, balancing the *hinengaro*, contextualising the body, and is evidenced in the vitality, integrity, energy and establishment of relationships in an individual's environment (Pohatu, 2011).

Durie's (2001) research also significantly stresses that suicide in Māori is almost always correlated to a state of weakness within one's *mauri*, with a loss of spirit preceded by a loss in the will to be alive. Durie believes that *mauri* is a non-static and changing element within the *wairua* of Māori. His research suggests that when *mauri* is weak within Māori, or in a state of *Mauri Moe*, it is expressed in isolation, withdrawal, lack of willingness to engage, non-attendance, nonparticipation, and a complete loss in the zeal for life and culture. Durie (2017) reasserts this correlation stating that often when suicide is imminent within Māori, the “mauri is languishing... and if suicide is to be prevented, the task is to ensure that the mauri can become strong and vibrant despite adversities” (p.62). Evidently, enabling Māori to reach the optimal wellbeing of *Mauri Ora* is the integral component to Māori suicide prevention.

Consequently, the critical and severe deficiencies in both Ngā Ara Wairua and Ngā Ara Take pū whānau lead the researcher to suggest that this consequential compromising of cultural identity is likely to have manifested in the outcome of negative wellbeing and *whakamomori* within each of the investigated case studies. This relational suggestion of *whakamomori* being a consequence of cultural identity deficiencies is attested too through the *Whiti Te Rā* model of health and wellbeing. The compromised state of both Ngā Ara Wairua and Take pū whānau results in the concept of *Tamanuiterā* not being afforded the ability to flourish as it requires all six cultural *ara* depicted as ‘*hihi*’ to be in states of strength. Without this

prerequisite, the model suggests that adverse health and wellbeing outcomes will inevitably eventuate with the *mauri* of the individual kept in a state of *Mauri Moe*. If Māori are to dwell within this state of *Mauri Moe*, negative health and wellbeing outcomes ensue, with suicidality given the greatest potentiation within the individual.

The connection between global themes and whakamomori:

With optimal health and wellbeing or *Mauri Ora* being the greatest deterrent for suicidality, it becomes imperative for Māori and specifically rangatahi Māori to be in a state of *Mauri Ora*. Consequently, to achieve *Mauri Ora* as the optimal health and wellbeing outcome for Māori, strength across the culture identity *ara* is paramount. What the research would now propose as critical in this relationship is the imperative need for Māori to be orientated and well engrossed within the three global themes of *geographical location*, *generational knowledge* and *whānau and individual engagement* in order to optimally strengthen their Māori cultural identity. *Figure 9* below proposes the optimal pathway for diminishing suicidality and reducing the risk of *whakamomori* in Māori.

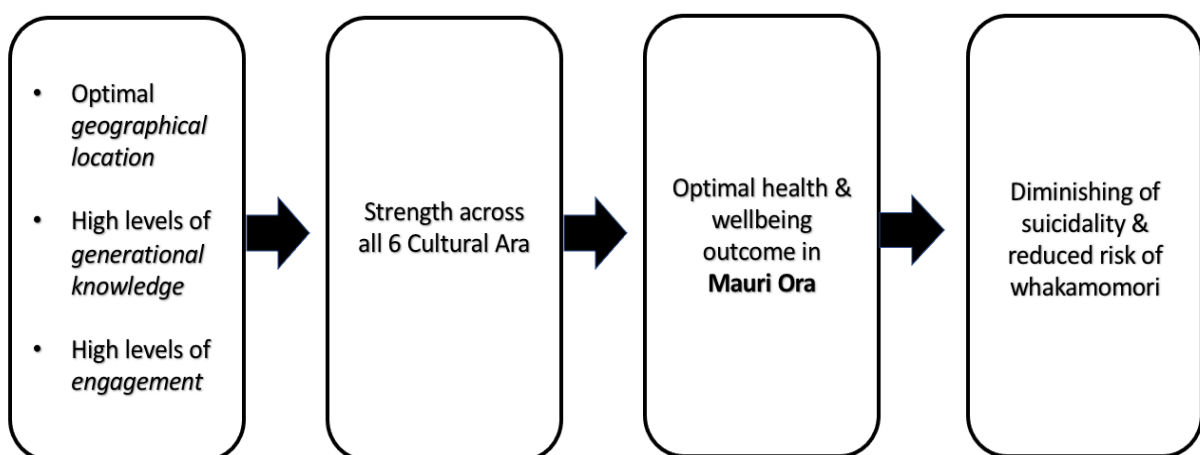


Figure 9. Optimal relational sequence between global themes, cultural identity, Mauri Ora and suicidality

Conversely, *Figure 10* highlights the sub-optimal relational sequence to increased suicidality and *whakamomori* potentiation in rangatahi Māori.

