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Ka kohi te toi, ka whai te maramatanga.

If knowledge is gathered, enlightenment will follow .

The study of identities is an enormous and complex undertaking (Peterson, 1989; Phinney, 1990). Studies on identity formation and development found that the shaping of identities begins in early childhood (Harris, Blue & Griffith, 1995; Peterson, 1989). Identities develop and change over time, are multi-faceted and shape one's perception and judgement of the self and others (Babad, Birnbaun & Benne, 1983; Willmott, 1989). People such as parents, family and peers play a major role in the shaping of identities (Peterson, 1989). Identity formation and maintenance are influenced by one's ethnicity, politics, location and environment (Harris et al., 1995; Tyler, Brome & Williams, 1991; Willmott, 1989). The concept of identity manifests itself not only at the level of the individual but also at the level of societies and interactions between groups (Harris et al., 1995). Research on identity formation has revealed a clear link between family practices and identity development (Taylor & Oskay, 1995).

In traditional Maori times, the whanau was the place where initial teaching and socialisation of things Maori took place. More than an extended family social unit, the whanau was based on kinship ties, shared a common ancestor, and provided an environment within which certain responsibilities and obligations were maintained (Durie, 1994).

Recent research in Aotearoa found that Maori people were exposed to a variety of family arrangements (Durie, 1994). While the traditional whanau arrangement and its related obligations and responsibilities to hapu and iwi was appealing to some Maori, for other Maori choosing a type of family arrangement that suited individual and family preferences was more logical given the economic driven environment. The location, nurturants, socio-economic realities and exposure to traditional cultural practices influenced somewhat how each individual and whanau formed and maintained their Maori identity. While there is no single exact measure of what constitutes Maori identity (Durie, 1994), that Maori identity is still being asserted today means that the shaping of Maori identity is still occurring.

Rather than attempt to cover all aspects of how Maori shape their identities, I have chosen to focus on the shaping of Maori identity within whanau. Given that this paper is about both Maori identity and whanau identity it seemed logical to review and examine the literature surrounding these two notions. Firstly, I begin by reviewing previous work

that has been carried out predominantly by Maori writers of their conceptualisations of Maori identity. As identities arise in social, cultural and political situations, no study of identities would be complete without taking into consideration the ecology in which those identities are being shaped. The current ecology in which Maori identity is embedded, consists of many external and internal influences that act to either enhance identities or block them (Petereson, 1989; Tyler et al., 1991). In this paper I also discuss the ecological threats and supports that influenced Maori and whanau identity. Then I review literature on whanau identity from traditional and contemporary works, and explore the concept of whanau identity as a management framework.

Conceptualisations of Maori Identity

E taku mokai, he wa poto noa koe i waenganui i te wa kua hipa ki te wa kei te tu mai . . . You are but a speck in the moment of time situated between two eternities, past and future. Make use of that time so that you may use this moment wisely and for the benefit of your people. (Personal communication, Waereti Rolleston-Tait, April 1984.)

Traditionally in Aotearoa, Maori identity was conceived of in an ecology devoid of contact with people who were not Maori. Maori people identified themselves primarily from the strata of their tribal structures, these being whanau, hapu, iwi and waka (Barlow, 1991; Firth, 1972; Gibbons, Temara & White, 1994; Papakura, 1986; Te Rangi Hiroa, 1982; Willmott, 1989). Tribal structures provided a format in which Maori could undertake their political relations enriched by their traditions and strengthened by their sense of tribal identity (Ministerial Advisory Committee, 1988).

Maori identity was derived from membership and learning within the whanau, hapu, iwi and waka (Walker, 1989). The individual was able to maintain their sense of belonging through their capacity to whakapapa or find genealogical ties to each of these structures within which certain responsibilities and obligations were maintained (Barlow, 1991; Durie, 1994). Cultural practices such as language, customs, kinship obligations and traditions were fundamental to the socialisation of Maori identities (Broughton, 1993; Rangihau, 1977). The tribal structures intertwined with the cultural practices provided the pathways through which Maori identities could be formed and developed.

