KAUMĀTUATANGA

THE CHANGING ROLES OF KAUMĀTUA IN NGĀTI REHUA: FUTURE DIRECTIONS

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Acknowledgements

To the kaumätua of the past
and the legacy that they have left
so we can move into the future.

Abstract

This study looks at the roles of kaumätua and investigates how these roles have changed over time. With the ageing Maori population and the reported importance of kaumätua roles in the wellbeing of Maori communities, the findings of this study provide an insight into the possible future direction of these roles. The study was conducted with the assistance of members of one hapu (N=47) that were 65 years of age and over. The study was by interview, utilising a semi-structured questionnaire with both open ended and closed questions. Narratives from participants was analysed and compared to the roles of kaumätua that were found in the literature, namely; Leadership, cultural knowledge, dispute resolution, protection and nurturing of young, provide spiritual and other guidance, social control, provide rituals, preserve te reo Maori and live active and healthy lives. Findings of this research supported the roles found in the literature. The roles of kaumätua still exist but may have diminished over time. The change in roles is in the adaptation to meet the needs of the time period while maintaining the core values of each role and providing a continuation of practices.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

With the realization of an aging global population due to the various cohorts of baby boomers and increased longevity in a number of countries, research regarding the elderly and aging has increased exponentially. This research has been across disciplines and includes, but is not limited to, the biological, social and psychological aspects of aging (Binstock, George, Cutler, Hendricks, & Schulz, 2006). As the population globally ages there is an increased interest in all aspects of aging, bearing in mind the varying roles played by the elderly as well as the extent of value placed upon them and their roles in differing societies.

New Zealand is no exception to this trend. A range of studies have been conducted under the direction of Government departments and other organisations (see Age Concern, 2007; Ministry of Health, 1997; Ministry of Social Development, 2002; Retirement Periodic Report Group, 2003; and Statistics N.Z., 2002). Maori elderly or *Kaumätua* have been a point of interest in some studies (see Cunningham, Durie, Fergusson, Hong, Horwood et al., 2002; Durie, 1999; Maaka, 1993; and Walden, 2004). Less attention however has been given to the roles of kaumätua and how this may have changed over time. In this research I investigate the roles Kaumätua of one *hapu*, Ngäti Rehua, play within Maori society and how they may have changed over time.

Any discussion of elderly Maori will inescapably make reference to the term “kaumätua”. Historically this term describes a group of people associated with *ariki*, *rangatira* and *tohunga*, and who were known as leaders (Winiata &

Fraenkel, 1967). However, leadership is not the only role of a kaumätua (Durie, Allan, Cunningham, Edwards, Forster, et al, 1997; Metge, 1976). In order to define the title kaumätua" we first must examine the other titles given to leaders in Maori society.

The term *ariki* is used less frequently today than in the past (Metge, 1976; Winiata, 1967). Metge describes *ariki* as the unequivocal paramount chief. She also notes that its meaning in Northland was changed through translation by Christian missionaries to mean 'Lord' as used in the Bible. In Northland, previous to that change, an ariki was someone who inherited the role of leader, usually through lineage (Metge, 1976). Winiata (1967) saw ariki as leaders by virtue of superior kinship, a genealogical position recognised as undeniable and binding on all others who could claim relatedness. An ariki was a leader whose character and skills, coupled with genealogical descent, and enabled them to bind together a large group of people or many hapu. Winiata also went on to express that with the changing roles of leaders in modern times that there would be a more diverse role of leadership (Winiata 1967).

According to Winiata (1967), by the time of his research, the term *rangatira* had almost disappeared. Metge (1976) asserted that rangatira were chiefs and aristocrats but that understandings of this title were becoming blurred. Many *hapu* - a collection of extended families, at that time may not have had one undisputed person that would be conceded a leader, but rather there may have been many persons that hold that role of generally equivalent status, for example, the head of each house hold being the person that lead that household and each such person having equal status within the hapu. The title of rangatira transferred to the oldest son at the *tangihanga* or passing of his father but could be rejected or

postponed in the case of a minor, at that time if he was seen to not have the ability to perform the necessary duties at ceremonies (Metge, 1976). The term rangatira has also been used to describe leaders outside the hapu, for example the captain of a boat, leader of industry or section leaders of work at a *hui*, the term used to mean a gathering of people to discuss an issue, or *tangi*, the term used to represent the process of a funeral. The term rangatira is now used liberally to mean those that display leadership qualities and not necessarily because of any superior lineage link (Winiata, 1967).

Historically, *tohunga* was the title given to those who were experts in their field: carvers, builders, or faith healers, for example. They interacted with people from both within and outside of their own hapu (Metge, 1976). Becoming a tohunga was not necessarily dependent upon lineage but was rather based on a candidate's ability to succeed in training which included, but was not limited to, attending *wananga* - a place of higher learning[1]. This information is also reflected in what Buck (1962) says about tohunga, but he includes that there are many classes of tohunga including higher or lower class tohunga. A tohunga as leader, is mostly about leadership based on the skills and knowledge that is within the domain of that tohunga and the influence that those skills and knowledge have on those around the tohunga.

A number of definitions have been given for the term kaumätua (Barlow 1991, Durie, et al., 1997; Hirini, Flett, Kazantzis, Long, Millar, et al., 1999; Metge 1995, Public Health Commission 1995). Most identify an age group and refer to older members of the whänau who have been recognized as the holders of

[1] This information was given to me by my father Gordon Ponga Kingi Davies between 1983 and 1986 when I returned to our turangawaewae to live and I received instruction from him about our people.

knowledge. Kaumätua are not a homogenous group and the term refers to roles played by an individual with skills and competencies, rather than just being of a certain age (Durie et al, 1997). For the purposes of this research, a kaumätua is defined as an older member of a *whänau* or extended family, who carries the cultural knowledge and the competency of that knowledge as reflected in the skill to meet the cultural needs of that whänau.

Collectively, kaumätua are the elderly—both men and women, and used as a title for those who are distinguished leaders by seniority or proficiency in *Te Reo Maori*, the Maori language, *whakapapa* or genealogy, and history, and are able to perform ceremonies and in an astute and skilled way (Metge, 1976). Winiata (1967) explains that it is the most persistent of terms for leader. It refers to a traditional leader at the hapu or tribal level who is not formally chosen but is seen to participate more than others in cultural gatherings. It has also been used as a synonym for rangatira or first born sons of high descent when they come of age (Metge, 1976). Kaumätua, rangatira and ariki are first and foremost leaders, both men and women, of a descent group. But this maybe gendered with variations across hapu and *iwi* – tribal groups. For example women are recognized as kaumätua in the singular as well as rangatira within hapu of the east coast (Metge, 1976). The issue of gender and who has the title of kaumätua will be explored within the hapu of this research. In any event once the title is assigned by the hapu it remains in place until death even if they are unable to continue to perform the duties (Winiata, 1967).

Maori society and the traditional concepts of leadership have been adapted to meet the needs of an increasingly modernised and urbanised Maori membership. Winiata (1967) made clear that modern Maori society and culture is

a vibrant force in New Zealand. It has always been this way since the coming of the Pakeha. Winiata's work suggests that effective leadership in Maori society is dependent upon both ascribed kinship status and achieved cultural status. Over time Maori leaders have become more specialised and the leadership roles have been restructured to meet that need. With this restructuring, leadership in business and industry may consist of the young or middle-aged but the leadership of traditional hapu an iwi will remain with the older generation (Durie, 1999). Leadership is the glue of kaumätua roles and the marae is the stage upon which that leadership flourishes.

Roles of Kaumätua

The roles of elders in society globally have been a topic of historical interest (Bengtson, 1985). As elders increase in number and life expectancy, they are likely to be more able to provide a grandparent role more than in the past. In those societies that place a higher value on their elders, those elders report that they have a healthier lifestyle and greater feelings of wellbeing than those in other societies (Binstock, George, Cutler, Hendricks, Schulz., 2006).

Bengtson (1985) identified five roles that grandparents engage in: providing guidance, nurturing young, dispute resolution, providing social control and holding past knowledge. In his paper on ***kaumätuatanga,*** that is, the art of being a kaumatua, Durie (1999) outlines a number of issues regarding ways in which kaumätua interact with their whänau. His view is that the cultural strength and enrichment of the hapu will depend on kaumätua and their fulfilment of traditional roles. According to Durie (1999), without Maori leadership hapu are unable to function effectively or to fulfil their obligations (Durie 1999). Durie

(1999) also argues that the strength and mana of a Maori community depends on the visibility and participation of a hapu's kaumätua more than the activities of its younger members.

Similar to the roles identified by Bengtson (1985), Durie (1999) presents his own list. It includes: carrying the culture, attending and providing rituals at hui, tangi and marae, speaking on behalf of the hapu, providing spiritual leadership and social control, resolving disputes and conflicts between whänau and iwi (or others), providing guidance on matters of religious and cultural needs, protecting and nurturing younger adults and children and recognizing and encouraging the potential of younger members. Like Binstock et al. (2006), Durie (1999) remarks that kaumätua live healthy lives and have a sense of wellbeing as a result of the roles that they engage in. As the roles of kaumätua identified by Durie (1999) form the basis for this thesis research, I examine them in more detail below.

Cultural Knowledge

The cultural knowledge of Maori is embodied by the kaumätua collective. They are assumed to have this capital or know where to gain access to it. Certain kaumätua were selected and chosen to be tohunga (experts) in unique areas that required deeper knowledge and understanding, for example young men with good memories were chosen to keep the whakapapa of the hapu (Best, 1924). Whilst there were more general areas of knowledge and skills needed for the survival of the people, kaumätua took deliberate measures to ensure that suitable members of the hapu would be successful in performing rituals, leadership and other areas that required specialised training (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1979).

Traditionally kaumätua used certain teaching practices and processes to pass on their knowledge and skill. For example, using a selective mentoring process kaumätua would take a young man (or woman) and give them private tutoring. By this method a young warrior who showed an aptitude for warfare or gathering food was privately taught the skills, knowledge and understanding to become an expert. Knowledge was also passed on overtly by the extensive and interactive means of story talking, music, poetry and every day activities (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1979; Best, 1924)

As documented in-depth by Bedford & Pool (2004) and Pool (1991), the persuasive process of European colonisation of Aotearoa in the 19th and 20th century significantly disrupted traditional methods of passing on knowledge and learning. War in the 1860's in the North Island enabled the settler government to establish substantial sovereignty in New Zealand. The laws of the 19th century were efficiently and effectively separated Maori from their land. Three million acres of Maori land in the Waikato and Taranaki were confiscated (1863 N.Z. Settlement Act). The Native Land Act of 1865 was the most powerful device used by the legal system to wrestle Maori ownership of land into eager Pakeha settler hands. Without their land, Maori became impoverished. By the end of the 19th century Maori numbers had diminished from 160,000 in 1840 to 40,000 by 1900's (Pool, 1991). Maori became economically marginalised from mainstream Pakeha New Zealand society.

For Maori the 20th century was one of survival. From a rural population with little English or western interaction, Maori were forced into acculturation and adopted western practices and cultural learning in order to live in a foreign world. The advent and aftermath of WWII was to see the migration of Maori in large

numbers to towns and cities in search of work and apparently to improve their lives (Bedford & Pool, 2004; Metge, 1964). The so-called “urban drift” was to have a profound impact on Maori social and traditional structures due to families being separated and traditional customs being practised less. Whereas kaumätua had played a vital role in the process of passing on cultural knowledge, hard decisions had to be made in the face of a rapidly changing society (King, 1992).

Conducting rituals

To understand rituals the context of marae need to be investigated. There is much written on the subject of marae generally (see Barlow, 1991; Salmond, 1994; Tauroa & Tauroa, 1986; Walker & Amoamo, 1987), and there are also countless works which look at marae in some way (see Durie, 1995; Ritchie, 1992). Technically, the marae is that area of sacred ground directly in front of a building of significance and is sometimes also referred to as *ätea*. However, when speaking of the marae today it usually refers to both the area in front of the building of significance or *whare* as well as any other buildings in the complex (Salmond, 1993). Each marae is unique and is distinguished by its own name.

This present concept of marae is most definitely a post-colonial one. In pre-contact Aotearoa the large carved meetinghouses were very rare and the largest were from 10 - 30 feet long, 5 - 10 feet wide and 6 - 8 feet high with very small doors that meant you had to crawl through on your knees (Walker, 1992). At the time of contact with Päkehä the marae was the area in front of the chief's house that may have been, but was not always, carved (Salmond, 1994). Although there would have been at least one such carved building for each iwi there may not have been one for each village or hapu (Walker, 1992). For example, my hapu

does not, nor has it ever had, a lavishly carved whare or even a marae in the modern sense of the word[2]. This said, however, it does now have and always has had a meeting place which is usually the whare of a kaumätua of the hapu or the ground in front of that whare as well as buildings that are associated with it.

The marae has gone through changes over time in terms of its location, appearance and use, but not in concept and purpose (Walker, 1992). When the marae was usually the grassed area in front of the chief's house, this area was used for many purposes, ranging from a place to meet before going fishing to the carrying out of some formal rituals. Other rituals were held inside the chief's whare and still others at different specialty locations, all of which could be called a marae (Walker, 1992). Over time we have seen the development of smaller family and village marae and the special purpose marae, for example in schools. In addition to these, there are the more contemporary urban and church based marae (Mead, 2003; Tauroa & Tauroa, 1986).

The development of the carved meeting house that we are familiar with today has come about through a combination of factors. These include increased need for large buildings with the arrival of the Päkehä (and possibly the need for large Maori gatherings to discuss issues of Päkehä arrival or to display the mana of a chief to visiting Päkehä) and the arrival of steel tools enabling the easier and faster construction of larger structures (Salmond, 1994; Walker, 1992). These new tools also made it possible for smaller villages to build their own carved buildings; a desirable occurrence as a carved building increased the mana of the chief and therefore the village. The arrival of metals brought about adaptations to traditional tools meaning that skilled workers could now undertake larger projects,

[2] As told by Mr. G.P.K. Davies 1994

and more of them due to increased speed. The basic architectural design did not alter with the arrival of the Päkehä (Neich, 2001).

With the arrival of the musket, the building of carved houses diminished as this was a peace time pursuit and time was preoccupied with gathering resources to buy muskets. Put simply, those who did not arm themselves were killed in battles. The battles caused whole villages to be wiped out and buildings destroyed (Salmond, 1994). It was not until the 1850's that building became a focus again, this time as a political statement expressing defiance toward Päkehä and an assertion of culture (Salmond, 1994; Walker, 1992). Again in the 1900's, with Ngata promoting sanitary buildings and with the assistance of the Maori Councils Act 1900, his carved house building programme flourished and carved houses and marae atea were rejuvenated or re-established around the country, along with the arts and *kawa* (protocols and rituals) that went with building marae (Salmond, 1994; Walker, 1992). Kaumätua played an important role in this process of affirming kawa and rituals around the building of marae and once built, the rituals associated with the marae, thus enabling a greater opportunity to practice these rituals and for younger generations to be able to observe these practices.

In pre contact times most religious rites were performed off the marae (Best, 1924; Walker, 1992). Ceremonies of a religious nature were performed in a number of places and for many reasons and the marae was only one such place that was available (Barlow, 1991; Best, 1924). Since contact, religious rites have to some extent increased on marae and decreased off marae. Functions from birth to death and all other rites that needed to be undertaken find a place on or near the marae today. The inclusion of churches and *urupä*, that is, cemeteries or burial

places, being established in very close proximity to the marae or the marae being used also as a church may account for the increase. The reduction in tohunga may also be a reason for this increased marae focus, as it was the tohunga of religious rites who performed most, but not all, rites (Best, 1924). The tohunga of religion, as all other tohunga, played an important part in Maori society and because of that importance, played a part in marae functions from time to time.

The tangi being, as a religious function, a process that requires immediate attention, takes precedence over any other use of the marae. This would be a time when the religious tohunga would play an important part on the marae. With the tohunga role questioned by the Suppression of Tohunga Act 1907, kaumätua assumed ritualistic roles that would have been undertaken by tohunga in the past.

Today as in the past marae are used as a social gathering place and community focal point. It is here that political, religious and educational functions and rituals are often performed. When hui involve visitors, like people from another village or further afield, then a more formal process takes place and the rituals of marae kawa may be different than if the hui involved only the local hapu. The issues discussed could be domestic matters pertaining to a particular whänau or hapu, or much larger issues. For example, with the arrival of the Päkehä this constituted the arrival of a new iwi and with it the need to discuss the political implications of this phenomenon and the never ending dilemmas and opportunities that Päkehä presented to Maori. The marae would have been one of the places where these discussions took place.

The marae is not just a place where people meet; it is the *türangawaewae* (place to stand), the *wahi rangatira mana* (place of greatest mana), *wahi rangatira wairua* (place of greatest spirituality), *wahi rangatira iwi* (place that heightens

people's dignity), and *wahi rangatira tikanga Maori* (place in which Maori customs are given ultimate expression) (Tauroa & Tauroa, 1986). The marae is the accumulation of that which is Maori, and has withstood the assimilationary assault of dominant Päkehä culture (Salmond, 1994; Walker, 1992). From the time of preparing to enter onto the marae until the time of departure from it, Maori culture, language and tikanga dictates everything that transpires within the boundaries of the marae. Päkehä culture is expected to bow to the eminence of that which is Maori (philosophy and values). The Tangihanga is the one specific ritual that demonstrates all that is Maori. This does not mean to say that Päkehä do not have a place on the marae, as this contravenes the essence of the marae. However, it does mean that Päkehä as well as Maori who have little or no knowledge of kawa and tikanga will need to move from a place of 'comfort' into the unknown and recognise that the marae is a place where Päkehä knowledge may not be of any advantage or indeed useful at all. Because of the active role that kaumätua play in marae rituals of encounter, they become the ‘keepers’ of knowledge and practice associated with this process.

The opportunity for many Maori to witness, experience and learn Maori culture on the marae has reduced due to urbanisation and the authorization of social institutions like schools and universities. The knowledge of marae culture has not been available to many urban Maori in their childhood development as they are, sometimes, living far away from their marae and their kaumätua. Those who have had this cultural exposure are those who have had the opportunity to be involved with the processes of the marae. Therefore, this cultural learning and development is accomplished through journeys 'back home' for urban Maori, often for tangihanga and 'living on the marae' for rural Maori. Other urban Maori, who

did not experience 'going home' to the marae, are still able to glean knowledge of the traditions though attending tangihanga at relatives' urban homes. These were also run by kaumätua, and the home was used as a marae for the purpose of the tangihanga (Rangihau, Henderson, Henderson & Siers, 1975).

The marae facilitates the tangihanga, hui, marriage, birthdays, anniversaries, church gatherings and above all is a place to stand (Salmond 1976). It therefore follows that a marae and the ritual that are participated in are defined by the practices of the hapu and reinforced by the kaumätua. The marae is the focus of a community of people. It epitomises and explains their existence and relationships to each other. However, while the enactment of rituals and encounters are enhanced by the marae environment, such processes can exist and be performed independently of it. As a result, when Maori moved away from their marae into urban areas, they also took with them their customs and rituals, roles, relationships and collective memories. What links and is common to all these activities is *whaikörero* (the art of speech making) traditionally a most highly prized skill.[3] The responsibility to oversee whaikörero and all that occurs at functions where this ritual is undertaken, which is at most encounters (Salmond 1976), is the domain of the kaumätua[4].

Preserving te reo Maori

Language, te reo Maori is a main aspect of culture (Durie 1998) and preserving it is an important role of kaumätua. Te reo Maori is the medium that roles on the marae are usually carried out through. Maori is spoken predominantly

[3] As told to the writer by Mr G.P.K Davies between 1983 and 1986.
[4] As told to the writer by Mr G.P.K Davies between 1983 and 1986.

at hui or other marae activities (Te Puni Kökiri, 2004). A study by Durie et al (1997) found that large numbers of kaumätua had Te Reo Maori competence. Te Puni Kökiri (2002) found that among those 55 years and over, 39% were proficient at Te Reo Maori. The investigation of the wellbeing of Maori by Gee, Stephens, Liu, and Higgins (2004) found that Te Reo Maori proficiency was associated with greater life satisfaction. Gibson (1999) however found that Te Reo Maori was not central to Maori identity. Durie (1995) reinforces this by arguing that there are many ways to be Maori. However, regardless how Maori we "feel", kaumätua, the holders of Maori knowledge, are dying at a rate of approximately 1300 per year (Te Puni Kökiri, 1999) and this will further limit the opportunities for their knowledge to be passed on.

The Maori language is part of that knowledge base held by kaumätua and is experiencing a resurgence. This can be traced to the instigation of the Köhanga Reo programme through which native speakers of Maori who in some areas were mainly kaumätua, taught Te Reo Maori to pre-schoolers. There is still a large percentage of Maori who do not have Te Reo Maori or who feel inadequate in the use of their language (Te Puni Kökiri, 2004). This also includes older Maori and kaumätua who were not in a position to be able to develop competence in Te Reo Maori in their youth and even less as they grew older due to the lack of opportunity to practice this skill. Indeed, aspects of colonisation made it difficult for them to participate in traditional enculturation processes. It is through the resurgence of Te Reo Maori as a medium that those older Maori and kaumätua are being encouraged to express themselves in their own language when in the past this may have been suppressed. It is the domain of kaumätua to preserve and maintain Te Reo Maori but not their sole responsibility as the role of parents plays

a part and with the resurgence of Maori cultural and the awakening of the younger generations, their own self determination plays a part in the pursuit of this preservation. How this is accomplished is through creating more enculturation opportunities. How these opportunities occur is open for debate.

Social control

Guerin (2004) argues that there are six historical effects that produce long term general changes in social behaviour: Social control methods, introduced capitalism, necessity for adopting secrecy and disguise, subtle and blatant discriminations, restricting or imposing languages and imposing western bureaucracy. Social control methods of Maori changed through colonization and reshaped the way that Maori society operated. This created widespread disruptions, some obvious, some not so.

Social control methods can also be viewed in many ways (Liska, 1997). Among these are informal and formal social controls (Silver & Miller, 2004). An informal method of social control for Maori society would be when members of the hapu assumed responsibility for each other. Participation in the socialization of youth indicates acceptance of this responsibility (Kornhauser, 1978), for example, the supervision of younger members of the hapu, instituting ways to learn the norms of the society and to understand disciplinary consequences.

Rothman (1971) argues that as society shifts from rural to industrial, traditional family-based forms of social control become less effective. As one form of social control decreases another form will increase (Liska, 1997). This argument may be seen to suggest that social control is based on the social environment and as that context changes so too do the forms of social control.

Capitalism as an effect of long term change to social behaviour can be observed when Maori, working as individuals or smaller groups, support individual growth as opposed to working collaboratively together (Guerin, 2004) as was the custom in big gardens or large collective food gathering projects like the annual mutton bird collection on Aotea Island. As a result of capitalism Maori society undertook a change to an individually oriented monetary system instead of one reliant on reciprocity and obligation. The effects of these changes were also evident in the subsequent generations who earned money and got richer, making the older less able to maintain traditional authority (Middleton, 1971).

Discrimination had its effect on Maori as they moved from rural to urban areas (Guerin, 2004). They found that they could only live in areas that landlords would permit and jobs that employers would allow (Walker & Amoamo, 1987). This left urbanised Maori to live in enclaves set up by Government (Pool, 1991). They also became over-represented in lower socio-economic groups. Discrimination has affected the way Maori live in an urban environment and contributes to the changing social relationships Maori experience.

A new language imposed on Maori contributed to the way the next generations of Maori understood their world. With the imposition of formalised education systems came the oppression of the Maori language within these institutions (Simon & Smith, 1998). Te Reo Maori was replaced by the English language and with that the opportunity to pass on cultural knowledge was hindered, in turn affecting how future Maori identified with their Maori world (Walker, Novitz, & Willmott, 1989).

Kaumätua traditionally have provided social control and under modern new structures this role has been replaced somewhat by the state. Police, judges,

prison officers, law courts, child welfare, and probation officers now provide these roles (Metge, 1976). Maori wardens came into being as a result of the King movement, and were reinforced through Maori communities with the support of the Rangatü and Rätana churches. Maori communities appointed their own police and wardens to maintain law and order in Maori settlements and on marae. Maori wardens still perform this function today as a result of an act of parliament in 1945.

Under old lore the elders took direct action in administering physical chastisement, public shame or *muru* by raiding the culprit's kinfolk (Metge, 1976). Today kaumätua may provide social control more predominantly at cultural gatherings or within the confines of their own whänau. Salmond (1976) argues that social control by kaumätua is tentative at best and although those who are influenced by kaumätua may follow their instructions, the kaumätua do not have the right or power to enforce obedience. Salmond (1976, p.13) states, "title-holders were revered in theory, but often disobeyed in fact".

Dispute resolution

Within any society conflict and how conflict is resolved is a function of that society. For Maori, Kaumätua were the first stop for the resolution of conflict and disputes. They were sort after to assist in the resolution of disputes between persons within the hapu and between hapu and iwi. In contemporary times this has expanded to include disputes between hapu or iwi and government or other agencies. Dispute resolution has not always been a peaceful process and the nature of war could be seen as another, less desirable (by some), avenue of dispute resolution.

Although participation by kaumätua in dispute resolution was desirable, they were sometimes not sought out, and if they were, sometimes their advice was not always taken (Metge, 1976). As with social control, advice from kaumätua in regard to disputes may be valued in theory but not always followed. Metge (1964) discusses the kaumätua role of dispute resolution in her study of Northland families where kaumätua provide interventions on disputes. She says that their mediation is usually done behind closed doors but notes that this is not always the case. This role, like others, went through change as families moved from rural village living to other areas where the influence or availability of kaumätua was not as prevalent.

Providing spiritual and other guidance

Providing guidance, spiritual and otherwise, is a role of kaumätua for which they were sought after. This guidance may have been for individuals or groups of people, and may have been surrounding matters spiritual or everyday problems of social interaction as well as other aspects of life like when to fish and when to gather food. As repositories of the cultural knowledge, kaumätua were a resource for those who needed to be taught, guided, and directed (Durie, 1999).

As the aspects of modern living become more a part of Maori society other sources of guidance became available, for example, trained counsellors as well as the many “self help” books along with courses offered at wananga and universities. This has impacted on the role of kaumätua as providers of guidance relating to many of the day to day aspects of living, but in those areas of Maori culture and cultural knowledge the kaumätua are still sought for their guidance.

Engaging tamariki and rangatahi

Older Maori have traditionally been involved in raising younger children[5] and are still involved in raising younger children (Durie et al. 1997). This provides nurturing and protection for younger children and also give kaumätua the opportunity to encourage the potential of those children. In this way, the older ones could select a child to be taught specific tasks or to receive specific knowledge[6].

Some times this caregiver role can become burdensome to kaumätua if it is not kaumätua-initiated. There are a number of areas in which Kaumätua are vulnerable to abuse and neglect, and the role of caregiver is one of those. Others are financial, mental and physical (Age Concern, 1999). Support and cherishing, of kaumätua is an area of need for policy and health targets. Statistics show that 40% of all New Zealand elderly referred to elder abuse and neglect services are victims of more than one type of abuse (Age Concern, 1999).

Although the role of caregiver to tamariki and rangatahi by kaumätua can be burdensome when forced upon them, there are many instances in which they actively seek out opportunities to play this role. Some kaumätua lament the fact that they are unable to be caregivers to these children because of physical distance. Kaumätua actively seek this role by looking after children after school or at times of holidays as well as times when the children need "time out" from their usual social activities. In the past, when families lived close together such as in village living, kaumätua 'kept an eye' on children as a matter of course, rather than performing the role in a conspicuous way. They would also ***whängai*** (or take

[5] As told to the writer by Mr. G.P.K. Davies who was raised by his Grand mother, who was born in the 1830's, from an age of 2yrs

[6] As told to the writer by Mr. G.P.K. Davies.

on the care of) children who were orphaned or whose parents could no longer care for them for various reasons including physical or mental illness. A further motivation for doing this was to train gifted children or to facilitate a process of reciprocity in joint caregiver roles. In any of these cases, the children were not necessarily their own biological grandchildren (Bengtson, 1985).

Adapting to age

Maori society looks positively upon aging and the elderly (Durie, 1999). Age is not wisdom—neither does it imply leadership—and being a kaumätua is not based on age alone, although it is one of the conditions (New Zealand Public Health Group, 1997). Government agencies define old age as 65 years. This is questioned by many researchers, and research on kaumätua is usually undertaken beginning between the ages of 55 and 65 years (New Zealand Public Health Group, 1997). Within Maoridom old age is based on the longevity of their hapu. For some, old is 60 years for others it is 80[7] years.

Classification as kaumätua, although partly passed on age, is also dependent on a degree of cultural knowledge and the roles associated with that knowledge. There is no specific age to be met to be labelled ‘kaumätua’. Younger ones with exceptional skills may be given this title, however, those in their forties and fifties are still considered young, and it is not until they reach their mid sixties that kaumätua status is more likely to be generally accepted. By the time they are in their eighties they may play a more supportive role to those that carryout the actual work (Durie,1999).

[7] From a definition of kaumätua as down loaded from http://www.maori.org.nz/tikanga/ on 10 October 2005.

Household tenure shows that kaumätua have higher rates of mortgage free home ownership, but this trend is not likely to continue in future generations of older Maori (Durie, et al. 1997). There will be a greater need for appropriate rental accommodation for older Maori in the coming decades as a result of an aging population and declining home ownership. This will be more prevalent for older single Maori women (Gibson & Perrott 2004).

Older Maori have less income compared to the elderly of European ethnic groups and few Maori have savings or investments for retirement. Seventy one percent of single elderly Maori and 44% of elderly Maori couples have less than $1000 available at retirement. The net worth of Maori is 15% to 33% of the Pakeha net worth (Retirement Periodic Report Group, 2003). One factor with this trend is that kaumätua may have less opportunity to supplement retirement income due to responsibilities to whänau and marae (Hirini, et al., 1999).

Migration of Maori in the 1980's showed older Maori following the trend of moving back to traditional tribal areas (Durie, et al., 1997). There is generally a higher percentage of kaumätua than older non-Maori in rural areas on traditional land (Te Puni Kökiri, 1999). This trend may or may not continue into the coming decades depending on the next generations of elderly and their attachment to traditional place as discussed by Teddy (2003) and Hay (1998) and whether they are willing to participate within Maori society as discussed by Maaka (1993). At present the majority of Maori reside in urban areas[8].

The health of kaumätua is important to whänau. Kaumätua need to be remembered and taken into consideration for the medical care of Maori by health care professionals (Sachdev, 1990). Medical doctors are the health service most

[8] From the Census of population and Dwellings from Statistics New Zealand 2001

commonly used by kaumätua, and older Maori are more likely to have age-related disabilities. The most common areas of concern are hearing, sight, and some sort of physical disability (N.Z. Public Health Group, 1997). Even though there is health care available to Maori there are barriers to utilization of those services which still need to be addressed (Durie 1994, Ministry of Health, 1997, Hirini, et al., 1999, Durie 2001). Age Concern's (1990) study shows that 65% of older New Zealanders self rated that their health was good or excellent. This figure is confirmed in the findings of Durie et al. (1997), in which 66% of kaumätua considered themselves to be in either good or excellent health.

The study by Durie et al. (1997) reports that kaumätua live active lives, socially, physically and culturally. They provide support for whänau members through close contact with whänau, and responsibilities and obligations in whänau are reciprocal. Kaumätua are very secure in their cultural identity. They are also confident in their well being. They have high levels of marae and iwi participation and are comfortable with community expectations. The study also states, however, that the data was obtained from a sample which was representative of those who live in a traditional Maori society. Maaka (1993) questions the availability of some older Maori to be able to, or even want to, participate in traditional Maori society, and that their view of their own health and wellbeing may be different to those in Durie's study.

Kaumätua and their roles in the future

Maori demographics will change over the next 40-50 years. With a slight lag, they will follow the general national trends, meaning that over the next few

decades there will be more kaumätua than at present. They will also control less in the way of economic and cultural resources (New Zealand Public Health Group, 1997). Over the next 45 years the percentage of elderly will go from 3% to 13% of the Maori population, and at the same time life expectancy will increase (Cunningham et al., 2002).

Just how kaumätua will continue their roles in the future will need to be looked at. Younger people may attend to duties on the marae or at hui or tangi but Durie (1999) suggests that the last word will continue to be given by kaumätua (Durie 1999). Kaumätua participation within Maori society may be active while others will be limited due to a lack of knowledge, experience, confidence or motivation to be involved (Maaka, 1993). Whether or not the roles of kaumätua are accepted may depend on a number of factors including their ability to speak or understand Maori, their knowledge of tikanga and protocols on the marae, whether or not they are able to relate to the Maori world, and any estrangement between the kaumätua and their whänau or hapu. There may be little option for some but to accept the role of kaumätua (Durie, 1999).

Not all families are happy with sharing their parent or grandparent. Pressure from whänau may be perceived as excessive, causing an elder to ultimately reject the role of kaumätua (Durie, 1999). Some desirable aspects of retirement may be sacrificed in order to fulfil the role of kaumätua and put in the time and effort needed to gain new skills or adapt and refine others. The roles may be taxing and keep kaumätua from their home and family. However, on the other hand the roles provide satisfaction by allowing the kaumätua to feel needed and valued by the community (Durie, 2003). As part of the reciprocity between kaumätua and the community, the community can “repay” kaumätua for the roles

they play by providing security and comfort for kaumätua. This may be in the form of housing, transport, hospitality and financial help to meet obligations (Durie et al., 1997).

Durie (2003) poses two questions that are relevant to this and any future study. They are 1) Will future Maori elderly have the necessary skills to provide for existing or future kaumätua roles? And 2) Will the gap that already exists between Maori that are integrated in Maori society and those that have been alienated from Maori society continue to widen? The answers to these questions as put forward by Durie (2003) are based on the degree of resurgence of Maori identity and culture. This resurgence has been prevalent since the late 1970's but needs to continue and expand if it is to help in the future. It may be too late for many of those post-WWII urbanized Maori who have already been alienated from Maori society and their own culture. Because of this alienation they may find themselves less at ease with marae situations and may find that the roles of Kaumätua are outside their skill base. They also may not be able to obtain access to marae or its networks, and if they do, may not have efficient leadership skills. Those that find themselves in this environment are unlikely to have any desire to be involved in any explicit tribal role or may not be able or desire to seek whänau care or protection as well as other whänau support systems of traditional Maori society. The Te Hoe Nuku Roa research[9] of 40 to 60 year old Maori supports these concerns (Durie, 2003). Those who do not wish to engage in Maori society and feel alienated from that society may also have the same feelings about their

[9] Longitudinal Research project at School of Maori Studies, Massy University

place in Pakeha Society and find themselves in neither world (Berry, Poortinga, Pandey, & Segall, 1997, Davies, Elkington, Winslade, 1993).

Processes of change

Change is an aspect of society that is a constant. How change comes about and the form that it takes and the reasons for change are greatly debated. Change as an evolving phenomenon and can be viewed as having three attributes as catalysts of change: forces at work within a society; changes in the natural environment; and contact between societies (O'Neil, 2006). Forces at work within a society are those changes that evolve over time through inventions that occur within the culture and changes that occur where cultural patterns are replaced by new ones through internal social pressures such as changes to leadership roles through internal contests.

Natural environmental changes like changes in temperature or an abundance or restriction of resources can stimulate change. Contact with other cultural groups can also facilitate change through cultural exchange. Cultural exchange can happen through mutual contact such as trading partners. It can also happen through colonization where one culture invades the geographical domain of the other and dominates the invaded culture through a colonisation process maintained through power and control.

Cultural diffusion is the transfer of cultural characteristics and ideas from one society or cultural group to another (Csonka & Schweitzer, 2004). The extent of transfer depends on the acceptance or resistance of a culture to those things being transferred. As an example of resistance to change verses continuity of change, marriage to connect families and communities for political purposes can

be seen as a continuity practice preserving community safety, livelihoods, heritage and property. With colonisation, arranged marriages diminished, and changed towards 'love' based unions rather than political. This has continued to the present day. Political or arranged marriages are extremely rare. This change represents the diffusion of Pakeha cultural beliefs and practices about marriage into Maori society with little resistance. Another example in the contemporary day is the desire to retain te reo Maori. The mushrooming of Köhanga Reo, (Maori language preschools) reflects a desire to resist the dominance of English, and to retain a continuity with a Maori heritage through te reo Maori acquisition and use. Here we see a reversal of an earlier acceptance of the diffusion of English through Maori society, demonstrating a cultural resurgence and a culture of resilience.

Ki te whaiao, ki te ao marama

Maori have many stories and mythology about change. The creation of the living world started with *te whaiao* and the change of separation of night and day, signifying a spiritual change preceding a physical change. *Whaiao* means daylight, open day, world of light (Ryan & New Zealand Maori Language Commission., 1997; Williams, 1971) and refers to that place between Io (the world of darkness) and Te Ao Marama (the world of light). Whaiao is a process of change and is an example of change within Maori society, the change that brought about a new beginning and is referred to as the beginning of the Maori world.

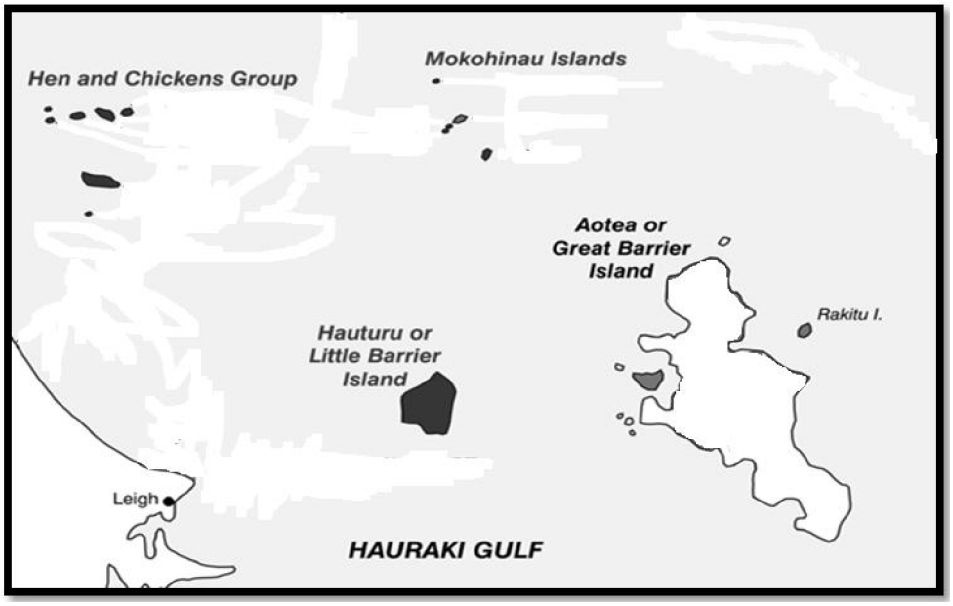
Kaumätua are not always cognisant of their roles and are not always able to articulate what it is that they do (Chaney, 2002). People may be able to demonstrate behaviour but are not always able to explain it. Change comes about in Maori society and kaumätua are social agents in the changes that are made.

Agents of socialization are parents, teachers and elders, those that generally have more knowledge in their society. Socialisation refers to those behaviours that are actively and deliberately taught. The process can be bi-directional were individuals are influenced by society and they in turn may influence society. This is a continuous process and is what brings about change (Camilleri, Malewska-Peyre, Anugraham & Dasen, 1997). How this change comes about and in what form the change manifests is one of the areas that this research seeks to answer.

The roles of kaumätua have changed and are expected to further change into the future. In some cases, the role has expanded, for example, to include tasks previously conducted by tohunga. The role is an active one with demands from children, grandchildren, the wider family, community and society. It requires skills and competency in te reo Maori, in Maori protocols and rituals. It requires engagement with those seeking help, guidance and advice. The role is a complex one that, when in concert with its context, brings cultural continuity, security and peacefulness to families and communities. While we know that the role has developed and changed, the question for investigation in this study is: Is this change in kaumätua roles adaptation or just a reinterpretation of an existing role? To answer this question, I engaged the kaumätua of my own hapu in discussion over this topic. In this regard, it is appropriate to provide a brief overview of Ngäti Rehua, of their home the island of Aotea, and their experience of colonisation.

Peoples of Aotea Island: Where did they come from?

Aotea and Hauturu Islands are situated in the Hauraki Gulf and were visited by many Maori ancestral waka (Hamilton, 1961).



Because of its strategic maritime location and plentiful harbours, it has many areas and rocks that have been named after such landings[10]. We know that the waka Aotea, Moekakara, Mataatua, Paepae ki Rarotonga, Matahaorua, Mahuhu ki Te Rangi (Mahuni Kiterangi Huka Tika), Te Arawa, Tainui and Takitimu have all visited these Islands and inscribed their visits upon the landscape through place names.

Aotea and Hauturu have been settled and populated by a number of peoples. The earliest people have whakapapa lineage links to Ngäti Türehu a people that travelled to Aotearoa with Maui Tikitiki and settled Aotea (Ngäti Rehua, 2001). These peoples had been on the Islands for centuries before the arrival of the pacific voyager Toi in the 1100's. Some of his crew settled on Aotea

[10] As told to the writer by Mr G.P.K. Davies 1983 -1986

(Hamilton, 1961) where they continued to reside till the arrival of Toi's descendants in the 1300's.

The Takitimu landed in what is now called 'Wai-o-Ruawharo' after the priest Ruawharo whose job it was to lay down the mauri, or life force, in a rock as part of the *turuturu whenua rites*, that is, those rituals performed to establish the rights of occupation and linking with past place of occupation through the transplantation of an object that holds the ***mauri*** or spiritual force linking the two lands as one). The mauri that Ruawharo brought with him was from a rock in Hawaiki, the ancestral homeland, which contained the life force of all whales (Ngäti Rehua, 2001). Some attribute the large number of whale standings on Aotea to this mauri.

Ngäti Tai descendants of the Maruiwi people who were from the Taranaki area arrived on Aotea and settled and the Ngäti Wharau people controlled the western coast line of Aotea. Through intermarriage with the Ngäti Hei of Te Arawa and Ngäti Huarere of the Coromandel Peninsula, whakapapa links were cemented and all these peoples remained until the arrival of Ngäti Rehua's people (Ngäti Rehua, 2001).

Later settlement

Rehua's father Mataahu of Mahurangi led an invasion of Hauturu. A little later Rehua led an invasion of Aotea after being asked by his Ngäti Mania relatives for his help after the death of one of their daughters at the hands of Ngäti Tai of Aotea. Rehua went and defeated the Ngäti Tai people and claimed and settled the northern part of Aotea. Rehua was later murdered by a Ngäti Tai rangatira. In response, Ngäti Rehua rose up and drove out the remainder of the

Ngäti Tai on Aotea (Ngäti Rehua, 2001). Aotea has been the domain of Ngäti Rehua until this day.

After a dispute between Ngäti Whatua, Ngäti Wai and the crown, all who claimed the Island as theirs (Hamilton 1961), on the 18 October 1886, Judge Puckly awarded that Hauturu Island's title belonged to Ngäti Wai and the peoples of Aotea (Ngäti Rehua is a hapu of Ngäti Wai through strong marriage links to that iwi and occupation of the island). In a Maori Land court sitting to decide on the lands of Aotea in 1911, Raihi, the cheftainess of Aotea claimed the Great Barrier Island (Aotea Island) chiefly as Ngäti Rehua (Kaipara minute book, Vol 15, folio 119-120). In 1998 at a Maori land court sitting, Judge Spencer awarded that the islands and rock outcrops in the environs of Aotea Island are Ngäti Rehua's after a dispute between Ngäti Rehua and Ngäti Maru over customary land rights.

The last battle to be had on Aotea was in 1838 with a group of Ngäti Kahungunu, Ngäti Porou and Nga Puhi as they were travelling back from a peace meeting with Nga Puhi and obtained guns and ammunition (Best & Taylor, 1966). They did not stop at Aotea for conquest but to reprovision the group. However, finding that the men of Aotea were away they plundered the pa at Kawa where the chief of Aotea Te Mariri resided. One of the women who were assaulted was the daughter of a rangatira of Ngäti Maru from Coromandel (Ngäti Rehua, 2001). When the Aotea men returned they sent word to Ngäti Maru and together they met with the Kahungunu group who were still on the island. They killed most of the men and took some of the women and children. Those Kahungunu who escaped fled to a passing Pakeha ship (Best & Taylor, 1966).

Leadership

After the battle of 1838 Te Mariri called a total stop to all fighting on Aotea forever. From that time forward peace was made with any group that called on Aotea[11]. Te Mariri had two sons. Both died without issue. Raihi Miraka Kewene was a great granddaughter of Te Rangimatunuku, another Aotea leader, and was a close relation to the leader Te Mariri. Her father was Kewene Tama Kötore a great Ngäti Porou warrior from Iri Te Kura Marae at Waipiro Bay. Raihi is viewed as the last great leader of Ngäti Rehua. Raihi was adorned with a moko on her chin and her lips signifying her rank[12]. There were no other women on Aotea that had a moko (with the exception of a Pakeha girl who Raihi had as a whängai[13]). All Maori land on Aotea was vested in Raihi's name (Maori land court sitting 1911). Raihi was married twice and had six children to her first husband and seven children to the second. She was born about 1830-1840 and died 1933.

As Ngäti Rehua moved into the post-contact and colonial world of the Pakeha, the nature of leadership changed. The old rangatira died off and next generations were exposed to demographic change due to introduced diseases (Pool, 1991). The reason that Te Mariri brought a stop to all battles on Aotea Island was that Ngäti Rehua had diminished greatly in size due to fighting and disease[14]. Raihi was the last of the customary leaders. Her son, Nupere, was the next leader but within a very different world. Christianity was introduced and

[11] RESEARCHERS NOTES: As told to me by my father Mr G.P.K. Davies 1983 -1986

[12] As told to me by my father Mr G.P.K. Davies 1983 -1986

[13] As told to me by my father Mr G.P.K. Davies 1983-1986

[14] As told to the writer by Mr. G. P. K. Davies 1994

embraced by Ngäti Rehua and Nupere was a trained tohunga (one of the last group to be trained as a spiritual tohunga) who embraced Christianity and became the spiritual leader for his people[15]. Since that time Ngäti Rehua has continued to have numerous spiritual leaders but no one leader recognised by all of Ngäti Rehua hapu.

In the present time, Ngäti Rehua has two leadership structures, one that integrates Pakeha law and Maori custom, the other evolving solely around Maori custom however adapted. The first is evident in instances where customary leadership is integrated with leadership of crown defined organizations such the Maori Trust Board and marae committees. The other more customary form manifests when kaumätua meet when the need arises to provide direction for the entire hapu. The differing structures of leadership provide opportunities for hapu development at differing levels and demonstrate the continuity of leadership as it adapts to new systems of engagement with Pakeha.

19th Century settlement and industry

At the turn of the 19th century Aotea was well populated with family members living in all of the smaller bays of Katherine Bay (the largest of the bays on the northwest of Aotea). The families living in the southern areas of Aotea had moved off or shifted to the northern stronghold[16]. Pakeha had, by this time, settled the balance of Aotea and established whaling stations, Kauri timber milling, mineral mining of silver and copper some with stamping batteries, Kauri gum digging and also cattle farming (Medland, 1969).

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[15] [15] As told to the writer by Mr. G.P.K.Davies 1983-1986

[16] As told to me by my father Mr G.P.K. Davies 1983 -1986

Maori on Aotea engaged in self-sustaining farming and fishing supplemented by income from cattle and dairy farming, commercial fishing, cutting firewood and working for Pakeha companies on the island. One of the largest farms on Aotea (cattle, sheep and dairy herd) was at Kawa and run by Mahou Davies a younger son of Raihi. The hapu were still involved in traditional food gathering and reciprocal practises of the time[17]. The employment of hapu members by Pakeha companies started about the 1930s. The peoples of Ngäti Rehua were the largest permanent group of people on Aotea until they started to migrate to mainland New Zealand. There were other migrant groups who came to and from the island to participate in whaling, forestry and latter, troops in WWII.

Mobility of hapu

By the time of the Second World War the migration off the island was well underway following the same pattern experienced by other Maori rural populations (Pool, 1991). There was a significant shift in the early 1930s and again in 1952 leaving the island with very few families. By the 1960s there were mainly older people and a few young families[18]. In the late 1970s there were only a handful of hapu members left on the island and some older ones returned in fear that the government was going to take the land because of its lack of occupancy. Some had the means to build or move homes onto the land. Others were like my father, who in his 70's just walked out of his home on the mainland and moved

[17] As told to me by my father Mr G.P.K. Davies 1983 -1986

[18] As told to the writer by Mr I. Ngawaka 2005

into a kit set shed with a dirt floor, long drop, cooking on an open fire, so as to protect the land.

This move back was primarily by the older ones as there was no economic base to support anyone who was not on a pension. The government at that time would not pay the unemployment benefit to any person who lived on the island, which was later to be found as a misuse of power. Government subsidies for hill country farming were stopped in the 1970s making it unprofitable to restart any type of commercial farming. Commercial fishing was changed to the present quota system, removing any possibility of relying on fishing as a livelihood. Those who were commercially fishers were driven off as a result of industry and legal changes. This made it economically impossible for anyone to return to Aotea who could not either start up a cottage industry and be self-employed or find positions with the few other employment opportunities on Aotea.

Transitions

The transition from Maori traditional living to modern introduced living styles happened quickly on Aotea. Whaling long boats were the first to be adopted and small sailing vessels replaced hand hued waka[19]. New building methods were adopted with boat and house building becoming an adapted skill providing yet another example of continuity of practices and adaption to new knowledge. Pakeha carpenters were used in Aotea in the late 1800's to mill timber and build homes. Steam driven engines and then kerosene and diesel generators to provide

[19] As told to the writer by Mr G.P.K. Davies 1983 -1986

electricity were adopted. Petrol engine vehicles were used on the farm and when they broke down the engines were adapted to stationery engines to mill timber[20].

Education was a valued commodity and land was donated to build a school in the late 19th century and almost all children were sent there[21]. The down side was that only English was to be spoken and speaking Maori was punished[22]. Raihi set up a trust fund to pay for children to be sent off Aotea to attend secondary school. The message that was portrayed to families was that if you were to succeed in the new Pakeha world then their language and knowledge needed to be embraced[23].

Schooling, modern homes, modern technology – all were adapted to cultural practices but on hapu terms. For example, schooling was requested by the hapu from the Auckland school district authorities and a member of the hapu went though the education system and returned to teach at the school on Aotea. The telephone was brought to Aotea as a result of hapu actions alone and on their terms. With the telephones came post offices with manual telephone exchanges[24]. There was a post office set up in Kawa at the home of Raihi. Her daughter Kitty was made postmistress in the early 1900's. When the telephones arrived she was unable to read or write English but that all soon changed as she was given two weeks to learn to read and write English and she did[25] and was made the first post

[20] As told to the writer by Mr G.P.K. Davies 1983 -1986

[21] As told to the writer by Mr I. Ngawaka 2005

[22] As told to the writer by Mrs A. Gibling 1994

[23] As told to the writer by Mr G.P.K. Davies 1983 -1986

[24] As told to the writer by Mr G.P.K. Davies 1994

[25] As told to the writer by Mrs E. Hale 1994

mistress at that end of Aotea. The post office was only staffed by members of the hapu who were supported by the hapu to be trained to provide this service and to meet the needs of the hapu. Phones went from a manual party line system to mobile phones and citizens band radio for communication – a great leap in technology but only when supported by the hapu.

Prior to 1900, interaction with Pakeha slowly increased as daughters of rangatira married Pakeha. Later when Pakeha settlers arrived relationships were further fostered by marriages of rangatira sons to Pakeha settler daughters. Even to this day the descendents of the first settler families have a great deal of respect for each other. There were many activities on Aotea where early settlers mixed with hapu members. There were also settler families that did not mix socially but the hapu was a respected member of the new Aotea community. In times of need help was sought and given by both groups.

Language

With the arrival of Pakeha and formal schooling systems on Aotea at the turn of the 19th Century, the Maori language was not actively perpetuated. Kaumätua at the turn of the 1900's made a conscious decision for the next generation to have English as their first language. Coupled with the almost complete migration of the hapu to urban areas Maori language has become a skill held and used by only a few. The only members of the hapu that retained the language were those that were brought up in other rural Maori areas or by parents or grandparents where Maori was their first language[26].

[26] As told to the writer by Mr G.P.K. Davies 1983 –1986.

Marae

On Aotea there has never been a carved wharenui or a building solely designated as a wharenui or a marae[27] as is thought of in modern times or described by others (Best, 1924b; Buck, 1950; Salmond, 1976). Despite this, rituals normally expected to take place on a marae were still carried out. The physical locations of such events have not been as important as the events themselves and how the rituals are performed and maintained over time.

The need for a physical location on Aotea for a marae has motivated interest with two buildings erected in two locations over the last 20 years. Both are referred to as marae and have marae committees. One is even registered with the Maori Land Court as a marae. There is ambivalence by some members of the hapu to recognise these new structures and places as marae. This, in part, is due to the way in which both marae were designed and constructed as well as there never being a wharenui structure ever on the island - it's form, structure, adornment, symbolism and associated tikanga are all aspects open to debate.

Tangihanga

On Aotea, tangihanga mostly took place in the home of kaumätua. A wharenui on a marae has only been used in a few contemporary instances[28]. For those who reside on the mainland, tangihanga often take place on marae of those who have married into the hapu. Whether a tangihanga is held 'at home' or at a

[27] As told to the writer by Mr G.P.K. Davies & Mrs E. Hale 1994 and Mr I. Ngawaka 2005.

[28] As told to the writer by Mr G.P.K. Davies 1994 & Mr I. Ngawaka 2005.

marae reflects the wishes of the immediate family. Irrespective of location, the rituals of welcome, manaakitanga, whaikörero, waiata, karakia are the same.

Present day demographics

The population of family members living on Aotea has increased over the last 25 years in keeping with the trend of other Maori returning to ancestral land. The numbers though increased, are still small and there are still homes that are only occupied in the summer months and others that are not occupied at all. The vast majority of hapu members live in Auckland. Like most hapu that have gone through urbanisation, the hapu of Aotea have members in many major towns and cities throughout New Zealand. In keeping with the name of the iwi that the hapu associates with there are also a number of hapu members in Australia and the USA with a small number in other countries such as England, Europe, and Asia, keeping with the traditions of the "people of the sea" and demonstrating a continuation of practices, that of the Vikings of the Pacific.

Transnationalism

With the sudden movement of the hapu starting in the 1930's and again in the 1950's there has been over 50 years of whänau that have not lived on Aotea and there are now second and third with some fourth generation members of the whänau that have not lived on the Island. Many have kept contact with those that live on Aotea or those that frequently visit there, but the degree of contact is varied. Although the hapu behaviour may not quite fit into a precise definition of transnationalism as put forward by Lee (2004), many of the attributes of transnationalism or looking at the members of the hapu as transmigrants provide a

number of similarities to the work that Lee (2004) conducted when looking at Tongan transmigration.

These similarities include economic remittance by corporations of kin where members of whänau have a structure like a corporation that organises money or commodities to be sent to Aotea (Marcus 1974); communication where whänau members keep in touch with those on Aotea by telephone or mail and in contemporary times mobile phone or internet (Lee, 2004); fostering of children, where children of differing ages are sent to Aotea to be raised or to be sent to "keep them out of trouble" (Morton 1996); visiting "home", where whänau make trips to Aotea to renew links, this is seen as a positive action and whänau do not generally have the negative experiences as noted by Lee (2004) with Tongan visits. Lee (2004) argues that besides the economic ties that is discussed in the literature there are emotional and social ties to the homeland but with Tongans the ties to the homeland are diminishing and the social and cultural gap of traditional Tongan life on those not living in Tonga is widening. This may also be similar to Aotea but needs further investigation.

Social cohesion.

Social cohesion is described by Reber & Reber (2001) as "the tendency for any group or society to maintain itself, to hold together its several components". Ngäti Rehua the hapu of Aotea Island as a group can be looked at as holding itself together by components that are based on cultural integrity and values that they share. Reber & Reber (2001, p. 687) go on to say, "The degree of cohesion of a group is usually reflected by its resilience to disruption by outside forces". The resilience to disruption of Ngäti Rehua will be explored in this study.

Kotahitanga is explained by Ritchie (1992, p.74) as “the Holy Grail of Maoridom, eternally sought, rarely found”. The oneness of Maori as seen outside of Maoridom can be confusing (this could also be said to be true by some of those inside Maoridom), because on the surface Maori may appear to often engage in fighting and bickering with each other. Maori are fiercely independent, not only from outside groups but from each other. What is seen as heated discussions within whänau or hapu is that independence being exerted. Maori society works on a balancing of opposites were inclusiveness is sought rather than exclusiveness (Ritchie, 1992). With the definition of social cohesion above and with the principle of kotahitanga the Ngäti Rehua hapu meet this definition of social cohesion through the practices of *tangihanga, hui, awhi (to help), manaakitanga (to provide care for), kaitiaki (guardian), rangatiratanga (attributes of chieftainship)* and through the direction and cohesiveness of kaumätua. It is kaumätua that oversee these practices of social cohesiveness and the roles that kaumatua play increases the opportunities for *kotahitanga (oneness)* to be met.

CHAPTER TWO

Method

The participants selected for this research were from the Ngäti Rehua hapu aged 65 years old and over and related through whakapapa to a common ancestor. They were two or more generations removed from the ancestor in common. This ancestor Raihi Tamakatore had two husbands, and one of these husbands had two wives making for a large present day descent group with about 3000 living descendants. Of this group, about 50 were aged 65 years or more, and comprised the target group for this study.

As previously mentioned, I am from the same hapu as the participants and I am known to all of them. Genealogically, the participants were all in a more senior position in both age and rank to me. My relatedness and knowledge of the target group provided an opportunity to conduct research of interest to myself and to participants, a research project unlikely to be agreed to if the researcher was an outsider. To ensure that this research was conducted in an appropriate manner, I held a meeting with my own kaumätua who I usually contact on all issues for which I require consent, or request instruction. I also made a presentation to the hapu at the last annual general meeting of the Ngäti Rehua Trust Board in November 2004 before the research commenced. The outcome of this consultation was that I recieved consent from kaumätua present to undertake the research and there were no objections from any members of the hapu that were at the meeting. I also had the supervision of a kaumätua that had close whakapapa links to the hapu but who was not included in the target group. I also submitted

for review and successful approval a research proposal to the psychology research committee at University of Waikato.

Participants

Of the target group of 50 people, all but four were contacted. Eleven people contacted either lived overseas and a phone interview was not practical or a time could not be set to do the interview within the time limits I had set for data collection. The remaining 35 people were contacted and interview times were set to participate in the research. Due to poor health, five participants were spoken to but were unable to give full interviews, and two were unable to be interviewed. One kaumätua did not wish to participate but spoke freely to me about the subject under investigation “off the record”. There were 27 participants who were able to give full interviews.

Recruitment

I made personal contact with the target group with my request for participation. This contact was made by telephone, e-mail or personal visit. Those whänau members who lived overseas were contacted by telephone and/or e-mail. An information sheet (Appendix C) was then sent or hand delivered to them. The information sheet provided information about the goals of the research, what would be asked of participants’ and how the information they provided would be used. The participants’ rights were explained and a consent form (Appendix D) was also provided for consideration. Participants were given an opportunity to have any questions answered. When a verbal expression of willingness to participate was given I set a time, date and place for the interview to be

conducted. In some cases, participants were happy to conduct the interview immediately.

Data collection procedures

The interview was conducted at a place convenient to the participant usually at their home or at a place of their choice. Where appropriate and when permission was sought and given, interviews were voice recorded. In all cases, notes were taken either during the interview or immediately after. For some of the participants I felt that it was not appropriate to ask for audio recording and or note taking because of the status of the participant. Instead, I listened intently and made notes immediately after the interview.

The interviews were approximately 1.5 hrs long with the total time approximately 3 - 4 hrs. The participant was invited to have other persons of their choosing with them as support. Some participants requested to meet together in groups, usually with siblings or with those who they grew up with and felt confident with. The formal consent form was explained to them verbally and they were advised that they had the right to withdraw from the study at any time and their identity would be kept anonymous. Once the formal consent form was signed or verbal permission was given and the participant was comfortable for the interview to take place, then the interview commenced.

The interview schedule

The theoretical approach used in this study was based on a method utilizing an abductive approach (Haig, 2006). This approach allows the combinations of both inductive and deductive methods to be used. I conducted

face to face interviews using a deductive approach that used a demographic questionnaire with structured questions and a semi-structured interview schedule with open-ended questions to source information directly comparable with existing literature (Durie, 1997). An inductive approach was used with open-ended questions that simply explored notions of kaumätua roles without preconceived ideas. Although personal narratives were central to the interviews, I tried to organize my discussions with participants around three thematic areas:

1. Participants' understanding of the roles of kaumätua.
2. How participants' perception of the roles of kaumätua has changed over time.
3. Participants' projected thoughts on future roles of kaumätua.

Within these three themes there were a series of open ended questions based on topics that allowed starting points for the participant's narrative to flow. These topics were about leadership, social control, interaction with younger children, dispute resolution, providing guidance, and rituals. The semi-structured interview guide (Appendix 1) allowed for flexibility in conversation and centralised personal narratives, whilst covering important issues (Creswell, 1994). Summary reports of the interviews were completed and returned to participants for verification. After verifications were received back from participants modifications where necessary were made.

Personal history and demographics schedule

The personal history and demographics questions were structured into three main themes with starting topics to initiate narrative, already referred to, plus a beginning section about personal history or demographics. This section had a dual purpose: firstly, to establish rapport and to enable the participant to feel at ease with the interview process; and secondly, to provide a context for the narrative and to allow me to establish the participant's view of their Maori world and of their own acculturation. This last point is important, as I did not wish to violate the participants' mana (feelings and wellbeing). As the subject of this research is embedded in a more conservative Maori worldview, I needed to first ascertain if the participant felt alienated from that Maori world. That alienation, if any, would be recognisable through an understanding of the participant's worldview. I could then adapt the questions to minimise any possible offence. It was imperative that I did not challenge the participants' worldview in a way that disrespected their mana.

The rational for the questions asked in the demographic questionnaire completed by participants (Appendix B) is as follows. The gender of the participant has relevance to questions about kaumätua roles, as some roles are traditionally gender specific (Metge, 1976). The birthplace is of interest so as to make comparisons between those that were born on Aotea Island and those that were not. Birthplace may be a factor in cultural alienation as discussed by Durie (2003) and Maaka (1993). Where kaumätua live now, allows for an examination of migration patterns. Marital status is an issue when making comparisons with other data that has been discussed in the literature with particular reference to issues of single older females (Gibson & Perrott, 2004). The number of children

and grandchildren relates to the potential roles of kaumätua as caregivers of younger children. Household make up and relationship of persons in the household provides an idea of the significant others present in the lives of kaumätua. Information about the participants' main daytime activity has a relationship to income range and possible financial preparedness for retirement and possible life style changes as discussed by Hirini et al (1999) and Cunningham et al (2002). Income ranges also allow for comparisons to national averages of older Maori incomes found in tables published by the Ministry of Social development (2002), the Retirement Periodic Report Group (2003) and Cunningham et al. (2002). The ranges used allow for this comparison. Looking at the hobbies and activities of participants lets us see the lifestyles of older Maori, one of the areas discussed by Durie et al. (1997).

Data analysis

Summary reports of the interviews were created. After they had been returned from participants, each report was coded according to the three central themes of interest and an "other" section comprised of data that did not "fit" into the roles that were identified in the literature (Maaka, 1993; Hirini, et al., 1999; Cunningham, et al., 2002; Durie, 2003). Each of the themes was further coded into sub-themes that supported or challenged the roles that had been identified in the literature. The "other" section was coded to identify other roles of kaumätua that were not identified in the literature. Through this process I needed to analyse the data and make decisions about relevance and importance in order to decide which data would be included and which would not be included in the final report

(Patton, 1990). Although all data was used to formulate themes, to avoid repetition some data was used as examples in the report and others not.

Researcher contribution

I have been exposed to the issues raised in this study and I am the second youngest son of one of the kaumätua of this hapu. He has since passed on. I have also been raised in a manner that exposed me to a number of cultural aspects of our hapu with particular attention being given to whakapapa. As a result of these factors I have included researcher's notes to each section where appropriate to identify what I have contributed to this study by way of personal knowledge and to distinguish this from information provided by the participants, all of whom are my uncles or aunties.

CHAPTER THREE

Findings

In this chapter, I present and discuss the major findings of my study about the changing roles of kaumätua from Ngäti Rehua. This chapter is organised around the major findings related to cultural knowledge, rituals, language, leadership, social control, guidance, engaging tamariki and rangatahi, dispute resolution, and adapting to age.

Cultural knowledge

In the past the cultural knowledge of this hapu has been held by a reservoir of highly skilled kaumätua. There were those who held a deep knowledge in one specific area and others who held knowledge across many areas, while still others had only a little knowledge of some areas. The knowledge held by kaumätua is visible to members of the hapu in the way kaumätua pass on their knowledge through storytelling, demonstrating knowledge (for example, gardening, fishing) actively training certain people in their performance of roles such as rituals, leadership and social control.

Kaumätua in this study expressed the sentiment that cultural knowledge has been diluted yet rekindled partly by an increasing number of hapu members, mainly through the interest of the younger members.

> *Some (younger ones) have the knowledge and some are getting more involved (Bob).*

I think they (younger ones) will have more knowledge than us (Glenda).

There has been a reviving of Maori culture as part of the "Maori Renaissance" that began in the 1970s (Walker, 1990). The findings show that in cultural settings the role of cultural knowledge is still present, but that knowledge is spread amongst more kaumätua and is still held as a collective and not by any one individual.

They do hold it but it depends on the individual, some have very little knowledge (Pat).

This observed distribution of knowledge is perceived by participants to be the same as it was in the past, but today, in order to compile a full body of knowledge, a greater number of kaumätua would need to be brought together than would have been the case in the past.

Some kaumätua believe that they hold no cultural knowledge, however, when I observed them in a cultural setting such as participating in a ritual of encounter or spoke to them about stories of the past it became obvious to me that they do have this knowledge, giving strength to Segall's claim that sometimes those who are most enculturated are the least likely to be aware of the roles that they play (Segall, 1999). In the interviews, I would ask about a cultural topic and the participant's response would be that they did not know of this subject. However, the same participant would later relate stories that would include information on the subject asked about previously, or I would observe them in a cultural ritual later and they would demonstrate that the knowledge was there. I do

not believe that it was being "hidden" during the interview, but rather that they perhaps did not have the confidence to verbally articulate this knowledge, or alternatively, did not consider their actions as cultural.

This suggests that there does not appear to be any change over time in the cultural roles played by Kaumätua, however, these roles are perceived by participants to be more widely distributed across a greater number of kaumätua. The need for cultural knowledge to be passed on remains and there is no indication that this need will change in the future.

> *They (the young ones) will still need to have the knowledge (Jean).*
>
> *They (the kaumätua) will need to pass it on (James).*
>
> *The knowledge needs to be passed on so that others in their time are able to step up to take over the role (Bob).*

Processes of modernisation and urbanisation have changed the dynamics of how cultural knowledge is obtained, maintained, and passed on. Passing on knowledge through everyday encounters and modelling appear to have remained the same (although limited due to contact opportunities) however, active methods of transferring knowledge appear to have increased. There are still those younger members of the hapu who actively seek out knowledge from kaumätua and there are those kaumätua who teach the younger ones in their own way and time. Kaumätua participants were very optimistic about the next generation and said:

> *The younger ones need to have input and they also are more interested in the knowledge than what we were at their age*

> *and respect by the young ones will put that knowledge into perspective (Paul).*

There is confidence that a lot of the younger ones were interested in gaining cultural knowledge which would satisfy future demands for such knowledge. The knowledge will need to reflect both the Maori and Pakeha worlds and its practical application will need to reflect changes in the Maori world. Future kaumätua will need to be able to demonstrate their knowledge as it applies to both worlds. This reflects the continuation of practices as instigated by early kaumätua under the leadership of Raihi the hapu leader as a result of contact with Pakeha. It was expressed by the participants that younger ones today have a willingness and greater desire to learn than those in the past. Protocols currently observed will need to be continued so as to provide the opportunity for cultural knowledge to be passed on as a process of enculturation.

> *They need to learn both worlds so they can work in both worlds. Boundaries need to be established so that the differences can be accommodated (Jim).*

Rituals

There was a polarity in opinions expressed by today's kaumätua about rituals. It was the perception of some participants that there were no rituals performed in the past, while others say there were. This polarity may stem from their perception of what a ritual is. For the peoples of Aotea Island the main formal rituals performed were those of tangihanga and when people came to visit. Visiting manuhiri did not happen very often and the main "visitors" were

immediate family, meaning that a more elaborate ritual of encounter was not required. Because the hapu was situated on an island, there was not the passing traffic that other hapu may have experienced.

> *There was no marae on the Island in the past; we just met in the homes of the kaumätua (Paul).*
>
> *I didn't see any rituals being used except what was done at the tangi (David).*

This perceived lack of ritual encounters with other iwi or hapu is probably the reason for a lack of development and lack of perpetuation of this type of ritual. Why develop something that is not needed? Some kaumätua may say there were no rituals simply because they view the meaning of a ritual differently. Others may say the same thing because the informal rituals of everyday living were so intermingled with the other mundane aspects of life that they may not have seen them as rituals.

> *When I was young I didn't know what a ritual was, I still don't (Alisha).*

As is the case with cultural knowledge, these participants are so enculturated that they are less likely to be aware of the roles that they play in that enculturation (Segall, 1999). As people live their lives they understand what it is that they do, but are not always able to articulate what it is that they do (Chaney, 2002; Couldry, 2004). Still others may not have been present at the more formal

rituals such as those conducted at tangi, leading them to believe that there were, indeed, no rituals practiced as was commented on by one kaumätua.

> *I never saw them in any rituals (Rose).*

Another issue here is that it may be the development of rituals for marae which are in question, and as there has not been a marae on traditional lands in the recent past, even the notion of the necessity of having a marae today was questioned by some participants.

> *I understand they are building a new marae. Do they need one? (Sharon).*
>
> *Do we really need a marae? We haven't needed one in the past (Trish).*

In the past, rituals were conducted either in or outside the home of kaumätua. Because of this, rituals of a formal nature were not as manifest as they may have been in other areas of Aotearoa. This type of formal ritual process was similar to what has been done by Maori in pre-Pakeha contact as spoken of by Salmond (1994) and Walker (1992). For my hapu this ritual behaviour has continued on into the present day and the "tradition" of the hapu has prevailed. Even though a marae is not relied on, marae are used by kaumätua but it is the exception rather that the rule. It is those who do not live on Aotea Island and reside elsewhere where a marae is present, who feel comfortable with the rituals that they perform in their area, either on or off marae.

The kaumätua of the present prefer to use their home instead of a marae except for those who are associated with and live near marae. This is particularly so in the case of tangi.

> *If they live near the marae they can (perform rituals on the marae), there are some people that do that, but we are not part of that (June).*

For hui or other social gatherings, the home is used except when the numbers are so large that a larger venue is required. The development and understanding of rituals that would normally be associated with marae may not be well known by many kaumätua of the hapu today and therefore they feel uncomfortable with such rituals. However, most can conduct these same rituals such as tangi, karakia or powhiri, and do so with ease within their own homes and at venues other than marae. The findings suggest that kaumätua participants see themselves as having the responsibility to oversee and guide others through rituals of encounter, mourning, thanks and celebration. How these rituals are performed remains a product of what kaumätua observed and learned in their lifetimes, and what they feel comfortable doing and deem to be appropriate. The polarity noted above suggests ‘changes in processes and may require more discussion by the wider hapu especially in light of the recent building of marae on the Aotea Island.

There are now buildings on Aotea that are used as marae. There are new demands placed on kaumätua to oversee rituals beyond those usually for hapu and family members. They are being called upon to conduct rituals of encounter and welcome for government officials, to celebrate the establishment of new

organisations, and to facilitate the inclusion of ‘new comers’ to Aotea Island. These changes demand competence in those skills and knowledge increasingly expected of kaumätua as discussed by (Durie, 2003). Kaumätua were conductors of rituals in the past and still are today. How these rituals are to be performed may change in the future in the same way as they have changed in the recent past. However, the responsibility will still be the domain of kaumätua.

> *I think they [kaumätua] need to do it. I could never change the way I was brought up (Mary).*

As contact with government officials and local Pakeha communities increases, it is evident that future kaumätua must have a greater bi-cultural knowledge to move comfortably between accepted traditional rituals and the evolving political rituals of government, local body officials and others who frequent Aotea Island.

> *They will be involved but the roles will be much broader (Betty).*
>
> *The values in the rituals will be the same but how they implement it will need to change (Jean).*

Language

At the turn of the 1900’s the older kaumätua made a decision to have future generations fluent in English as a means to preserve the hapu and to be able to adapt into the non-Maori world. One major outcome of this decision was a loss of opportunities for the younger ones to practice speaking Te Reo Maori.

They spoke Maori but just amongst themselves (Rona).

We were spoken to in Maori (Glenda).

They expected us to only speak in English (Tom).

Because of this, another outcome was a feeling of estrangement from the Maori world.

I feel a little inadequate but I can still contribute. You make do with what [language] you have (Tom).

The younger generation of that time could not foresee the future diminishing of spoken Maori language. This, of course, was also contributed to by government legislation in schools (Simon, & Smith, 1998) and urbanisation pressures (Bedford & Pool, 2004).

Irrespective of these pressures to assimilate, kaumätua of today do not report feeling restricted by their limited Maori language capacity.

Kaumätua do not need language to fulfil their obligations, however they need it for the Marae. I admire Kaumätua that use the language then translates it into English (Kelvin).

The old ones without the language still function. It doesn't lessen their roles (Martha).

Kaumätua can do the job without the language as most don't have it (James).

It's an ideal to have the language but it would be a shame if we were excluded because we don't speak it as we have wisdom and age (Bill).

Although Te Reo Maori is sometimes required for ritual encounters there are only a few kaumätua who live near marae and have the opportunity to practice this skill. In addition, there are some younger ones with Te Reo who are called on when those kaumätua with this skill are not available. From the perspective of kaumätua in this study, occasions when the language is required are infrequent.

As most kaumätua of the hapu have limited access to marae and limited desire to attend marae (as discussed previously), the opportunity to practise the use of Te Reo Maori is and will continue, for them, to be limited. Their reluctance to engage in marae protocols or other rituals conducted by kaumätua as spoken of by Maaka (1993) is equalled by their disinclination to participate in any ritual environments were Te reo Maori is required. Kaumätua will fulfil obligations of rituals but this is done in English, and Te Reo Maori is usually relegated to marae settings. On most other occasions English is the language of choice. Interestingly, as the current period and wider New Zealand environment is supportive of reviving Te Reo Maori kaumätua in this study were encouraging of the next generation learning Te Reo in turn demonstrating their awareness and desire for future generations to retain and continue their linguistic heritage.

The young ones have more of the language than what we have (Trish).

Language is going to be important in keeping our identity in the future (Paul).

Leadership

Leadership in the past was organized around each family unit and was usually the responsibility of the oldest kaumätua of each family whether it was a male or female. There was not usually a single person who was a leader over all families.

> *Each family had a leader and it was the oldest even if it was a women (Rose).*
>
> *There were leaders over each family and they were the kaumätua, there was not one over all (Keith).*

This style of leadership has been found in other studies (Metge, 1964) and spoken of as the usual style of leadership in the past (Metge, 1964, 1976; Winiata & Fraenkel, 1967). For the Ngäti Rehua hapu, there was in recent history a single leader that represented the whole hapu, a result of their ability to unify the hapu and earn the respect of all the families and interested groups.

> *The word rangatira was not used very often, mostly kaumätua, in reference to a leader. Rangatira was used to represent only men, and only the oldest of a family and commanded great respect from many of the families of which there have been very few (Tom).*

While a historic actuality, it has never again been achieved in quite the same way since then for a number of reasons. With the introduction of Christianity a new leadership emerged and continues today. Christianity is a system of values and beliefs that spans families, communities, islands, and

nations. It is a global phenomenon. Because of this, church leaders can more readily unite families and communities together. The leader of the Christian church on Aotea Island that has been part of the hapu has from time to time displayed the same attributes as hapu leaders in the past working to unify and gain respect and regard from hapu members. As the spiritual leaders have always been from the hapu, they are often seen as a hapu leader rather than simply a leader of a religious group.

Kaumätua leadership, in this study, was seen as relating primarily to family groups. This role remains today although when families moved off Aotea Island, kaumätua influence declined because of distance, lack of communication and contact and the eventual passing over of kaumätua. When these factors came in to play, kaumätua influence was more effective with those hapu members in close proximity.

> *When the old leaders died, the families moved away and scattered, not allowing the same close unity of family membership, which allowed leaders to emerge (Colin).*

Other 'new leaders' have emerged as a result of government-lead initiatives such as the forming of 'Tribal committees' as discussed by Winiata & Fraenkel (1967). For Aotea Island this was set up in the 1940's as a result of the Maori Councils Act of 1900. These tribal committees initially comprised of kaumätua with younger people placed on the committees over time. There also emerged marae committees and in the 1980's a Trust Board was set up to

represent the hapu on matters of hapu development and to interface with local government and national government agencies.

The role of kaumätua as leader has moved from where the kaumätua was leader in all respects, to the introduction of a new younger leader as spoken of by Durie (1999). These new younger leaders are those who have knowledge of the new world, its technology and systems and are seen as future kaumätua in training. Kaumätua of today perceive them as leaders, but not yet kaumätua.

> *They should be role models for younger ones and should be spiritual leaders and be involved in the community and should advise those that are doing things (Sally).*
>
> *Parents are the leaders today. We just support them (Pat).*

In conjunction with the role of kaumätua as family leader, comes the role of supporter and guide to the leaders of the trust boards and committees. When it comes to speaking on behalf of the hapu or ritual encounters this role is retained by kaumätua. Kaumätua today foresee a continuation of the present leadership, meaning leadership based on family kaumätua with the new younger leaders playing their role under the guidance of the kaumätua.

> *Kaumätua are the guides to the leaders and are very important in today's society (Paul).*

Social control

Activities of formal and informal social control, carried out by kaumätua, reinforced the social structure, economics, politics and norms of the hapu.

They were very loving but very strict with us kids and they had the authority to do this and it was obeyed (Eleanor).

With the introduction of new forms of land tenure, law enforcement, education, capitalism and democracy, the capacity of kaumätua to enforce hapu norms and behaviours became difficult (Guerin, 2004). The major outcome was the transition to Pakeha world social norms, behaviours and enforcement processes with kaumätua having a reduced influence. But some informal social control roles as spoken of by Silver & Miller (2005) have remained particularly in marae and home settings, during social gatherings and during cultural rituals.

This is done on the Marae or in the home or if there is no parent around to check them (Joyce).

For the future, kaumätua in this study believe they still have a social control role to fulfil even though there has been a movement from some types of social control to other types that fit within the changing context of how Maori now live compared with that of the past (Liska, 1997). The involvement of kaumätua in social control activities will be a desirable thing to be mostly achieved through the socialisation and enculturation of future generations. Social modelling and fostering closer whänau relationships were seen as essential to increasing kaumätua influence.

If the kaumätua do what they say and create respect then they are able to teach them and provide controls (Bob).

Dispute resolution

In the past family disputes were resolved privately by kaumätua. As found by Metge (1964) this approach was continued while families lived in close proximity to each other.

> *They called meetings to resolve issues and disputes between families and between individuals. They did not tolerate contention (Joyce).*
>
> *When there was fighting between people they went to [the kaumätua] to have it resolved (Bob).*

As the hapu are now mainly living in urban settings and no longer live in close proximity to each other, kaumätua are called upon less to mediate disputes than they were in the past. Kaumätua in this study felt that there is still a need for this role but they are not called on as often as they would like to be.

> *They do it themselves without the help of older people, but they're not very successful (James).*
>
> *The older ones try to sort it out but get thrown out very quickly. It's a good role if the families will accept it (Louise).*
>
> *The old people provide a calming influence. They are good for you and help settle you down (Angela).*

This practice of being under-used by members of the hapu is also reported by Metge (1976) as a usual process in times past when it is reported that

interventions were not always sought and when they were, may not have been followed.

The main opportunities kaumätua had to provide this type of intervention were when there were disputes between hapu and others. These "others" usually included Government or local body agencies. Hapu committees now undertake this type of resolution but under the watchful eye of kaumätua. It is the kaumätua who has the last word and who also speaks at the conciliatory hui when it is all over. For the future, the role of dispute resolution is seen as an important one by kaumätua, and kaumätua feel they should be utilised more often in this role.

> *We as leaders should stop fights and resolve disputes and do it when asked otherwise don't interfere. (Tom)*

Guidance

Previously, hapu members turned to their kaumätua for guidance and advice.

> *They came to my grandmother's house all the time. They asked her advice on all sorts of things (Rachael).*
>
> *You always knew you could go and ask them questions but they wouldn't sit you down and talk to you. When advice was given, you were expected to do it (Paul).*

Urbanization presented members of the hapu with more options, especially because of newer knowledge and communication technologies. This began with the introduction of the written word, which was highly sought after by Maori

when it was first available through missionaries in the 1800's (Simon, &Smith, 1998). Later followed radio, newspaper and television as influences (Metge, 1964). Eventually there became available a myriad of professional counsellors, from school to work based, and later internet technology.

These new opportunities to receive advice and guidance through self help processes have caused the hapu's reliance on kaumätua to diminish.

> *There is technology now for them [like internet]. We never say anything till they ask (Jim).*

Guidance is generally not sought after on all matters pertaining to life as in the past, rather there is an emerging trend of requesting guidance on matters of culture and tikanga. Kaumätua feel that their role in providing guidance generally will continue to be an important role in the future as reported by Durie (1999).

> *We need to let the young people know that we are willing to listen, and when they need help they can turn to us (Diane).*
>
> *It will be the most important role in the future (Barbara).*

Engaging tamariki and rangatahi

The role of engaging tamariki and rangatahi was a daily undertaking for kaumätua in the past and was intensified with the death of parents or when children were 'sent home' after an 'urban shift'. Kaumätua traditionally nurtured the development of young people on a daily basis (Durie et al., 1997). They directly engaged in their upbringing or supervised older siblings who assisted in the day-to-day duties.

> *They looked after young children either by older children under the supervision of the old people, or the old people looked them after directly (Rose).*

Today's kaumätua still fill this role when given the opportunity. When kaumätua are not available or do not assume this role, older siblings may take care of the younger ones. Kaumätua can still provide this role, but the isolation of families in urban areas and large geographical distances makes engaging tamariki and rangatahi a less-frequent event. One change in this role is that more often today, kaumätua support working parents by providing before and after school care as well as care during school holidays.

> *That's what we do every day after school we look after them and at holidays or weekends. (Jean)*

There is also the practice of "sending home" to kaumätua, at-risk children and young people. Some kaumätua feel this is something forced upon them because of inadequate parenting and is open to abuse by their own relations and is a factor of vulnerability as suggested by Age Concern (1999). In the case of children that need to have someone other than their parents provide care, placement with kaumätua is seen as the best option and kaumätua can feel the obligation to provide care even though this may substantially alter their retirement routine. Kaumätua see that engaging tamariki and rangatahi will continue to be a vital role now and into the future.

Adapting to age

Literature suggests that upon reaching the status of kaumätua, individuals who identified with their Maori world and are associated with marae need to change their lifestyle to be able to fulfil roles associated with marae (Durie et al., 1997). Durie et al. (1997) also spoke of people leading more active lives when they became kaumätua.

In the past, when members of my hapu became kaumätua, they did not feel that their lifestyles changed. This may be due to the limited amount of formal rituals required of them because they did not have a marae. This limited activity therefore did not warrant any change of lifestyle to accommodate cultural roles and all other kaumätua roles were already seen as part of their everyday life. They already went to tangi, family and hapu events and other social occasions.

> *There were no changes made to their lifestyle to facilitate the roles of kaumätua, they just lived the same and did what they had to do (Mary).*

For kaumätua today there has been very little need for lifestyle change to accommodate their roles as kaumätua. However, kaumätua who participate in marae rituals on a regular basis have made some lifestyle changes to accommodate those cultural roles, as discussed by Durie et al (1997). Today some need to travel long distances and be “on call” to attend marae activities such as tangi or hui. This may change in the future, with the building of marae for the hapu on Aotea Island. Kaumätua have been migrating back to Aotea Island for some time now and it is expected that they will gravitate to the new marae once

completed. This trend of migration that is spoken of by Durie et al (1997) is expected to continue into the future for coming generations that are “retiring back home”.

The kaumätua I spoke with also worked hard and engaged in functional as well as social activities. Most therefore lead physically active lives and held to a healthy lifestyle as identified by Durie et al (1997). This did not mean that there was not the engagement of unhealthy lifestyles by some kaumätua, in the past as well as the present, in the form of heavy drinking and the use of tobacco.

> *For some there was more drinking than doing. Some were healthy and active and some weren’t (Randy).*

The participants perceived that even though not all kaumätua today live healthy and active lives, they are not so different from those in the past and overall they are healthy and active, although not necessarily to the same degree as those in the past.

> *They were always working hard, some had physical disabilities but very active and they didn’t have any stress in their lives; they just handled things as they came (June).*

They also felt that with the next generation a strong work ethic may not be as prevalent as in the past; however, kaumätua are optimistic that their lives will continue to be healthy.

CHAPTER FOUR

Summary and Conclusion

The aim of this study was to understand the changing roles of kaumätua of my hapu and to explore the future directions that those roles may take. I begin this chapter by summarising the major findings of this study. This is followed by my conclusions as to the changing nature of kaumätua roles.

Key findings

'Cultural knowledge holder' is a role of kaumätua both now and in the past. Kaumätua passed on cultural knowledge to the next generation in their everyday activities. They organised the gathering and planting of food, they administered medicines and delivered babies. This study suggests that Kaumätua today feel alienated from this role. They believe that the knowledge that was once widely available is not as accessible in their lives. Some said that when they were young they were not interested in cultural knowledge and that the things of the Pakeha world had more appeal. They also said that this knowledge was not always passed on. Some, however, said they had been singled out and the knowledge was passed on to them, while others had obtained their knowledge in a more general way through observation and experience over time. Kaumätua believed that cultural knowledge would be more prevalent in the future with today's youth having a greater desire for cultural knowledge. They will therefore be more prepared for their roles as future kaumätua.

Aotea Island has never had a marae building as it is commonly thought of today, but rituals were performed wherever it was appropriate; on the beach or at

someone's home, usually the home of the oldest person of the family group. Many of the people interviewed felt alienated and inadequate to undertake their roles as kaumätua in performing rituals on a marae as it is commonly thought of today. When kaumätua perform traditional rituals in environments traditional to our hapu, they feel very comfortable. This is evident in their actions at tangi and hui for family. They believe that in the future kaumätua will be able to continue to collectively perform all rituals and that these rituals may need to change to accommodate a changing world, for example quasi-traditional welcome on behalf of Pakeha organizations.

The use of Te Reo Maori by kaumätua has seen the most dramatic change over time. In the past all kaumätua had Maori as a first language. Those same kaumätua made a conscious decision to teach the generation who are now kaumätua to have English as their first language. Now most kaumätua understand Maori to a limited degree and some have a good command of it, while some have none at all. Most believe that the language is not necessary to fulfil their role as kaumätua, with the exception of marae encounters, but it is very desirable. They see that it will be needed in the future and that there are a lot of the younger ones, indeed a number of generations, learning it. Preservation of Te Reo Maori is the domain of kaumätua and they do this in their own time and in their own way. For this hapu language was forgone by the kaumätua of the past to preserve the hapu and the livelihoods of its members. That present day kaumätua recognise and are supportive of its rejuvenation is positive.

Aotea Island has a system of family leadership where there was a recognised person of either gender for each family group who was usually the oldest of that family. This system remained even after they moved off the island

but with the death of these past kaumätua this leadership became more obscure. Leadership went through a change with the inclusion of a Pakeha style system of tribal committees and then Marae committees and a trust board. All of these were set up to represent the collective families in dealing with Government departments or local bodies. There was also a change to leadership as a result of Christian religion being adopted by the hapu. Future leadership is unlikely to lie solely with kaumätua, but is more likely to see kaumätua, church leaders, and committee members working more closely together.

Close family leadership included the maintenance of social controls by kaumätua as agents of socialization. The changes to this role came with urbanization and a change in social context and a replacement of social controls by Pakeha authoritarian structures. Whilst in marae settings, social gatherings and in their own homes, the respect and mana of kaumätua are still valued and treasured as an important aspect of their role as agents of socialization. It is seen that this role will be needed in the future and can be accomplished by kaumätua being good examples and building relationships of trust.

Disputes in the past were resolved by kaumätua behind closed doors. Now this is a role that continues but is less common. This is because the families do not live close together and kaumätua are not easily accessible. Today, kaumätua involvement in conflict resolution is normally limited to a supervisory role in land disputes and other common issues with Government officials or official bodies. For the future, the role of dispute resolution is seen as an important one, and kaumätua feel they should be utilised more often in this role.

In the past, guidance was freely available and readily accessible to members of the hapu. Today the demand for advice has shifted from being general

and relating to all aspects of life, to areas involving mainly culture and tikanga. Kaumätua expressed a desire to once again provide advice on a wider range of life issues and they see this as a vital role in the future.

Engaging tamariki and rangatahi is a role that was very evident in the past and kaumätua also took on the responsibility of raising orphaned children. In addition there were at-risk young ones who were “sent home”. For kaumätua today, this role has evolved into providing support to working parents and after school care. Some kaumätua want to do this, but are unable to because of distance. Others feel that they have no choice. They saw a great need for this role in the future.

As in the past kaumätua are now mostly active with a strong work ethic. There is a common opinion among the participants that past kaumätua of our hapu have not needed to make any changes to their lifestyle to accommodate their new roles. The exception to this is seen with regard to those who would be involved in marae ritual activity. For kaumätua now and in the future there may be an increased need for a change in lifestyle due to the increased availability of marae.

The changing nature of kaumätua roles

> *Ki te whaiao, ki te ao marama.*
>
> *From the space of potential and separation to a new world of light and understanding.*

Te Whaiao is the space between ‘old’ and ‘new’ that allows for further potentials to be realised. In Maori cosmology (Best, 1977) Tanemahuta and his

siblings were situated in darkness between their parents who were clutched in a tight embrace. Tanemahuta lay on his back and pushed up sending his father high above them letting light into their world of darkness. They entered into a new environment that called for adaptation by both parents and children. Ranginui became the sky father and Papatuanuku the earth mother, both taking on the roles of nurturing their children in their newly created world. It is from the potential of 'Te Whaiao' that the Maori world has evolved and continues to do so.

In this section, I use the idea of 'Te Whaiao' to position the findings of this study as adaptations to a changing world. They are attempts to maintain continuities in values and beliefs and with previous generations, albeit in new ways.

Given the turbulent world that Maori have responded and adapted to over the past 200 years, it is fair to expect kaumätua roles to have undergone change. The question to be answered is: Have the roles of kaumätua changed so dramatically as to be unrecognisable? If our kaumätua of old had the opportunity to visit the present, would they find the roles that kaumätua play today to be strange, alien, distant, peculiar, and unfamiliar? The findings of this study suggest that while there have been changes; there have also been some continuities. It is the continuities I wish to address now.

The findings of this study suggest that the identified "changes" are merely superficial mainly being effective adaptations to changing circumstances. Although kaumätua roles have been adapted to suit the times, kaumätua continue to seek after and adhere to familiar values and customary practices or tikanga by which our tupuna lived, that is, our "Ngäti Rehua-tanga" (Rangihau, 1992).

Before the coming of the Pakeha, Maori society on Aotea Island was already one that had adapted to changes. There were wars between different Maori groups and key individuals as well as significant events in the history of the people of Aotea Island. These shaped their society. For example the leader Te Mariri decreed that there were to be no more wars between Aotea Island and any other party on the island[29]. This affected how the hapu interacted with other Maori from that time forward.

Colonization influenced the people of Aotea Island as it did those of other areas of Aotearoa (Walker & Amoamo, 1987). The areas of colonization I will focus on and how it has influenced change are; marriage, land alienation, work and economics, urbanization, schooling and language.

In pre-European Maori society it was not an uncommon practice to create links between two groups of people through marriage, and therefore this was not a surprising outcome from ritual encounters with Pakeha (Best, 1924a). The cultural response to the interaction with Päkehä on Aotea Island began through marriage when females of the hapu married Päkehä males in the early 1800's. By the 1900's these marriages increased so that by the middle of the twentieth century marriage to Päkehä, both male and female, was common. Irrespective of marriage to Pakeha, most descendents still assert belonging to Ngäti Rehua – signifying an adaptation to the presence of new comers, and the capacity of a group to act inclusively, an example of the process of whaiao.

My hapu went through many of the same issues of land alienation as Maori in other parts of the country with land "sold off" by some or "claimed" by

[29] As told to the writer by G.P.K. Davies 1983 -1986

Government agents (Bedford & Pool, 2004). The balance of land then became caught up in the Maori Land Court process that sought to individualize land title to allow for further sales. Kaumätua in our hapu individualised their title, not to sell land, but to retain it. The resulting smaller land holdings were unable to sustain the population growth which came after devastating introduced illness and consequential high mortality rates (Bedford & Pool, 2004; Pool, 1991). When the population of the hapu increased to a point which was not sustainable by the land and resources of the sea controlled mainly by non-Maori, the economic realities of colonization bit hard. Members of the hapu, once involved in communal farming, gardening, fishing and food gathering, now engaged in circular mobility patterns by moving to where there was employment for wages. This introduced individual work patterns and led to urbanization with permanent moves from Aotea Island to other areas of the country and later, mainly to Auckland city.

The shift to urban centres started in the 1930's with a large number of people moving off the island. Some even dismantled their homes and relocated them[30]. They moved in the first instance to other rural tribal lands on the mainland, and then as migration to the cities occurred later, many moved again. The initial move off the island was in response to a number of factors: land alienation, lack of resources and overcrowding as previously mentioned, as well as communicable illness. There was another movement pre-WWII and the balance post-WWII so that by the mid 1960's there were only a few hapu members left on the island[31]. By the 1970's those remaining were very few. With the perceived

[30] As told to the writer by G.P.K. Davies 1983 -1986

[31] Personal knowledge of the author

danger of more land alienation there was a start of kaumätua return to the land in the late 1970's.

Mobility is not new to people of Aotea. It happened with the movement from *Hawaiiki* (those places that Maori left) for similar economic and population over-crowding reasons (Buck, 1962). The connections with those that moved and those that remained on Aotea continued and even today with limited resources available to sustain a large hapu presence, the *ähikaa* - the home fires, are still maintained, another example of 'Te Whaiao' - change with the adaptation of continued practices but in this instance through migration to sustain hapu futures.

Skills and competencies have always been highly valued in the Maori world (Best, 1974). We know that the Maori world was highly competitive and individuals could make a name for themselves through achieved deeds. We know this through the narratives of the demigod Maui (Buck, 1962). However, 'rugged individualism' was conditioned by the value of manaakitanga, kotahitanga and whänaungatanga (Ritchie, 1992). Education requires skill and competency and, in this study, was a major factor in influencing the adaptations earlier kaumätua and participants made to kaumätua roles. The school on hapu land was one of the first European-style schools on Aotea Island. It is interesting to note that the hapu welcomed this even before some of the Päkehä on the island, meaning that children in our hapu received a European-style education before many Pakeha children did. This school was built by the hapu and the Pakeha teacher would divide his days between it and the other school at that end of the island. Later there was a full time teacher and eventually a member of the hapu was appointed as teacher. At all times all children of the hapu attended the school. They also stayed for the maximum time allowed—usually until 14yrs old. Kaumätua of the

time made education compulsory, and this contributed to the widespread introduction of the English language. Education was highly valued by the hapu both before and after colonization, and many children continued on to advanced schooling. This is evidenced in the high number of skilled kaumätua today. The "rugged individualism" was also manifested in the accomplishments of today's kaumätua and their adaptations of their skills at the same time to the maintenance of the continued practices of the roles of kaumätua.

The use of English as the spoken language was also a practice enforced by kaumätua of the past. As mentioned previously, it was their wish that the next generation would have English as their first language. This effectively caused Te Reo Maori to become an unpractised skill. Disallowing the use of the native language is one of the common tools of colonizing processes (Smith, 1999). By apparently supporting this ban, it appeared that our kaumätua offered no resistance to Pakeha colonization. Through the process of whaiao they created an environment to ensure the next generation of individuals would survive in the new world, while still enculturating them in their Ngäti Wai-tanga and teaching them the skill that would provide for a continuation of practices to ensure the identity of the hapu.

This action was a conscious choice as articulated in the narrative of the participants. Each participant without exception said that the kaumätua were with one voice on the issue of English and education to be taught to the rising generation. With the arrival of this new iwi, Pakeha, the kaumätua of Ngäti Rehua must have talked about it (Best, 1924c). They would have evaluated the influence of the new iwi, and made decisions and plans to facilitate this transition. Their resulting actions were designed specifically to take advantage of changes at hand,

and at the same time, preserving the integrity of their way of life, their culture, and the integrity of the hapu. They built Pakeha-style houses that were some of the most elaborate on the island. They engaged in Pakeha-style work enterprises such as raising cattle and sheep, milling timber and trading with Päkehä companies. They adopted Päkehä clothing and used new technology such as automobiles and stationary engines for electricity and the operation of farm machinery. They changed the style of boats in their boat building industry. While the charge of assimilation can be made, I prefer to view this as examples of working within the principals of ahuwhenua (industriousness) by which they had always lived. They harnessed new technology and practices, which would assist them in being more efficient in their work. This demonstrates cultural diffusion, at the same time providing the resistance to cultural change as spoken of by Stade (2001). These actions were undertaken on the terms that the kaumätua of the past dictated. The changes were made within the cultural norms of the hapu and through the process of whaiao - adapting to the new environment while maintaining a continuation of practices.

The kaumätua knew that if the hapu was to maintain its uniqueness then hard decisions needed to be made. Adaptation, although an unexpected way of offering resistance was their best hope to retain the “cultural norms”—their core values and tikanga. This was achieved through providing change while maintaining continuity of practices. The kaumätua of the past were able to achieve this because they were able to maintain some degree of control in education, language, economic measures of successful industry and maintenance of ähika of the land. As this study suggests, today’s kaumätua continue to attempt to control these influences.

One continuous aspect of life, which has not change, is the way in which rituals were performed. As the hapu did not have a marae in the typical sense, rituals were continued in the manner that was usual for our hapu, in the home of the kaumätua. The difference was that instead of a nikau whare, the kaumätua now lived in a European-style house. Another adaptation made whilst still maintaining the cultural norms was the hapu's acceptance of Christianity. Two Christian religions were adopted by various family units in the hapu: Rätana and Mormonism. Ngäti Rehua was already a spiritual people, converting to Christianity may have introduced some new ways of demonstrating their spirituality, but their wairua remained the same. As opposed to other areas of Aotearoa, no church was built on the island (Yoon, 1986). Just as rituals were performed at the kaumätua's home in the absence of a marae building, in the absence of a church building their services were held at the same venue, in the kaumätua home. The first building built as a marae and the first building of a church used by the hapu were not built until the 1990's. Church however was on occasion still held in the home of kaumätua and the home was still the main arena for rituals led by kaumätua.

Families moved off Aotea Island in part due to overcrowding, communicable disease and lack of physical resources[32]. Their leaving the island was with the sanction of the kaumätua. Initially these families moved onto tribal land on the mainland and kept close contact with the hapu through repeated trips back to Aotea Island. Because of this close contact and the fact that they were moving into an environment with a similar social structure to their own, kaumätua

[32] As told to the writer by G.P.K. Davies 1983 -1986

were able to maintain their social influence (Guerin, 2004). This was partially maintained once the families moved on to Auckland; however, over time and as that generation of kaumätua aged and passed on, there was no one to "go home" to. As a result of this, the opportunities for kaumätua to exert social influence diminished.

As more generations were born into the new hapu social structure, an interesting phenomenon could be observed. The younger ones had not been involved in the original decisions made by the kaumätua, and the knowledge of and reasoning for those decisions had never been explicitly passed down. Consequently, they were unable to articulate the reasons why they lived their lives the way they did. It was simply a case of "because that's the way it's done". The adaptations introduced by kaumätua into the everyday practices of the hapu had now become cultural norms. This was apparent in my interviews with kaumätua today. Upon direct questioning, some could not explain why things were done in certain ways, while others insisted that they did not have the knowledge or did not live that way anymore. However it was clear upon observation that they did indeed have the knowledge and did live the "old ways"—just without realising it. This behaviour is spoken of by Chaney (2002) and Couldry (2004) when they argue that with change in culture, people 'live their life' but are not always able to articulate what it is they 'do'.

It is evident that kaumätua today continue to assume the same roles their predecessors did, albeit with changes. The environment in which they carry out these roles is new and adaptations have been made. The roles exist as they have in the past but due to the effects of colonization and in particular urbanization and the move away from village living, kaumätua today have fewer opportunities to

engage in activities that allow them to practice their roles. More importantly, the resistance to change has been maintained even though some kaumätua are unable to articulate it or even be consciously aware of their influence in the hapu. The cultural norms of the hapu are observable and kaumätua roles are very evident.

The situation for future kaumätua is very similar: cultural norms have already been passed on to the rising generation through ongoing enculturation processes. The plans laid by those old kaumätua who have long gone have worked. Essential cultural practices have been preserved; the hapu has maintained its unique identity, it has resisted change of the values of the hapu and at the same time adapted to the new world and so preserving a continuation of practices. Superficial examinations of changes have often resulted in negative interpretations tending to highlight loss rather than adaptation. The adaptations made by our hapu to survive in a rapidly changing world must be celebrated and acknowledged. Just as the children of Ranginui and Papatüänuku discussed and put into action a plan to force their parents apart so they could escape into the world of light, so our tupuna entered our hapu into the process of whaiao that is a legacy which continues today.

In summary, the “cultural awakening” that has already started among Maori, continues. For my hapu the future looks good. The knowledge is there. Opportunities need to be created so that cultural practices can be brought to the forefront of consciousness and examined. The challenge of te whaiao that was laid down over 100 years ago by those who have passed is still in existence today. The roles of kaumätua still exist but may have diminished over time. The change in roles is in the adaptation to meet the needs of the time period while maintaining the core values of each role and providing a continuation of practices. The

challenge for my hapu today and in the future is to maintain the whaiao and to see the hapu for the strengths that it has and to perpetuate the pride in our Ngäti Rehua-tanga and continue to change while preserving the continuation of practises.

Areas for future research

I wish to emphasise that not all that has happened to Maori since the arrival of Pakeha should be seen as negative. The patterns of resistance and change identified in this group of participants demonstrate a capacity for accommodation, adaptation and resilience they may also be apparent amongst other hapu. Moreover, this study identified continuity, a persistence of customary practices valued by kaumätua. While I expect similar continuities to be found amongst other groups of kaumätua, this is yet to be investigated. Furthermore, as change will continue to occur, future research should further investigate the 'content' of kaumätua roles, that is, what they do, why they do it, for whom they do it, and for what reward.

How will this research be helpful and to who?

This study was completed with the intention of providing information and insight into and for my own hapu. People from other hapu and iwi may also find this study interesting. Services to Maori through Age Concern, Health Service providers and other government and community based services may find the process of te whaiao a useful way of understanding change in hapu/iwi and the strength that the people can gain from the positive deeds and decisions made in the past to preserve the continuation of practices for the future.

Having the opportunity and privilege to contact and be with the majority of elderly members of my hapu added strength to the method employed in this study. I was able to access most of the population of kaumätua rather than a small sample. The results therefore are generalisable to all kaumätua of my hapu at the time interview. The use of an abductive approach allowed for patterns to emerge from both my field research and the literature. Just being able to “look” at what else is there was an advantage.

To be able to generalise more broadly this research method would need to have had a larger number of participants from other hapu even if it was within the same iwi. It may have been useful to gather more comprehensive evidence based data on demographical information about the next generation of kaumätua as well as semi structured interview data on their preparedness for kaumätua roles.

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APPENDIX A

Roles of kaumätua interview guide

The numbered are questions, those with letters are prompts.

Life history

1. Where have you lived?
   a. Did you live on Aotea at any time?
   b. If yes for how long
   c. What age were you
   d. If you have not lived on Aotea have you visited the Island?
   e. If yes, how many times on average per year?
   f. If the frequency of visits has changed over time can you make comment as to the change?
   g. Do you have land interests?
   h. If yes how involved in the land are you?
   i. Have you lived overseas?
   j. If yes how long?
   k. Reason for move?
2. Do you consider yourself Maori?
   a. In what ways do you consider your ethnicity?
   b. What things were you influenced by in your upbringing?
   c. Did your upbringing include things Maori?
   d. Did your upbringing include religion/church things?
3. What Maori events have you been involved in?
   a. Were you as a younger person taught whakapapa?
   b. Were you as a younger person taught the stories of the hapu?
   c. Were you as a younger person taught to sing waiata?
   d. How do you rate yourself in speaking/understanding te reo Maori?
   e. Was it spoken to you/around you?
   f. Were you encouraged to speak it?
   g. What importance do you place on te reo Maori?
4. Do you have anyone living at home or come to live from time to time?
   a. What relationship are they to you?
   b. How often do you look after moko or other children?

Roles of kaumätua when you were younger

1. What did you see the role of a kaumätua were when you were younger?
   a. Did you as a younger person attend formal marae visits with older persons and what did kaumätua do?
   b. Were you as a younger person taken to tangihanga and what did kaumätua do?
   c. Were you as a younger person taught the protocols of Marae etiquette?
   d. What leadership roles were kaumätua involved in?
   e. In what way were kaumätua valued?
   f. Do you see any association between the mana of the hapu and the roles of Kaumätua?
   g. Did you see any life style changes made by older Maori, as they became kaumätua?

Roles of kaumätua now

1. What do you see the roles of a kaumätua are now?
    a. Where are these roles enacted?
    b. As an older member of the hapu do you believe that there is a need for Te reo to be learnt by the next generation?
    c. As an older member of the hapu do you believe that there is a need for a marae for the hapu?
2. What knowledge do you believe that Kaumätua need to have?
    a. As an older member of the hapu do you believe that there is a need for the histories of the hapu to be passed on to future generations?
    b. As an older member of the hapu do you believe that you have some knowledge of the Maori ways of the hapu?
3. What skills do you believe that kaumätua need to have?
    a. As an older member of the hapu what type of help do members of the hapu request of you?
    b. How would you feel if you as the senior person of the group were asked to call a group onto the marae?
    c. How would you feel if you as the senior person of the group were asked to lead a waiata after a speech on the marae?
    d. How would you feel if you were asked to speak for the hapu at a Hui?
    e. How would you feel if asked to speak on a Marae as the tangata whenua?
    f. How would you feel if asked to be the mediator in resolving a conflict between two whänau of the same hapu?
    g. How would you feel if a hapu member came to you for advice about your hapu protocols to be followed on a Marae?
    h. How would you feel if a hapu member came to you for advice about tikanga of the hapu?
4. What decisions should kaumätua be involved in?
    a. In relation to building links with other hapu?
    b. In decisions of matters at Hui?
    c. In relation to matters that involve the hapu?
5. How are kaumätua valued now?
6. Has there been any life style changes that kaumätua have needed to make to fulfill their role as kaumätua?

Roles of kaumätua in the future

1. What do you see the roles of Kaumätua may be in the future?
    a. As an older member of the hapu do you believe that there is a need for marae rituals to be performed in future generations?
    b. Do you believe that there are enough people of the upcoming generations that have or are learning the knowledge of tikanga to be able to fulfill the roles of kaumätua in the future?
    c. Do you believe that there are people in the hapu that have sufficient knowledge of hapu whakapapa links to provide guidance for the hapu?
    d. Do you believe that there are people in the hapu that have sufficient knowledge of hapu whakapapa histories to provide guidance for the hapu?
    e. Do you believe that there are people in the hapu that have sufficient knowledge of Te reo Maori to fulfill obligations of the hapu?

APPENDIX B

Roles of kaumätua demographics questionnaire

This section collects some of your basic background information. Please tick the appropriate box, or provide information in the space provided.

1) Are you Male □ Female □

2) Your age? _____

3) Where were you born? _____

4) What city, town or area do you live in now? _____

5) Marital status? _____

6) Number of children? _____

7) Number of moko? _____

8) What has been your main daytime activity in your life?

_____

9) Please indicate your yearly income range? Less than $10,000 □

Less than $20,000 □ Less than $30,000 □ Less than $50,000□

Greater than $50,000 □

10) What activities, hobbies or interests are you involved in? (Please list)

_____

11) What is the makeup of your household? (Please list)

_____

12) What relationship are they to you? (Please list)

_____

APPENDIX C

Roles of kaumätua information sheet

Principle Investigator: Sydney Henare Davies, 20 Goodwin Tce, Hamilton.
Ph 07-8475444 sydneyhdavies@yahoo.com

What is this study about?
This reasearch explores the roles of kaumätua of the Ngäti Rehua hapu. Through interviews with Ngäti Rehua hapu members who are 65yrs or more, I will examine what the roles of past kaumätua have been in the past, what they are seen to be now, and what they may be like in the future. The purpose of this study is to generate discussion, debate, clarity and a consciousness about Ngäti Rehua kaumätua into the future. Sydney Davies is of Ngäti Rehua and from the University of Waikato and is conducting this project.

What am I being asked to do?
You are invited to take part in this project through an interview that is structured around your personal experience of observing kaumätua roles or participating in these roles. As well as this, your thoughts on the future generations and what kaumätua roles may be like. As the interviewee you will be asked to retell your experiences through personal narrative as well as, answering questions. For example, what does kaumätua mean to you? The interview will be organized at a time and place that is mutually suitable to you and the interviewer. It is over to you to decide whether you want whänau or other people to be present. The interview will be audio taped, however you are free to ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time.

What will happen to the information?
The information you provide me with will be the bases of a study to find commonalities and differences of what other people's perception of the roles of kaumätua are. These findings will be presented to the hapu, to other researchers and Maori communities and inform them about how Maori perceive the roles of kaumätua are and how this has changed over time. At the end of the study, the tape recordings and or notes taken at the interview will be destroyed or returned to you if you wish, within one year. I will send you a summary report of the findings at the end of the project if you wish a copy.

Will other people know who I am?
Be assured that no one will be able to identify you, although I may use some brief quotations from the interview to illustrate commonalities in experiences of the interviewees. This material will not include your name unless you have expressed a desire to be identified, if you are quoted. If you have given permission to be identified, and change your mind at a later date, this will not be held against you in any way, and your name will not be used.

What can I expect from the researchers?
If you decide (or have decided) to participate in this project, the researcher will respect your right to:

- Ÿ Ask any questions about the study at any time during participation
- Ÿ Decline to discuss any particular issue in the interview
- Ÿ Withdraw from the study at any time
- Ÿ Provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used (unless this is your wish)
- Ÿ Ask for the audio-tape to be turned off at any time during the interview

Will I be asked to sign anything?
Yes. Before the interview commences, the interviewer will ask you to sign *a consent form* acknowledging that you have been adequately informed about: a) the study, b) what you are being asked to do, c) what will happen to your information, and d) your right to withdraw without being disadvantaged or penalised. You will also be asked to read, alter if appropriate, and sign a *permissions form.* This clearly identifies those things that we can or cannot do with your information or resources.

Kia ora for your time.

Sydney Davies

APPENDIX D

Roles of kaumätua consent form

☐ I have read the information sheet for this study and have had the details of the interview and project explained to me. I have had a chance to ask any questions that I may have had. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction and I understand that I may ask more questions at any time.

☐ I understand that I am free to withdraw from this interview at any time, and to later, withdraw any permissions and information if I so wish without penalty or disadvantage.

☐ I agree to provide information to the researcher on the understanding that he will protect my anonymity and not use any information and resources given for purposes outside of this project unless I have given my written permission.

☐ I understand and have completed the 'permissions sheet'.

Full name _____

Contact address _____

_____

Phone no. _____

Email _____

Signature _____

Date _____

Interviewer _____

Signature _____

Principle Investigators

Sydney H. Davies, Masters student, Psychology Department, University of Waikato, sydneyhdavies@yahoo.com Ph 07-8475444, 20 Goodwin Tce, Hamilton.

APPENDIX E

Roles of kaumätua permissions form

Please initial or place an X in the appropriate box to indicate your agreement or disagreement with the corresponding statement. If you disagree, please note amendments over page.

Disagree	*Agree*	***Statement*** I give permission to the principle investigators to:
		1. Record the interview and to take notes.
		2. Complete an interview summary for analysis that I will have the opportunity to amend, comment on and or add to.
		3. Use the information that I provide to publish popular and scholarly articles and to make educational presentations.
		4. Make available the information that I provide for use by the researcher to complete a Masters degree
		5. That the audiotape and/or notes of the interview be destroyed within 1 yr after completion of this project.

☐ Please initial or place an X in the appropriate box if you wish to be noted as the provider of information, if any information provided is quoted in any written form.

☐ Please initial or place an X in the appropriate box if you wish to receive a copy of the summary report of the findings

Full name _____

Contact address _____

_____

Phone no _____ Email _____

Participant's please sign or place an X in the box if you are E-mailing this form

Signature _____ ☐

Interviewer's signature _____

Date _____

Please complete amendments over page if needed
(If this document has been e-mailed to the researcher a copy will be posted back to you)

AMMENDMENTS

Statement no.	Revision

Participant's please sign or place an X in the box if you are E-mailing this form

Participant's signature_____ ☐

Interviewer's signature _____

Date _____

(If this document has been e-mailed to the researcher a copy will be posted back to you)