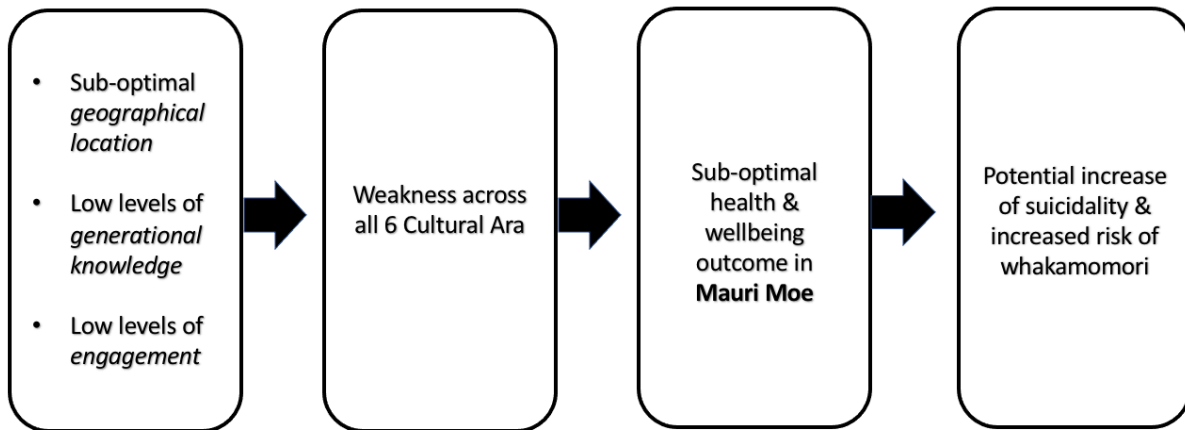


Figure 10. Sub-optimal relational sequence between global themes, cultural identity, Mauri Moe and suicidality

Subsequently, the research would conclude that the dire state of Māori health within Aotearoa, specifically regarding the suicide rates of rangatahi Māori is largely proportional to their inability to reach a state of *Mauri Ora*. With *Mauri Ora* portrayed in the *Whiti Te Rā* model of health as dependent on all cultural *ara* being competent or strong, it becomes imperative for Māori to have a thriving identity for their wellbeing. However, Māori culture and identity has become significantly affected by the process of colonisation, resulting in Māori participation in culture no longer homogenous, but an action that requires intentionality and purpose. This colonisation process has disenfranchised Māori from both the whenua and culture, having severe generational consequences on all *ara* of Māori identity, attested to throughout the analysis of the rangatahi cohort. Evidently, the loss of Māori cultural identity is viewed as having a significant relationship in adverse wellbeing and the suicidality of rangatahi Māori.

Conversely, the research analysis would imply that Māori identity can still be given the opportunity to repair, grow and flourish in contemporary Aotearoa when afforded ideal access and orientation to the three global themes of (i) optimal geographical location around the whenua of *papakāinga* or whakapapa; (ii) accessibility to intergenerational knowledge of *Mātauranga Māori*; (iii) high engagement levels in Māoritanga by surrounding whānau encouraging and increasing the engagement of rangatahi Māori. Within modern-day New Zealand society, it becomes imperative for Māori cultural re-gensis and identity revitalisation to orientate rangatahi Māori around the three global themes uncovered within this research.

Limitations of research:

It is important to outline the various limitations exhibited within the research. Initially, the sample size consisted of only 5 case studied rangatahi as a representation of rangatahi Māori. This small sample is consequentially affecting the validity and reliability of extrapolating the conclusions as a generalised representation of all rangatahi Māori (Faber & Fonseca, 2014). The researcher did look to counteract this by the use of a purposeful sampling method. Although purposeful sampling was specifically used for selecting information-rich cases, it also enabled the selection of five case studies that had whakapapa to *iwi* throughout both the North and South Islands of Aotearoa, permitting a sample size that encompassed a greater span of Tāngata Māori.

Another limitation important to note was that all information from rangatahi case studies was acquired all vicariously due to the study's nature. This meant that information surrounding the rangatahi depended on the participant's sole perspective and their perception of the rangatahi. The researcher did try to mitigate this validity issue. Once interviews were conducted and transcribed, transcription of the dialogue was sent back to interviewees, where their answers were reflected upon with their surrounding whānau members. If deemed necessary, answers were edited by the collective whānau to ensure what was said about the rangatahi was a fair representation of the overall whānau view of their cultural identity and wellbeing.