It was not uncommon for Maori to refer to a physical location within Aotearoa that is usually the place where their ancestors occupied a papakainga, or village settlement (Walker, 1989). Their tribal location and significant tribal markers such as mountains and rivers became an intrinsic part of their Maori identity. Maori people maintained respectful and spiritual connections with the land and the earth's natural resources. Maori identity was intimately associated with the location of tribal boundaries, and therefore with the land (Walker, 1989). To some extent those traditional tribal structures and cultural practices from which Maori identity derived underpin the fundamentals of how Maori identity is conceptualised today.

The late John Rangihau (1977) stated that being Maori is about growing up in a Maori community; earning apprenticeships by participating; learning the kawa, customs and

traditions that are part of being of a particular tribal group. Conceiving of Maori identity as based on descent from a tipuna, Ranginui Walker (1989) viewed cultural traits such as language; tribalism; landownership; and turangawaewae as important. Manuhuia Bennett (1979) asserted that Maori identity emanates from the land, it is the place where self-awareness, mana and importance originate. Teachings and values instilled by parents are what Rangimarie Parata (1990) confirmed to be meaningful characteristics of her Maori identity. Timoti Karetu (1990) stated that Maori identity is not dictated by blood quantum but, rather, by the upbringing one has had and by the society in which one grew up observing all the rites of passage in a Maori way.

There seems to be two major reference points used by these writers to conceptualise Maori identity. These are tribal structures and descent, and cultural practices. Tribal structures are formulated on descent from a Maori tipuna and intimately associated with a tribal location. Descent provides the basis in which tribal structures and relationships are organised and maintained. Cultural practices are based on a shared system of understanding that a group deems to be important and meaningful to them. Combined with meaning and practise, tribal structures, descent, and cultural practices have played a primary role in the continuity of Maori identity today.

Yet, a competing view by Durie, Black, Christensen, Durie, Taiapa, Potaka and Fitzgerald (1995) suggested that we should not rely solely on those traditional tribal structures of whanau, hapu, iwi and waka to determine Maori identity. Instead, social, economic and lifestyle characteristics, ecological and social influences such as changing demographic patterns, cultural beliefs and technological advancement need to be taken into consideration to provide a more refined understanding of Maori identity (Durie et al., 1995). To what extent these factors proposed by Durie and colleagues have made an impact on Maori identity today needs to be examined in the future.

In summary, there appear to be two major characteristics of Maori identity that have emerged from the literature. These include those characteristics that emerged out of a Maori ecology such as descent, tribal structures and cultural practices, and those characteristics that emerge out of the current ecology such as socio-economic and lifestyle characteristics. Both sets of characteristics contribute to a framework in which to understand Maori identity. However, the current reality is that Maori identity is embedded within a Pakeha ecology. This will be discussed in the next section.

Maori Identity and Pakeha Ecology

Change or be damned

(Gibbons et al., 1994 , p . 1)

Definitions of ethnicity are determined by the historical forces that shape society (Harris et al., 1995). The existence of a Pakeha ecology has played a major role in weakening Maori identity. Yet, in another respect, it has instilled a passion and desire amongst Maori to defend, protect and assert their Maori identity, a form of determination that was

not accounted for by the early British colonialists (Booth & Hunn, 1962). In this section I review literature regarding threats and supports to Maori identity.

Threats to Maori identity

Maori ethnic identity developed originally out of a binary opposition between Maori and Pakeha, coupled with the colonisation process (Walker, 1989). As Aotearoa attracted more immigrants to its shores, ethnic and racial markers came to the fore. Maori, simply defined as meaning natural, became the term that was used to describe all iwi in a pan-tribal manner in turn reducing the primacy of their tribal and hapu identities (Broughton, 1993). For better or worse, the term Maori has since become accepted by the native people themselves.