However, if similar research was to be conducted again, it would be suggested to interview multiple sources of witness to the life of the rangatahi, getting a more significant cross-sectional understanding of the case study and mitigating the potential for personal bias in perception.

Suggestions for future research:

The research did unearth suggestions for future enquiry. Explicitly, the *ara* of *wairuatanga* and take pū whānau merit the need for further research and exploration around their specific relationship to identity and wellbeing as *ara* in isolation. Ngā Ara Wairuatanga was shown in both the results and the literature as the fundamental essence to all cultural *ara*, and the most prominent in connection to wellbeing. Consequently, this connection proposes the question of Tāngata Māori's potential for reaching a state of *Mauri Ora* with strength and adept competency in this specific *ara* alone; without the cultural flourishing of all *ara* as portrayed in the *Whiti Te Rā* model of health. If this ideology is proven, it would thus become vital in protection from *whakamomori* and optimal wellbeing outcome to stress the importance of competency in Ngā Ara Wairua from the early ages of rangatahi Māori.

Also, the cohort of studies all exhibited break downs in Ngā Ara Take pū whānau, where each example either exhibited broken or no relationship with at least one of their biological parents. This proposes the need for further examination around how the break-down in the nuclear whānau affects specifically rangatahi Māori wellbeing and suicidality. Within this research thesis analysis of literature, minimal research was found to have been undertaken around this relationship between nuclear family and wellbeing for Māori, with a predominant focus of research analysis in the Māori construct of whānau encompassing both parents, elders and wider whānau structures.

The researcher would also reiterate that if future investigation were to be undertaken within the same topic, a greater sample size of rangatahi Māori would be imperative; adding validity, reliability, and a greater generalisability of research outcome to the representation of all rangatahi Māori in Aotearoa.

Hai Whakakapi:

In conclusion, the major research aims of this investigation were comprehensively answered through analysis of the rangatahi Māori case studies. All cultural *ara* were examined, with significant breakdown of Ngā Ara Wairuatanga and Ngā Ara Take pū whānau exhibited in each case study. These *ara* in isolation were significantly compromised, whilst also thwarting complete cultural flourishing across the six key cultural identity components of the *Whiti Te Ra* model of health (McLachlan et al., in press). At the beginning of this thesis, what was propositioned was the need for root-based understandings of rangatahi Māori suicide causality within health research. What is now proposed by this research is that if rangatahi Māori are afforded the global themes of *geographical location*, *generational knowledge* and *engagement* within their upbringing, they are given traditional ‘root’ based grounding to enable flourishing across all cultural *ara*. With strong cultural identity, positive health and wellbeing outcomes will be the ‘fruit’ consequences of rangatahi Māori afforded the foundational Māoritanga needs found in the global themes; critical needs inherent for Māori up until the colonisation of New Zealand. If rangatahi Māori are given the ability to thrive in their cultural identity, it will inevitably lead to a state of *Mauri Ora*. This optimal state of Māori wellbeing is what this research suggests as the root-based solution to combating the *taniwha* of *whakamomori* within rangatahi Māori.

‘He tina ki runga, he tāmōre ki raro,

in order to flourish above, one must be firmly rooted below.’

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APPENDIX A:
INFORMATION SHEET FOR
PARTICIPANTS

Title – *Exploring the relationship between the loss of Māori cultural identity & rangatahi Māori suicide in Aotearoa*

Aim – The aim of this study is to vicariously analyse & examine the cultural identity of rangatahi Māori who have been lost to whakamomori

Research team

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Research supervisor: Jordan Waiti – jordan.waiti@waikato.ac.nz

Clinical psychologist adviser: Parewahaika Carlson - pharris@hotmail.com

Overview: *“My name is Shaquille Graham, I am currently conducting my master’s thesis at Waikato University, with my rangahau analysing the role of Māori cultural identity loss in rangatahi (13-24yo) Māori suicide. For me this is an empirical kaupapa of emancipation towards the betterment of Tāngata Māori hauora, through the deliverance of the taniwha of whakamomori within our rangatahi Māori”.*

“I understand that you may have lost a rangatahi whānau member to whakamomori, and I would like to invite you to participate in an interview around your experiences. This will be a dialogue of your whakaaro and perspectives around specifically your own rangatahi who has been lost to whakamomori. Your words and thoughts are a cherished taonga that are a privilege to be heard, and will be handled with the upmost respect. Again, It will be through the selfless vulnerability of your whakaaro, that we as Māori can come together to make a difference for the future of our rangatahi, and break the chains of this taniwha over our people and youth”.