Another practise, was to indoctrinate into the minds of Maori people a sense of national identity. Slogans such as "We are one People" and "We are all New Zealanders" were coined. The origins of such views can be traced back to a statement made at the signing of the Treaty at Waitangi in 1840. Dr Pat Hohepa noted that

Lieutenant Governor William Hobson is said to have uttered to each leading chief, He Iwi Kotahi tatou. His words have been used to support the doctrine of assimilation. Now we are one people, has been the usual translation and this one people view has been the catchcry of many non-Maori New Zealanders (Hohepa, 1978 , p. 98).

The binary opposition between Pakeha and Maori became more marked by fierce competition for resources (Walker, 1989). Competition for land ultimately had an effect on Maori identity. The taking of land alienated some tribal and hapu groups away from their ancestral origins and tribal organisations (Walker, 1989). The loss of 95% of Maori land was the most traumatic shock, for Maori identity was intimately associated with place, and therefore with the land (Broughton, 1993). Alienation from ancestral lands resulted in reduced opportunities for Maori to be exposed to living, working, playing and developing an economic base from their tribal lands.

Maori were also faced with an antagonistic Pakeha system. The law, the education system and economics were controlled predominantly by Pakeha (Broughton, 1993). The impact of policies of assimilation and integration as those advocated in the Hunn Report (1960) acted to increase alienation and reduce opportunities for Maori (Thomas, 1994, p. 64). The impact of this was that inappropriate structures worked to break down traditional Maori society by weakening its base - the whanau, the hapu and the iwi (Ministerial Advisory Committee, 1988). Either intentionally or unintentionally, weakening the tribal structures meant reducing the primacy of those identities that were meaningful for Maori.

In 1953, under the Maori Affairs Act, Maori were classified on blood quantum (Broughton, 1993) - a notion that relies on the false assumption that cultural behaviours and identities are biologically determined (Thomas, 1994). By 1974 the same Act broadened its definition to focus on descent. Ethnic slurs such as "are there any full blooded Maori left?" and "there are no real Maori left because they all became

mongrelised" (Gibbons et al., 1994; Ritchie, 1992) have at their root, conceptions of Maori identity based on blood quantam. The reality is that the blood quantum mentality has fuelled the undermining of Maori identity.

The New Zealand Census was another forum where blood fractions were used to determine whether or not a person was Maori. By 1986 the census provided people with the opportunity to self-identify themselves without reference to blood fractions. In 1991, the census extended its section on Maori descent to include tribal affiliations. This still had its limitations. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1995) stated:

I objected to nominate a primary iwi as I take seriously my rights to claim bilineal descent and resent the state imposing definitions through census on how our identity is shaped. In brief these external measurements of identity are significant at an ideological level because they become normative, they set the norm for what it means to be Maori (Smith, 1995 , p. 4).

Given that blood quantum definitions and ethnic categorisations, constructed and imposed by the dominant culture have informed important activities in Aotearoa such as Census taking and establishing legal identities, it is not surprising that research by Thomas and Nikora (1994) found that Pakeha perceive Maori primarily in terms of racial characteristics. The implication of viewing Maori in simple racial terms is that it

. . . . can also be used as a rationale for maintaining Pakeha dominance through the ideological fiction that there is (or should be) a single dominant cultural pattern or lifestyle which should be common to all New Zealanders. Denying the legitimacy of making ethnic distinctions denies Maori people the option of choosing identities they prefer (Thomas & Nikora, 1995, p. 12).

Within the social sciences, many writers have asserted that ethnic identity is crucial to the self-concept and psychological functioning of ethnic group members (Phinney, 1990). What makes investigation of threats to Maori identity even more imperative is apparent in the following quote:

Ethnic groups present a special case of group identity (Tajfel, 1978). If the dominant group in a society holds the traits or characteristics of an ethnic group in low esteem, then ethnic group members are potentially faced with a negative social identity. Identifying with a low-status group may result in low self-regard. (Phinney, 1990, p. 501).

In summary, threats to Maori identity have been numerous. Assimilative policies meant that to some extent, the ability for Maori to participate and develop fully their cultural practice was dependent on the tolerance of the dominant culture. Using broad categories such as nationalism, ethnicity and race to define the reality of Maori was engendered to reduce primacy of Maori identities. Ethnic slurs used to undermine Maori identity had an underlying assumption that the dominant Pakeha cultural patterns and lifestyles were normal, desirable and inevitable (Thomas & Nikora, 1995). Threats of this nature, either

intentional or implicit, have been effective in reducing the primacy of how Maori perceived and defined themselves. Threats to Maori identity are still current. In some ways these threats have acted to support Maori identity. Supports and threats to Maori identity are by no means mutually exclusive.

Supports to Maori identity

Maori people have proved that they have the capacity to survive over time and that they are very resilient (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1978). The spontaneous recovery of the Maori population from the trauma of colonisation after the turn of the century was matched by cultural revival (Walker, 1989). While some Maori chose assimilation, the vast majority rejected it. That meant commitment to cultural continuity and setting up strategies and structures that would enhance Maori wellbeing (Hohepa, 1978; Walker, 1989). Religious movements such as Ringatu and Ratana maintained spiritual dimensions of Maori identity (Walker, 1989). With urbanisation came the building of urban marae and the creation of pan-tribal support groups. The creation of Maori enclaves in areas such as Porirua and Otara emerged (Rangihau, 1977; Ritchie, 1992). In addition, Maori organisations such as the Maori Women's Welfare League and Maatua Whangai whether by policy or by sheer aroha, were set up to assist Maori in the cities (Hohepa, 1978).

Those Maori migrants who have now established homes and families maintain ties with other kin, have formed Maori organisations such as tribal associations, Maori clubs, Maori welfare committees, Maori Women's Welfare League branches, Maori youth groups, Maori church groups, organisations for teaching and learning Maori traditions, classical laments, carving, panel decorations and so on(Hohepa, 1978, p. 106-107).

By 1984, the Maori people were regarded by most as suffering the typical consequences of post-colonialism and social disruption (Ritchie, 1990). In the same year, about 60 to 65% of Maori school leavers left without formal qualifications and faced grim job prospects as a result. In particular, statistical evidence suggested that although New Zealand education was committed to the education of Maori, there had been a growing recognition of the ways in which the structure, administration, nature of delivery and content of mainstream education served to perpetuate educational inequality for Maori (Ritchie, 1990). Maori responded to this awareness with a multi-pronged strategy. Initiatives such as Te Kohanga Reo, Te Ataarangi, Maori based education courses and educational funding supports were implemented. These initiatives served as a base in which Maori could assert their Maori teachings in effect, maintaining continuity of their cultural distinctiveness and identities that were uniquely Maori (Ritchie, 1992).

Also in the 1980's, there were moves by Maori and non-Maori calling for the ratification of the Treaty. No discussion of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi could be complete without reference to the social standing of Maori people. What followed was that Treaty policies were implemented in many institutions in Aotearoa. The Treaty served as a base in which Maori could assert their mana.

In the 1990's, Maori identity changed to one of confidence (Walker, 1989). The move toward political and economic development by iwi and pan-tribal groups came to the fore (Smith, 1995). Iwi and pan-tribal groups became more confident at purchasing and investing in business deals (here and overseas) with a view to secure an economic base for their people (Ritchie, 1992). Maori reasserted their mana Maori by returning to their iwi and hapu to rekindle their kinship and cultural ties. Maori media workers in radio, television, paper and magazines were active in providing the Maori viewpoint. Maori land occupations in Wanganui, Whakarewarewa in Rotorua and Tamaki College in Auckland showed the people of New Zealand that Maori were serious about their desire for the Government to deal with violations of Maori grievances (past and present). Political strategies provided the base in which Maori could assert their mana Maori publicly and seriously (King, 1994).

Ethnic consciousness and pride is a common phenomena amongst those ethnic groups' that have a "countergroup" over them (Phinney, 1990). What Phinney (1990) in reviewing ethnic identity research found was that ethnic identity was derived in part from ethnic revitalisation movements and the growing awareness by minority groups of differences associated with ethnic group membership (e. g., lower educational and occupational attainment). Phinney (1990) further emphasised that:

attitudes toward one's ethnicity are central to the psychological functioning of those who live in societies where their group and culture are at best poorly represented (politically, economically and in the media) and are at worst discriminated against, even attacked verbally and physically; the concept of ethnic identity provides a way of understanding the need to assert oneself in the face of threats to one's identity (Phinney, 1990, p. 499).

While it might appear that Maori have been successful in providing the necessary supports, some Maori believe that as long as the threats to Maori identity are still lurking in the background, the need for vigilance continues.

In summary, there appear to be a variety of supports that have assisted in the continuity of Maori identity. These include the flood of social services made available by Maori for Maori. The ability to adapt the frameworks of tribal structures and cultural practices to urban living have also played a major role in maintaining the continuity of Maori identity. An ability to set up pro-Maori institutions such as Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa has encouraged and maintained the continuity of language and cultural teachings. Adapting to technological change and more education possibilities have lead to more Maori professionals. One of the fundamentals underpinning the continuity of Maori identity, is the political climate in which Maori identity is embedded. Consciousness raising has lead to an increased awareness of societal differences associated with Maori. Ethnic revitalisation movements coupled with consciousness raising has assisted in the continuity of Maori identity in the 1990's.

The next section focuses on reviewing the literature surrounding "whanau".

Whanau Identity

Ko te whanau ko hau ,ko hau ko te whanau

I am the whanau and the whanau is me

In this section I review the literature on whanau. I begin by describing how whanau was conceived of in more traditional times followed by an examination of more contemporary conceptions.

Traditional Whanau:

Whanau, means to give birth. The whanau or extended family is the smallest of the common Maori social structures and consists of 3 or 4 generations of extended family (Broughton, 1993; Gibbons et al., 1994; Papakura, 1986). The whanauis inextricably intertwined to hapu, iwi and waka. Keeping within the confines of their tribal affiliations, each whanau mixed, divided, rekindled, migrated and formed fresh relationships (Ministerial Advisory Committee, 1988).

Earlier literature conceived of the whanau as very important in that that was where the initial teachings, traditions and learning of things Maori took place (Firth, 1972; Papakura, 1986; Te Rangi Hiroa, 1982). Within the whanau, members were acculturated and socialised into the rules, protocols and support systems of that particular whanau. This in turn created a pride in their identity (Firth, 1972; Papakura, 1986; Parata, 1990; Te Rangi Hiroa, 1982).

Members of the older generation became the guides for younger generations to establish an accurate and meaningful sense of one's identity (Papakura, 1986; Turner & Helms, 1983). The whanau members played a major role in the formative years of a child whose existence was seen as an integral part of a tribal whole (Ministerial Advisory Committee, 1988).

Community undertakings were carried out by members of the same whanau group (Te Rangi Hiroa, 1982). The whanau provided its own workforce for activities such as planting and gathering food, marae work and other social events (Walker, 1979). Members of the whanau readily assembled at meeting places to discuss and deal with matters that affected the common welfare of the whanau (Te Rangi Hiroa, 1982). One of these meeting places would be the marae. Walker (1981) noted that:

. . . the marae is central to the concept of Maoritanga. Maoritanga consists of an acknowledgement and pride in one's identity as a Maori. While Maoritanga has a physical base in ethnic identity, it also has a spiritual and emotional base derived from the ancestral culture of the Maori. Maori oratory, language, values and social etiquette are given their fullest expression in the marae setting at tangi and hui. (p. 28-29).

Through intermarriage, it was not unusual for one to belong to a number of whanau, hapu or iwi groups (Papakura, 1986). Ability to identify oneself or make connections through reciting genealogy was important when asserting one's whanau identity. This activity was passed down from earlier times. Of this Makereti Papakura explained:

Every Maori especially if he came of a good family, knew his or her genealogy and exact relationship to every relative. This was most important to a Maori. If he went to a strange place, he would only need to repeat his genealogy to make himself known to any relatives whom he might have there. Though these relatives lived under the clan name of another ancestor, he and they would claim relationship through the genealogy(Papakura, 1986 , p. 37).

With each generation the number of whanau members increased and reached such numbers that the restricted term of whanau could no longer be applied (Te Rangi Hiroa, 1982). Whether by necessity or by sense, new whanau were created and connections between the old and the new whanau were encouraged.

Though the ideal whanau provided a supportive and learning environment to its members, some whanau were also exposed to bad leadership and physical and sexual abuse. In some cases, other whanau in the hapu provided support by mediating differences between whanau members. To some extent, these practices are still current, but not as primary as they were in more traditional times.

In summary, the traditional whanau organised and maintained themselves primarily amongst other whanau in their hapu. The whanau environment acculturated its members into a sense of collective affiliation, obligatory roles and responsibilities and the importance of uniting people. The value of maintaining collaborative relationships within the whanau and hapu were taught to the young and in turn passed onto the next generation. The whanau provided a place where meaningfulness and belongingness to their iwi and culture could be nurtured. To some extent, these whanau characteristics are similar to those traditional characteristics of Maori identity described earlier. Therefore it could be viewed that the whanau played a major role in forming and maintaining a pathway through which Maori identities could be formed and developed.

Contemporary Whanau

Much of what is happening for Maori whanau in the 1990's has resulted from the social trends of previous decades. Urbanisation during the 1950's to 1980's, coupled with colonisation, led to the evolution of different family lifestyles amongst Maori. The consequence of urbanisation meant that a number of Maori were not exposed to maintaining and organising themselves primarily around their whanau, hapu and papakainga. Nor did they know their genealogical ties (Walker, 1989) or have a `contact person' (Nikora, 1995) through whom their ties could be kept continuous. While some whanau chose to organise themselves primarily around their tribal structures and cultural practices, there were many whanau who did not. Walker (1979) noted that a 1969 survey of 100 Maori households

revealed that 90 were single family units. Small houses and confined space made it difficult to continue the extended family, except in a modified form such as the mini-marae described earlier. So the norm was a single family unit to a single dwelling, with each family responsible for its own economic well-being. (p. 37).

In the 1990's single family households are now proportionately more common amongst Maori than in the total population (Durie, 1994; Public Health Commission, 1993). This is in part due to pressure to survive in an economically driven society (Durie, 1994), increased separation and divorce amongst Maori and high dependence on state welfare benefits (Public Health Commission, 1993). Single family households are a major change from that of the traditional whanau. Recognising this, Te Puni Kokiri have developed a Whanau Well-being Programme to provide assistance to Maori whanau to strengthen its family structures (Public Health Commission, 1993).

What is still yet to be assessed, is to what extent do the single family and two parent households form and maintain a whanau or Maori identity. In 1992, Durie et al. (1995) initiated a longitudinal study of Maori households which they had planned to complete in December of 1995. The study, named Te Hoe Nuku Roa Framework: A Maori Identity Measure, would enable cultural, social, economic and personal factors amongst Maori to be correlated. Such a study would provide a more articulate measure of Maori and whanau identity. In the meantime, Durie et al., (1995) emphasise, that although some Maori families live in the single or two parent family arrangement, this does not necessarily mean that they are not Maori, nor does it mean that they are not maintaining their whanau cultural practices. For some Maori families, they have become competent at maintaining a balance between economic circumstances and keeping continuous their whanau and tribal practices. However, for other Maori families, maintaining an ethnic Maori identity may be what is desirable and in some cases all that their resources can allow at this time.

In summary, what seems significant, is the amount of Maori who are maintaining the single parent family arrangement. This appears to be a dramatic shift from the traditional whanau arrangement and over a relatively short period of time. What is not known is whether the profiles of those living in single and two parent families include adapted traditional whanau arrangements of some kind. With the amount of Maori conciousness raising and support in the 1990's, there are many opportunities in which Maori can gain access to learning the Maori culture and to rekindle their whanau, hapu, and iwi ties. This obviously is at the discretion of those whom desire this choice.

Whanau as a Management Framework

The kinship term 'whanau' has entered the vernacular of New Zealanders and is often used (even abused) as a generic name for some working association, like a school or social service group (Ritchie, 1992). In this section I review literature on "whanau" as a management framework.

The concept of whanau is used widely by many groups and organisations to provide a management framework for organising and managing relationships (Walker, 1988). Depending on what is meaningful for that group, the concept of whanau could be used in a variety of ways. Te Whanau o Waipareira in West Auckland adapted the whanau concept to provide a guideline for support to its members (Walker, 1988). The Department of Social Welfare used whanau decision-making in the area of social work (Bradley, 1993). There, social workers were expected to share ideas to compliment a goal or objective that they were working toward (Prchal, Tayler & Beddoe, 1989). Sports clubs have used the word whanau to describe a special connection or providing a framework for working in a team. Keith Quinn (1993) stated that:

Like many others, Buck Shelford is at a bit of a loss trying to pinpoint the essence of Maori rugby. He knows from his years of experience there's something special about it. But it's hard to define. Then, after some hesitation, he settles on "whanau" as the unique ingredient. His explanation? 'The bond a Maori feels when he's with his family or with his friends in a rugby team, the whanau, makes him uninhibited on the field. Then, with this togetherness, the Maori likes to play with freedom. "The whanau feeling makes the Maori better at team games than he or she is at individual games. The Maori likes the role of being in a team'. (p. 44).

The concept of whanau has also been used by Maori to provide a model or framework in which to assist and supportMaori initiatives. Examples include Maori business, committees, land trusts, health groups and family groups. In addition, the concept of whanau has been used to provide models for Maori health. The underlying intention of the health models is to provide a more traditionally focussed approach to healing Maori. Durie (1995) introduced a health model named Whare Tapa Wha. The model proposed four health dimensions, these were taha wairua (spirituality), taha hinengaro (thoughts and feelings), taha tinana (physical health) and taha whanau (family). Models such as Te Wheke (Pere, 1984), Nga Pou Mana (Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988) and Nga Putake (cited in Durie, 1995) also used the concept of whanau for the aid of Maori people.

In summary, a primary intention of using whanau as a management framework was to assist, organise and understand people. Although whanau as a management framework operates on similar principles to that of the tribal structures, descent to a Maori tipuna is not necessarily the primary factor. Utilising the concept of "whanau" provides for an environment in which meaning and belongingness can be nurtured.

In conclusion, the concept of whanau has undergone some dynamic changes since its formative years. In traditionals times the whanau was based on kinship ties, shared a common ancestor, and provided an environment within which certain responsibilities and obligations could be maintained (Durie, 1994). In the 1990's, Maori families live in single parent and two parent households and generally reside outside of their tribal areas. Economic circumstances and social trends have influenced somewhat the extent to which the 1990's families participate in whanau and tribal practices. While it appears that the primacy of the kinship whanau has been reduced, what is not known is by how much.

The "concept of whanau as a management framework" has flourished among Maori, in institutions, associations, the social services and in wider New Zealander society. That it is used widely among mixed groups and across political, social and tribal strata highlights its contemporary significance. Although this may be viewed as a positive development the possibility of the original kinship meaning of the term whanau may diminish. The advantage of continuing the values and customs specific to the kinship whanau are that many of the traditional aspects unique to that whanau can be passed on to the next generation. The opportunity to be socialised in the same area as one's ancestors and amongst tribal markers of significance contributes to a more profound sense of whanau history and whanau continuity. Living in one's tribal location increases the ability to keep continuous one's traditional whanau arrangement. The kinship whanau plays a major role in bringing about a sense of security, wellbeing and belongingness. This notion can be linked to the general psychological literature on the role of a secure identity in maintaining health and well-being.

One of the earliest statements of the importance of social identity was made by Lewin (1948), who asserted that individuals need a firm sense of group identification in order to maintain a sense of well-being. This idea was developed in considerable detail in the social identity theory of Tajfel and Turner (1979). According the theory, simply being a member of a group provides individuals with a sense of belongingness that contributes to a positive self-concept. (Phinney, 1990, p. 501).

Conclusions:

The literature on whanau do not vary from what Maori authors (Bennett, 1979; Karetu, 1990, Parata, 1990, Rangihau, 1977; Walker, 1989) have expressed regarding their conceptualisations of Maori identity. The tribal structures, descent and cultural practices provide integral pathways through which whanau and Maori identity can be developed and maintained. What is of significance, is that the formation of a secure whanau identity is likely to contribute toward an overall stable Maori identity. Creating an environment where a sense of secure wellbeing among members of a whanau is nurtured, leads to members constructing a whanau and Maori identity that is meaningful to them in their lives.

Further information with regard to the traditional whanau arrangment would provide a more accurate picture of just how much of these whanau are still in existence. In addition, more knowledge of whanau processes that have been successful in maintaining Maoriidentity would be beneficial in providing a broader analysis of whanau.

These matters remain to be investigated:

- To what extent do social, economic and technological advancement impact on Maori identity ?
- How might the development of new Maori organisations such as Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa contribute to whanau, hapu, iwi and Maori identity?

It is hoped that the information in this paper, will assist toward preserving cultural teachings for future generations of Maori whanau.

Kia ora.

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Glossary of Maori terms

Aotearoa	Land of the long white cloud;New Zealand
Aroha	Love, Concern
Awa	River
Hapu	A collection of whanau, normally united through a common ancestor
Hui	Gathering
Iwi	A collection of hapu, normally united through a common ancestor
Kai	Food
Kaumatua	Elder
Kawa	Protocol
Koha	Gift
Koro/Koroua	Male elder; male grandparent
Kuia	Female elder, female grandparent
Kura Kaupapa	Schooling system run by Maori for Maori aged 5-11 yrs
Mana	In broad terms, Mana is about prestige, power and status. Mana is also intertwined with Mana Atua, Mana Tipuna, Mana Whenua, Mana Tangata. The power of the gods, the power of the ancestors, the power of the land and the power of the individual.
Manuhiri	Term used for the visitors who come to a marae to participate in social functions.
Marae	Carved meeting-house, dining-hall and cooking area, as well as the marae atea or sacred space in front of the meeting-house.
Maunga	Mountain
Mokemoke	Lonely
Nanny	Female grandparent
Ope	A number of people moving together
Pa/Papakainga	Village settlement
Pakeke	Adult/s
Raupatu	Land Confiscation
Ringatu	Upraised hand; A Maori religious movement founded by Rua Kenana of Tuhoe
Tangata Whenua	People of the land, indigenous Maori people, hapu group related to a Marae
Tangi/Tangihana	Maori death rituals
Te Ataarangi	A total immersion method of Maori language acquisition
Te Kohanga Reo	A total immersion Maori language revitalisation and maintenance programme for preschoolers

Tino Rangatiratanga	elf-determination
Tipuna	Ancestor
Turangawaewae	A place to stand; metaphor related to one's right to belong to a specific marae or pa.
Urupa	Cemetery
Waka	A collection of iwi whose tipuna travelled to Aotearoa on the same canoe, Mode of transport (eg. canoe, car, horse).
Whakapapa	Genealogy
Whanau	Means to give birth, is made up of usually 3 or 4 generations of extended family
Whenua	Land; afterbirth