“ Naku te rourou, nau te rourou, ka ora ai te iwi”.

Location - We can meet at the University of Waikato Tauranga Campus/A location of your choosing/Or due to the current Covid-19 climate, video conferencing via Zoom can be arranged.

Interview themes & questions - will focus on your memories of the family member that you lost, and will explore your understandings of their cultural identity.

- *Interview themes are formulated around literature review findings, frame-worked within the 6 key āhuatanga within He Paiaka Totara’s Whiti Te Rā model of Māori health, wellbeing and cultural identity (McLachlan, Waitoki, Harris & Jones, in press).*

I will share a copy of these questions and key themes with you before the interview, so that you can prepare your thoughts and answers. A kaupapa Māori approach will guide the session, with a semi-structured interview schedule allowing a more informal, flexible and conversational like process, where follow up questions and conversations can be made with new information provided. You should only answer questions that you are comfortable with, and you are welcome to share other thoughts and ideas as well.

The interview will take approximately one, to one and a half hours.

What are the potential risks – The physical risks associated with participating in this study are minimal, however, due to the sensitivity of the topic, there is a potential for the unearthing of emotional trauma.

For your wellbeing, a support person(s) is invited to attend the interview with you. You may also like to participate with a small group of family members, to share your experiences and memories together. Supervisor, Jordan Waiti, will also attend the interview to provide support and guidance to me during the interview.

At the end of the interview, we will provide information about a range of mental health, counselling, and holistic services available to you and your whanau, and I will check in with you the day after the interview to see how you are. Following, I will prepare a transcript of the interview, and share it with you. You can add, delete, or change your words in the transcript. I would appreciate it if you return any changes to me within two weeks of receiving the transcript.

What will happen to the information collected – The information collected will be used by Shaquille Graham to write a master's thesis. The information may also be used by Shaquille and supervisor Jordan Waiti to write research reports, give presentations, and help in educating students at the University of Waikato and the wider community.

- Only the research team will have direct access to the notes, documents, and recordings.
- At the end of the project, any personal information will be destroyed immediately except that, as required by the University's research policy, any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which they will be destroyed.
- All data will be treated with the strictest confidentiality.
- No participants will be named in the publications and every effort will be made to disguise their identity.
- All data used in teaching will not contain your personal information to protect your identity and confidentiality.

Declaration to participants – If you take part in the study, you have the right to:

- Ask any further questions about the study at any point during your participation;
- Receive a summary of findings from the study when it is concluded;
- Have a support person(s) (family, whanau, and/or friend) present during your participation;
- Attend your interview with a small group of family members in a group research

encounter. Please advise the researcher if this is required;

- Refuse to answer any particular question, and to withdraw from the study at any time;
- Withdraw any information you have provided up to two weeks after receiving the interview transcript by contacting the principal investigator.

Who is responsible – If you have any questions about the project, please feel free to contact:

Shaquille Graham (**Primary Investigator**)

The University of Waikato, Adams Centre
Waikato University

52 Miro Street, Mount Maunganui 3116

Hamilton

shaqgraham@yahoo.co.nz

Dr Jordan Waiti (**Masters supervisor**)

Te Hautaki Waiora, School of Health

Level 6 & 7, TT Building, Hillcrest Rd,

Jordan.waiti@waikato.ac.nz

Human Research Ethics Committee – This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee (Health) of the University of Waikato under *HREC(Health)2019#83*.

Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be addressed to the Secretary of the Committee, email humanethics@waikato.ac.nz, postal address, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240.

*More information on New Zealand annual provisional suicide statistics can be found at:
www.coronialservices.justice.govt.nz*

*More information on Māori identity loss in Māori suicide causality can be found at:
<https://health.govt.nz>*

APPENDIX B:
CONSENT FORM FOR
PARTICIPANTS

Title – *The relationship between Māori cultural identity loss and rangatahi Māori (youth) suicide in New Zealand*

*I have read the **Participant Information Sheet** for this study and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions about the study have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.*

I also understand that:

- *I am free to withdraw from the study at any time.*
- *I can withdraw any information I have provided up to two weeks after participating in the research activities by contacting the principal investigator.*
- *Any data or answers will remain confidential in regards to my identity.*
- *The data might be published, so every effort will be made to ensure confidentiality.*
- *Anonymity of identity is guaranteed in all publications and research outputs.*

I agree to provide information to the researchers under the conditions of confidentiality set out on the Participant Information Sheet.

Consent to participate:

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Participant Information Sheet.

Participant:

Researcher:

Signature:

Name:

Date:

Participant:

Signature:

Name:

Date:
