



Ngāti Whakaue Case Study

KAUMĀTUA FUTURES

Ko te pae tawhiti, whāia kia tata

A National Science Challenge Ageing Well Funded Project
2019 - 2022





Kaumātua Futures Ngāti Whakaue Advisory Group

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Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga & the Family Centre Social Policy Unit.

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E karanga ana, e mihi ana te paepae tapu o Ngāti Whakaue



Tamatekapua Wharenui, Te Papaïouru Marae, Ohinemutu, Ngāti Whakaue, Te Arawa waka.¹

Karanga

*Haere mai, nau mai, haere mai
Whakanūia tēnei tāonga rangahau
Kua whārikitia nei
Hei maumaharatanga mo rātou
Kua wehe atu ki te Pō e
Mātakitakina mai e te iwi
Ngā kupu korero nei o Āti Ūe
Kua horahia ake
He tākoha aroha i puta mai
I ngā wai āriki koropūpū ki Ōhinemutu
Ki ngā uri whakatupu e
Nau mai rā²*

na Ngahuia Te Awekotuku i tuku

¹ Source: Māori Maps, <https://maorimaps.com/marae/te-papa-i-ouru>

² The karanga is an invitation to read the report. It acknowledges the ancestors who in their way have contributed to it and gifts the report to the descendants of the tribe.

Mihi

***Ka pātōtō atu au ki te whatitoka o Rehua Ariki,
te whare pukenga i te rangi e.....***

Ko te mihi tuatahi ki Te Wāhī Ngaro

Nā ngā Atua i hanga te Rangi, te Ao, me ōna hua katoa

Nā ngā tūpuna i whakatakoto te ara me ngā tapuwae hei hikoinga mō tātou ngā uri.

Arā ko te Ihi, arā ko Te Wehi, arā ko te Whakamataku.

***Tukua mai ki a piri, tukua mai kia tata
Kia eke mai ki runga ki te Paepae poto o Houmaitawhiti***

Ngongotaha ki runga, ko Pukeroa Oruawhata ki raro

Ko te Utuhina

te awa e rere nei ki Te Rotorua Nui o Kahumatamomoe

Ko Te Arawa te waka

Ko Ngāti Whakaue te iwi

Ko Te Papaouru te marae

Ko Tamatekapua te tupuna e tū ake nei.

Koa ana ngā kaumātua o Ngāti Whakaue ki te awahi i te rangahau nei.

Ahakoā ngā uauatanga pērā i te Covid, ko te mīharo kua tau, kua oti pai!

*Na reira ngā whakawhētai ki a te rōpū o Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga i poipoi, i awahi mai
i a mātou.*

Ko te tūmanako pērā i ngā tūpuna he hua, he paku awhina mō ngā uri e whai ake nei.

Me ahau te tangata ki runga kia tū ki Te Papaouru tau, tau, tau ana e!³

na Rukingi Haupapa

Waiata

Kaore te aroha ki te korōria tapu

E wawae ake ana i te ara kuiti...i.

Nau mai e Hine ka haere taua....i

Ki a Ihaia kia monitatia....i

Kia huihui tātau he kōrero hanga nui....i

Kia hopukia iho te kupu a te Atua....i

Kia awahi tāua ki a Ihu Karaiti....i

Kia murua te hara i taku tinana nei

na te katoa

³ The bold words come from Te Arawa Pōhuatau that takes you on a journey through heavens and atua ending with the last lines referring to we who are back on earth, standing at Te Papaouru marae in front of Tamatekapua. Excerpt 2 is from the haka 'Te Arawa e' where the readers are invited to read and come close to we the kaumātua who are the descendants of Tamatekapua and who have contributed to the research – Rukingi Haupapa

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Thanks must go to the team who made this happen: Professor Linda Waimarie Nikora as Project Lead, Emeritus Professor Ngahua Te Awekotuku, Dr Teorongonui Josie Keelan, Okeroa McRae and Dr Kiri Edge.

They were guided through by a Kaumātua Advisory Group, the members of whom include Vickimae Bhana, Rukingi Haupapa, Wiremu Keepa, Josie Scott, Miriama Searancke, Tuatini Sinnott, Iris Thomas, Maxine Rennie and Eileen Jones. As an Advisory Group, they have also had input into the content and design of the research and both the content and design of this report.

Tēnā koutou mo ngā kōrero i tākoha koutou hai ara mō ngā kaumātua o Ngāti Whakaue, a mo ngā uri o Tamatekapua me a Tutanekai rāua ko Hinemoa e heke mai nei.

*Nāku te rourou, nāu te rourou, ka ora ai te iwi.
With your basket and mine, the people will flourish.*

⁴ A translation of a Māori word is provided when the word is first used in the report. Thereafter please use the glossary in the back of the report.
⁵ Stewart, 2020

He Maimai Aroha mo Waereti Tait Wall



*Waereti Tait Wall
28 Aug 1948 -10 Aug 2021*

Waereti Tait Wall was the eldest child of Waitangi Te Maipi and George Tahuri o te Rangi Mataiawhea Tait. Her love for her people of Te Arawa was undeniable and true. Never an unkind or harsh word spoken. This love kept her home to live amongst her people and to support and contribute to the initiatives of Te Arawa especially Ngāti Whakaue.

When the invitation was issued to attend and support the Kaumātua Futures research project hui she readily agreed and insisted I attend as well. It was one of the last major hui she attended. She believed it would ensure Kaumātua were heard and acknowledged and their wisdom noted. She trusted the team and the process.

We miss her dearly.

Her humility, her grace, her intellect, her generosity, and her absolute love for her people of Te Arawa will remain as a template to aspire to and a compass to wellness and harmony.

Rest in Love dear Sister.

*Me aro koe ki te ha o te tangata
(George Tait - He Koha Kii)*

Ko te pae tawhiti, whāia kia tata.

Tuhinga Whakarāpopotanga (Executive Summary)

Kaumātuatanga (eldership) is an issue governments and iwi are slowly coming to grips with. Governments tend to treat kaumātuatanga as a 'one size fits all' proposition because it is easier to deliver services when viewing the population group as one unit. That immediately creates problems as populations are not all the same. Rather they are made up of distinct units, each with their needs and wants. Kaumātua (elders) are one of those population units being treated as a single group despite their diversity.

Government has in the last ten years through its MBIE funded National Science Challenge, "Ageing Well: Kia eke kairangi ki te taikaumātuatanga", lumped all elderly Māori into 'Group Kaumātua'. However, iwi do not so define all their elderly thus. Most define kaumātua as that group of elderly Māori who serve their whānau (family), marae (community complex), hapū (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribe) using their skills as kaikaranga (ceremonial caller), kaikōrero (speaker), kaiwaiata (singer), mātanga (expert), tohunga (skilled and chosen expert) in the mātauranga (knowledge), whakapapa (genealogy) and stories of their iwi. Some do not genderise the role whereas others do. They are a group who are present at events large and small, standing to represent their iwi always. Other elderly Māori in the tribe are known by other terms and in Ngāti Whakaue, the site of the research "Kaumātua Futures: Ko te pae tawhiti, whāia kia tata" funded by Ageing Well, all elderly are known as 'Koeke'; those who serve in the way defined above, are the only ones who can claim to be 'Kaumātua'. The government applied definition therefore is undermining the role and function of those who serve as Kaumātua. It is a definition that is quickly being applied across all iwi, organisations and communities so much so it is being applied to all elderly no matter their ethnicity.

The purpose of the "Kaumātua Futures" research was to understand the lifeways of kaumātua. How they become kaumātua; how they serve their whānau, marae, hapū, iwi and communities generally; what supports they may need to be able to fulfil a responsibility they take seriously; what they see as being important for the role to continue into the future; how they pass on their knowledge to the next cohort of kaumātua. The kaumātua who contributed their knowledge and ideas to the research, were quite clear about the future but there were concerns.

They were confident the Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa, Wānanga trajectory would provide those who had the skills to deliver karanga and whaikōrero. Their concerns were that tikanga was being lost because people were not attending events on marae wherein they would learn kawa (protocols) and tikanga (customary systems) – especially tikanga that is related to manaakitanga or caring for visitors and people in general. They were also concerned that marae would become mātao (cold) or white elephants because of the falling numbers attending events at marae and whānau taking their events, including tangi (mourning period), elsewhere. Additionally they were worried about housing, financial security, the impact of technology on tikanga and their lifeways. However, they saw these in the context of whānau. For them, their wellbeing was reflected in the wellbeing of their whānau; they did not see themselves as separate from but firmly as members of their whānau.

They told stories about the challenges to their place within the iwi. Slowly their voice was being silenced, reserved only for the ātea (courtyard and public forum). Their want for recognition for their service was voiced enough that it was heard and is recorded here. Currently recognition was to their marae, when any payment was made when called upon to represent the iwi at large events and at events for external and community organisations. There are also kaumātua lunches, dinners and 'Olympics' which they acknowledge as important but they noted that these activities do not recognise the role and function they play. Rather they are designed as social activities. Often when on community boards, they were the only members not paid for their service and or only the men received payments or honorariums. The frequency of events and lack of acknowledgement was starting to wear them down as they mentioned being tired often through the research. Despite that, they were committed

to representing their people.

The Kaumātua thought wānanga were the best solution for working toward halting the loss of tikanga and understanding the role of kaumātua and the skills needed to fully function in a way to uphold the mana of their marae, hapū and iwi. They also thought it important for the various iwi organisations to discuss and provide for whakapapa data bases that members of the iwi can utilise to trace their lineage and affiliation to specific marae rather than having to rely on undertaking research of Māori Land Court Minutes which are not user friendly. The data bases by marae they thought was an easier way to maintain track of various age groups and identifying those who could be called upon to fulfil services they provided. They had visions of their mokopuna undertaking internships to maintain these. What was noticeable to the research team was their lack of engagement with technology - their technological poverty - from the technology they used to their reluctance to use it as a tool to engage with others.

The research is particularly valuable to Ngāti Whakaue as it provides a foundation for planning for the future of kaumātuatanga in the iwi. Some issues may become less important over time for example, the lack of technological skills as new cohorts of kaumātua move forward to sit on te paepae tapu o Ngāti Whakaue. Others will remain and need some strategic thinking and planning especially related to kawa and tikanga wānanga, housing and financial literacy, working toward people returning to the marae to avoid the space becoming mātao. Those are challenges for iwi organisations.

For governments, the challenge is providing for the diversity between and within iwi as they grow, and as hapū assert iwi status. For iwi organisations and government agencies, active listening is the best skill to develop. Active listening that is demonstrated in the relationships had with iwi and the projects and programmes that are the result. Finally, kaumātuatanga is about the leadership and service one gives and provides for their whānau, hapū, iwi and whole of community by extension that is culturally based.

Mauriora!

Ngā Waitohu (Key Findings)

A thematic analysis of the evidence was organised into three Pou – o Mua (The past), Inaianei (The Present) and Anamata (The Future). The sub-themes are presented as Pou Whirinaki (Support Posts). The key findings are presented using that format.

Perhaps the most important finding of the research is that lifeways of a kaumātua in Ngāti Whakaue is focused on the whole of their whānau, hapū, iwi and communities and their service to each of those units. That is followed by their strong belief that their service means they are different to other elderly Ngāti Whakaue who do not provide the same level of service to their communities nor exhibit the same level of language competence nor cultural knowledge of karanga, waiata, kawa and tikanga. Kaumātua as defined by Ngāti Whakaue see themselves as an integral part of their various communities. They are elderly Māori who represent their whānau, hapū and iwi no matter the size or importance of an event.

1. Pou o Mua: The Past

Ngā Pou Whirinaki: Supporting Posts

1.1 Kaumātuatanga: Who and Role

1.1.1 Kaumātua was not a title, status or position Ngāti Whakaue applied to every elderly person in the iwi. Nor was it gender specific to men only. For them, a kaumātua of the past was a male or female with knowledge and competency in te reo Māori (Māori language), kawa, tikanga, karanga, whakapapa, waiata (incantation, chant, song) and tribal history and stories who was committed to serving the whānau (extended family), hapū (sub-tribe) and iwi at events no matter the size or importance. Other elderly Ngāti Whakaue who did not fit that categorisation were known as pakeke (adults), kuia (elderly women), koroua (elderly men) and koeke (elderly men and women).

1.1.2 Each whānau determined who their kaumātua were and who they were not.

1.1.3 In Ngāti Whakaue, the paepae tapu (orators' bench) has always been inclusive of the orators, kaikaranga (ceremonial callers) and others who attend to and support them. It is another way by which the iwi distinguished who their kaumātua were and was the way by which they provided for succession.

1.1.4 A kaumātua may have also been recognised for their skill in organising the kāuta (cookhouse), and any other activities wherein they demonstrated service to their people.

1.2 Ngā Pūkenga: Skills required.

1.2.1 In relation to performance, the skills required of a Ngāti Whakaue kaumātua of the past included - karanga, oratory, knowledge

of and ability to perform waiata, knowledge of whakapapa and how the various whānau and hapū sit within the structure of the iwi, knowledge of the stories of the iwi and how and when to recount them appropriately.

1.2.2 In relation to guiding and informing, the skills required were knowledge of whakapapa; ability to broker and mediate disputes; diplomacy especially when negotiating with other iwi and non-Māori.

1.2.3 Each kaumātua was also likely to have skill in a particular art including performance e.g. kapa haka.

1.3 Kaumātua haere noa: Becoming a Kaumātua

1.3.1 Every kaumātua began their apprenticeship in the space preserved for demonstrating manaaki. That is, by working in the kāuta (and later, the dining hall) in various roles, before graduating to the paepae tapu.

1.3.2 Every kaumātua had to study the mātauranga and taonga tuku iho expected of them if they aspired to be one, or more likely, were identified as candidates by the previous cohort and or whānau, for the role.

1.4 He Tira: Kaumātua were a group.

1.4.1 Kaumātua were a group of people whose skills and capabilities were complementary and together presented the best knowledge holders of the iwi. They usually moved together as a group.

1.5 Ngā Takohanga: Responsibilities

1.5.1 They represented the whānau, hapū and iwi no matter the importance of the occasion or

its size and placed this above everything else including employment.

1.5.2 They advised on kawa, tikanga, whakapapa, the waiata, history and stories of the whānau, hapū and iwi.

2. Pou Inaianei: The Present

Ngā Pou Whirinaki: Supporting Posts/Evidence

2.1 *Te Āhua o te Tū: Role*

2.1.1 The role of a kaumātua, according to the current cohort, has not changed from that of the past nor have the responsibilities. The difference is that employment has impacted on the ability of younger kaumātua to fulfil the role in the same way their forebears had. That is, the current cohort of younger kaumātua are not always available to attend events because they are working to provide for their families.

2.1.2 The current government policy application of the status of kaumātua as being every elderly Māori and potentially every elderly person, Māori and non-Māori, who reside in Aotearoa New Zealand, is at odds with iwi usage and undermines the actual role of kaumātua within whānau, hapū and iwi of Ngāti Whakaue.

2.1.3 Although being a kaumātua is not age specific, receiving superannuation has influenced who is available to fulfil tribal obligations at formal functions/events. The outcome is that people think one has to be elderly to be a kaumātua which has likely contributed to the application of the title to all elderly Māori.

2.2 *Ngā Takohanga: Responsibilities*

2.2.1 In addition to those noted in 1.6 is the responsibility when called upon by the iwi, to advocate in negotiations with government (central and local), various other agencies and business.

2.2.2 Likewise, kaumātua are likely to be called upon to provide advice on aspects of kawa and tikanga to a variety of community organisations – Māori and non-Māori, government and non-government and business.

2.2.3 When providing that support and advice, kaumātua often do so voluntarily and therefore receive either no payment or very little recognition for their contribution.

2.2.4 Where kaumātua lack skills and knowledge,

they are responsible for their need to upskill.

2.3 *Ngā Pūkenga: Skills*

2.3.1 The skills of the current cohort are the same as those listed in 1.2 above however the nature of some changed e.g. diplomacy became more important when dealing with the Crown and its agencies.

2.3.2 Skill in the arts became less important than with previous generations of kaumātua however performance beginning with kapa haka (cultural performing group) is an important way by which to develop skills necessary for kaumātuatanga. All the kaumātua involved in the research had at some point in their lives performed in a kapa (group).

2.4 *Ngā ratonga: Services*

2.4.1 Many services, especially government services are moving online. Kaumātua often do not have the technology nor the technological capability to access those services. Even accessing services by phone has become difficult as long wait times for someone to answer has become a barrier.

2.4.2 Kaumātua said they wanted marae to become hubs for the delivery of services. They suggested that the various services nominate a day and time when they would be available at marae. Kaumātua would then have easy access to various government services especially Work and Income New Zealand (WINZ) and Health services.

2.4.3 Kaumātua were less concerned with services provided by non-government organisations generally. They were however highly critical of iwi agencies whom they perceived as not delivering nor listening to them.

2.5 *Raupapatanga: Succession*

2.5.1 Ngāti Whakaue has an informal kaumātua succession plan based on beginning one's service to the whānau by working first in the wharekai (dining hall) then moving to the back row on the paepae tapu and progressing through to the front row. This applies to both males and females.

2.5.2 However, the kaumātua recognised that strictly adhered to tuakana teina tikanga whereby the older sibling line takes precedence was preventing some who are well qualified and skilled in aspects of kaumātuatanga from taking up the role. Each whānau is responsible for identifying and supporting those they deem ready to take on the mantle of kaumātua and can give permission

for teina to take a leading kaumātua role if need be. However such permission was rarely if ever given.

2.6 Wairua me te Hāhi: Spirituality and The Church

2.6.1 Where once the organised Christian church dominated the lives of kaumātua, this is not the case for their mokopuna (grandchildren). Some welcomed the returning use of non-Christian karakia and others were unsure about the change because the church or hāhi which is the word they used, was still important to them.

2.7 Whaioranga: Wellbeing

2.7.1 Kaumatua wellbeing is tied to whānau wellbeing. That is, the kaumātua believe if they are in good health, engaged and enjoying their lives, then that reflects their whānau. They did not focus on what ails them as elderly people but expressed concern for the wellbeing of their whānau and iwi as a whole.

2.8 Whānau: Family

2.8.1 Whānau are very important to kaumātua. Almost all either had whānau living with them or were in constant contact with them. Mokopuna were of utmost importance with at least half of those who engaged in the research living with mokopuna in their households.

2.8.2 Much pride was expressed for those whānau members who were fluent speakers of the language, knew the important waiata and whakapapa of the iwi and had participated in kapa haka. This is particularly so with the generation emerging from the Kohanga and Kura Kaupapa (total immersion education from pre-school to secondary school).

2.9 Iwi: Tribe

2.9.1 All the kaumātua thought it was important to represent the iwi to both assert the mana whenua (territorial rights) status of the iwi and the importance of the concept of kanohi kitea, the face that is seen demonstrating presence. They were conscious of making themselves available but were also aware of their limitations. They would decline to participate if unwell and if necessary find others to take their place.

2.9.2 They were very proud of their status as one of the iwi that provided the land on which the city of Rotorua was founded. They almost all spoke about the Fenton agreement⁶.

2.9.3 They spoke about Ngāti Whakaue being well-to-do reflected in their own financial wellbeing. In general they made little reference to members of the iwi who might find themselves in financial hardship. There were however some amongst them who were very aware of the hardship faced by others and were very involved in activities to alleviate hardship like providing meals and firewood. At least one kaumātua was scathing of the lack of engagement by the iwi in poverty alleviation and of the kaumātua in supporting youth who were finding education challenging.

2.10 Hāpori: Community

2.10.1 The kaumātua were especially proud of their local and marae communities. They were more likely to talk about their marae than their hapū although they could name these which they did during the wānanga and interviews.

2.10.2 All kaumātua either volunteered information about their involvement in their communities in general or referenced particular kaumātua whom they knew were active in various community activities. They were very involved in participating in a range of pōwhiri and other kawa and tikanga activities and spoke often of being tired. Tiredness was related to the limited numbers of them available to fulfil formal obligations expected of kaumātua.

2.10.3 They were proud of their city and expressed concern about two issues. The first was COVID accommodation being provided in Rotorua for returning citizens during lockdowns and later the city being used as short-term accommodation for the homeless. They thought the iwi should have been consulted on both those issues and had a sense of helplessness to be able to effect any change.

3. Pou Anamata: The Future

Ngā Pou Whirinaki: Supporting posts/Evidence

3.1 Āheitanga: Capability and capacity

3.1.1 Ngāti Whakaue kaumātua were confident the roles and responsibilities of future kaumātua would be secure and that the next cohort of kaumātua would be better prepared than they were. In saying this they acknowledged the place of Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa in providing them with said confidence. They did express some reservations however.

3.1.2 They are concerned that knowledge of

⁶ Te Awēkotuku, 1981

kawa and skill in the arts of karanga, whaikōrero and waiata do not necessarily mean knowledge of tikanga which they observed was being lost. They were most concerned that the ability to host visitors was under threat because younger people were either not going to marae anymore or when they did go, they behaved as if they were visitors and no longer automatically went to help in the wharekai.

3.1.3 The kaumātua believe regular wānanga in-person on marae would be a valuable way to ensure tikanga was passed from one generation to the next. Online wānanga was not seen as a priority because practice in-situ was considered the most valuable way of passing on knowledge of tikanga. Likewise in the learning of karanga, the art of whaikōrero, waiata, whakapapa and the stories of the iwi.

3.2 Rangatiratanga: Leadership

3.2.1 The kaumātua were concerned at what they observed as a lack of leadership particularly among the men and in relation to setting of kawa and tikanga.

3.2.2 Kaumātua asked the tribal leadership to review the iwi's tikanga in light of more tangihanga being held at the homes of the deceased and the impact of the internet streaming of tangihanga. At least one was adamant that tangi should not be streamed at all however others recognised the want especially of those who live overseas to participate in tangi in some way if only through the burial service being live streamed.

3.3 Mātao: Cold

3.3.1 The male kaumātua more than the female kaumātua were of the opinion that marae were likely to become white elephants in future. Their reasons were:

Fewer and fewer members of the iwi were attending functions at marae nor taking their tūpāpaku (deceased) to marae to tangi (mourn) for them.

When whānau stayed away, kaumātua had fewer and fewer of the next generations to pass on their knowledge.

When whānau stay away from marae they do not learn kawa and tikanga nor how to host manuhiri or how to host their own events. Instead they depended on others.

Marae are becoming too expensive as venues to hold whānau events.

The responsibilities associated with the wharekai (dining hall) are no longer valued as important in either the maintenance of the mana of the whānau, hapū and iwi, nor as a means to learn basic life skills like budgeting, cooking, caring for guests and housekeeping in general.

3.4 Whaioranga: Wellbeing

3.4.1 Ngāti Whakaue kaumātua are concerned about the continued loss of land. They cited cases of whānau selling their land within identified papakainga with at least one such sale being to a non-Ngāti Whakaue and non-Māori.

3.4.2 Their preferred Kaumātua housing is near to the marae with which they closely identify.

3.4.3 Half of the kaumātua acknowledge that as an iwi they are asset rich and as a generation, financially secure. However financial security is not enjoyed by all in the iwi. Those most secure are those who live on papakainga especially those who live in the village of Ohinemutu. However there are kaumātua one of whom was involved in the Haerenga Tahī who on recognising that others of the iwi suffer finance and food insecurity consider ways to provide support e.g. providing meals and firewood. Research to ascertain the level of financial hardship among members of the iwi and how it impacts different age cohorts would be useful for the iwi.

Te painga ō nga mahi e pa ana ki te Rangahau: Suitability of the Research Methods

There were three research methods – Wānanga, Interviews and Haerenga Tahi. It was thought that the three methods would provide a fuller picture of kaumātua in Ngāti Whakaue. The wānanga were groups of kaumātua participating in a discussion about kaumātua and as often happens in groups, there are always those who contribute much to the discussion and those who say very little to nothing, even when prompted. The interviews allowed an opportunity for a more detailed conversation with individual kaumātua where they could talk a little more freely about their experiences of observing those who had preceded them, their current experience of becoming and enacting the role of a kaumātua, and how they see the future for the kaumātua of Ngāti Whakaue. The third method of Haerenga Tahi, an observation by which a member of the research team accompanied a kaumātua provided detailed day-to-day information about kaumātua activities.

The combination of all three methods certainly provided a full picture of kaumātua in Ngāti Whakaue. It is not a picture of the pathology of kaumātua but rather one of a stage of human development determined by cultural expectations and demands.

A visual presentation of the Pou and Pou Whirinaki⁷



O Mua



Ināianeī



Anamata



O Mua

- Pou Whirinaki
- Pou Whirinaki



Ināianeī

- Pou Whirinaki
- Pou Whirinaki



Anamata

- Pou Whirinaki
- Pou Whirinaki

⁷ Go to pps. 32 & 33 for an explanation for these three designs.

Ngai Kaumātua (Elderly Māori)

Although the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Enterprise National Science Challenge, Ageing Well: Kia eke kairangi ki te taikaumātuatanga identifies all elderly as kaumātua whether Māori or non-Māori, Ngāti Whakaue does not and this influenced the research.

For them, Kaumātua are a specific group of elderly, both male and female who hold mātauranga (knowledge) and tikanga (customs) especially related to marae (community complex) activities, whakapapa (genealogy) and the stories of whānau, hapū and iwi (family, sub-iwi and iwi). They serve their marae, whānau, hapū and iwi, and are valued for their to ability deliver on that service whether on the ātea (courtyard and public forum), in the wharenuī (meeting house), in the wharekai (dining hall)⁸ or increasingly, in other public spaces. It is within that context of whom kaumātua are, that this report is written.

For the purposes of government and planning generally, the age of 65 years has been determined as the official age when one is defined as elderly⁹. It is not a definition that sits well with Māori for a number of reasons¹⁰. Increasingly, it is also not a definition that sits well with those over 65 years of age who find themselves being referred to as elderly¹¹. However during the period of the research, evidence from the wānanga and the interviews showed that the designation of the right to be recognised as kaumātua was becoming age bound by, and tied to receiving government superannuation and one's Super Gold Card¹². It was anticipated that by 2021, one in eight Māori would be 65 years plus¹³ and likely to have an impact on how kaumātua are seen by the general populace, and more specifically Māori because of their greater visibility as the Māori population lives longer¹⁴.

The research Advisory Group and participants to the Kaumātua Futures research, qualified why receiving Superannuation had become an accepted indicator of Kaumātuatanga as on receiving it, they had time to fulfil whānau, hapū and iwi responsibilities. In other words, receiving the superannuation coupled with retirement from full time employment enabled kaumātua to exercise their whānau, hapū and iwi responsibilities in a way they had not before.

Often when engaging with the advisory group and during the wānanga, the kaumātua made reference to 'koeke' which is the word they used when referring to those older than they. The definition of koeke¹⁵ is gender bound specific to elderly men however the kaumātua participants used the word for either gender as was customary in Ngāti Whakaue. At no time did they apply the gender lens when talking about kaumātua or koeke. This way of referring to elderly Māori by Ngāti Whakaue is reflected elsewhere among the people of the iwi that identify with the confederation of Te Arawa. An example was in an article on the total wellbeing of elderly people, the heading read – "Koeke supporting each other ā hinengaro, ā wairua, ā tīnana"¹⁶. The implication in the article was that koeke referenced all elderly no matter how old they are or whether they were male, female or gender diverse.

There are many words that reference elderly people whether as a group or by gender. A list of those follows. However, it is not a complete list and can be added to as other words are found. The challenge this list provides is why Ageing Well settled on the use of the word Kaumātua when there are other non-gendered Māori words that could have been used. This report does not address that issue rather leaves that for Ageing Well.

8 Keelan et al, 2020

9 Kerr, 2002.

10 Kukutai, 2004; Kerr, 2002; Parr-Brownlie et al, 2020.

11 Amundsen, 2022.

12 The Card can be used to access discounts on a variety of purchases and is available to recipients of the government provided Superannuation.

13 Allport, Martin & Haze, 2018.

14 Op cit.

15 Sources: Williams Dictionary, 1971; Te Aka Māori Dictionary(Online) He Pātaka Kupu (Online)

16 Te Puni Kōkiri, 2020


Table 1: Māori words for elder by word, meaning and gender¹⁷

Word	Meaning	Gender/neutral
Ahungarua	(noun) elderly, old person, person approaching old age	Neutral
Hākoro Hākorokoro	(noun) elderly man, father, parent	Male
Hākui Hākuikui	(noun) mother, mum, old woman, elderly woman	Female
Kaumātua	(verb, modifier, or noun) elderly man or woman often learned in traditional knowledges; often in leadership role; elders; male elders; grow up, become adult (Williams, 1971) He tāne, he wahine rānei kua taipakeke, kua roa ngā rā ki te ao (He Pataka Kupu)	Neutral. Also, male only Neutral
Koeke	(verb (-tia) or noun) to mature, grow old, elderly man, old man, adult	Male
Kohake	(noun) old man, father (Williams, 1971)	Male
Kokoro	(noun) elderly man, old man, patriarch	Male
Koro	(noun) elderly man, grandfather, granddad, grandpa - term of address to an older man, father (Williams, 1971)	Male
Koroheke	(verb (-tia) or noun) to become elderly, old man, father, term of address to an adult male (Williams, 1971)	Male
Korokoroua	(verb, modifier, or noun) to be elderly, old man	Male
Koromatua	(noun) chief (Williams, 1971)	Male
Koroua	(verb, noun) elderly man, old man, elder, grandfather, granduncle, to be old, elderly	Male
Kui	(noun, personal noun) grandma, old woman, elderly woman - a term of address for an older woman, especially an elderly woman. In some areas only applied to a woman who is a mother (Williams, 1971)	Female
Kuia	(noun) old woman, mother, grandmother, or other elderly female relative (Williams, 1971)	Female
Kuikui	(noun) elderly woman, old woman, matriarch	Female
Mātāpūputu	(modifier, noun) elderly people, older generation, senior, old folk (Williams, 1971)	Neutral
Nehe	(personal noun) elderly man, elderly woman - used of elderly people, often as a term of address, old age (Williams, 1971)	Neutral
Ngoingoi	(noun) elderly woman	Female

¹⁷ Keelan et al, 2021

Word	Meaning	Gender/neutral
Pāhake	(verb, modifier, noun) to mature, grow up, older, adult, senior, elderly person, old man (Williams, 1971)	Neutral and male
Pakeke Pa'eke	(verb, noun) adult male or woman; often referred to older people; can be used in the same sense as Kaumātua, grown up, old person (Williams, 1971)	Neutral
Pēperekōu	(noun) elderly woman, elderly man, elder	Neutral
Pēperekōutanga	(noun) old age, elderliness, retirement age, golden years, third age, advanced years, dotage	Neutral
Pou Pōua	(noun) sir, madam, granddad, grandma, old lady, old man - term of address to an elderly person and shortened form of pōua, old person (Williams, 1971)	Neutral
Pouā	(verb (-tia), noun) to be old, age, grandfather (Williams, 1971)	Male
Poupou	(noun) old folk (Williams, 1971)	Neutral
Rāroa	(noun) old age	Neutral
Ruānuku	(noun) wise man, sage, old man	Male ¹⁸
Ruahine Ruwahine	(verb, noun) to become elderly, grow old - of a woman, old woman (Williams, 1971)	Female
Rūruhi	(verb, modifier, noun) elderly woman	Female (Waikato/ Tainui)
Taikoroheke	Taikoroheke (verb) to be a fairly elderly man	Male
Taikoroua	(noun) fairly elderly man, middle aged man	Male
Taikuia	(verb (-tia), noun) to be a fairly elderly woman, old woman, middle-aged woman (with some tribes) (Williams, 1971)	Female Neutral
Taipakeke	(modifier) mature, middle-aged, elderly, aged	
Taua	(noun) grandmother, elderly woman	Female
Tāua	(noun) grandmother, old woman, grandparent, old man, ancestor	Neutral
Tauake Tauake	(noun) old man (Williams, 1971)	Male
Tauheke	(noun) old man, male forbear, elder, grow old (Williams, 1971)	Male
Tūnohunohu	(noun) elderly man, elderly woman, old person, elder	Neutral
Wheinga	(noun) very old person, elderly person	Neutral
Wheteke	(noun) be wrinkled, old person, elderly person	Neutral

¹⁸ Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, after extensive consultation with learned sources and members of scholarly or mandated language entities, has effectively neutralised the gender so it can be applied to both women and men.



For the purposes of this report, Kaumātua are those 55 years and older who as defined by Ngāti Whakaue are elders engaged in representing their whānau, hapū and iwi at events no matter the purpose nor the size; have knowledge of kawa (marae protocol), tikanga (cultural processes), whakapapa (genealogies) and the stories of the iwi; are able to provide advice and guidance whenever needed; are present to represent the iwi no matter the time or occasion and not just for the significant events.

Ngāti Whakaue are not the only iwi who define kaumātua in a particular way. Government policy however is using the word in such a way that it has the potential to define it for all iwi, in fact for the nation as a whole, as it is being applied to all elderly people whether they are involved in and actively contribute to their iwi and or communities and whether or not they are Māori. In support of the Ngāti Whakaue kaumātua who contributed to the research titled "Kaumātua Futures", the research team, would therefore advise the government agencies to wānanga with their Māori language and mātauranga experts and especially groups of kaumātua on what is a more appropriate word or words to use when referring to elderly Māori as a cohort and how that is then applied to all elderly in their waka (canoe) confederations, iwi, hapū and marae as well as the country as a whole. The current usage is impacting on cultural application of the role, skills and function of those who would be and are kaumātua by whānau, hapū and iwi definitions.



Te Tuarongo (Background)

Ko te pae tawhiti, whāia kia tata

The whakataukī (proverbial saying) above which is also part of the title to the research, is the second line from a longer whakataukī that reads:

*Whāia ngā pae o te māramatanga
Ko te pae tawhiti, whāia kia tata
Ko te pae tata, whakamaua kia tina
E puta ai ki te whai ao, ki te ao mārama.*

Search in the innermost recesses of the intellect
To seek new knowledge as yet unexplored
As the past is purchased by the present
And the future is the goal of tomorrow.

The line does two things:

It links the research to Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga: New Zealand's Māori Centre of Research Excellence but more importantly it affirms the research as being one seeking knowledge as yet unknown.

Specific to this research, the new knowledge relates to a particular group of elderly who are members of Ngāti Whakaeu, one of a number of iwi belonging to the confederation of iwi collectively known as Te Arawa.

National Science Challenge for Ageing Well

The National Science Challenge for Ageing Well or as it is known in the Māori language, *Kia eke kairangi ki te taikaumātutanga*, is one of a number of National Science Challenges (NSCs) funded by the Ministry of Business Innovation and Enterprise (MBIE). The first NSCs were established in 2014 and aimed to tackle the biggest science based issues and opportunities facing New Zealand. Each Challenge would bring together the country's top scientists to work collaboratively across disciplines, institutions and borders to achieve their objectives.

Kia eke kairangi ki te taikaumātutanga had as its Mission:

To harness science to sustain health and well-being into the later years of life enabling all New Zealanders to reach their full potential¹⁹

This was to be achieved through a programme of research, underpinned by:

- Collaboration between researchers who specialise in ageing research was encouraged, so as to develop innovative strategies needed for realising the potential that sits among the elderly.
- Ongoing engagement with consumers and stakeholders from various sectors who support the country's older people in an increasingly diverse and complex ageing society with emphasis on co-production of research and an integrated knowledge transfer model.
- Infusing the research programme with the principle of [Vision Mātauranga](#) which seek to transform the burden of poor ageing that falls disproportionately on Māori and give expression to the long and rich tradition of Māori valuing and drawing on older people's knowledge and wisdom.

¹⁹ <https://www.ageingwellchallenge.co.nz/about/>

The vision of Ageing Well was to add life to years for all older New Zealanders

And it was to be achieved by harnessing science to sustain health and well-being into the later years of life, in ways that:

- Allow personal dignity to be preserved into old age by mitigating mental, cognitive, and physical disability.
- Support health, well-being, and independence for all New Zealanders as they age.
- Recognise the resourcefulness of older people and their on-going social, economic, and cultural contributions to society.
- Enable Ageing Well through mutual respect, support, and reciprocity amongst people of different ages. (Op cit)

In response to a call for proposals from Kia eke kairangi ki te taikaumātuatanga, The Family

Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga

Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga (NPM) is the Māori Centre of Research Excellence funded by the Tertiary Education Commission and hosted by Waipapa Taumata Rau (The University of Auckland). NPM has twenty one partner entities that includes all of the universities, two Whare Wānanga (Māori tertiary institutions), two Institutes of Technology and Polytechnics and a number of Crown and private research institutes. Its website says that its Pou Whaingā: Mission is

"...to grow and enhance excellent Māori researchers and Māori-led research that together build the foundations for flourishing Māori futures."

In its original proposal to the Ageing Well Science Challenge, NPM submitted undertaking case studies on the lives of kaumātua in two iwi settings. The decision was to proceed with one of the case studies, that of kaumātua of Ngāti Whakaue. To do that, NPM set up a small research team and a Kaumātua Advisory Group made up of kaumātua who are active in tribal and marae activities in Ngāti Whakaue.

The Research Team was led by Professor Linda Waimarie Nikora who was the Primary Investigator and included Emeritus Professor Ngahuia Te Awekotuku who is also Ruānuku to NPM, Dr Teorongonui Josie Keelan as the lead researcher, Dr Kiri Edge for part of the time and Okeroa McRae who joined the team on a part-time basis when Dr Kiri Edge resigned to take up a full-time position.

Ngahuia Te Awekotuku and Okeroa McRae were the research team members who had Ngāti Whakaue whakapapa (genealogy). Their short biographies and those of the other research team and the Ngāti Whakaue Kaumātua Advisory Group are at the back of the report.

The Kaumātua Advisory Group was made up of nine people who were in their seventies and eighties. There were two koroua and seven kuia. Such a male/female ratio is not unusual given that men generally and Māori men specifically, die younger than Māori women²⁰.

²⁰ Hayman et al., 2012

Ngāti Whakaue

Whakawhiti o te rā Whakaāio whenua

*Mai i Waimihia ki Waingaehe
Te Kurae o te ihu o Tamatekapua
Ko Ngōngōtahā te maunga Ko
Te Rotoruanui-a-Kahumatamomoe te moana
Ko Te Papaïouru te marae
Ko Ngāti Whakaue te iwi
Ko Te Arawa te waka
Ko Ngāti Whakaue te iwi*

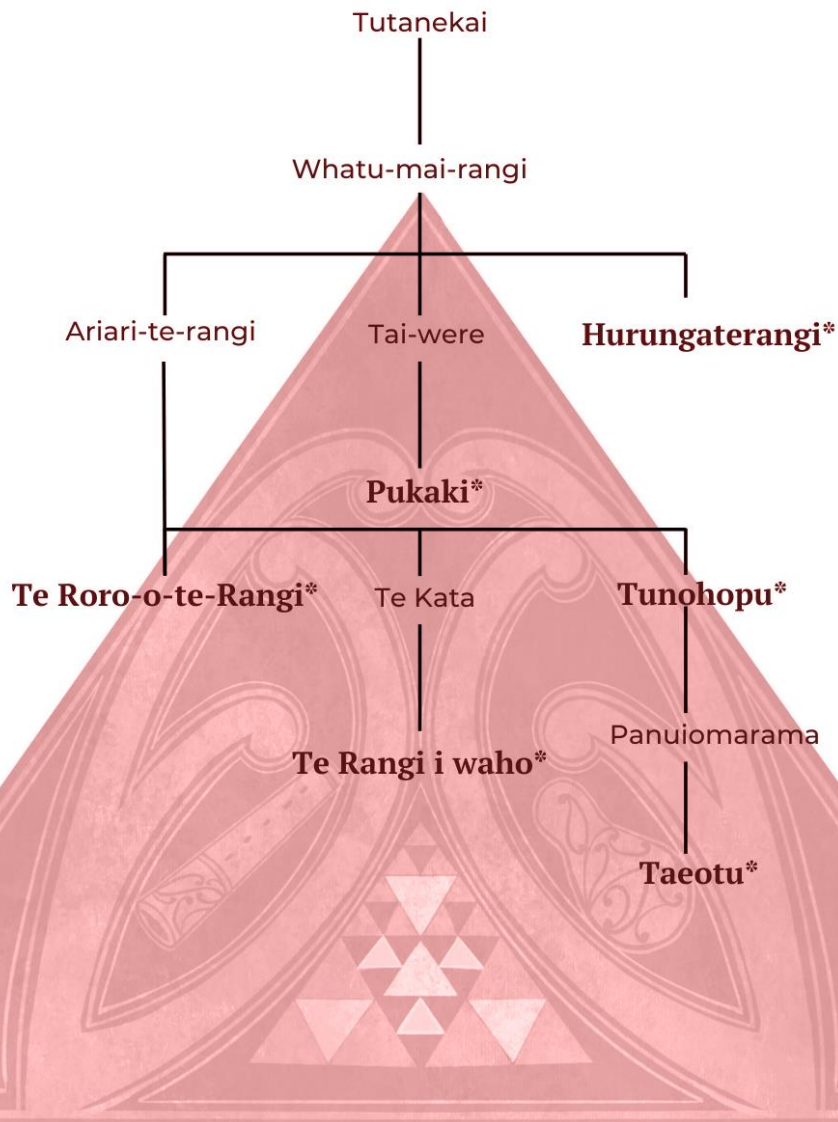


Map 1: This rohe map represents the area over which Ngāti Whakaue exercises kaitiakitanga for the purposes of the Resource Management Act²¹

²¹ <https://www.tkm.govt.nz/iwi/ngati-whakaue/>

Ngā kōrero mō Ngāti Whakaue: The Ngāti Whakaue story

The whakapapa shows the descent lines from Tutanekai and the hapū referred to by the iwi as the six Koromatua, of Ngāti Whakaue, in bold and asterisked²².



For a time, Ngāti Whakaue was designated a hapū of Te Arawa. It is now recognised as an iwi in its own right and part of the confederation of iwi of Te Arawa. Spatially, the lands of Ngāti Whakaue are along the southwestern shores of Te Rotorua Nui-a-Kahumatamomoe (Lake Rotorua), with a pocket in Ngāpuna (territory of Tūhourangi), then back around the western shores of the lake to Waikuta and the bay at Parawai²³.

²² [Whakapapa – Ngāti Whakaue](#)

²³ Te Awekotuku, 1981

Hapū

The six Koromatua hapū of Ngāti Whakaue are:

- Ngāti Hurungaterangi
- Ngāti Tae-o-tu
- Ngāti Pukaki
- Ngāti Te Roro-o-te-rangi
- Ngāti Rangi-i-waho
- Ngāti Tunohopu

Marae

Marae provide communal facilities for whānau and the iwi and latterly, the community in general. It is in these spaces that the full extent of tikanga and kawa are enacted and observed. The marae of Ngāti Whakaue, in alphabetical order are²⁴:

- Moerangi (Apumoana-o-te-Ao Hou, Apumoana o te ao tahito). Also a marae of Tuhourangi (Ngāti Tūmatawera)
- Ngāpuna (Hurungaterangi), Ngāpuna
- Owhata (Tutanekai)
- Para te Hoata & Te Kohea (Tunohopu), Ohinemutu
- Parawai (Whatumairangi), Ngongotaha, Ngāti Te Ngākau
- Tapiti (Whakauekaipapa), Maketu
- Tarukenga (Te Ngākau), Hamurana
- Te Awawherowhero, Ngongotaha
- Te Koutu (Tumahaurangi), Koutu
- Te Kuirau (Te Roro-o-te-rangi), Ohinemutu
- Te Papai-i-ouru, (Tamatekapua) Ohinemutu
- Waitetī (Ngararanui) Ngongotaha
- Waikite (Tiki), Ohinemutu
- Waikuta, (Rangitunaeke), Ngongotaha

Each marae has a committee that is responsible for the ongoing management. Contact details for each marae are known to whānau associated with a marae, or available online e.g. at Māori Maps²⁵ and where a marae has a Facebook page. The public library and Citizens Advice Bureau can provide access to the internet and or information about contact details.

Te Papai-i-ouru is the site for the paramount whareniui of Te Arawa, Tamatekapua, which is situated in the homelands of Ngāti Whakaue at Ohinemutu. It is here that many of the official events of the confederation of Te Arawa are held and Ngāti Whakaue are extremely proud of that fact. Additionally, Ngāti Whakaue was a principle signatory to the 1880 Fenton Agreement whereby land was provided for the development of the city of Rotorua²⁶.

Organisations serving the iwi

There are several organisations that serve the iwi. The larger and more formal ones include:

- Ngāti Whakaue Tribal Lands²⁷ - Formed in 1960 as an amalgamation of 34 blocks of Māori owned land held by Ngāti Whakaue descendants. Its purpose is to safeguard and improve Ngāti Whakaue lands and grow the asset base so that the Trust is able to contribute to the wellbeing of Ngāti Whakaue and provide opportunities for future generations of the iwi. The incorporation owns 3000 hectares of land around Rotorua city much of which is used for cattle and sheep farming. Of the rest of the land, some is in forestry, small parcels are leased and the rest is in native forest and planting along water ways. Additionally, the incorporation receives income from telecommunication sites, rental properties, a drug and rehabilitation facility and small tourism operations. The benefits to its shareholders and the iwi include grants, planting projects and housing.

The Trust does not provide anything specific for kaumātua however, kaumātua have access to grants which are available to registered beneficiaries. The grants cover health (to a maximum amount of \$300) and a discretionary grant. There are criteria applied to the grants and forms are available online. There are also plans by the Trust for the provision of kaumātua units in the housing development, Whareniui Rise the construction of which was to begin mid-2023²⁸.

²⁴ The Kaumātua Advisory Group advised consulting with Kingi Biddle to confirm the marae. This was done by telephone on 28 October 2022

²⁵ www.maorimaps.com

²⁶ Te Awēkotuku, 1981;

²⁷ [Ngāti Whakaue](#)

²⁸ [Te Tūāpapa Kura Kainga, 1922](#)

- Pukeroa Oruawhata Group²⁹ - Formed in 1980 as an Ahu Whenua Trust which is a Trust designed to promote the use and administration of one or more Māori owned land blocks or general land owned by Māori on behalf of owners.

Again there is nothing specifically for kaumātua however, if a registered shareholder, a kaumātua would be eligible for grants for eye, oral and ear health. Grants are available for other purposes at the discretion of the Trustees. Again an application is available online.

- Ngāti Whakaue Education Endowment Trust Board³⁰ - Formed in 1996 as an Incorporated Charitable body with its own empowering legislation. Its purpose is Education prioritising Ngāti Whakaue beneficiaries. It has iwi membership being Ngāti Whakaue descendants of the original owners of Pukeroa Oruawhata block or the 6 Koromatua of Ngāti Whakaue.

With its focus on education, the assumption would be that it is not for kaumātua but rather their mokopuna. However, should a kaumātua wish to study, there is no reason why they could not apply for a study grant.

Application forms are Online.

- Te Taumata o Ngāti Whakaue Iho Ake³¹ - Established in 2005 to achieve the aspirations of the iwi in the areas of education, te reo and well-being.

Te Taumata has a focus on whānau wellbeing especially in the provision of housing. Should a kaumātua find themselves homeless then Te Taumata could provide support. Beneficiaries of the services of Te Taumata must whakapapa to Ngāti Whakaue and need to provide evidence of that fact.

- Ngāti Whakaue Assets Trust³² - Also established in 2009, the purpose of the Ngāti Whakaue Assets Trust was receiving, growing and distributing the iwi settlement funds from the Central North Island Forests Collective Settlement. Additionally its purpose is to support the iwi whether relating to the relief of poverty, advancement of education, socio-economic situation, religion or any other purpose beneficial to the iwi. It is a registered Charity.

The Assets Trust has Kaumātua Hauora and Wellbeing Grants of up to \$4K in three priority areas – Exercise, Health and Wellbeing, Transport and Accessibility. The Trust has defined kaumātua as those persons 65 years and older who whakapapa to Ngāti Whakaue. The application form is available Online to download and can be emailed or printed then completed and delivered to the physical address of the Trust. Hard copies of application forms are also available at the Office.

It also has Marae Tautoko grants that are distributed to Ngāti Whakaue marae, a grant specific to the maintenance of the Tūpuna Whare (ancestral house), Tamatekapua and Ngā Ika a Whiro Tikanga Fund which is a grant enabling the Paepae Tapu of Ngāti Whakaue to discharge cultural responsibilities.

- Te Kōmiti Nui o Ngāti Whakaue³³ - Established in 2009, Te Komiti Nui o Ngāti Whakaue is the entity mandated to negotiate the comprehensive Treaty settlement for the iwi.
- Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whakaue ki Maketū³⁴ - Formed in 2002, Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whakaue ki Maketū was established to be the voice of Ngāti Whakaue who lived in Maketū. It has an easily accessible Facebook page rather than a website.

More information about each of the organisations can be found on their website and or Facebook pages. It is worth noting that there is some crossover in the roles and functions of each which could result in some confusion for (potential) beneficiaries as to the purpose of the organisations and how they may be able to benefit from the existence of said organisations. It is therefore recommended to spend some time accessing their websites and or attending their meetings the dates of which can be found on their websites. Public libraries can provide free access to websites for those who do not have access to the internet or a computer or any other device to get detailed information and to find out dates, times and venues of meetings to be able to attend.

An issue for kaumātua and kōeke generally, is that for three of the organisations, applications for any benefits are only available online. If the advisory group to the research are examples, half do not have computers or a device like an iPad or tablet, and if they have mobile phones, they are usually the kind that cannot access documents. The kaumātua therefore are reliant on others to

²⁹ [Home - Pukeroa Oruawhata Trust](#)

³⁰ [Home \(ngatiwhakaue-eetb.org.nz\)](#)

³¹ [Home - Te Taumata O Ngāti Whakaue](#)

³² [Ngati Whakaue Assets Trust](#)

³³ [Komiti Nui - Ngati Whakaue](#)

³⁴ <https://www.facebook.com/TRONWKM/>

be able to download and complete applications for grants. That erodes their ability to continue to be independent for as long as possible even within a whānau setting. This may not be an issue in the long term as the next generation of kaumātua may be more technologically literate and own devices that enable access. However, that does not take into consideration either pensioner poverty that could limit kaumātua because they are unable to afford the technology to access information and their ability to use said technology. The latter may become less of an issue with coming generations of kaumātua but pensioner poverty will always be an issue for most.

In 2021, four of the Ngāti Whakaue entities³⁵ with the support of two others³⁶, agreed to look at ways to collaborate for the benefit of all of Ngāti Whakaue. A presentation of relevant information was made on 17 July, 2021³⁷ advertised to take place at Te Papaouru. The project had three phases:

1. Assess the current state of Ngāti Whakaue entities.
2. Identify improvement options.
3. Adopt and implement any agreed improvement options.

The three phases were planned to be completed by June 2022. Information on what may have transpired from the collaboration was unavailable online. Insufficient information adds to the lack of trust the kaumātua have in the iwi agencies which they expressed often during the Wānanga.

There are also a range of social, health and community services and sports clubs available to Ngāti Whakaue and the people of wider Rotorua. Some are organised by Ngāti Whakaue individuals and organisations and some are funded by their various Trusts. Many are funded by a variety of sources and fund raising efforts, primarily from local and central government sources, and philanthropic groups. Accessing these services and sports clubs depends on one's knowledge of their existence, one's physical capability to be able to access them or the ability of whānau to enable that access.

Even with many services available to them in a reasonably small city that is Rotorua, accessing such services is not always easy for kaumātua and elderly Ngāti Whakaue generally for a variety of reasons such as education levels, financial security, transport, health and their ability to use technology.

³⁵ Ngāti Whakaue Assets Trust, Ngāti Whakaue Tribal Lands Incorporation, Pukeroa Oruawhata Trust and Ngāti Whakaue Education Endowment Trust Board
³⁶ Ngāti Whakaue ki Maketū and Te Taumata o Ngāti Whakaue
³⁷ <https://pukeroa.co.nz/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/NW-Collaboration-Presentation-Final.pdf>

Ngāti Whakaue Statistics

As at the 2013 census, the population of Ngāti Whakaue numbered 8,337 or 1.2% of the total Māori population living in Aotearoa at the time the census was taken.³⁸ Detail at the time included:

- 46.4 percent (3,867 people) were male and 53.6 percent (4,470 people) were female.
- The median age (half are younger and half older than this age) was 26.6 years.
- 29.5 percent identified Ngāti Whakaue as their sole iwi affiliation, while 70.5 percent were also affiliated with other iwi.
- 27.3 percent could hold a conversation about everyday things in te reo Māori.

Age and sex at the time of the census:

- 32.5 percent were under the age of 15 years, compared with 33.1 percent of the total population of Māori descent. 34.2 percent in 2006 and 36.2 percent in 2001 were under the age of 15 years.
- In 2013, 21.1 percent (1,761 people) were aged 15–29 years, an increase of 123 people since 2006.
- The proportion aged 30–64 years, 39.6 percent, has increased since 2006 when it was 38.6 percent.
- 6.8 percent (567 people) were aged 65 years and over, an increase of 216 people since 2006.
- 46.4 percent (3,867 people) were male and 53.6 percent (4,470 people) were female.

Significantly what the 2013 census showed was a small increase in those aged 30 – 64 years and another small increase of those 65 years plus. The age group of the Kaumātua Futures research was 55 years plus so although the increase in numbers seems insignificant, it is an indicator of a slowly ageing population. The upcoming census will show whether this is confirmed. If it is, then Ngāti Whakaue needs to plan for their ageing population and what that might mean in terms of kaumātuatanga.

³⁸ Iwi individual profile: Ngāti Whakaue (Te Arawa), <https://www.stats.govt.nz/assets/Uploads/2013-Census-iwi-individual-profiles/38-iwi-profiles-Ngati-Whakaue-Te-Arawa.pdf>

Kaumātua Futures

Ngā Paetae o Kaumātua Futures (Aim and Objectives)

Aim of study

is to explore and interrogate the nature of Kaumātua wellbeing and Kaumātuatanga to imagine positive futures and navigate towards them.

Objective 1

is to better understand the processes influencing tikanga related to kaumātua and kaumātuatanga including the intergenerational transfer of knowledge and legacy.

Objective 2

is to emerge a case study of intergenerational relationships that include consideration of care relationships, resource sharing, collaborative economics and succession planning in whānau and cultural activities.

Objective 3

I to adopt a life perspective approach to imagining kaumātuatanga into the near (20-30 years) and the distant futures (30-100 years)

Ngā Tikanga (Methods)

Even at the conceptual stage in the development of the research, the involvement of kaumātua not just as advisors or participants but as co-designers who would have direct input into the design and progress of the research was important. Thus it was that an advisory group of eight kaumātua initially were brought together and at a series of hui (gatherings) contributed to the methods to be used for data collection. Over time the group expanded to nine. The hui were an opportunity for the kaumātua and the researchers to:

- get to know each other because not all the research team were known to the kaumātua,
- to talk about the research so as to be informed
- to explore ideas
- to keep up to date about what was happening.

The members of the Advisory Group were known

to the Primary Investigator and almost all of the other members of the research team. One member of the research team was known to at least one of the Advisory Group.

The kaumātua who made up the Advisory Group were:

- Active in marae and iwi affairs
- Regularly called upon to represent the iwi at formal functions whether on the marae or elsewhere
- Were available and reasonably physically active.

These affirmed the description by the research participants of kaumātua being persons with certain knowledge who were also available and active in tribal affairs.

The methods agreed upon allowed for more detailed information to surface at each activity, providing a more intimate picture of the lives of the kaumātua. They included:

- Wānanga
- Interviews
- Haerenga Tahī, the method most favoured by the advisory group, provided detail in the daily lives of kaumātua
- Ethics and Approval

Wānanga

Wānanga is variously described as deep learning, an exchange of information, a place or space of learning, a teaching and learning process³⁹, a research method⁴⁰. As a verb it is to meet and discuss, deliberate and consider⁴¹. In this context wānanga is not about a tertiary learning institution but about knowledge exchange where everyone participating learns something.

Three wānanga were held and they were advertised through the network of the advisory group members and the various tribal organisations. Attendance varied with Wananga Tuarua having the most in attendance.

Each wānanga had a specific kaupapa (purposes). However the discussion and exchange of information was not confined to the take (subject

³⁹ Kingi, 2010

⁴⁰ Smith et al., 2019; Mahuika & Mahuika, 2020

⁴¹ Moorfield, ND

matter) identified for discussion. Instead the conversation flowed backward and forward most noticeably from the past to the Present. The wānanga content was arranged as follows:

- Wānanga Tuatahi (One) – Ko wai tēnei tangata e kī ana a Ngāti Whakaue, he Kaumātua ia? How does Ngāti Whakaue identify a person as being a kaumātua
- Wānanga Tuarua (Two) - Ko wai tēnei tangata e kī ana a Ngāti Whakaue, he Kaumātua ia? How does Ngāti Whakaue identify a person as being a kaumātua
- Wānanga Tuatoru (Three) – Kaumātuatanga – me titiro I ngā Rā o Mua mo ngā tau rua tekau ki te rima tekau. Pēhea te noho? Kaumātuatanga in twenty and fifty years time. What will it look like?

Prior to each wānanga commencing and after karakia (prayers), collective consent was sought from the participants to record the kōrero both by use of a digital recorder and notetaking, and for any photographs taken. Consent included being named in any documentation related to the research.

The wānanga began at 10 am with a break for lunch that was provided and the wānanga generally ended around 3pm depending on whether the participants thought they had said what they wanted to say with some leaving earlier because they were responsible for collecting mokopuna (mokopuna) from school. At least one participant travelled in from the outlying area of the iwi which showed that the advertising of the wānanga had a far reach.

A report of each wānanga was provided to participants who had an opportunity to comment as to whether the report was a true reflection of what was discussed.

The catering for each wānanga was provided by the company of one of the kaumātua demonstrating that kaumātua who are involved and active in whānau, hapū and iwi affairs are likely to be busy people (also see Haerenga Tahī).

Interviews

Interviews are a form of conversation with purpose⁴² during which the interviewer seeks information from the interviewee in different ways – some more controlled than others. For the Kaumātua Futures research the interviews also enabled kaumātua to share information in a way that told their story allowing for movement from the formal to a less formal exchange. This is

⁴² Legard, Keegan and Ward, 2003

rather like tautitotito or the Māori art of song-in-reply or indeed tauututu, Ngāti Whakaue style of alternating speakers during a pōwhiri.

Tautitotito is both musical composition⁴³ and a form of musical banter in which the participants feed off each other to create a story. A good example of this is an occasion recorded at a Te Panekiretanga⁴⁴ reo wānanga (language retreat), where the exchange, albeit very risqué, somewhat male oriented and described as a waiata ngahau (entertaining song) when uploaded to YouTube⁴⁵, demonstrates the concept and actual delivery of tautitotito.

Although an interview is not banter in the same way as seen in the YouTube video, the idea that both the interviewer and participant can feed off each other in the interaction thereby stimulating the exchange of information is what can often happen in a Māori context and where the interviewer, and in this case, a kaumātua, know each other. This way of engaging does not mean the information gathered is of less value, it may in fact be quite the opposite as it helps with breaking down barriers enabling trust and a freer flow of information. As a data collection method it is a better cultural fit than the usual interview process of creating distance so the interviewer does not unduly influence the information collected. It also resonates with the kawa of tauututu followed by Ngāti Whakaue.

Kawa is the protocol of speaking or the ceremonial conduct of speaking on formal occasions⁴⁶ which in Ngāti Whakaue is tauutuutu whereby speakers from the haukāinga (hosts) and manuhiri (visitors) alternate in speaking. The haukāinga provide the first and last speaker. Each speaker responds to the speakers before and at the same time adds their view of the purpose for the gathering. The last speaker usually summarises everything bringing the gathering back to why they have gathered.

The purpose of the interviews in the Kaumātua Futures research was to provide opportunity for participants to express in more detail their understanding and knowledge of:

- kaumātuatanga in Ngāti Whakaue;
- the role and responsibilities of a kaumātua;
- the skills needed by a kaumātua;
- the transmission of information about kaumātuatanga from one generation to the next especially as it was passed on to them;

⁴³ Ngata, 1949; Dewes, 1974; Rollo, 2007.

⁴⁴ A Māori language academy focused on the very best of language usage.

⁴⁵ Bosch, 2014: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9fidFcXVuNg>

⁴⁶ Benton, Frame & Meredith, 2013.

- a vision of the future for the iwi and the kaumātua who would fulfil such a role.

The data being sought was similar to that sought at the wānanga but provided for more detail being shared. It also enabled those who may have been reluctant to share in the wānanga, to freely express their thinking without the possibility of debate by others.

The proposal was for ten interviews; eleven were completed with the inclusion of one who did not quite make the lower age of 55 years. The decision was to include that interview as that person would meet the threshold before the research ended.

Initially, the intention was to seek participants at the wānanga. Additionally, some more thought was given to the selection of interview participants for the following reasons:

- the interview questions were similar to the areas covered in the wānanga.
- Some of the wānanga participants only attended one of the wānanga and therefore an interview would provide them another opportunity to express their thoughts on kaumātuatanga.
- There would be value in seeking the opinions of those who had either attended one or no wānanga.

Of those interviewed only one had attended no wānanga, and the other ten had attended one only.

Haerenga Tahī

Haerenga tahi was a method suggested by one of the Kaumātua Advisory Group to which the others agreed. It falls within the scope of Observation as a research method. Observation as a method is rarely, if ever, the sole data collection method but rather complements other methods⁴⁷, in this instance, the wānanga and interviews. What observation allows for, is a detailed examination of a person's behaviour in as natural a setting as they would find themselves in on a daily basis. It was anticipated that Haerenga Tahī would provide that level of detail.

The concept of the kaumātua who first suggested Haerenga Tahī was that a mokopuna of kaumātua who had consented to participate in a Haerenga Tahī would accompany their

kaumātua to learn about the activities their koro (elderly man/grandfather) or kuia (elderly woman/grandmother) were involved in. Ideally, they thought the mokopuna could be someone studying and this would give that person some good research practice. They also thought it was a good way to be able to demonstrate their busy lives.

Calling the method Haerenga Tahī was a simple translation of moving together as one. That is, the kaumātua and the researcher would act as hoahaere or companions and would move together with the researcher observing, and noting down, what the kaumātua was doing throughout the day. An Observation Schedule was provided to the researcher and included those activities that spoke to the wellbeing of the kaumātua like taking breaks and any medications, liquid intake, eating and resting. These were included more to remind the researcher hoahaere to be mindful of the wellbeing of the kaumātua they were accompanying. These were in addition to the potential to observe other activities the kaumātua was involved in. Consent was required prior to Haerenga Tahī commencing in both instances.

For the Kaumātua Futures research two kaumātua, both women, consented to participating in Haerenga Tahī. There was the intention of including a male but the men were reluctant to participate. They were not pressured to either participate nor to provide an explanation as to why, for them, this was not an appealing activity.

The two kaumātua who did participate determined how much time they would give to Haerenga Tahī and for both, it was not a full week as originally planned. They thought it was too much and allowing someone to accompany them for a week impinged on their time and personal space. It was also planned that Haerenga Tahī would happen twice in a year e.g. in Summer and in Winter, to determine whether activities differed depending on the time of year. Again the kaumātua decided they did not want to do this and again no pressure was applied. Always, their wellbeing in addition to their consent, was important.

The researcher who was the hoahaere for the kaumātua was a niece of both. As such she was not just observing and noting what the kaumātua did, but participated (however, not as an observer participant⁴⁸) in some of the activities in which they were engaged. From the researcher's perspective, this was normal behaviour because as a niece of both kaumātua, she would assist them to complete whatever activity they were undertaking. From a Māori perspective this enhances the data collection as

⁴⁷ Cowie, 2009

⁴⁸ Cowie, 2009

it is an acknowledgement of whanaungatanga (family relationships) and all of the behaviours expected within that context – what others would identify as insider positionality⁴⁹. Therefore some activities she found herself doing were washing dishes, carrying and setting up equipment, shopping, driving the kaumātua to their activities, taking them to eat.

Anonymity

By the time Wānanga Tuatoru was held, some kaumātua were clear they did not want to be identified in the research. Likewise there were kaumātua who were interviewed who did not want to be identified. So a process using numbering is employed where quotes from the wānanga or interviews are included in this report. The numbering does not distinguish between methods but rather acknowledges the participation of kaumātua who are quoted and therefore is set at KF1 (Kaumātua Futures One), and so on without distinguishing whether a kaumātua attended a wānanga, was interviewed or consented to the Haerenga Tahī data collection or, identified by marae, hapū, Koromatua, age, gender, disability or any one of the many ways by which people identify nowadays. Absolute anonymity is not guaranteed because the community is small and kaumātua are known, but efforts have been made to anonymise as much as possible.

Data analysis

The data was analysed around three Pou (pillars):

- o Mua (the past),
- Inaianei (the present) and
- Anamata (the future).

Pou were and are posts placed in the ground as a way to mark a space or to indicate possession of an area or facility⁵⁰. Such uses of pou as markers of place and used to hold something in place is not specific to Māori but can be found in many cultures throughout the Pacific⁵¹, indeed throughout the world⁵². Of note is the action of colonialists in declaring a land theirs by placing a flag on a staff into that land and declaring their right to occupy whether or not others were already domiciled on said land. Usually done in the name of a sovereign⁵³, and a significant instrument of

the Doctrine of Discovery⁵⁴.

In a Māori context, Pou, often carved, are also the support pillars in whareniui that hold up the house. If carved they depict ancestors of the whānau, hapū and iwi with telltale incisions in the carvings that indicate who the ancestor is e.g. a dog may indicate a beloved pet⁵⁵, a Huia feather in the hair, a chief. Carved pou not only hold up the house, they tell the whakapapa and stories of the people who identify with the house. Pou therefore are important in claiming space, telling stories and creating identity.

Pou have been used in relation to research in obesity and food environments⁵⁶, Māori identity measure⁵⁷ and identity to place⁵⁸, forensic mental health⁵⁹, reporting Māori data in family violence deaths⁶⁰, positive parenting practices⁶¹ being some. In each, the pou was a marker or indicator of place, identity or a framework for application in a particular context. In the Kaumātua Futures research the pou are markers of time – the past, present and future.

Pou o Mua

Here was the pou providing an opportunity for the kaumātua participants recollection of kaumātua who had preceded them. These were the kaumātua they had observed in action on the ātea, in the whareniui and wharekai; on formal occasions and informally during whānau gatherings and celebrations - the kaumātua who had taught them what they know. They were the kaumātua who had guided them when they were young and ensured they knew tikanga and kawa; kaumātua whom they admired for their knowledge and ability. The Wānanga Kaumātua acknowledged that those same kaumātua were not above bad behaviour from time to time, however, they were able to look past those indiscretions and value everything else the kaumātua contributed to the whānau hapū and iwi.

Pou mō Inaianei

This was the pou where kaumātua spoke about kaumātuatanga as it is now in their lives. How they had arrived in the role, how they observed others progress into the role, how the role was upheld and maintained.

49 Ganga & Scott, 2006

50 Benton, Frame & Meredith, 2013

51 Austin, 2001

52 Östlund, Zackrisson & Hörnberg, 2002

53 Bartenstein, 2010;

54 Miller 2005

55 Māori had dogs or kuri before the introduction of the many breeds seen today. See Anderson & Clark, 2001

56 McKelvie-Sebilau et al., 2022

57 Durie, 1995

58 Waterman, 2011

59 Wharewera-Mika et al., 2020

60 Cram, Cannell & Gulliver, 2022

61 Keown, Sanders & Shepherd, 2018

Pou Anamata

Here was the opportunity to talk about those issues the kaumātua anticipated were going to be important in the future. Issues they thought the iwi should begin to plan for. When they talked about the iwi, they were referring to a partnership of those organisations serving the people, working with the people for the future of the iwi.

Pou Whirinaki

It was anticipated that Pou Whirinaki (supporting pillars) would emerge out of the data and strengthen each Pou. The term pou whirinaki has been used before⁶² in relation to how elderly Māori and communities found or obtained support when faced with illness, especially during the first Covid lockdown in 2020.

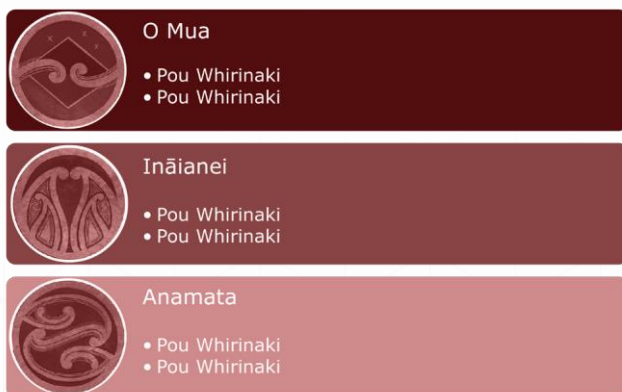
The wānanga and interviews were organised around the all three pou of o Mua, Inaianei and Anamata whereas, the Haerenga Tahī data collection was specific to Inaianei.

Thematic analysis sits firmly in qualitative research⁶³. It would be easy to go there without any discussion as to its relevancy in a Māori or more specifically, Ngāti Whakaue situated research. Analysing the data using a different lens, that of a traditional way in which Ngāti Whakaue, indeed iwi Māori generally view the world of the past, the present and the future, is encapsulated in the whakataukī (proverb or instruction):

Kia whakatōmuri te haere i ngā Rā o Mua

The whakataukī instructs to look to the past in order to construct the future. It brings together a Māori perspective of time where the past, the present and future exist along a continuum of life as one developmental process⁶⁴.

Diagram 1: Ngā Pou me ngā Pou Whirinaki.



⁶² Dowell et al., 2022

⁶³ Alhojailan, 2012

⁶⁴ Rameka 2016

Ethics

Because individuals and groups of people were participating in the research, Ethics approval was required. An application was made to the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee and was approved on 27 July 2020.

Ngā Hua (Findings)

Mai i ngā wānanga (From the wānanga)

All three pou were in play at each wānanga. The findings from each are presented separately beginning with quotes relevant to a pou whirinaki. The quotes are then followed by a discussion referring back to the Pou of Anamata, Inaianei and o Mua.

Wānanga Tuatahi

Pou Whirinaki: Kaumātutanga (Who and Role)

- Pou Whirinaki: Ngā Pūkenga (Skills required)
- Pou Whirinaki: Whakaahu i ngā rā o mua (Becoming a Kaumātua)

Kaumātutanga (Who and Role)

Kaumātua is a special name (with) kuia/koro for older [people]. (KF7)

It's a commitment. You have to be committed to be on the pae. (KF8)

Moko Kauae – signified kaumātua for me. That was a kaumātua to me, moko kauae and tokotoko. (KF3)

If you look at 1918 township agreement of 25 men, all those kaumātua are in suits and immaculately dressed. (KF2)

Back in the day, the kuia and kaikaranga stayed at the marae – slept there.... Old kuia used to sit on the floor; nowadays we do for ½ hour and we are sore. Widows never left the tūpāpaku. Kuia back in the days – tobacco, toilet, cup of tea – they never went into the wharekai for a kai. Great role models, persevered, strong. (KF19)

On the pae we are grateful to have anybody, when we go to other marae it warms our heart when we see kaumātua (elders) on the pae. Confused

with pae and kaumātua, they are different ... [we] need to define that. (KF1)

[Kaumātua] sit on panelsof different departments... the kaumātua panel of the rangatahi court, it's all voluntary...all paid except kaumātua. [Kaumātua have] a consultancy role ... social services ... due to experience, years we've done. (KF19)

This is our whenua (Rotorua) that was gifted and we are across everything – doing the kanohi ki te kanohi. Sometimes we're expected to fill in the gaps at the last minute. (KF3)

It's about the Whakaue perspective, reminding people that this is our whenua our land. (KF10)

Inundated with events, pōwhiri. (KF12)

When whanau don't have a tangi at the marae but at home, we go to the home. (KF7)

[I am] liaison kuia for Ngāti Whakaue [at work]... [People] come to me as liaison...another Ngāti Whakaue [staff] at [place of employment] are known as the Cultural Advisor (KF9)

The kaumātua were clear about the difference between groupings of elderly. Specifically of kaumātua, kuia and koroua and koeke. Kuia and koroua were elderly women and elderly men and koeke were all elderly without gender bias.

Kaumātua they determined were those elderly (both male and female) who represented the whānau, hapū and especially the iwi at more formal events. They differentiated those events that take place on the marae like tangi and pōwhiri for a variety of occasions, from those that take place elsewhere like:

- hiki tapu (removing restrictions),
- volunteering at pre-schools and schools and kura generally,
- being on various panels representing the iwi,
- fulfilling consultancy roles especially in the social services,
- sitting on Boards,
- opening of hotels,
- attending and sitting on Rangatahi Court panels,
- opening events for the local authority and other organisations,
- supporting those who are promoted or

starting new jobs .

The list they provided is not finite as new and different requests come their way on a regular basis.

They acknowledged that participation brings with it recognition for the individual kaumātua. They also agreed that participation and engagement in the various activities named was acknowledgement of the place of Ngāti Whakaue in the city boundaries given that as principal iwi they had entered into a contract with the Crown in 1880 for land to build a city that was to become Rotorua. That contract, the Fenton Agreement, was bound into law with the 1881 Thermal Springs District Act⁶⁵.

As they talked several things became apparent. First, they were tired. The need to represent meant they were extremely busy and it was tiring. Next, that despite their tiredness, what was more important to them was that they showed up to represent the iwi and to assert their rangatiratanga as an iwi that had gifted the land upon which the city was built as well representing Māori people generally within a New Zealand context. In their words:

It's about the Whakaue perspective, reminding people that this is our whenua our land. (KF15)

We have to fight with them - that is, for our whenua, our tāngata. (KF8)

From time to time individually they would decide not to participate in an event but only if they knew there were others there to uphold the mana of the iwi.

Additionally the service they provided was often free. Where payment was made, it was to the iwi rather than to them as individuals. Also, it was not unusual that when they sat on a panel or board, they would be the only ones unpaid. They saw that as being very unfair and taking gross advantage of their commitment to the iwi.

Finally, they considered they had become 'soft' in comparison to the kaumātua they knew and had observed when they were younger. One even went as far to say that tikanga had changed so much that current tikanga was not recognisable when comparing with the tikanga from the past. Other kaumātua present acknowledged change had occurred to fit the time and felt that was not appreciated nor recognised.

⁶⁵ Te Awēkotuku, 1981

Ngā Pūkenga (Skills required)

They must have a good understanding of tikanga and kawa and have the reo... Kaumātua pae will close rank if they don't think people have it. (KF3)

They were people who had skills, language, whakapapa retention... (KF2)

How many of us are fluent in reo, none of us, [we were] not taught to speak...we're in an age group where reo is lost...we're asked about whakapapa... no kids in the kitchen now, [there were] hundreds in my day. (KF8)

Although the kaumātua said that fluency in te reo Māori was an essential skill not all of them were in fact fluent speakers. English for many was the language of communication, noticeably for the women more so than the men. That was likely because fluency in the language was a skill they deemed necessary for the kaikōrero (speaker) who in Ngāti Whakaue like every other iwi are usually men. The role of the women kaumātua on the paepae tapu are as kaikaranga (ceremonial caller) and kaiwaiata (singers). The kaikaranga need to have an excellent to reasonable command of the language and are currently a small group in Ngāti Whakaue. The kaiwaiata do not need to have any fluency in the language but must know the waiata and the appropriate times to sing them.

As a group the women were conscious of lacking language capability; were also conscious they are of the generation who were not taught the language. Initially they did not offer any discussion as to why that might have happened. But later they talked about the fact their parents thought that for them to be successful, they had to learn English and therefore encouraged them to discard te reo Māori in preference for English. They recognised that their parents had considered the language was not a language of success and as kaumātua now, were happy to support their mokopuna to attend Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa. Despite the prevailing attitudes to the language when they were growing up, te reo Māori was spoken around them and therefore they garnered an understanding of the language to fulfil their kaumātua responsibilities.

The Wānanga Kaumātua also spoke of the ability of kaumātua to settle disputes and told some stories about times when that had happened. Those are not recounted here because of issues related to anonymity. To tell the stories would likely identify whānau however, every whānau will have their stories about kaumātua who settled disputes and how they expedited that responsibility.

The kaumātua also spoke about the roles and responsibilities of women who occupied the role. Those, as with the male kaumātua, began in the wharekai learning those aspects of manaakitanga related to feeding visitors and others taking part in marae activities. It was here they learned how to design menus, order the right amounts of food, cook, set tables and serve, then clean, all under the supervision of older members of the whānau. They had begun that apprenticeship at an early age and remained there until required to attend the ātea and wharenuī which they referred to as 'the Big House'⁶⁶.

The women kaumātua talked about their role and how they learnt it from their mothers, aunts, grandmothers and older sisters and also their fathers and especially, uncles. Those roles and responsibilities covered both houses (wharenuī and wharekai) and the ātea. Included was the opening and preparing of both wharenuī and wharekai for whatever event was about to occur from minor to major.

In the wharekai that covered:

- supervising younger whānau members on the best way to set up the tables for the numbers attending an event. Some families were known for working in the wharekai being especially skilled cooks;
- menu setting and ensuring everyone in the kitchen knows what it is; nowadays usually by having it displayed somewhere whereas for themselves and their parents' generation, it meant menus were committed to memory;
- ordering the food and ingredients according to menus;
- supervising food preparation, cooking, serving and cleaning;

Often kaumātua skilled in the kitchen and wharekai, remained there only occasionally taking their place in the wharenuī or on the ātea. One of the kaumātua on the Advisory Group was currently one such person and acknowledged by the others for her skill and authority in that space.

In the wharenuī responsibilities included:

- preparing the wharenuī for an event involving;
- laying out of whāriki (mats) correctly according to the occasion;
- laying out and dressing of mattresses and

⁶⁶ A literal translation of wharenuī – whare (house); nuī (big)

pillows with the linen belonging to the marae;

- preparing the place for a tūpāpaku to be set down;
- ensuring the speakers places are correctly set up;
- ensuring water for cleansing rituals was readily available;

On the ātea the female kaumātua needed to be:

- ready and able to deliver karanga appropriate for the occasion;
- ready with kīnaki to support kaikōrero;
- supervising younger members of the whānau learning the roles and responsibilities they will have to carry in future;
- contributing to the content of whaikōrero;
- providing guidance on appropriate dress and behaviour.

Kaumātua haere noa (Becoming a Kaumātua)

When it's time and you know it's your time, you step-up, so age is irrelevant (KF3)

Three ways I was told by [named person] – toto (whakapapa), appointed by the people, by your work and attributes (KF4)

Share our experiences, we didn't get lessons or told, these are the 3 points to be a kaumātua. Here in Whakaue we don't have the numbers, we have to often look for people – karanga, kaumātua to whaikōrero (KF2)

My younger brother is our speaker. Our older brother stepped aside for his younger brother. When we have our tangi, younger brother speaks on behalf of whanau but if he's not present then the older brother will do it. (KF7)

Younger ones on the pae, can't call them kaumātua. Are they kaumātua or kaitautoko? (KF1)

Pikiao and Tūhourangi – great succession of young, [named them]. These [young] people started in their 20's. They were nurtured and groomed for positions – they have the skills, reo, knowledge and whakapapa and retention or ability to retain whakapapa. (KF2)

Kaumātua of the old days, they were strict as. You had to earn the right to be in the kitchen and on the pae. At twenty or so I was not allowed round

the front. It was strict ... [your] place started at the back ... peeling, kitchen, then wharekai. When koroua told you it was time then you came across ... more important to know what happened at the back ... [you had to] earn your right to be in the wharenuī. (KF9)

Some of us by-passed the kitchen need to go straight to the pae because we need people on the pae. (KF1)

When on the pae I sat at the back, then grew confidence, learned waiata, then moved forward (KF10)

My experience same as KF10, I progressed gradually to the front row. Auntie (Name) wanted me to stand with her and we approached my eldest sister for me to step-up. She said no that I had to sit in the back row and zip it. But with my other whānau, they were happy for me to step-up. When my sister passed 6 years ago, I stepped up. (KF2)

Third row created as a safety zone but moved to the second row once their confidence grew. We have some who sit on the third row, they stay there, it's a safety thing, they are not confident with the reo. (KF1)

Age defined kaumātuatanga for those attending the wānanga. One person who was in his thirties attended one of the wānanga and said that acting in the role of a kaumātua was thrust upon him because there were none at a particular event and he fulfilled the role to the best of his ability at the time. That prompted a discussion on progression through the ranks from the third row through to the first.

The kaumātua talked about progression from the third row to the first as being one indicator of movement through the ranks to becoming a fully fledged kaumātua. The back row was the place of those who had either been kaumātua but had 'retired' and were present in support of those who now had the responsibility. This was also the row occupied by younger members of the paepae tapu who were learning and usually had been invited to begin their journey into being responsible kaumātua at some point in the future.

On the ātea (courtyard), the women who are kaumātua can be found on the mahau (verandah) of the wharenuī and those women supporting with kīnaki, sharing the second and third rows depending on the number of males. Inside the wharenuī, where the female kaumātua sit is dependent upon the number of male kaumātua although definitely they will not occupy the front row whether inside or outside which is reserved

for speakers. The kaikaranga is likely to occupy a position whether on the ātea or inside the whareniui, enabling her to move to the front to call should that be necessary.

What was clear in this and the other two wānanga was that government policy in relation to the age at which superannuation could be received had significantly influenced age being applied to the definition of kaumātuatanga. Those attending the wānanga were clear that receiving Superannuation meant they were free to exercise their responsibilities as kaumātua without financial worry. The cultural impact of Superannuation had not been a significant marker previously but definitely now has an impact on the age at which a person can be identified as kaumātua and therefore begin to fulfil the role formally.

Wānanga Tuarua

- Pou Whirinaki: Services: Ngā ratonga
- Pou Whirinaki: Succession: Raupapatanga
- Pou Whirinaki: Spirituality and the Church: Wairua me te Hāhi

Ngā Ratonga (Services)

In five years, the priority is being well and healthy with no physical or mental issues and actively engaged in the iwi Ngāti Whakaue. (KF3)

I can't foresee in five years, same values yes, but I take it day by day. (KF11)

We are frugal, we own our own homes, we are very independent we have our own gardens and we share things. But, having things that are useful, helping and showing kaumātua how to put money aside that's what's needed. (KF10)

As kaumātua we contribute to tangi, church, we help our systems keep going. (KF6)

The focus on services in Wānanga Tuarua was on the kind of society the kaumātua wanted for themselves and future kaumātua, and the services they thought were important to support them to continue to be lifeways engaged. The questions posed enabled them to raise potential issues related to kaumātua lifeways, their engagement in tribal activities and how they thought various issues might affect their health and wellbeing.

For them it was important to manage their health and wellbeing on their own terms as individuals

and collectively. An example they spoke about was that in the post-Covid lockdown environment they are more cognisant of the pandemic landscape. That is, they have a heightened awareness of their personal health. Additionally, they said they actively share responsibilities related to tribal activities and support each other to practice self-care. The focus on health and wellbeing they said was important for ensuring engagement in tribal activities and representing the iwi externally e.g. at local authority events.

Wānanga Kaumātua were quite clear about what they needed and wanted. Namely, iwi owned and operated services for koeke, the kupu (word) they used to reference Māori elderly who:

- no longer have full responsibilities on the paepae tapu but are likely to still be present to support active kaumātua;
- and those who need care.

Wānanga participants wanted services, (with an emphasis on Work and Income [WINZ]), to go out to marae and meet with the elderly on a face-to-face basis. They were emphatic that as Māori they have their own hubs where they gathered, and that these would make good places to meet kaumātua and deliver needed services. Currently, kaumātua have to make appointments and go into an office. The kaumātua attending the wānanga were aware that as they age, they are less likely to make those appointments and will become dependent on others to do this for them. Likewise, they will become dependent upon others to ensure they attend appointments and the potential for missed appointments being highly probable. They were worried about how this would affect their health and wellbeing and ability to be engaged in whānau, hapū and iwi events.

Delivery of services via hubs, with marae being the preferred site for a hub, was particularly important for what this group of kaumātua recognised, as a growing elderly population.

Another important issue for the Wānanga Kaumātua, particularly when understanding who the iwi's elderly were as opposed to who the kaumātua were, was the need for their own Ngāti Whakaue koeke database. A database organised by whakapapa – "Ma tērā whānau, ma tērā whānau. Kei a rātau te mana. A database has to make sense in our ao." One Kaumātua had established her own database of 200 plus koeke and kaumātua inclusive of as many kaumātua of the iwi as she had identified. Another kaumātua advocated that each hapū of Ngāti Whakaue should compile a database of their elderly and

use it to identify who on the database could act as kaumātua to represent the whānau, hapū and iwi when necessary.

This particular issue came about as a result of action the iwi took during the COVID lockdowns. Knowing who their koeke and kaumātua were became important during the lockdowns for the distribution of food parcels, the vaccination drive and health care generally. Ngāti Whakaue communities organised around marae whānau were important distribution and organisation points during the lockdowns. One such community unit was an activity organised out of Para te Hoata (Tunohopu) Marae which they called "Feed the Pā!" A short case study about Feed the Pā can be found on page 67.

There followed a suggestion that young people of the iwi could do that work. That suggestion then expanded to finding some way to pay them to undertake a household survey for the iwi. Two kaumātua said it was important to start local, thereby strengthening a sense of belonging. Importantly, the kaumātua agreed it was important to strengthen the relationships between all the hapū of Ngāti Whakaue. The kaumātua thought that this was perhaps something that one or other of the various Ngāti Whakaue trusts could undertake or support.

Accessibility to information and funding, very little education for kaumātua. We are told that that is the government's work. That that's what Whanau Ora is for. I'm not saying we aren't treated well but its 'goodbye thank you we'll give you a call next week'. How let down we are by our Trusts, the one's on the Board. (KF3)

It is important to note, that throughout the wānanga, in fact throughout the entire research, there was little trust in the various tribal trusts and in particular, Ngāti Whakaue Asset Trusts (NWAT)⁶⁷ raised several times by the kaumātua. Some noted the lack of understanding by NWAT of the reciprocal relationship between kaumātua achieving good health and wellbeing and their active engagement in tribal cultural occasions/events/activities. A summary of the services the Trust provides can be found on page 27 of this report with a link to its website for verification.

Generally however, there are relationship issues in particular between government agencies like Inland Revenue Department and WINZ, Health providers and the Hospital and Ngāti Whakaue people (as opposed to the tribal trusts). The kaumātua identified the following barriers related to access, processes and engagement leading to

uncertainty and confusion they had experienced:

WINZ – there was/were/are:

- a lack of access to information about the different pension rates;
- a real struggle to fill-out online forms;
- long delays in response to enquiries;
- no mechanism to drop-in and engage kanohi ki te kanohi resulting in real issues not being addressed in real time;
- misinformation or the kaumātua were unable to access information;
- diverse kaumātua situations including capacity and capability not recognised or supported.
- Current providers' health approaches are largely absent of preventative approaches relative to kaumātua health problems, realities and stage of life. Dementia was provided as an example in which there is a lack of education around early symptoms, lists of specialists and how to access them.
- Current hospital system translates to long waiting times; absence of respect from General Practitioners (GPs) leading to experiences of superficial care.
- Current Maori services for example Tipu Ora (targeted population services) don't address 'whole' of community needs or realities.

Suggestions made to improve services besides the database noted previously included:

- Kaumātua services/support within the hospital structure;
- The inclusion of community engagement in GP training;
- GPs in the district to receive training about the Ngāti Whakaue historical and current contexts including both people and place;
- The provision of marae-based health services and promotions to catch early presentation of health issues for kaumātua prompting visits to GPs and Covid testing;
- The appointment of Health Navigators who would help with understanding what services were available, where they were located and how to access them.

⁶⁷ See pages 26 & 27 for information on the various tribal trusts with links to their websites.

A non-health related service discussed was the Citizens Advice Bureau and the potential for the establishment of a Māori Citizens Advice Bureau. The kaumātua identified this as being important because of a need for support around a number of important kaupapa especially relevant to life stage like the writing and updating of wills, setting up power of attorney and or the executor of an estate, setting up funeral insurance and associated costs.

Importantly for the Wānanga Kaumātua was the need for services that would enable them to maintain their independence and ability to engage as active kaumātua on the marae and representing their iwi.

We volunteer and actively lead many of the groups ourselves; it's how we [kaumātua] all stay active and connected. We have health bite classes at Waikite Club to keep fit but also about socialising. We have six registered Maori nurses that support our [kaumātua] community e.g. diabetes, heart, breast cancer and cancer checks. We have the coffin club, people can make their own coffins, and at Waikite Club we have a hairstylist once a month, te reo classes monthly, access the gym with our own trainer who focuses on leg and arm exercises We have a data base with about 300 registered Waikite members from juniors to kaumātua, we organise workshops for insurance – health and life insurance and take them through the process so they are informed, we create opportunities. (KF10)

Four or five times a week there is an activity [organised and led by (Name) and (Name)] for us to participate in. (KF11)

We get vouchers and manage ourselves. When we get money from pōwhiri we give money to drivers and we use that money to help kaumātua with koha at tangi. (KF10)

We are lucky we have pōwhiri and hui, it keeps us connected. (KF3)

We do it because it's Ngāti Whakaue. Lots of pōwhiri Ngāti Whakaue are invited to, sometimes 5 or 6 a week. It's great. (KF10)

Raupapatanga (Succession)

We learn from our parents. I relate back to the pā. We had role models. I have eight children and they follow on what we taught them... You reap the rewards, it's the simple things, the time invested in our kids, the praise, the recognition. Our kids' intellect is awesome. (KF11)

Very important point raised by (named kaumātua). Trustees need to make way for our young, we've

got kids in our families that could do the roles on trusts. In five years' time, that's the change, that's what we want. (KF3)

The reference to Trustees in the second quote was inclusive of the various tribal trusts as well as marae trusts. However the point being made was the need for succession planning. Succession was important to the Wānanga Kaumātua because it was their land, their whenua. They spoke emphatically about their land, their whenua and were conscious of protecting their position as mana whenua in an area where a number of iwi reside and the need to ensure that protection for future generations. To them, it was important to pass that information along with other knowledge to the next generation of kaumātua.

In Wānanga Tuatahi, the kaumātua spoke about how they had become kaumātua when to their knowledge succession was not obvious nor planned. Instead they had learnt by observing their parents who also instructed them. They thought there had been a lot of support for the younger generations too and space had been provided for them to take on roles and responsibilities.

In Wānanga Tuarua, they spoke about the need to be mindful about succession because they were concerned that future kaumātua would have the knowledge and skills necessary to represent the iwi. They expressed their concerns that although the advent of Te Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa and Wharekura (total immersion pre-school, primary and secondary schooling) meant there were fluent speakers of the language, they felt that did not extend to knowledge of tikanga. It was this area of succession they thought needed some focus.

In addition to knowledge of tikanga, another area of concern expressed was in relation to whakapapa and those who had knowledge of it within the iwi. One kaumātua thought Māori Land Court minutes would be able to provide information should it be required in support of whānau and hapū knowledge. However the related issues included:

- Whether whānau realised that resource was available to them.
- The fact that the Māori Land Court is a government agency and the lack of trust associated with such agencies.
- Whānau actively seeking that information and setting in place some processes for themselves in both seeking the information and then in sharing it with the whānau.

The discussion on succession finished on a question as to whether the iwi needed to change

with the times and that perhaps could be addressed at Wānanga Tuatoru.

Wairuatanga me te Hāhi (Spirituality and the Religion)

The Hāhi is really important, I was brought up in a time where Hāhi was just as important as Māori spirituality and belief system. (KF16)

I think spirituality is very important and more so as you get older. [I] draw huge comfort from the church and [my] connection with wairua with spirituality. You see it all the time at our tangi, when we hand over our loved ones, and karakia is more present in our lives. You have more time when your older. Keeps [you] safe. (KF6)

The question was asked – what is the role and significance of spirituality and the many hāhi for you, kaumātua and the hapū?

The first thought the Wānanga Kaumātua had was to the Christian church and then to aspects of wairuatanga that were not Christian. They told the story of how families in the village of Ohinemutu became either Anglican or Catholic. At a hui held at Tamatekapua, families were seated randomly in the wharenuī, when the chief Petera Pukuatua, who it is said using his taiaha to indicate an imaginary line down the centre of the hui thereby indicating to those gathered who were to follow the Anglican faith and who were to follow the Catholic faith in the late 1800s. Families have remained with the religion allocated to them ever since. Despite that, families will go to services of either.

In amongst it all, Para te Hoata (Tunohopu) Marae was initially Ringatū. All of the marae that are Ngāti Whakaue are diverse in their religious affiliation and provide space and opportunity for most Christian affiliated religions to practice when necessary, especially for poroporoaki and tangihanga. For the Wānanga Kaumātua, manaaki and tautoko were the important factors, not religion.

When asked, what is spirituality, the kaumātua generally talked about spirituality and wairua in the same breath. They did however identify wairua with the whenua in relation to taking care and clearing the pathway or practices of whakarite (restoring balance), sending wairua where they should be and that tikanga in relation to those things had evolved.

I was brought up in a traditional setting, knowing who you are and where you are. I worked across the motu for twenty plus years. Before I moved into a rohe I acknowledge the rohe, the mana tangata. I acknowledge the whakapapa. Knowing

how to behave, the tikanga of the rohe i.e. Tainui, Te Arawa kawa, tikanga, cultural norms etc, that's how I see spirituality. (KF15)

Seen as two different things spirituality and religion. The Minister will say that the person [deceased] is safely wrapped in the arms of Papatūānuku, its made quite explicit that there is no other spirit. (KF17)

When you do your karanga you are talking to those in the next world, you're calling them, all the kupu are about the afterlife. (KF15)

All our tikanga is about the afterlife. We thank Tangaroa when get kai. We have time to think and be at peace with yourself. Everything becomes clearer. (KF6)

When we get older we are at the other end of life. Your understanding of life becomes more clearer. I think about who will be on the other side. (KF16)

My sprituality fits into it all, I'm religously schizo – Mormons, Ringatu, Catholic – whatever's relevant to the kaupapa. I acknowledge all religions all faiths. (KF15)

It was clear that although Christianity was important, equally important were those aspects of spirituality that were not Christian in origin and there was an easy mixing of the two. The kaumātua said both were equally important to keep oneself 'safe' especially preservation of knowledge about 'old ways' of spirituality.

At school you never had the opportunity to acknowledge any of our Māori gods. As a young person you just do [what you're told] but like [named person] said, when you get older you're more confident to have your say. (KF15)

I've got to start at the beginning, religion has always been a part of my life. I was brought up by nan and koro. It's really quite simple, I was a sick kid and nan was like a living angel, beautiful person inside and out. Her love of Christianity is an ongoing influence no matter where I am. In times of sorrow, loss and pain it carries you through the pain. My faith carries through to my mokopuna. (KF11)

My beliefs in Maori atua, we have those gifts of conservation, how did we get it wrong for example contamination. People are caring for Papatuanuku now and what we do now is for the future – that to me is spirituality. Its simple, sometimes we make things difficult and it doesn't have to be, its simple. (KF11)

Spirituality is the glue, its the goodness that holds the people together. (KF17)

You'll see spirituality in our protocols, everything we do we give thanks first through karakia. (KF6)

As the discussion of the wānanga on wairuatanga and the hāhi progressed it became obvious that there was a mixing of wairuatanga and tikanga particularly when the kaumātua gave examples of how the 'old ways' had evolved. Some examples they gave include:

- Returning from the urupā. Never used to clear after burial. Used to just turn the mattresses. Now tell whānau to wait until the clearing is done.
- Clearing the way by doing karakia when going to someone's home or to a new place.
- When there were tangihanga there was no playing out the front.
- Tohunga would lift tapu to enable activities to occur.
- Use of water in the clearing activities.
- Practices prescribed by the church and those prescribed by tikanga.
- All the kuia back in the rā had their own wairua. The kuia sat on the paepae tapu / mahau and never moved. They watched who was arriving and some had children sit with them.
- Tapu of women especially pregnant women who were revered.
- Not touching of things – ngā mea tapu, he mea wairua.
- The women never sat behind the paepae tapu but sat on mattresses; previously, women sat on seats, now they sit on the floor.

Although the two concepts of wairuatanga and tikanga are linked, they are quite different. Wairua literally means two waters, and in the context of what is being discussed here, it signifies the coming together of the spiritual and the physical. Tikanga are the proper procedures or practices related to a particular activity. In a Māori context, all activity is likely to include aspects of wairuatanga often beginning with karakia before moving into action.

The Wānanga Kaumātua described wairua as an energy that could be felt and an example they gave was the wairua of whakapapa. However, some thought wairua was not quite the right word when talking about energy but did not progress that discussion any further.

When asked what they do when the wairua is not quite right, they answered that it is time for a karakia and, to change the energy by singing a song. These two actions, with the addition of breaking to consume food, indicated their knowledge of the usual ways in which tikanga provided for a resetting of balance should it be necessary.

This moved on to a discussion about wairua and wairangi. Both words are made up of two parts with water being important to both. A discussion about water cleansing lead to a comment about the relationship of water cleansing to Christianity and that maybe the use of water for cleansing came from there. The reference to some practices, thought to be Māori in origin, in reality probably having their origins in the hāhi was one of those quiet moments in the wānanga when the impact of the organised church was acknowledged.

Moewaka Barnes et al⁶⁸ write about wairua being an important part of experience and how we understand the world and that wairua is in every part of our lives every day and not just for rituals. Valentine et al⁶⁹ albeit talking about spirituality and wellbeing, also said the same thing and that there are positive associations between the two. Lindsay et al⁷⁰ described spirituality as being more nuanced, holistic and comprehensive than religion, which was more structured and organised with a set of rules defining it. For them, Māori spirituality was rooted in cosmological narratives deeply embedded in whakapapa supporting Wānanga Kaumātua as a whole when they advocated for a database of koeke that is whakapapa based and connected to recognised iwi hubs or hapū and marae. For the kaumātua, iwi stories strengthen whakapapa connections and by extension, spiritual wellbeing and lifeways engagement.

The Wānanga Kaumātua recognised that the next generations bring with them a return to Māori spirituality. Comments were then made about the arrogance of some younger members of the iwi, especially those who were fluent speakers of the language and perhaps had attended particular schools for learning the language, but there were others who said it was important to build and maintain relationships with young members of the iwi so they would know that kaumātua supported them.

Hāhi is dying out, Māori spirituality is strong. Its stronger now in our children. What's strengthened it is our children and we have wised up to oppression and colonisation. Christianity is not trusted by our kids, they have greater access to

⁶⁸ 2017
⁶⁹ 2017
⁷⁰ 2020

information through the cyber world i.e. the role of the missionaries and the truth surrounding early contact [of Maori and missionaries]. Back in the day our old people were so obliging, like blind faith whereas our kids today question and challenge. Our kids are so proud to be Māori. We were so embarrassed. Our kids celebrate who we and they are. (KF16)

Wānanga Tuatoru

- Pou Whirinaki: Āheitanga
- Pou Whirinaki: Rangatiratanga
- Pou Whirinaki: Anamata

Āheitanga (Capability and Capacity)

Over the years tikanga and kawa have continued to evolve so who teaches our mokopuna? Will tangi survive in its present form of three days at the marae then nehu? Who will man the paepae or provide pōwhiri for visiting dignitaries, manuhiri etc.? (KF6)

Capability and capacity were considered to be an issue by the Wānanga Kaumātua because of the inconsistency in the application of Ngāti Whakaue tikanga and kawa. There were kaumātua however who thought the following generations of kaumātua would be better prepared for the role and responsibilities than they had been.

The Wānanga Kaumātua provided five reasons for the inconsistency they had identified. The first being that whānau do not know marae tikanga and kawa and cited a lack of knowledge on hosting visitors to the marae, or what it takes to hold a tangi on a marae. They expressed concern that ahikā ringawera (the usual marae cooks) were being asked to support tangi because the wider whānau of the deceased do not have the capacity or capability to undertake required responsibilities when holding tangi on marae. This supported the second reason for the inconsistent application of tikanga and kawa which was that marae etiquette was no longer being taught and learned.

In the two previous wānanga, the kaumātua had spoken about how they learned tikanga and kawa on the marae as part of their movement from the wharekai to the Big House (wharenuī) and paepae. Each had first been involved in learning how to work in the wharekai, from the setting of tables through to food preparation, cooking, serving, and cleaning. From there they were able to also observe what was happening on the ātea and wharenuī which prepared them for the time they assumed kaumātua responsibilities. They remarked that whānau were no longer as closely

involved in marae activities as they had been primarily because many no longer live within close proximity to their marae. The result was declining knowledge of what was required to host activities on marae.

The third reason was that only a core group or minority now know Ngāti Whakaue marae etiquette. Leading to the fourth reason which is the disconnect between the people and the marae. An example Wānanga Kaumātua spoke about was whānau not knowing that when they take their tūpāpaku (deceased) to the marae, their loved one belongs to the people on arrival at the marae because that is where the tikanga and kawa reside. The result is there are sometimes differences of opinion and altercations, with whānau refusing to abide by marae tikanga. The kaumātua said that it is necessary to inform whānau and others booking marae for hui of any sort to be informed of the tikanga and kawa when making a booking. Communication was therefore an important factor for those taking the bookings.

The fifth reason was that the paepae tapu is not or does not lead by example. A case in point were the occasions when those sitting on the paepae tapu were observed using mobile phones while whaikōrero were happening. In previous wānanga other examples were given of people being instructed by kaumātua on what to wear (formal black skirts or dresses for women and suits and ties for men) when on the paepae tapu and that same kaumātua who had given the instruction arriving in shorts and Hawaiian shirts. Dress and clothing was discussed throughout each of the wānanga as both important in affirming the mana of the iwi as well as the standard of dress required when attending formal functions and that maintaining that standard was becoming a deterrent to participation in marae activities. That is, when people are not dressed according to what is determined as being appropriate, they are told to change or to go 'to the back', which usually means helping in the kitchen. The result is they often leave the marae altogether and sometimes never return with the consequence of lost opportunities for knowledge transfer.

Other related issues raised included financial cost, globalization and the possibility of marae becoming white elephants.

Whānau were choosing not to hold tangi on marae because of cost. Instead, they were choosing to grieve for their loved ones within their homes to keep costs down. The impact was whānau were losing contact with the marae and related tikanga and kawa and a new set of these two important factors of Whakaue life and culture were being revised to suit a new and different setting.

However, even in the home context the kaumātua spoke about whānau being at a loss as to how to proceed and that when they had attended tangi held in homes, they had found it strange.

The Wānanga Kaumātua also discussed the impact the diaspora and Covid had on tikanga and kawa and noted that either situation was not unique to Ngāti Whakaue but had the effect of accelerating the whānau disconnect with marae. The discussion also addressed streaming of tangi as these were increasing because of the diaspora meaning whānau were no longer able to travel home for tangi. Although some were resigned to it, they were not entirely comfortable whereas others were adamantly opposed, even objecting to any photos being taken during proceedings. All agreed that any pictures of the tūpāpaku lying in the open casket was not acceptable.

Their reasoning for opposing streaming of tangi was that it was not tika (correct). They talked about the fact that if a person wanted to be present then that person should make the effort to be there in person and not request for the tangi to be streamed. Usually, it is just the burial service that is streamed although there have been instances of whole tangi being broadcast as well as live-streamed and at least two of these, albeit not of Ngāti Whakaue, were mentioned in the wānanga.

A few of the Wānanga Kaumātua expressed their concern that marae were slowly becoming white elephants. All agreed that something needed to be done now with an acknowledgement that some marae were already holding wānanga citing the waiata wānanga at Te Roro-o-te-Rangi. The concern was the need to teach tikanga and kawa to ensure it was still available and practiced by the iwi in twenty-five years' time.

Wānanga Kaumātua noted that Ngāti Whakaue has its own distinct practices around kawa on the marae⁷¹. They noted that the issue of loss of tikanga and kawa was Te Arawa wide. Other iwi, hapū and marae had begun to address the issue and thought it needed to happen on all forty-five marae of Te Arawa. For the kaumātua there were two aspects that could be addressed by a wānanga series – the teaching of Ngāti Whakaue tikanga and kawa, and how to cope with the changes that are inevitable and have already happened.

An example was given by one of the Wānanga Kaumātua of a conversation had with another person, a Ngāti Pikiao⁷² relative. The relative had been furious because her daughter had wanted to go to the marae to socialize with her cousins

on the last night of a tangi and she had forbidden her to do so. Instead, she had told her daughter that she should be at the tangi from the first day to the end and that during that time her place was in the kitchen.

Will we still have tangi? What are the whānau responsible for? Who will provide the karanga and paepae? Who runs the kitchen? Does the whānau have burial plots? Which kaumātua okayed the burial plots at Kauae Cemetery? Who receives the koha and pays the bills? What obligation does koha have for whānau? Who cleans the marae after the tangi? Who contacts the church minister, priest? Who pays for the service? (KF6)

The story shared came from a place of concern for the change in attendance at tangi and other marae held occasions generally, where members of whānau, hapū and iwi are not contributing as workers but attending as visitors. Such behavior contributes to a loss of tikanga and kawa and understanding of how to provide for such occasions.

The Wānanga Kaumātua reiterated that what was happening in Ngāti Whakaue was happening in the whole of Te Arawa and gave the example of how during the Covid lockdowns, marae had to review tikanga in relation to tangi and tūpāpaku. For the kaumātua that review was already a starting point for other wānanga that are simply about Ngāti Whakaue practices and behavior on marae.

Referral was then made to the six Koromatua saying that each could wānanga and start to have conversations about what they want for their tangi and their level of involvement. The Wānanga Kaumātua thought it was also important to discuss the fact that many whānau no longer saw marae as the place to hold functions like tangihanga and that this was happening nationally and therefore it might be useful to seek some cooperation or consult with all the other iwi that are Te Arawa. For the kaumātua it was about addressing what was wanted for a thriving marae and planning how to achieve that. The kaumātua thought wānanga or learning about those things even with the pakeke and koeke of Ngāti Whakaue to review what they know, to look to the past and see what the tikanga and kawa was. The kaumātua acknowledged there had been many changes since the marae were built and established. Those changes might look small now on reflection but would have been major at the time they were made and that was without considering the impact of tourism. They thought that the kaumātua participating in Kaumātua Futures research could suggest/nominate such wānanga even if it is to review

⁷¹ McRae, 2014

⁷² Ngāti Pikiao is another iwi of Te Arawa confederation.

and revisit understandings of tikanga and kawa. The purpose would be to strengthen the things that work especially those things that will be impacted by the internet.

For the kaumātua there was much that could be discussed in whānau, hapū, iwi wānanga and it was inevitable that following generations will challenge and ask why things cannot be done in a different way. For some Wānanga Kaumātua, if following generations could present a solid reason for a change, then approval would be given with some examples given.

One was what has become the usual process of recording incoming koha and outgoings because that is information for the whānau to discuss after a function or tangihanga. There was also discussion about kawe mate (period of extended mourning), attending other tangi in the rohe (district) immediately after your own should there be others, old people getting up immediately after a tangi to go to another. These actions were considered important tikanga and kawa behaviours by the Wānanga Kaumātua.

In summary, the Wānanga Kaumātua were concerned about:

- The loss of tikanga and kawa in relation to all sites of activities on the marae from the wharekai through to the wharenuī and paepae tapu.
- Less use of marae as venues for important whānau activities and functions especially tangi.
- Learning about what is necessary to host on the marae was being lost because people were choosing to stay away.

Wānanga, even if initially only of pakeke and koeke, was proposed as a way to address the concern. Such wānanga to identify changes in tikanga and kawa over time and why that was so, review and revisit current understandings of tikanga and kawa to strengthen those things that work and to identify those things that would be impacted by the internet and how to appropriately respond.

Rangatiratanga (Leadership)

The issue identified by the Wānanga Kaumātua was the absence of strong male leadership in Ngāti Whakaue. The reasons given were:

- Inconsistency of behaviour on all levels and for all ages including the paepae tapu, trustees of marae, koeke and rangatahi.

- It enables interpretations of Ngāti Whakaue tikanga and kawa resulting in variations of tikanga and kawa being practiced.

- It creates barriers to shared understandings of Ngāti Whakaue tikanga and kawa. The impact in relation to whakapapa has led to significant concerns about Ngāti Whakaue intellectual property.

Ngāti Rangiwewehi and the leadership of a particular (and named) individual was given by the Wānanga Kaumātua as an example of strong male leadership. In particular, the development of strong guidelines around tikanga and kawa related to tangihana, whānau burials at iwi, hapu or marae urupā with the tūpāpaku being required to lay in state at marae for a period of time. Inconsistencies in relation to tikanga and kawa practiced on marae was another related to tangihana. In particular, tūpāpaku being taken onto a marae after dark or after a particular time with the time of 6pm being noted by the Wānanga Kaumātua as a tikanga that had been practiced and was being pushed aside.

The proposed solution to the issue of leadership was wānanga exclusive to Ngāti Whakaue with the goal to review and revisit Ngāti Whakaue understanding of their own tikanga and kawa. The wānanga to:

- a. Be with Ngāti Whakaue koeke and kaumātua in the first instance.
- b. Have continuity that is, ongoing; good promotion for the iwi and marae; communicates expectations related to kawa, tikanga and marae accessibility.
- c. Create a space for people to be heard that is, a safe place where opinions and ideas can be shared.
- d. Require and support courageous leadership.

The Wānanga Kaumātua said the key to future wānanga for the iwi is leadership – disciplined leaders who lead by example. Those who have lived and seen Ngāti Whakaue tikanga and kawa are critical at wānanga and 'lived experience' is just as important as archival records and information.

There was also some discussion about succession, that is the preparation of the next generation to take on leadership in relation to tikanga and kawa. Te Roro-o-Te-Rangi was noted and the leadership of a named kaumātua were mentioned as one example of how a marae has responded to succession.

Other issues raised in relation to leadership included:

- The relationship between Ngāti Whakaue & the Rotorua District Council
- Whakapapa within Ngāti Whakaue
- Succession

Examples of strong Ngāti Whakaue women, who were dedicated to their role were provided by one of the kaumātua and supported by the others. One example was of a particular kuia who would sleep at the marae for the duration of a tangi, and nobody would try to take that from her. For the kaumātua who provided this example, this was a signifier of two things – the leadership that kuia had provided and how tikanga had changed because that tikanga of staying at a tangi for the duration is not adhered to anymore, even by themselves.

The same Wānanga Kaumātua noted that people have dual roles and responsibilities for example being available for pōwhiri at the local authority and at marae. Concern was expressed at the number of pōwhiri (“... we have so many”...) and that the situation had become one of, in their words, “dial-a-pōwhiri”. They saw attending pōwhiri as being good for raising money for the marae but also a huge intrusion in their lives. They said that the iwi and marae no longer have the widowed or single kaumātua for whom the marae provided with social lives - those people do not exist anymore. Instead, the kaumātua are job sharing to fulfil tribal obligations and the expectations of others. Where once jobs or roles on the marae were assigned to specific people and whānau, that was no longer the case.

Another kaumātua spoke about the availability of whānau to fulfil marae responsibilities and that each family has different circumstances that allows them to commit 100 or 50 or 25 percent of their time. They may have work commitments that affects the time they can give; the number of whānau who live local is another reason; the number of whānau who are in good enough health to be active and therefore available. These family circumstances dictate the time they can dedicate to Ngāti Whakaue marae and to events, activities and tangihanga. She noted that the nature of the environment has changed and has affected how much families can be active in Ngāti Whakaue kaupapa.

The Wānanga Kaumātua agreed there was a need to understand previous circumstances. Previously, people had dedicated their time and could because they were widowed and/or lived

near marae. Also, the relationship between the iwi and the local authority was minimal but nowadays, the wānanga participants felt the Council dictates to the iwi where and when they are needed. Previously, the Council did not roll out a pōwhiri for every visitor or for every new tourism business as they now do. It had been usual that Ngāti Whakaue determined and decided the Council events they would participate in, but it seemed that was no longer the case. Despite these sentiments the kaumātua thought it important for the iwi to be engaged with the Council.

The Wānanga Kaumātua agreed there are capable people who work in and or manage the marae kitchen and they are normally unemployed. People in the wharenuī who are retired with some being named to complement them when necessary. Everyone agreed that not all of those who fulfil these roles are acknowledged enough and that the iwi should have its own process for acknowledging those who maintain the mana of marae, whānau, hapū and iwi.

The Wānanga Kaumātua then discussed how long it took Ngāti Whakaue to regain their mana whenua status with the Council and that they were the first iwi of Te Arawa waka to achieve that. They all agreed and went on to describe how the Council informs the Kaumātua by providing a schedule of activities and that might include 6 to 8 pōwhiri within a given period. For the Wānanga Kaumātua, attending these was important because to do so was to uphold the mana of the iwi. Despite the need to uphold the mana of the iwi, the kaumātua were finding attending these many events intrusive in their lives and tiring.

Concern about the processes especially of decision-making in the iwi was raised. The kaumātua were concerned about who was making the decisions that arose from iwi relationships with external agencies both government and business. In addition, they wanted to know what the current relationship was and whether it was still the same as that created 25 years ago. The discussion on this issue indicated a communication breakdown between the Council, whomever they communicated with in the iwi and the wider iwi, and in this case, the kaumātua. The situation had created some ill-feeling amongst kaumātua which was palpable from time to time and did result in one or two choosing to step away from engaging particularly in the wānanga.

There followed a discussion on what had created the original situation up to the current agreement and arrangements with the local Council.

Twenty five years ago, everything was held on Te

Papaïouru – when things happened in Te Arawa it happened on Te Papaïouru where the parliament of Te Arawa met. Then gradually things started to go to other places and marae instead of to Te Papaïouru. This was influenced by key Te Arawa people sitting within the council, and because there was debate within Ngāti Whakaue male leadership about decision-making. Often, the debate would happen on the day of an event and in front of others. Rotorua Hospital was given as a key example because Ngāti Whakaue is no longer present on site like they once were. The Wānanga Kaumātua agreed that was due to leadership at the time.

Upholding the cultural capital of Ngāti Whakaue, demonstrating competence in accordance with hapū and iwi, tikanga and kawa the Wānanga Kaumātua agreed should always be upheld. They were clear it was not about seeking payment but important in the maintenance of cultural capital which is an iwi and cultural responsibility. They thought that maybe a way forward was to negotiate with the Council, an annual income like one lump sum at the end of the year, and in between those times, it is about providing that service on behalf of the people – kaumātua cultural responsibility to the iwi.

The possibility of repeating in 25 years what is happening now, was not something the wānanga wanted. The wānanga agreed that Ngāti Whakaue needed to take responsibility to educate their whānau themselves, and if necessary, to disciplining poor behaviour and understanding of tikanga and kawa. There followed a discussion on why some behaviour was allowed when previously it had not been with examples provided. The Wānanga Kaumātua acknowledged it was not for want of trying by individuals and took some personal responsibility and admitting that it was their generation that had allowed the current situations and partially attributing the situation to the fact that their generation is a generation lacking in te reo.

There followed a discussion about the next generations who had the language, were capable kaikōrero with reference to specific individuals. The Wānanga Kaumātua said it was necessary to create space for them to come through - to step up or step in; to provide the opportunities by creating the space. This led to a discussion about whakapapa hierarchy in Ngāti Whakaue.

At Wānanga Tuarua, whakapapa was an important issue raised in relation to who could speak on the ātea and why. That is, speaking rights were always handed down to the eldest son unless he gave that right to another; and if an older uncle was alive then a nephew was unable to speak.

Likewise, for wahine kaumātua. A younger sister could not karanga unless her older sister and or aunts gave her permission. In addition, whakapapa is a determinant of seniority and mana in a society as hierarchical as Māori society is. Certain families are still recognized within iwi as of chiefly status and therefore afforded rights not available to all, including the right to speak on the ātea should they choose to do so. Finally, almost all marae except those built by groups other than whānau, hapū and iwi, are whānau marae. That is, specific whānau are identified as having rights and therefore responsibilities for occasions and events held on those marae. At Wānanga Tuatoru, it was said that there is at least one person in every whānau who knows the whakapapa and those chiefly families who know their place in the hierarchy and can use that knowledge to assert their mana.

One kaumātua reminded the wānanga participants that nobody operates without the rest of the hapū. Whakapapa is often used as a weapon against everyone else and Ngāti Whakaue must never be interested in that because it takes a people to hold a marae together not a whakapapa on its own.

The Wānanga Kaumātua agreed that whakapapa was one of those subjects that needed to be discussed in wānanga; that it was up to individuals to know, understand and practice whakapapa as everyone has a duty to their tūpuna (ancestors) to be the best they can. Practicing the best is each person's legacy and becomes a part of the legacy of their whānau. They agreed that a person may fall over several times, and be told off many times, but still must practice the legacy they have been given and not a legacy to be given to others. It is a legacy from the ancestors (Heke mai no o tūpuna), not someone else's. Practicing legacy and nothing less is important, and if Ngāti Whakaue is unable to do that, marae will become white elephants.

At various points in all three wānanga, dress was raised as an issue so a question was put to the wānanga – what is more important the dress code or tikanga and kawa? After some discussion, the agreement was that appropriate dress by Whakaue standards was important in the delivery of tikanga and kawa on the marae ātea and when representing the iwi. For the Wānanga Kaumātua, at the end of the day everyone is concerned they are not seen as kūare (ignorant) by other people coming onto the marae, and as having made mistakes.

Anamata (The Future)

Allow kaumātua to be kaumātua (maintain the iwi roles) and allow rangatahi to be good rangatahi, whānau, parents, husbands and wives. Don't mix roles. Good kaumātua are sucked into politics, business etc and not available for kaumātua role in whānau, hapū and iwi. (KF21)

The issue for the Wānanga Kaumātua was passing on the knowledge they had for the following reasons:

- Maintenance of tikanga and kawa otherwise they will be lost.
- Marae will be unused and become white elephants.
- Mātauranga is kept within whānau and relevance to each marae will be lost.
- Leadership on the issue is wanting.

Solutions to the issue have been discussed at each of the three wānanga. Specifically, the need for wānanga has been seen as important to the maintenance and sharing of knowledge related to Ngāti Whakaue tikanga and kawa. There was some recognition that times had and will continue to change, and the changes will impact on how the iwi enacts its tikanga and kawa.

Wānanga Kaumātua thought that future stressors depended on what the iwi looks like in the future and will reflect the practice of the kaumātua of that time. They said the question was double pointed because kaumātua do what the iwi expects of them at that time. They said their community will always have succession because generations of kaumātua will always be there because of the land. There will always be whānau succession because whānau will always live on their land, and in the area. So, in their mind, there will always be a succession of kaumātua.

The Wānanga Kaumātua also addressed having missed many of the salient points of tikanga and kawa because of a lack of understanding of and speaking of Te Reo and that they are practicing what they have seen with a lack of deeper understanding. It is noticeable that in the current generation of kaumātua of the iwi, the women more so than the men, lack competency in the Māori language. However, they more than make up for that in their fierce knowledge and application of the tikanga and kawa they learnt at the knees of their elders and through their observation as they grew into the roles they now occupy.

One Wānanga Kaumātua said that what they have seen are practices and must be part of tribal wānanga and how they shape the future because that is part of their lived experiences. That kaumātua said that what they collectively had seen previous generations of kaumātua do when they were younger, is what they currently practice and expect of others who are following them.

For that Wānanga Kaumātua, there is the responsibility of whānau to teach their own about the expected behaviour on their marae and when they visit another marae. That way of passing on knowledge was part of the proposed wānanga as being important for the ongoing sustainable whānau, hapū and iwi practice and that it was a way of encouraging whānau leadership in that style and being responsible and direct. However, it was acknowledged that often rangatahi are ready to challenge the pakeke and koeke asking them to provide good reasons for not abiding by a particular tikanga and or being able to discuss the topic openly with them is a good practice.

A Wānanga Kaumātua talked about how they learned as tamariki while sleeping. Reference was made to subconscious learning or enculturation⁷³ - old people sang waiata and mōteatea (lament) throughout the night while tamariki slept as a possible approach used at Ngāti Whakaue wānanga for tamariki and rangatahi as a way of passing on knowledge and tamariki learning. A starting point might be a wānanga for tamariki/taiohinga/rangatahi for a week during the holiday when the children and young people would do various activities during the day and at night learn waiata/mōteatea. Such a wānanga was a way of leaving a legacy for their children; a way of succession and learning; a way of connecting with each other and with whanaunga and finding out how they are related. The wānanga would provide opportunities for bonding, whanaungatanga, whakapapa connection among many other outcomes.

At the previous two kaumātua wānanga it was said that people do not stay at the marae anymore and instead go home to sleep. This was raised as an issue for the Wānanga Kaumātua to think about when future wānanga are organized. Will attendance at a wānanga require staying overnight?

Another issue for the Wānanga Kaumātua was photography, video, social media, and live streaming of tangi because:

- Of its intrusiveness – video of tūpāpaku,

⁷³ "Herskovits (1948) described enculturation as the process of socialization to and maintenance of the norms of one's heritage culture, including the salient values, ideas, and concepts" Kim, 2007

video of people's grief, of their grieving is intrusive.

- Marae will become white elephants (25 – 50 years' time) because the Māori way of grieving will change and when the sharing of grief online is more open and accepted, people do not value the place of the marae in the grieving process and stay away.
- Tangi facilitates catharsis - to grieve as a whānau together, coming together to grieve at a personal level and as a collective. Streaming online will change that.
- It is about being there together as a whānau, including in the kitchen – preparing and cooking together.
- Te reo speakers increasing and live streaming tangi could undermine the role of kaikōrero.

Possible solutions included setting boundaries and restrictions on live streaming done on marae, especially at tangi with the requirement of not including or showing the tūpāpaku. The reality is that live streaming of tangihana had been occurring for some time now⁷⁴ with tangihana of significant people being livestreamed for the entire duration and not just the burial service⁷⁵.

At a broader level the Wānanga Kaumātua agreed that live streaming is a way of connecting, it facilitates connection and is a way of presence. However, the Wānanga Kaumātua preference was, attendance in person. The internet and its uses in relation to various aspects of whānau, hapū and iwi activities was discussed and is likely to be an issue of significance into the future as social media especially, features more in people's lives.

Kaumātua units need to be built and leased to iwi members to ensure kaumātua are able and supportive to their marae – for paepae, pōwhiri, hui activities and kaikaranga roles. They are and remain ahikā to the marae. (KF6)

Housing, especially the absence of kaumātua housing on or near marae was another issue identified because:

- Kaumātua are unable to attend many of the marae events as they once had thereby limiting how they can pass on the knowledge they have of tikanga and kawa and their participation in the usual marae social life.
- Marae provide important social activities for

kaumātua so not having ready access limits their social lives.

- When kaumātua are not seen at marae, their health and safety is not monitored.

The Wānanga Kaumātua were clear that in 25 years they want kaumātua in safe places and looked after on their marae. This sentiment falls in line with one raised at Wānanga 2 of marae being places and centres for the provision of services to elderly Māori.

The participants agreed that the housing of kaumātua is an issue that needs to be tabled at the Ngāti Whakaue entity level. They understood it has been discussed but has not gone any further and they want it to be pushed back on to the agenda.

Who gets to stay in the kaumātua flats was discussed. They said that kaumātua housing would facilitate more kaumātua being active on marae. Kaumātua living in kaumātua housing would support Ngāti Whakaue marae activities and events and would also be a way of keeping tikanga and kawa alive. Reference was made to other iwi investing in papakainga for kaumātua and the benefits the marae and iwi reap from having active and readily available kaumātua and koeke.

Papakainga traditionally are communal or village living organised in such a way as to support the marae which operates as the centre of the community, the whānau and hapū. The papakainga was and where they exist now, are the place where whānau are trained in the basics of tikanga and kawa. It is the training ground where the learning happens.

Learning tikanga and kawa and the mātauranga that informs those two aspects of the culture takes time. In fact, it may take years and requires, listening, consistency and the understanding it is not done for oneself alone, but for the whānau. The Wānanga Kaumātua spoke about the need to consider who receives knowledge and its alignment to leadership. Tūpuna would assign a child or mokopuna to a role at the marae and they would let the marae committee know. It was thought that was something that could be resurrected although the Wānanga Kaumātua were aware that it would likely cause consternation as the practice of assigning roles to people whilst young was not one that had been maintained without controversy. It was thought that it might help with leadership in future with the caution for the need to provide those so identified with support. The concern of the participants for future

⁷⁴ O'Carroll, 2015

⁷⁵ Ngata, Ngata-Gibson & Salmond, 2012.

kaumātua was supported by Mason Durie⁷⁶ when he said “[U]nless their position is adequately considered, in advance, there is a danger that they will become seriously disadvantaged.”

The stressors for kaumātua remain the same then as now. Not wanting to be a burden on the whānau; freeing up their homes for the younger members to take control of; able to keep the home maintenance to a good standard, maintaining their own health; not leaving any debts when we die. (KF6)

And in particular for the same kaumātua:

My own personal worry is for our taonga that we neglect and do not provide upkeep for. In particular our guardian spirit Makawe buried on Pukeroa Hill. There would be many iwi members who do not even know who Makawe was or why his burial site is fenced off next to parking areas of the Rotorua Hospital. Another is the Kumara God on Mokoia Island; the fenced off grave site at the entrance to Te Papaouru Marae, Ohinemutu – all untouched for many years. Just my personal thoughts. (KF6.)

Before the closure of the wānanga, one kaumātua said, that all the things discussed [during wānanga] lead to the question of how important and critical Ngāti Whakaue culture was to them.

A visual presentation of the Pou and Pou Whirinaki



Mai i ngā Patapātai (from the Interviews)

The purpose of the interviews was to provide opportunities for a deeper insight into kaumātuaatanga from the perspective of ten individuals. Group perspectives had been sought at the wānanga. As noted earlier eleven interviews were undertaken with:

- Ten being with people who had attended at least one wānanga
- One who had not attended any wānanga
- Four who were members of the Kaumātua Advisory Group
- One who had decided to answer the interview questions by email
- One who was just a little younger than the age grouping for the research at the time of the interview but was eligible to be included by the time the research ended
- They ranged in age from 49 years to 72 years
- There were three men and eight women.

It was decided to include all as they each had perspectives that would add value to the research.

All of the kaumātua who consented to be interviewed were able in the first instance to state their whakapapa connections to Ngāti Whakaue, usually back two or three generations with some providing a whakapapa linking them to the eponymous ancestors of Ngāti Whakaue, Tutanekai and Hinemoa. The purpose of asking the kaumātua interviewees to provide that information was to confirm that there was indeed a whakapapa connection to the iwi. That whakapapa information they provided is not publicly available through this research. It is information that belongs to the kaumātua and their whānau.

The analysis continues the Pou themes of o Mua, Ināianeī and Anamata with associated Pou Whirinaki identified because the same concepts were repeated in each of the interviews.

⁷⁶ 2003: 75

Pou o Mua

Although there was no question specific to the past or kaumātua they remembered from their past, almost every kaumātua interviewed reminisced about those they had observed in action from childhood through to the time when they themselves took their place among those Ngāti Whakaue call kaumātua. Some they named but most often they identified them as a group using the word kaumātua or the pronouns they and them or the Māori word, rātou (them, they).

Their memories of kaumātua they had observed was usually when answering two of the interview questions. The first being in relation to the role and functions of a Kaumātua and the other in relation to the skills and knowledge a kaumātua should possess. However it was not simply a matter of identifying pūkenga and mātauranga as Pou Whirinaki but rather hearing the underlying concepts that provided the deeper meaning the Interview Kaumātua were talking about.

Pou Whirinaki: He Tira (Kaumātua are a group)

A salient point made by one of the Interview Kaumātua was that kaumātua are a group and the individuals who make up that group bring different skills and personalities to the group and that is what made them effective in the past and is still an important factor in how kaumātua operate in the present.

"Yeah well, that's an important one you know because we've had some kaumātua that we were so damned scared of, you know? So when you think about what was the cohort that that person was in then you have a look at it, well it was a mix. He was the grumpy one. But he wasn't the only one that was telling everybody what to do. You had the one who had the beautiful smile, who had the most dangerous pūkana to look out for, you know? And when you look at them it was the mix of the kaumātua. That's why you are able to do and face most of what you can face. So I think that's maybe one of the things I've forgotten is that kaumātua is a group." (KF21)

The word tira is used here as the Pou Whirinaki because of its inclusion in the word rangatira wherein it provides depth to the role of a kaumātua as being a leader in the Māori context perhaps best illustrated in this quote by Tutere Wi Repa in an obituary to his wife published in Te Toa Takitini in 1926:

Te rangatira, he kai ranga i te tira; i te tira o te hapu, o te iwi, ki nga haere, ki nga mahi e pa

ana ki te hapu, ki te iwi. He kai arahi. He kai tīmata, he kai whakatutuki i nga mahi, ka whai ai te iwi i raro. Ka kiia te tinana pēnei he rangatira ko tēnei kawai rangatira tēnei e manaakitia ai, e piki ai, e mana ai, ki roto ki tētahi iwi ke⁷⁷. A translation was provided by Te Mātāhauariki⁷⁸:

The chief is someone who can bind the people at both hapū and iwi level in their endeavours. She is a leader. She starts and finishes tasks and is followed by the people. She is described as a chief whose chiefly lines are held in regard, increased and distinguished, by other iwi.

What the quote tells us is the importance of the group and that a rangatira does not stand alone but represents and is part a group. Likewise a kaumātua. Additionally, the word tira is also used in the context of a travelling group and kaumātua are a group who often move from one location to another in order to fulfil tribal obligations.

The kaumātua who provided the group related statement in the interview also spoke about the impact fewer numbers of kaumātua had on those who carried the role and associated responsibility with a suggestion to consider sharing the workload with the other iwi who share the waka genealogy.

And the fewer you have, the harder it is because that's assuming now that those few have got a hell of a lot of skills until you look. And I just think, no, when I look back in the day when I was looking at our pakeke. So if I go back to the 90s, you know I can think, 20 or 30 and they were spread between all of the, all of these iwi around here. So it wasn't just for Whakaue but because this marae, this is the one where you would have the top kaumātua of each iwi. This is when they come. So who sits on the Whakaue side? Most of the time when I look at it. Yeah, ok. Yeah, that's ok for now. We need to look at the cohort of the spread of all the other iwi it's good, big too. I think the more we look sideways the better the chance we have. (KF21)

Kaumātua are spoken of generally in three contexts - as a reanga (generation), a group and as individuals. The quote reminds that individual kaumātua bring to the group of kaumātua personality, skills and knowledge enabling complementarity so the group is able to function well and represent the whānau, hapū and iwi in the best possible way. As individuals they fulfil different roles and responsibilities most noticeable during tangi but evident on every occasion.

⁷⁷ Te Toa Takitini, 1926. Note macrons have not been used in this quote because they were not used at the time it was published.

⁷⁸ Benton, Frame & Meredith, 2013: 328

Pou Whirinaki: Te taenga atu ki runga ki te paepae tapu o Ngāti Whakaue (Occupying the orators' space)

There are three aspects to this pou – age, progression and tikanga associated with the role. The age related interview question was to determine whether there was an age at which one became a kaumātua. Age was also a topic discussed at the wānanga that preceded the interviews.

The Interview Kaumātua generally agreed that age was not a defining characteristic of kaumātuatanga. Rather they saw availability, commitment, having the requisite knowledge to fulfil the role as being important and being a good role model who had raised a family.

I think being a kaumātua is bound to whether you have the time. Like I said earlier there are young people that are identified at a very early age who have the ability to retain the knowledge. No, it's not bound by age, it's about having the time, and the ability to retain the knowledge. (KF22)

No, being a kaumātua is about knowledge really. I've seen a lot of young people who have that kaumātua status. They got that knowledge because they've listened and were brought up in te ao Māori, and heard the language within their own homes, about tūpuna, the history of their people, some young people can absorb all this. (KF25)

Not anyone can be a kaumātua on the paepae, it is different. They've got to be a good person or a good role model and in their personal lives too. They have to be a good person that's important. That is my opinion. (KF25)

However, they spoke about tikanga that prevented some with the capability to step into the role from being able to do so indicating that tikanga was an important factor in kaumātuatanga. The next quote identifies tuakana teina tikanga that determines who can and cannot sit on the paepae tapu of Ngāti Whakaue and therefore take up the mantle of the kaumātua:

Some can and some can't [speak the reo]. Succession, what happens is there are a lot of young ones coming through but they can't step onto the paepae because of their uncles or whoever are still alive, so even if they [uncles] can't speak the reo they won't let them [nephews] talk [on the paepae] because it will diminish their [the uncle's] mana. (KF24)

A similar issue was referred to earlier for one of the female kaumātua who was not given permission by

her older sister to stand to karanga and she only did so once the older sister had passed on.

All of the Interview Kaumātua spoke about progression into the role which for them began in the wharekai before moving to the wharenuui and ātea. They had observed their parents progress in the same manner.

In the wharekai I think it's more around the skills that you learn from a child to a teenager to a young adult to a parent - it's that journey. So they are skills that you acquire and use every day, like cooking, organising, manaaki and cleaning. Whereas in the whare tūpuna it requires new learning so in order to do that you need to commit the time to new learning - karanga, whaikōrero, waiata etcetera. Some people come through the gate and go straight into the whare tūpuna because they have the skills, others like us we are comfortable in the wharekai, but we will transition into the whare tūpuna. (KF22)

You know, in the old days our aunties and uncles and kuia and koroua always had someone who they taught. And they pick when it's time for them to go over [to the whare tūpuna], they choose when they go over. But they always used to have someone in their whānau that carried it on, which doesn't happen anymore because a lot of them go straight to the front because they've been to all these paepae wānanga. I say, you need to teach them the back. They just assume now, they come and everything is set up, they need to learn to cook, to shop, to clean. (KF23)

Learning what was required was more through observation and doing rather than being taught in wānanga. And, there was an obvious starting point – the wharekai – where the fundamentals of manaaki through the process of feeding guests were learnt. Even within that context there was progression.

Transition from wharekai to the whare tūpuna – back in the old days you started off peeling the potatoes and preparing the kai then you transition to standing on the marae(KF24)

Pou Inaianei

Pou Whirinaki: Te Āhua o te Tū: (Role)

Tū is to stand, be present and to hold a place or position. In the context of the research, it is about the role of the kaumātua and the Interview Kaumātua had much to say about this, and the skills and responsibilities that come with the role.

Advisory role through experience and knowledge

that has been passed down, and new knowledge, you know what you've learnt in the Pākehā world you bring it into the Māori world. If you don't have those sorts of skills, you just can't talk to Pākehā. (KF24)...

My role is to help our iwi and our hapū to advance in our land because we still have land issues because the Pākehā stole our land and I'm fighting to get it back. I was picked by the iwi to represent us [Ngāti Whakaue] around our settlement. I'm an Advisor – whenua, whakapapa, tikanga. I'm a Trustee on a number of Trusts, [these were then named] (KF24)

My role and the main role for kaumātua is to awahi the iwi at whatever. At tangihanga being with the bereaved, awahi the whānau, awahi the iwi, this is inside the marae. Outside the marae its different again we get called quite often to go and do a whakatau at the Events Centre or at this hotel or that hotel, but the thing is we are often doing a whakatau for our own people, for our own kura. I mean these are our own people and I won't go it's all wrong. (KF25)

The function [of kaumātua] are to maintain whakapapa connections. Maintained by kaumātua reiterating heritage, stories, whakapapa. How we become whānau and our connections. (KF26)

Is really to, as far as I'm concerned, is to ensure our tikanga and kawa within Ngāti Whakaue are upheld. (KF13)

Ko te mahi ake o te kaumātua, ko te manaaki tangata, manaaki manuhiri, hei ārahi pai ki te hau kainga, hei whakaruruhau. Look after the people, greet the visitors, educate and guide the young, be there when you are needed." (KF 2) [The role of the kaumātua is to support, care, protect and demonstrate generosity toward people, whether they are locals or visitors. In other words to protect and shield.]

The same ideas about the role of kaumātua that emerged in the interviews had also been identified during the wānanga and those were that the role of kaumātua was to:

- Provide advice from both Māori and Pākehā worlds.
- Support the iwi as required both on the marae and at events external to marae.
- Represent the iwi on boards, panels and other bodies when called upon.
- Progress development of the whānau, hapū and iwi with specific reference in at least one

case to land claims.

- Maintain whakapapa connections, especially by reiterating the stories relevant to those connections.
- Uphold and maintain tikanga and kawa of Ngāti Whakaue
- Support, care, protect and demonstrate generosity toward people.

Pou whirinaki: Ngā Takohanga (Responsibilities)

Ngā Takohanga is used here as a Pou Whirinaki as it speaks to being responsible with different contexts in which kaumātua are acting. By upholding those responsibilities that come with the space, they affirm te āhua o te tū or the role of the kaumātua.

The kaumātua are there to teach the younger ones I guess; to hand down the knowledge that they have and when you think about kaumātua back in the day, they kept, most of them kept the knowledge to themselves and never handed that down they handed the knowledge down to or rather they kept the knowledge to themselves. Especially around whakapapa. And, you know, when it comes to the next generation, that are having to step into their shoes, they have to rely on.. and what my mother called it umm ... observation basically." (KF13)

Well, their love for their own culture, I think that should come from a kaumātua that should be something that a kaumātua hands down and the mokopuna tuarua inherits. But the transmission of whakapapa comes from someone of higher ranking in the whakapapa lineage. The 21st century kaumātua, certainly because of their language deficiencies the transmission of some things are not possible and that's 21st century kaumātua. The 21st century kaumātua is almost relying on the revitalization of culture, of language which then involves all of its principles of tikanga or 'its take on it'. That's what we have .., you see it, I see it, that's what we have, and then you get teina challenging those principles. The principles of kaumātua, we are 2021 and you can easily accept that the mokopuna will stand before the kaumātua kuia because of the lack of proper whakapapa knowledge. So that's why it's important that kaumātua kuia are the beholders of whakapapa. Because that's what ends up happening. And you see it now, you see it at whanau gatherings, you see it at tangihanga, you see it at the events of the day, you see it unfold. (KF26)

About skills and knowledge. Know or rather, own up to what you don't know. Never stop learning. And yes, you do need to study, to swot, to memorise the mōteatea, the tauparapara, the whakapapa, ngā tāonga-a-waha ā kui mā, ā koro mā. (KF2)

"... my role is to help our iwi and our hapū to advance in our land because we still have land issues because the Pākehā stole our land and I'm fighting to get it back. I was picked by the iwi to represent us [Ngāti Whakaue] around our settlement. I'm an Advisor – whenua, whakapapa, tikanga. I'm a Trustee on a number of Trusts, [these were then named]" (KF24)

All of the responses of the Interview identified the same responsibilities. The most important responsibility they identified other than representing their whānau, hapū and iwi was the transmission of knowledge to the next generations. Following that was the responsibility to know what they did not know and to commit to learning in order to acquire the necessary knowledge to fulfil the role of a kaumātua. At least one of the kaumātua interviewed spoke about the fact that the knowledge was not passed on to them by previous generations of kaumātua.

Sometimes I think our previous kaumātua didn't necessarily share their knowledge but also, I think because we were at the pā when we were young, we observed things and what they did is logical, it's common sense. (KF10)

The same kaumātua and others interviewed, however, spoke about the fact that the next generations were not attending marae and other events where they could observe and learn tikanga and kawa to be good kaumātua when their time arrived. That lack of presence the Interview Kaumātua believed, would result in two things happening – loss of knowledge pertaining to tikanga and kawa and the potential for marae to become deserted white elephants which will be addressed in the next sections looking at the Pou o Mua. The other was the fact that knowledge was not necessarily passed on to the current kaumātua group has meant they had to take steps to learn. They did not want that for the next group of kaumātua.

An example was given of attending regular waiata wānanga to be able to confidently support speakers on the marae and at other events. There had however been negative experiences of the current group of kaumātua when attending language classes to upskill their language capability noting they are of the generation who for various reasons did not enjoy the language as a native speaker.

I attended a couple of Whakaue wānanga and was disappointed. The well paid tutors were decades younger than me, callow boys with questionable degrees and a hyper-macho attitude. But they were all Native Speakers thanks to the kōhanga-wharekura-wānanga trajectory that my radical generation fought so hard to achieve. And they sniggered at us, their bumbling reo-impaired elders. They belittled my peers. Two such weekends were enough for me, though I did pick up most lines of one song. (KF2)

The quote raises some important points:

- The need to better educate those who are the beneficiaries of the history of language struggle on why they have had the privilege of being native language speakers.
- The gaps between generations is ever present.
- A concerning feature of elders being belittled which goes against the belief that elders are respected.

The method the kaumātua suggested using to deal with these will be addressed in the section, Pou Anamata.

Pou Whirinaki: Ngā Pūkenga (Skills)

"The skills and knowledge of kaumātua comes with time and experience. When I was young, I learnt through observation, through listening to kaumātua of those times. Like today, or that's how it should be today, you start off firstly in the dining, room, cooking kai, setting up the tables, doing the dishes. Well that is how we do it in our whanau." (KF10)

Some of us are good singers, some are good cooks, others are good organisers. It is expected that you do step in." (KF22)

Although the skills of karanga, whaikōrero and being able to support with appropriate kīnaki especially waiata were the skills most often referred to, the skills associated with feeding and entertaining visitors were also considered important with some kaumātua remaining in the wharekai rather than stepping out on to the paepae tapu even when they were considered to be more than capable of holding their own in that space. The Interview Kaumātua supported the value of wharekai skills and knowledge.

In the wharekai I think it's more around the skills that you learn from a child to a teenager to a young adult to a parent - it's that journey. So they are skills that you acquire and use every day, like cooking, organising, manaaki and cleaning. Whereas in the whare tūpuna it requires new learning so in order to do that you need to commit the time to new learning

- karanga, whaikōrero, waiata etcetera. (KF22)

The same kaumātua made the observation:

Some people come through the gate and go straight into the whare tūpuna because they have the skills, others like us we are comfortable in the wharekai, but we will transition into the whare tūpuna. (KF22)

What the Interview Kaumātua spoke about were the skills needed in different spaces and for different purposes and the value of beginning in one space (the wharekai) before progressing to the next space (wharenuī and ātea). They saw the value of the skills as being important not just in relation to the marae but for family life in general and for demonstrating values such as manaaki (give hospitality), tiaki (care and protect) and awhi (cherish). The marae as a whole therefore acted as a learning space for lifeways beyond just that of kaumātuatanga.

Pou Anamata

In looking to the future the Interview Kaumātua were less concerned about themselves personally than they were about the future of the iwi. That is not to say they did not raise issues they thought were important for future kaumātua like health and wellbeing although even those were related back to the wellbeing of the iwi – healthy and well-cared for kaumātua to them was evidence of a healthy iwi. In relation to the future there was a mix of excitement and caution. The caution was related to what the kaumātua thought was necessary to strengthen the iwi.

Actually, I'm quite excited about the future for Ngāti Whakaue. I think, regardless of everything look we have the next generation of te reo speakers, and I love them. You know ... our next generation are very, very supportive of us as kaumātua. Whenever we go, they come with us especially our kapahaka group. You know, we support them and they are very supportive of us. (KF 13)

The Pou Whirinaki in relation to the future for Ngāti Whakaue kaumātua include te Tū Māia (Confidence), Mātao (Cold), Whaioranga (Wellbeing), Kāinga/Kaenga (Housing) and Ahumoni (Financial security).

Maia because the Interview Kaumātua spoke about being confident that future kaumātua would have the knowledge and skills necessary to occupy the role. They laid that positivity firmly at the trajectory of Te Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Wharekura and Wānanga. At the same time they were worried that marae would become Mātao for two reasons - a lack of ability to cater and a fall in numbers attending marae. They

made references to health and general wellbeing but not as emphatically as in the wānanga and as stated at the beginning of this section when they spoke about health it was in relation to the wellbeing of the iwi rather than them individually. Housing was an issue raised in the interviews, especially kaumātua housing although they realised that for some of the hapū the lack of available land for housing development was a reason for under-development. Financial security again related to the wellbeing of the iwi and how members of the iwi had or had not prepared for their old age.

Pou Whirinaki: Te tū Māia (Confident)

The Interview Kaumātua almost all expressed their confidence that future kaumātua would have the skills and knowledge to fulfil the role of representing and advising the whānau, hapū and iwi. However, that was specific to the marae ātea and wharenuī. None addressed that other role of being a kaumātua which they had raised, that of advising whānau. The assumption could be made that advising whānau would occur during whānau related events on marae however, this was not confirmed.

In the future we will have brilliant men for whaikōrero and brilliant women who can do waiata, kaikaranga because we have these brilliant young ones coming through.... (KF23)

There's a lot of promise I think, the younger generation that are coming through, when they realise, they are old enough to be kaumātua they'll step up and they're all fluent the majority of them. But I'm not sure they have the knowledge other than what they get from the book. (KF24)

I think in the future kaumātua are going to be a lot more comfortable seeing young one's on the pae, at the moment we are in a transition. The likes of those young one's from Kura Kaupapa who are decisive, which is seen as arrogant by current kaumātua, that will not be the case in the future. Future kaumātua will be happy with the young one's on the pae because of their decisiveness and quality of whaikōrero. So the two groups will be comfortable with each other, and there will be mutual respect because future kaumātua will be agile and flexible." (KF22)

Despite this confidence there was genuine concern for two aspects of marae life that had the potential to impact on the role of kaumātua. Those are brought together in the next Pou Whirinaki of Mātao.

Pou Whirinaki: Mātao (Cold)

Mātao is to be cold and in the Māori context that means the home fires that light the way home and provide warmth are cold. They have become cold because there is no one there, no ahikā, to ensure they are stoked thereby indicating constant occupation.

The interviews confirmed an issue raised at the wānanga – that tribal members were not actively engaged in what was happening at marae.

Although this is not a new factor⁷⁹ the Interview Kaumātua raised several aspects of this phenomena:

- Whānau are not attending events happening at the marae and therefore the skills and knowledge associated with those events are not being learnt through either instruction, observation and or practice.
- When they do attend, they now tend to do so as visitors so do not assist in the work back-of-house especially in the wharekai that needs to be done to ensure an event, however large or small, is successful.
- Consequence is they do not learn to work in the wharekai and that aspect of manaaki on the marae and within whānau is being lost. They were losing the understanding of tea-towel-tanga (Kiddle, 2020) and therefore unable to fully engage in all aspects of marae tikanga.
- Fewer and fewer whānau are taking their tūpāpaku to the marae for tangi because of cost and because they are not comfortable with their lack of knowledge associated with kawa and tikanga. Additionally, they were staying away and having their tūpāpaku in their homes because they do not agree with all of the tikanga and do not want to get into arguments with others, especially kaumātua. Staying away, especially for tangihana, was contributing to a loss of tikanga and associated mātauranga as these were not being discussed with the whānau and hapū to ensure they either understood why it existed and could contribute to the discussion before any actions were taken or voice their objections. Two Interview Kaumātua talked about the disagreements they had with whānau at the time of tangihana. Those disagreements were about tikanga.
- There was a tendency for those who presumed to have the right skills and knowledge to sit with kaumātua to go straight to the paepae

tapu without having first worked in the wharekai. Working in the wharekai was seen as important in the process of becoming a kaumātua because it demonstrated service to the marae whānau, hapū and iwi.

- The tikanga associated with tuakana teina was impacting on the ability of marae to provide kaumātua who were skilled in oratory.
- Parents are not taking their children to marae so those children are not comfortable in that space which continues into their adulthood.

The Interview Kaumātua, like those who attended the Wānanga, suggested that the remedy to slow and possibly stop this from happening was to organise wānanga by marae and Koromatua. The subject matter of such wānanga primarily focused on kawa, tikanga, whakapapa, and waiata. There is room to explore other types of wānanga like budgeting using marae catering as the example, cooking again using the marae kitchen as a means to teach marae whānau how to prepare food for manuhiri and events, foraging for kai because these too can bring whānau back to the marae.

During the interviews responses confirmed data collected at the wānanga specifically in relation to whānau taking responsibility to bring their whānau members with them to marae.

You know, in the old days how our aunties and uncles and kuia and koroua always had someone who they taught. And they pick when it's time for them to go over [to the whare tūpuna], they choose when they go over. But they always used to have someone in their whānau that carried it on, which doesn't happen anymore because a lot of them go straight to the front because they've been to all these paepae wānanga. I say, you need to teach them the back. They just assume now, they come and everything is set up, they need to learn to cook, to shop, to clean. (KF23)

There was understanding among the Interview Kaumātua why Mātao was growing on the marae of Ngāti Whakaue and the admission that action needed to be taken to prevent it from becoming so widespread that marae would become white elephants – a phrase most used by the male Interview Kaumātua who were really concerned about the potential of this happening sooner rather than later. Others were more positive believing that although people were not as involved in marae activities, they would return to the marae on retirement.

Today, most of our people are on the periphery of te ao Māori because people have other things

⁷⁹ Te Puni Kōkiri, 2012.

in their lives like generating an income, bringing up a family etc. Then there will come a time when they step into it, when they retire. We know there is succession, and we step in because we have the time to commit. So when I retire, I will step into it and the only difference is I will have the time to step in. But you don't do it on your own, there are schools of learning. Some of us are good singers, some are good cooks, others are good organisers. It is expected that you do step in. (KF22)

However what is evident in the quote is that Interview Kaumātua do expect to 'step in' as one of them said, and fully assume the role a sentiment also expressed in the wānanga. The question is, will they have the skills and knowledge necessary to act in the role?

Pou Whirinaki: Waiora (Health)

Access to quality health care, and safe, warm housing for some kaumātua are issues. (KF22)

This was an issue much discussed during the Wānanga. For the Interview Kaumātua health care was in relation to the stress of having to be present at the many events:

Speaking from experience, sometimes it's too much. I'm talking about our iwi and how kaumātua today are sometimes attending three [pōwhiri] in one day or up to five or six pōwhiri or events in a week. But the problem is we don't often know or are told until the night before. So, it feels sometimes we are at the beck and call of others. But we attend because we are tangata whenua of the land we are Ngāti Whakaue. We don't mind being invited because we as Ngāti Whakaue should be there but being given enough notice is about being organized and having good communications, those are important in leadership. (KF10)

It is clear that although the kaumātua want to represent the iwi at the various events that arise because it is about asserting the mana of the iwi, they are finding the responsibility tiring. What this indicates is the lack of numbers and or those available to fulfil the responsibilities of kaumātua. Potentially the Interview Kaumātua indicated that there are likely to be more kaumātua in future because of the Kohanga Reo to Wharekura trajectory so this may not be as much of an issue as it is now.

Pou Whirinaki: Kainga (Housing)

The Interview Kaumātua who provided the statement opening this section of the report, then made reference to kaumātua housing being

provided by other iwi⁸⁰ – with the observation that the housing was near marae and therefore enabled kaumātua to be readily engaged in marae activities. Reference was specifically made to the lack of land at Ohinemutu to provide the housing for kaumātua who closely identified with the marae in the village despite whānau having their own plots.

Kaumātua housing near marae and or on papakainga (communal land) has been a government policy since the 1970s⁸¹. Over the years it has changed significantly with iwi organisations now investing in housing for their elders in partnership with other funders⁸².

Ngāti Whakaue Tribal Lands has plans to provide kaumātua housing in its large housing subdivision Wharenui Rise. However, what the kaumātua interviewed (and those who participated in the wānanga) want is kaumātua housing near marae, especially marae to which they have closer affiliations. Being housed near to the marae with which they are familiar they believe enables them to fulfil their role as kaumātua where they do not have to travel to or rely on others to transport them. The proposed Wharenui Rise is not close to most of the marae of the iwi despite the potential to provide kaumātua who reside there with support from those who live around them.

An issue Ngāti Whakaue Tribal Lands and other tribal entities could give some thought to in future housing developments by the iwi. There is also the possibility of influencing developers to see the value of investing in housing for iwi with space set aside for kaumātua – something other iwi have done.

Pou Whirinaki: Ahumoni (Financial Security)

The materialistic world that we live in and being able to purchase those materials and live a life of certain materials but there is almost no such thing as retirement for kaumātua. There are some that work for a salary and there are a lot of kaumātua who volunteer in lots of positions such as cultural advisors, or in the settlement space and they are in high demand. (KF26)

At least one of the Interview Kaumātua thought that as an iwi they were financially secure however not all agreed. The same kaumātua also thought that individually, the current group of kaumātua were financially secure because they had prepared for their life as kaumātua. However as the quote above indicates, not all Ngāti Whakaue kaumātua let alone the entire population of the iwi, enjoys financial security. Some need to continue to work in order to afford to live.

80 Ngāti Whātua, "Kainga Kaumātua"; Te Rūnanganui o Ngai Tahu, "New kaumātua housing units realise long-held vision for Rūnaka"; Schrader, 2013

81 Davey et al. 2004; Controller and Auditor General, 2011;

82 Waldegrave, Thompson & Love, 2013; Durie, 2020;

A visual presentation of the Pou and Pou Whirinaki: Interviews



Pou O Mua

- He tira (Kaumātua are a group)
- Te taenga ki runga i te paepae tapu (Occupying the orators space)



Pou Ināianeī

- Te āhua o te Tū (The role)
- Ngā Takohanga (Responsibilities)
- Ngā Pukenga (Skills)



Pou Anamata

- Te tū Māia (Confidence)
- Waiora (Health)
- Kainga (Housing)
- Ahumonī (Financial Security)

Mai i ngā Haerenga Tahī (Moving Together)

A description of the activities of each of the two kaumātua are noted first. These are followed by an analysis of the data by Pou Whirinaki identified.

Kaumātua A

Kaumātua A was an 80-year-old business owner and active on the paepae tapu of Ngāti Whakaue who participated in Haerenga Tahī over four days:

Day One for 10.5 hours

Day Two for 10.5 hours

Day Three for 8 hours

Day Four for 3 hours

A mokopuna (grandson) and two great mokopuna live with her. Every Monday to Friday she picked up the two great mokopuna, from day care and kura (school), and watched both until 5.00pm. That commitment meant she limited her iwi activities whilst she had her mokopuna with her.

Over the four days she averaged six hours sleep per night. Her activities combined the usual activities of home life, her business and whānau, hapū and iwi responsibilities.

Her normal day-to-day activities included:

- Food preparation for her household including visitors there attending the tangi.
- Taking breaks for meals, water, and rest
- Caring for mokopuna after
- Housework/cleaning

The whānau, hapū and iwi activities included:

- Informing whānau of the passing of a relative which required making and receiving telephone calls local and international.
- Attending the tangi (mourning ceremony) both at the home of the deceased and later when the tangi was moved to a marae.
- Preparing her house to receive whānau travelling to Rotorua for the tangi.
- At the tangi she was involved in the pōwhiri (welcome ceremony), kīnaki (relishes adding depth to speeches), karakia (incantations and prayers) and ensuring tikanga and kawa were properly observed.

- Supporting the grieving family.
- Supporting her sister who was tending her brother who was ill by doing her washing.

Her business activities included:

- Purchasing and preparing food
- Coordinating with staff
- Laying and serving food
- Cleaning after.

Additional social activities:

- Being an active member of a social club with others aged 65+.

Kaumātua B

Kaumātua B was a 71-year-old who is very active in Ngāti Whakaue activities and her local community. Her involvement includes managing a sports club, leading and organising a taipakeke (elderly) group, maintaining a list of Ngāti Whakaue elderly to whom she organises the distribution of kai (food), firewood, key information, resources and activities, she is a trustee of a marae and an active member of the Ngāti Whakaue paepae tapu.

She participated in Haerenga Tahī over 5 days:

Day One for 13 hours

Day Two for 11 hours

Day Three for 13 hours

Day Four for 15 hours

Day Five for 16 hours.

The researcher stayed with the participant during this Haerenga Tahī hence the longer hours spent together and noted on the Observation Sheet. In addition to the researcher, an adult son lives with the participant.

Over the five days she averaged 6.2 hours sleep each prior night.

Her normal day-to-day activities included:

- Food preparation
- Household chores like doing laundry and making beds.

- Taking breaks for meals, water and rest.

Her whānau, hapū, iwi and community activities included:

- Paddling on the lake with kaumātua waka ama (outrigger canoe) group
- Presence for 2 hours at the Kohanga Reo (Language nest) her mokopuna attend
- Present at a wider activity of Kaumātua Futures research project.
- Preparing sport club rooms for sporting fixtures and social activities over the next two days. This included supervising staff and two autistic boys over two days.
- Monitored the installation of a new oven and a new bar chiller.
- Cooked, prepared and delivered food for 12 people attending a tribal entity event.
- Attended waiata classes.
- Completed administration related to sports club and taipakeke group.
- Organised families to pick up food brought home by son.
- Organised the delivery of firewood by sports club staff to 6 kaumātua.
- Organised and cooked food for the usual sports club events and managed staff in the provision of the food and beverage for 60 plus patrons, helped with cleaning after.

Ngā Pou Whirinaki

Pou Whirinaki that emerged in the Haerenga Tahī data collection are:

- Oranga (Wellbeing)
- Whānau (Family)
- Iwi (Iwi)
- Hāpori (Community)
- Herenga (Relationships and Commitment)

The Pou Whirinaki can be likened to the kahuki (warp) and aho (weft) in rāranga. They are inter-related, yet there is enough differentiation between them to be viewed separately.

Oranga

Both kaumātua recognised the need to maintain their wellbeing. They averaged about 6 hours sleep at night and took time to rest during the day. That rest may not have included naps and been for short periods of time nevertheless were a period of rest during otherwise busy lives. They ate well (food intake had been noted in the observation schedule reporting) and at about the same time each day even if they were the cooks on each occasion.

Being involved in physical activity was important for both kaumātua where one was involved in a sporting team, the other maintained a garden. In addition, one of the kaumātua played a game of strategy taking in tournaments throughout the country.

Being active as a business owner was important for one; managing a sports club including managing staff and young helpers and being involved in her wider community was important for the other.

Both placed a great deal of importance on being engaged in their community and on being physically active.

Whānau

Neither kaumātua lived on their own. Both had family members living with them and both were connected to whānau near and far through personal interaction and phone calls. Evidence included the arrival of whānau who had travelled to attend a tangi and stayed with one who also did laundry for a sister who was caring for an ill brother. In the case of one of the kaumātua, whānau included the researcher who was collecting the data and was living with the kaumātua before, during and after the hoa haere (companion) phase.

Iwi

Both kaumātua were involved in different aspects of iwi activities. Kaumātua A attended a tangi over a two-day period. Attending a tangi is an activity kaumātua undertake to maintain whānau, hapū and iwi tikanga and kawa by supporting whānau whilst they grieve. In this case the tangi began at the home of the deceased and then moved to a marae and the kaumātua was present at both sites. Kaumātua B spent time at a kohanga reo (language nest) her mokopuna and other pre-schoolers of the iwi attended.

Hāpori

Both kaumātua are very active in their wider community. One as a paddler for a team made up of other elderly Māori, the other by attending a tangi during the Hoa-Haerenga data collection.

Herenga

Herenga speaks to the commitment both kaumātua had to their whānau, hapū, iwi and community that goes beyond whakapapa related whanaungatanga. That involvement is noted above in this section on Haerenga Tahī.

A visual presentation of the Pou and Pou Whirinaki: Haerenga Tahī



Pou Ināiane

- Oranga (Wellbeing)
- Whānau (Family)
- Iwi (Iwi)
- Hāpori (Community)
- Herenga (Relationships and Commitment)

Whakarāpopototanga o ngā Hua, me he Tohutohu :

Summary of findings and recommendations:

The Ngāti Whakaue definition of who are kaumātua influenced the findings of the research. That definition includes elderly Māori of the iwi who are:

- Both male and female hence their reference to Te paepae tapu o Ngāti Whakaue.
- Representatives of the whānau, hapū and iwi on formal occasions, especially tangi.
- Usually fluent speakers of te reo Māori.
- Well versed in the waiata and stories of the iwi.
- Knowledgeable of tikanga and whakapapa even if they are not fluent speakers of the language.
- Sought out by others for their knowledge and commitment to representing the iwi.
- Always available to represent the iwi.
- Kaikōrero, kaikaranga, kaiwaiata and kaitautoko.
- Leaders on the ātea, in the wharenuī and wharekai.

That definition determined what they considered to be important when talking about kaumātua whether in the past, the present or the future. Of primary importance to the kaumātua who were active in the research was the tikanga and kawa of Ngāti Whakaue and what could be done to ensure it survived into the future. They were most concerned about the impact that technology was already having on both tikanga and kawa and thought it highly likely that a major impact of that technology was marae becoming white elephants.

They did not agree that the role of kaumātua was inclusive of every elderly Māori and remained adamantly of that opinion throughout the research. Generally, they used the word koeke to reference all elderly Māori although from time to time they would use kaumātua when speaking about all elderly even when that included elderly non-Māori. This latter usage of the term was not

usual.

Policy: (iwi, government and non-government agencies)

Despite the Ngāti Whakaue research engaged kaumātua stating that the term is applied to a particular group of its elderly, the various agencies of the iwi do not make that distinction. Instead, the information available on their websites indicate the term kaumātua is applied to all of their registered elderly beneficiaries without exception. Such an application can undermine the role that kaumātua have and are playing in the iwi especially when they represent the iwi on formal occasions and at major city-wide events. It was normal when among Ngāti Whakaue to hear the word koeke used more often when referring generally to the elderly of the iwi.

Likewise, government agencies and non-government agencies alike have applied the word kaumātua to include all elderly Māori. There are many iwi who in addition to Ngāti Whakaue, do not use the word in this way. Additionally, there are those in Te Taitokerau who have applied gender to the word so that it only references men. That usage has not crept into the vernacular of other iwi yet but because of media coverage of hui, is being heard more and more. Time will tell whether or not that usage begins to be applied universally.

Because government and local body agencies prefer dealing with single entities and or voices, it is unlikely they will change the way in which they define elderly Māori. Instead it is probable they will continue to collectivise elderly Māori under the banner of kaumātua and their Māori advisors will have and will continue to advise them to maintain that definition. Whānau, hapū and iwi have already begun to follow suit - even Ngāti Whakaue despite the assertion that not all of the iwi's elderly are in fact kaumātua.

At a National Kaumātua Conference held in October of 2019, it was observed that the elderly Māori present were the group most likely to refer to themselves as kaumātua whereas the others present, primarily made up of those working with the elderly as managers, carers, researchers, government agency and social service agency representative, were more likely to use other kupu such as koeke, kuia and koroua. The kaumātua of Ngāti Whakaue and the research team who undertook this research project with their advisory group of kaumātua, recommend a more informed discussion on the application of the word kaumātua.

In addition other concerns the Kaumātua had for their age group included:

- Their perceived lack of support from their iwi agencies
- The barriers facing kaumātua, koeke and elderly Māori generally when accessing services especially those provided by government agencies.
- The lack of housing leading to two separate issues. The first being housing for kaumātua and Māori elderly generally resulting in dependency on family being earlier than anticipated. The second being the lack of housing often leading to whānau moving back to live in the whānau home with the elderly parent which sometimes resulted in stress for everyone.
- Kaumātua housing not considering their need to be near marae so they can fulfil their responsibilities as kaumātua.

What became increasingly obvious during the research was the voice of kaumātua when off the space of the ātea where they dominate, being silenced or reduced to a whisper. Here the reference is to kaumātua according to the definition provided by those who contributed to the research. It does not include those who attend kaumātua days, dinners, and other celebrations of Māori elderly as by the Ngāti Whakaue definition of kaumātua they are koeke or kuia and koroua and not necessarily kaumātua.

Representing the whānau, hapū and iwi or the community in general, does not mean kaumātua voices are heard; standing to karanga, whaikōrero and sing waiata at pōwhiri, does not mean kaumātua voices are heard; being appointed as a government or business “kaumātua” does not mean that kaumātua are heard. To be heard is to have what you say reflected back in action otherwise the silence becomes a type of ethical loneliness – of feeling abandoned by others⁸³ even if physically that may not be true.

Government and quasi-government agencies appoint “kaumātua” ostensibly to advise on tikanga and to be speakers on formal occasions. They are usually paid an honorarium for their services but sometimes they receive no payment at all with the latter now being unusual rather than the norm. The appointees often end up as little more than speakers who front up on formal occasions like welcoming visitors and or new staff. What is even more likely to happen is that the appointed kaumātua, usually a male,

arrives with an entourage of one – a female who provides the karanga and the waiata and who is likely to provide her service unpaid. More often government departments are appointing staff who can provide the knowledge desired and who can act as kaikōrero when occasions demand. The need for kaumātua who are elders is becoming less important. That has the effect of kaumātuatanga becoming less a matter of age and more a matter of knowledge and skill.

Returning to the idea of being heard, much of the research into the older citizen, even older and elderly Māori, tends to focus on their aging and health outcomes⁸⁴. By comparison, the contribution they make as leaders, change agents and citizens is an aspect of kaumātuatanga sadly lacking in public policy with the result being we forget they are still making positive contributions well into their elderly years. The issue of the contribution of the elderly to their families and communities is not confined to Māori. Instead it is an issue that is being discussed more and more nationally and internationally⁸⁵. So the question for government and iwi agencies is how to hear what kaumātua have to say, reflecting that back to them in policies and programmes that fulfil their needs and their ability to be contributing citizens. Otherwise the focus will continue to be on their pathology and the creation of social activities often in the manner of day care similar to that provided for pre-schoolers.

A public policy that has impacted kaumātuatanga is that of Superannuation. Over time, receipt of Superannuation has begun to define the age at which one is identified as being a kaumātua. In fact age is becoming the defining factor over ability in the language, knowledge of whakapapa, waiata and tribal stories, capability in whaikōrero and karanga, even in Ngāti Whakaue. Despite that, the kaumātua who engaged with the research often commented on the fact that there are younger members of the iwi who have the skills and knowledge of a kaumātua but perhaps were hampered in being able to fulfil the role because of tikanga associated with tuakana teina relationships and general attitudes that somehow grey and white hair are associated with the knowledge and wisdom expected of a kaumātua.

⁸³ Stauffer, 2016.

⁸⁴ Dawes, Lapsley & Muru-Lanning, 2022; Hikaka & Kerse, 2021; Waldon, J, 2004

⁸⁵ Liu & Besser, 2003; Cohen, Geva et al. 2016; Viscogliosi, Asselin et al. 2020

Pou ō Mua: Memories of kaumātuatanga and the personalities who were kaumātua

The memories of kaumātuatanga and the personalities who were kaumātua when the current cohort were acquiring the knowledge and mana to assume the mantle, were of elders who were disciplined and strict albeit given to eccentricities from time to time. Discipline was described as a commitment to presence for the duration of an event e.g. staying at a marae for the duration of a tangi. The kaumātua who engaged in the research, used the word 'strict' often when talking about their memories of the kaumātua of their youth up until they assumed responsibility for the role. The strictness was in relation to requirements of behaviour, dress and performance.

All aspects of kaumātuatanga were learnt through observation and doing, and one day finding oneself being thrust forward to karanga or whaikōrero. Whakapapa, waiata and tribal stories were learnt through the process of observation, active listening and doing. What was missing for the current cohort of kaumātua was the language.

Their parents and kaumātua of the time, thought that for them to succeed they needed to learn English and they were therefore discouraged from speaking te reo Māori. Some, especially the men, had put effort into learning the language because of the need to represent their whānau, hapū and the iwi. The women unfortunately had not acquired the language to the same level as the men however where they made their mark was as kaikaranga, kaiwaiata and the holders of tikanga and being skilled in wharekai manaakitanga.

Progression from one space to another and finally to the paepae tapu, could happen at any age but for each one of the current cohort, the first step was in the wharekai. It was here they learnt all the tikanga related to the principles of awhi, tiaki and manaaki. It was here they also learnt to cook, keep house and budget complementing what they also learned at home.

It was noted that the kaumātua of their childhood and early adulthood were a group of individuals whose complementary skills and talents presented the very best of the iwi. Even their eccentricities and contradictory behaviour were commented on and accepted if they continued to make themselves available to represent on the paepae tapu.

Pou mō Inaianei: What is happening now and how Ngāti Whakaue arrived here

As noted above the current cohort of kaumātua are of the generation whose parents believed their children would be better off learning and speaking English and therefore limited their passing on of the language. They did this by speaking to them only in English and by actively supporting an education process that promoted and was delivered in the English language⁸⁶. By doing so, they unfortunately contributed to the loss of the language. Despite the loss of the language, the current cohort of male kaumātua have built upon what they learnt through observation, active listening and presence on marae where they are able to whaikōrero including the stories of the iwi but perhaps not to the depth or expertise their parents and grandparents had displayed. The women, unless they are kaikaranga, do not have the same level of language the men do. However, they are the holders of tikanga and will demonstrate that knowledge when required.

The lack of language ability has seen the current cohort of kaumātua being challenged by following generations who are both highly competent in the language and those who have neither the language nor any knowledge of tikanga. Because more wāhine kaumātua (female elders) do not have competency in the language than the men, they are more likely to be on the receiving end of challenges than the men. One can assume it is precisely because they do not have the language however, they are the holders of tikanga and it has usually been when asserting tikanga they have been challenged.

The kaumātua are concerned that fewer and fewer people are attending the marae when events are happening with the result that the current pool of kaumātua available to maintain the mana of the whānau, hapū and iwi is small and they are tired. They are also concerned that when people do attend an event, they tend to behave as manuhiri or visitors rather than contribute by working in the wharekai as a starting point. The result is tikanga and skill related to manaaki is being lost as marae whānau do not learn these, especially how to cater for large groups. Instead they are depending more and more on others to provide this service for them. Also, with fewer and fewer people attending marae based events, tikanga in general is not being passed on to the next generations. The lack of knowledge of tikanga and the ability to cater for events is resulting in people staying away from marae in increasing numbers.

⁸⁶ Spolsky, 2005.

As noted earlier in this section of the report and elsewhere, wānanga were proposed because they are not new to the iwi as a means by which to grow their collective ability and knowledge of mātauranga-a-iwi. In fact one Ngāti Whakaue marae, Te Roro-o-te-Rangi holds regular wānanga however, not all marae do this. Of concern is the way those who have no language ability, especially kaumātua have been treated. Kaumātua noted they had been laughed at and ridiculed by younger members of the iwi when learning waiata. So much so, they stayed away and found other ways to learn. Poor treatment results in people staying away and the marae need them to attend so a system of setting up a safe learning environment that supports attendance is needed.

The suggestion of online wānanga was not met with any support but may be something for future consideration given the impact of the internet in the lives of the people. However online wānanga could have the impact of helping to keep people away from engaging in marae-based activities so a complementary programme where online wānanga participants can practice what they have learned in a kanohi kitea (be seen) or ā-tinana (physical presence) context would be essential.

Pou Anamata: What of the future for Ngāti Whakaue and especially for kaumātua.

The kaumātua who engaged with the research were both confident and concerned about the future of kaumātuatanga. There was no doubt they felt positive there were younger members of the iwi who would be able to succeed them. At the same time they were concerned those same younger members of the iwi did not have a firm grasp of tikanga especially those related to hosting visitors and tangihanga. They observed that the kaumātua-in-waiting no longer thought the wharekai was important in the process of taking on the mantle. Instead they often went straight to the paepae tapu taking a seat as a support person. Noticeably, it was the female kaumātua who commented about this. As holders of tikanga they thought it was important and generally throughout the research wānanga was proposed as the way to rectify this gap in not just kaumātua lifeways, but lifeways of the whānau, hapū and iwi.

The kaumātua thought it important that the iwi agencies or at least one of them, establish a whakapapa database for each marae. They thought that this would enable:

- Whānau to trace their whakapapa.
- Knowing how many were in each age cohort.

- Knowing who could be called upon to help at marae when needed.
- Distributing information through various media.
- Knowledge of the human resources of each marae, hapū and iwi.

They thought collecting that information could be easily done with the iwi agency employing students who would then undertake the data entry. Such a database also requires annual updating as people move and or die.

Important future concerns for the kaumātua were:

- Marae becoming white elephants.
- The impact of the internet on tikanga.
- The development of hapū becoming iwi.
- Internal disputes

As mentioned several times in this report from page 16 onwards, the men more so than the women were of the opinion that marae would become white elephants - that is unused or mātao. Their primary suggestion on how to prevent this from happening was to wānanga. For them wānanga would bring people back to marae especially those marae that are least used noting that some are used more often than others. This is an area for future exploration by the iwi and a subject for a wānanga as an iwi rather than by each marae whānau. Through joint wānanga they will be able to collectively benefit from the shared ideas.

The reality is marae have flourished and become derelict throughout time. The modern concept of marae is exactly that, a modern concept and a marae relies on people to maintain its mana and mauri. Without the interaction of people, the whakapapa and mauri of the marae is lost and it becomes derelict, bereft of human warmth and therefore mātao. Ngāti Whakaue if truly concerned about their marae becoming mātao need to wānanga to discuss how to counter that from happening. The kaumātua participants of the research talked often about the need to wānanga and that the wānanga must include the taiohinga / taitamariki and rangatahi as the future users of marae and future kaumātua.

In other words not to wānanga with other kaumātua only, instead, succession plan.

The impact of the internet was seen as a major disrupter of tikanga especially tikanga related to tangihanga. Reference was made to the number

of tangihanga, on the occasion of the nehu (burial) especially those which took place at funeral homes, where it was most likely the service would be streamed on the internet. Not all of the kaumātua were averse to the streaming of tangihanga acknowledging nowadays there are whānau who cannot attend in person for whatever reasons but who wish to be part of the tangi, especially the nehu. However, what the research kaumātua wanted was a wānanga to discuss related tikanga.

The COVID lockdowns had an impact on hui, wānanga and especially pōwhiri and mihi whakatau. The kaumātua thought that Ngāti Whakaue was slow in addressing some of the issues they saw as having a major impact on the kawa and tikanga of the iwi. Despite that they recognised the need for caution in a time of a pandemic. They also acknowledged the flexibility of tikanga to accommodate different situations.

Relatedness to the Aim and Objectives of the research.

Aim of study is to explore and interrogate the nature of Kaumātua wellbeing and Kaumātuatanga to imagine positive futures and navigate towards them.

Kaumātuatanga as defined by Ngāti Whakaue is not inclusive of every elderly person who has whakapapa to the iwi. Instead, for them it is a group of elderly who have the language, whakapapa and stories of the iwi; who are able to provide information and guidance to other members of the iwi; who attend events, no matter the size or importance, to represent the whānau, hapū and iwi. It is also a position requiring commitment to iwi and doing what is necessary to fulfil the role of a kaumātua including learning to close gaps in one's knowledge. All elderly Ngāti Whakaue are generally referred to as koeke except when they are fulfilling whānau, hapū and iwi responsibilities on the paepae tapu or other formal spaces within the iwi boundaries. It is then they are kaumātua.

The result of that definition is that the research did not focus on the pathology of being elderly, but on the cultural roles, responsibilities and expectations of a particular group of knowledge holders who in this instance were primarily elderly but in a true cultural context may not necessarily be elderly. That did not mean that concerns about their health and wellbeing generally were not mentioned or referred to, rather they were not the issues the kaumātua focused on. Significantly though kaumātua wellbeing for those Ngāti Whakaue kaumātua who contributed to the research, was tied to the wellbeing of their whānau.

The kaumātua who shared their knowledge throughout the research, were both concerned about the future of the tikanga of the iwi yet acknowledged there was a generation emerging who were displaying competency in the language, mātauranga-a-iwi and knowledge from other world views beyond what they, as current kaumātua, had. Despite that they were worried about the state of leadership in the iwi; the potential for marae to become in their words "white elephants" because people were not attending events at marae and thereby learning tikanga and the fundamental processes of manaakitanga; the loss of tikanga albeit acknowledging that the tikanga they were practising currently had changed somewhat especially as a result of COVID. They suggested that regular in-person wānanga would go some way to preventing any further loss of tikanga and a setting of new tikanga parameters.

Three methods were used to collect the evidence that has informed the research – wānanga, interviews and observation known as Haerenga Tahī (Moving together as one) for the purposes of the research. Each method provided a deepening level of understanding of the life of the kaumātua of Ngāti Whakaue. Combined they provide a comprehensive picture of Kaumātua wellbeing and kaumātuatanga in Ngāti Whakaue in 2019-2021.

Objective 1 is to better understand the processes influencing tikanga related to kaumātua and kaumātuatanga including the intergenerational transfer of knowledge and legacy.

What the research clearly showed was that for those who chose to follow the path to the paepae tapu of Ngāti Whakaue, there was a beginning point and that was in the wharekai. In the wharekai, the would be kaumātua learnt tikanga related to manaaki. Some kaumātua chose to remain in the wharekai demonstrating their ability to command respect in that house in much the same way as a master chef in their kitchen and a maître d' in front-of-house of a restaurant combined. Their skill is constantly called upon and they have taught many the art of manaaki.

At a certain point in their lives, usually late teens to early adulthood, those who choose to follow a trajectory to kaumātuatanga or whose potential in that space has been noticed, are engaged in supporting their elders on the paepae tapu. The women would help set up the wharenuī and surrounds depending on the occasion, begin to learn to karanga and waiata if they did not already know. The men would begin to learn to whaikōrero and waiata. All would also begin to learn whakapapa beyond that of their own whānau.

All of this however was also dependent upon whakapapa in that teina did not speak or karanga if their tuakana was and is still living. Tuakana lines in whakapapa still very much influence kaumātuatanga in Ngāti Whakaue. This applies to an uncle or aunt as it does to older siblings. A teina may spend their entire time as a kaumātua in a supporting role and it will not diminish their status as a kaumātua.

It is clear however that there is the individual who, because of their mātauranga-a-iwi, knowledge from other world views and their willingness to expand what they know, will move to the paepae tapu faster than others.

The process outlined is informal and has been the way by which those on the paepae tapu have progressed into that space. However because the current cohort of kaumātua are concerned as they have observed a loss of tikanga as a result of fewer and fewer people attending events as workers and supporters in the wharekai and wharenuī and on the ātea, there is a want for a more formalised process. One that for now, involves attending wānanga in-person and whānau identifying those from within, who will attend and support the various roles and responsibilities that enable a marae to function. The purpose of the wānanga is to ensure that not only do the whānau related to each marae know the waiata to support kaikōrero, they know the stories of the iwi, how they are related to each other through whakapapa and they know the tikanga that determine one's behaviours in a variety of settings and how to awhi and manaaki at events and hui. In that way, whānau are not reliant upon others whenever they have an event especially at a marae.

Objective 2 is to emerge a case study of intergenerational relationships that include consideration of care relationships, resource sharing, collaborative economics and succession planning in whānau and cultural activities.

There are a number of aspects to care relationships – kaumātua to kaumātua, kaumātua and their whānau, kaumātua and their community. The kaumātua cared for each other for a number of reasons. One because they were related and had grown up together; two because they were a small group and were needed to fulfil their role so caring for each other was important ensuring the whānau, hapū and especially the iwi were represented; three if they did not care for each other, it would make their responsibility to represent the iwi that much harder. They talked about how they were often tired but the pressure to attend events was such that they would appear

only to leave immediately after formalities. They acknowledged that from time to time they declined to attend events because of illness and exhaustion and then would often remark on kaumātua whom they remembered would be in attendance until an event concluded, especially tangi. They rued they did not have the same level of stamina as the kaumātua of old. However what they were most conscious of was their limited numbers. There are so few of them to fulfil the role of kaumātua.

The primary group for which they care is their whānau. First and foremost their children and mokopuna, then their siblings and nieces and nephews and their children. Many of them lived in three generation households sharing responsibilities for mokopuna that determined how much time they could give to kaumātua responsibilities.

All cared about the communities in which they lived. They were on boards, volunteered, operated businesses and generally were involved in a number of activities. They felt a lack of appreciation from the community at large for their commitment to service, especially their iwi organisations. There was however a prevailing attitude among those who engaged with the research that the iwi was wealthy so there was no need for people to be poor. Iwi wealth is almost always asset based with distribution of any funding made through iwi owned social services e.g. health grants. There were no kaumātua or koeke specific grants from the various iwi organisations.

Resource sharing was especially noticeable during COVID when the various marae set up their versions of what the community of Ohinemutu village called "Feed the Pā". Refer to page 67 for more information on Feed the Pā. Resource sharing was also reflected through:

- shared housing with whānau and the caring of mokopuna.
- Distributing food and wood stock to koeke and their families at times before and after the COVID lock downs.
- Consciously being informed of what was happening generally in the district so they could share the information with each other and especially with those among them whom they recognised as being the more community active.
- They shared stories of how even those who live outside the rohe of Ngāti Whakaue, shared resources with other members of the iwi.

All of these actions were examples of collaborative economics at the whānau, hapū, iwi and community levels. There were examples of collaborative economics at the iwi organisation level but the kaumātua were not closely involved and saw that they would not be beneficiaries of any of those activities even in one instance with the provision of kaumātua housing. They did not think they would necessarily be beneficiaries because the proposed housing was generally at a distance from their marae and their want was for kaumātua housing to be provided near their marae so they would easily be able to fulfil their responsibilities.

Related to fulfilling their responsibilities as kaumātua was their responsibility to provide kaumātua for the future. Succession planning was a topic they spoke about and were conscious they needed to facilitate more urgently than they had as they were aging and currently there were not enough kaumātua to fulfil responsibilities at every engagement. They spoke often about in-person wānanga as being the best way forward although it is possible that in future these may be complemented with online wānanga.

Objective 3 to adopt a life perspective approach to imagining kaumātuatanga into the near (20-30 years) and the distant futures (30-100 years)

The kaumātua found it difficult to imagine kaumātuatanga beyond the near future (20-30 Years) because they were focused on what was currently happening in the iwi boundaries. Reiterating, their main concerns for the future were:

- People not attending events at marae nor taking their tūpāpaku to marae with the result that tikanga was being lost and or modified. Often times those modifications causing disagreement between the kaumātua and others, usually younger and often more knowledgeable in the language and mātauranga-a-iwi. For the kaumātua, these disagreements demonstrated a lack of knowledge of tikanga. The example they often provided was that whānau did not understand that when they take their tūpāpaku to the marae, the tūpāpaku was now the responsibility of the marae and there was tikanga that guided that responsibility. From preparing for the arrival to the hākari and the completion of all related activities.
- Whānau losing the ability to cater when they hosted events because they were no longer attending marae to learn. Instead they were relying on others and therefore were

not acquiring some of the life skills that the current cohort of kaumātua had by being involved in marae life e.g. cooking, budgeting and resource sharing.

- Marae becoming mātao expressed as 'white elephants' because of issues expressed in the above bullet points. This was particularly a concern of the men
- The perceived lack of leadership especially among the men in leading discussions related to tikanga especially at tangi whether on marae or in homes.

As has been presented they thought wānanga were the best ways by which to address these issues.

Despite those concerns, the kaumātua especially the women, were positive about the next generations being able to provide kaumātua in numbers who will be able to fulfil the role and responsibilities into the future. They were very proud of their mokopuna who are graduates of the kohanga, kura kaupapa trajectory many of whom are now active in their communities.

Feed the Pā: A Covid 19 Community Response Case Study⁸⁷

Introduction:

During the four week Level 4 lockdown in April – May 2020, communities around the country sought ways to support each other during a time that had the potential to cause much distress. Ngāti Whakaue an iwi situated on the shores of Te Rotorua nui ā Kahumatamomoe (Lake Rotorua) sought to find ways to do this during the first Level 4 lockdown. For them, maintaining whanaungatanga was important for those who live in their rohe. Each of the communities and villages that are the gathering points for Ngāti Whakaue put in place activities to ensure their whānau were cared for even if it was in the smallest of ways. In one such community, the village of Ohinemutu which situated near to the city centre, their response was an activity they called Feed the Pa!

Almost all of the people who live in Ohinemutu are related and their whānau have occupied the land for many generations. The lockdown messaging was about staying in your bubble and protecting the most vulnerable, especially the elderly and those with underlying illness which would put them at risk. That messaging about the lockdown from government created a problem of maintaining whanaungatanga when there are a significant number of elderly in the village who are important to the ongoing maintenance of tikanga and who are knowledge keepers for whānau, hapū and iwi.

To understand the importance of Feed the Pa during the lockdown, it is necessary to also understand whanaungatanga, how communities respond in times of stress and the types of leadership needed when a community faces undue stress.

Background:

When the Coronavirus COVID 19 began to make its presence felt around the world at the end of 2019 and was declared a global pandemic on March 11, 2020⁸⁸. It was a matter of time before it arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand. The Prime Minister announced an Alert System of Levels⁸⁹ setting out parameters for behaviour at each level flagging that the country would be observing these levels depending on the severity of infection and deaths. On March 25, 2020 the Prime Minister announced that the country would go into a Level 4 lockdown. Thereafter, government began daily briefings and these became the focus of the nation at 1pm every day. Communities undertook to provide for their own as it became obvious that government services were not adequate to the task⁹⁰.

The parameters at level 4 were:

Level	Risk Assessment	Range of measures (can be applied locally or nationally)
Level 4 – Eliminate Likely that disease not contained	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sustained and intensive transmission • Widespread outbreaks 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People instructed to stay at home. • Educational facilities closed. • Businesses closed except for essential services (e.g. supermarkets, pharmacies, clinics) and lifeline utilities. • Rationing of supplies and requisitioning of facilities • Travel severely limited. • Major reprioritisation of healthcare services

Source⁹¹

⁸⁷ This was a small project within Kaumātua Futures and was funded by a small grant from Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga.

⁸⁸ Cucinotta & Vanelli, 2020.

⁸⁹ Jefferies et al., 2020

⁹⁰ Cassim & Keelan. 2023.

⁹¹ https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20200330210021/https://covid19.govt.nz/assets/COVID_Alert-levels_v2.pdf

Additional messaging included:

- Together we can stop the spread
- Be kind
- Wash and dry hands
- Self-isolation
- Stay home if you're sick
- What financial support was available.⁹²

Included was information for Māori related to tikanga (op cit.) these covered:

- Non-essential gatherings
- Planning of events
- Tangihanga
- Hongi and harirū

Each community took it upon themselves to organise and to provide for those within their purview to the best of their ability, complementing the more formal arrangements provided by government agencies. The distribution of food/care packages began in earnest once the Level 4 lockdown was announced but some community organisations had been distributing care packages for a number of years beforehand and added this to their already stretched resources.

As noted earlier in the report, Ngāti Whakaue is a small iwi who primarily live around the shores of Lake Rotorua. One of the villages of the iwi is that of Ohinemutu which is in close proximity to the city centre. The village has three active and busy marae – Papaiouru Marae known for its meeting house, Tamatekapua honouring the eponymous ancestor who captained Te Arawa canoe; Para te Hoata (Tūnohopū) and Te Roro o te Rangi. All of the marae are within five minutes-walk of each other. In addition, there is the famous St Faiths church with its hall Te Ao Mārama that serves as an additional site for functions in the village. Despite the fact it has restricted road access, Ohinemutu is a well-known tourist attraction.

⁹² 2020 03 18 available at: National Digital Heritage Archive

Feed the Pā!

During the second week of the lockdown, some young men who are uri (kin, relatives) of Ohinemutu had a truckload of food they wanted to distribute to whānau. They had posted in the iwi/village Facebook page but had little to no response. One of the aunts who a well-known organiser for Tūnohopū, heard of the lack of response and her immediate thought was, that if distribution were to happen through one of the marae, she was sure people would respond so she acted. She called the marae trustees and asked if Tūnohopū could be used as a collection and distribution point. The trustees agreed and because she holds the keys for the marae, it was easy enough to set things up taking into consideration the requirements for level 4 distancing and hygiene. Food and other goods were delivered to the kitchen of the dining hall where they were packaged ready for distribution.

The village is used to looking after its own and so were called upon to contribute. Households/families contributed from their own supplies; those who lived outside the village and had access to food supplies like the young men who started this movement, contributed what they had. One who lived at Maketu and had access to fish and was known for providing fish for tangi (periods of bereavement), contributed this to the growing supplies. Bakers were asked to make cakes and biscuits – initially for the elderly but later shared to others in the village. Friday became soup day when soup was distributed to the elderly. Care packages were distributed to one group of families one week and to another group the next week. Eventually the elderly started to say they would like their packages given to those who had children as they thought they had enough supplies.

Distribution became a way of keeping in contact with each other; finding out how everyone was feeling and whether there was any illness amongst those who lived there. It demonstrated whanaungatanga at its very best. Not all of the village participated in Feed the Pā but those who did, expressed their appreciation for the programme which complemented other efforts during the lockdowns especially the first. What the programme emphasised was the need for better data about who lived within the village because the programme was also used to ensure the community were vaccinated and their health and wellbeing was being monitored.

Feed the Pā was named thus by a member of the village and remains part of the village consciousness post that Level 4 lockdown⁹³.

What Feed the Pā demonstrated was that kaumātua are active members of their communities and are often pro-active in establishing community based activities. They are not just passive recipients which is often how they are presented. Instead they will lead out where they see a need.

93 <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=3402048513220666>

Glossary

<i>āheitanga</i>	capability
<i>ahikā</i>	those who maintain the home fires indicating continuous occupation
<i>I ngā Rā o Mua</i>	the past
<i>Anamata, anamata</i>	the future
<i>ātea</i>	courtyard and public forum
<i>awhi</i>	cherish
<i>hāhi</i>	Religion often used in the context of Church.
<i>hapū</i>	sub-tribe
<i>haukainga</i>	local people of a marae
<i>hinengaro, ā</i>	psychological, or the mind, intellect
<i>hoa-haere</i>	companion
<i>hui</i>	gathering, discussion, meeting
<i>inaianeī</i>	now
<i>iwi</i>	tribe
<i>kaikaranga</i>	ceremonial caller
<i>kaikōrero</i>	speaker
<i>kaitautoko</i>	supporters
<i>kaiwaiata</i>	singer
<i>kanohi kitea</i>	the face that is seen, being present
<i>kapa</i>	group
<i>karanga</i>	summons
<i>kaupapa</i>	purpose, policy
<i>kaumātua</i>	elderly person (gender free)
<i>kaumātuatanga</i>	Lifeways of knowledge holders
<i>kawa</i>	protocols
<i>kawe mate</i>	A mourning ceremony that takes place at another marae after the tangihanga and burial
<i>kīnaki</i>	relish or embellishment adding value to a speech
<i>koeke</i>	elderly person
<i>lohanga reo</i>	preschool language nest
<i>koro</i>	elderly man (grandfather)
<i>kōrero</i>	talk, discussion
<i>koroua</i>	elderly man (grandfather)

<i>kuare</i>	ignorant
<i>kuia</i>	elderly woman (grandmother)
<i>kupu</i>	word
<i>kura kaupapa</i>	total emersion education years 1-13
<i>mahau</i>	verandah
<i>māia</i>	confident
<i>mana</i>	authority
<i>manaaki, manaakitanga</i>	give hospitality to, hospitality
<i>mana whenua</i>	territorial rights
<i>manuhiri</i>	visitors
<i>marae</i>	community complex
<i>mātanga</i>	expert
<i>mātao</i>	cold
<i>mātauranga</i>	knowledge
<i>mihi</i>	greeting
<i>mihi whakatau</i>	formal speech of greeting usually conducted inside and without the formality of a pōwhiri
<i>mokopuna</i>	grandchild
<i>mōteatea</i>	lament, sung poetry
<i>nehu</i>	burial
<i>ngā hua</i>	findings
<i>ngā pūkenga</i>	skills
<i>ngā rātonga</i>	services
<i>ngāwhā</i>	geothermal pool, steam
<i>ope</i>	group
<i>pae, paepae, paepae tapu</i>	orators' bench
<i>papa kāinga</i>	communal land
<i>pōwhiri</i>	formal welcome ceremony
<i>pou</i>	pillar
<i>pou whirinaki</i>	supporting pillar
<i>pukana</i>	dialating of eyes as an emphasis when performing
<i>pūkenga</i>	skills
<i>rangatiratanga</i>	leadership
<i>raupapatanga</i>	succession
<i>reanga</i>	generation
<i>reo</i>	language
<i>reo wānanga</i>	language retreat

<i>ringawera</i>	cooks
<i>rohe</i>	district, area
<i>tangi</i>	mourn
<i>tangihanga</i>	funeral ritual
<i>taonga</i>	treasure
<i>tiaki</i>	care and protect
<i>tika</i>	correct
<i>tikanga</i>	procedure, customary system of values and practices
<i>tinana, ā</i>	body, person, in-person
<i>tira</i>	troupe
<i>take</i>	subject matter
<i>tauparapara</i>	Introductory incantation
<i>tautitoto</i>	song-in-reply
<i>tautuutu</i>	kawa of alternating speakers during the ritual encounter of the pōwhiri
<i>te ao Māori</i>	the Māori world
<i>tohunga</i>	skilled and chosen expert
<i>tokotoko</i>	walking stick
<i>tuatahi</i>	first
<i>tuarua</i>	second
<i>tuatoru</i>	third
<i>tuawhā</i>	fourth
<i>tuarima</i>	fifth
<i>tuaono</i>	sixth
<i>tuawhitu</i>	seventh
<i>tūpāpaku</i>	deceased person
<i>uri</i>	kin, descendants, relative
<i>waha (taonga-a-waha)</i>	mouth (treasure shared verbally)
<i>wairua, wairuatanga</i>	spirit, spirituality
<i>wāhine</i>	women
<i>waiata</i>	incantation, chant, song
<i>waiata ngahau</i>	entertaining song
<i>wānanga</i>	deliberations
<i>whaikōrero</i>	speak, speech
<i>whakaahu I ngā aā o mua</i>	becoming a kaumātua
<i>whakapapa</i>	genealogy
<i>whakarite</i>	restoring balance

<i>whakatauki</i>	a saying where the author is unknown
<i>whānau</i>	family
<i>whanaungatanga</i>	relationships
<i>wharekai</i>	dining hall
<i>wharenuī</i>	meeting house
<i>whare wānanga</i>	house of learning, Māori tertiary institutions
<i>whāriki</i>	(woven) mats

Source for translations: <https://maoridictionary.co.nz/>

Ngati Whakaue Kaumatua Advisory Group



Wiremu Mataia Keepa

(Te Arawa, Ngati Whakaue) born and raised here in Rotorua but after turning 18 years I realised my life needed "direction" with a career beyond that of moping around home lingering. I joined the Royal NZ Navy in 1971 and served my 20 years retiring with the rank of Chief Petty Officer Gunnery Instructor. I then embarked on higher academia completing a degree in Tourism Management at Waiariki Institute of Technology followed by a Master Business Management degree through Waikato University. I'm now retired but my workload seems to be heavier than ever. I enjoy learning and teaching Te Reo Maori, supporting our paepae tapu, trusteeship for several Maori land blocks and being in the presence of my sons and baby Whitiora. Nga mihi.



Josephine Mokaimarutuna Scott - nee Follett I Timihou Te Kowhai

(Te Arawa, Ngati Whakaue, Ngati Te Roro o te Rangi) I was born in Ohinemutu in 1945 and grew up under the watchful eyes of Kuia and Koroua of that day. In 1956/57 I became a foundation member of St. Faiths Youth Club, travelling to many Hui Toopu with our beloved tutor Hapi Winiata. Employed by the Department of Maori Affairs from 1961, married William George SCOTT in 1965 and became a busy mother of 4 from 1966. During the ensuing years I performed in all the Rotorua hotel resident kapa haka and travelled extensively world-wide as a Cultural Ambassador representing the NZ Maori Arts and Crafts Institute. I created the Matariki Cultural Entertainers when the Novotel Rotorua opened in 1996 and retired in 2010 when I reached 65. The rest is historynow serving Ngati Whakaue and St Faiths Church in many roles.



Rukingi Lee Haupapa

(Te Arawa, Ngati Whakaue) born and raised in Ohinemutu, Rotorua. In 1974, I was head boy at Te Aute College, Hastings and decided to be a teacher. Fours later, I was married with children and teaching in Taupo. The following 20 years took me to Tamaki Makaurau and back to Rotorua where I moved on as a Maori Resource Teacher and into the Ministry of Education. In 2005, I suffered a stroke with memory loss the biggest damage. Eventually I knew that education was the best path to reset my future, so back to university I went. Thankfully, I graduated with a Bachelor of Teaching (primary), a Master of Indigenous Studies, and completed doctorate stroke research. I am busy again but the main point is that despite age, illness, and even life - it is amazing what us kaumatua can do. Kia kaha, kia maia tatou.



Maxine Waiti Rennie QSM

(Te Arawa - Ngati Whakaue)

Born in Rotorua and raised in Ohinemutu Village. Widowed in 1976 and began a life of service in social work both at a community and national level with Maatua Whangai and Dept of Social Welfare. Established three community based social service agencies working mostly with maori whanau and rangatahi. Developed and implemented culturally effective programmes and services including the establishment of the Rotorua Restorative Justice Programme which was shared with iwi from Tokoroa and Tuwharetoa. I was awarded the Queens Service Medal in 2006 for services to the community and retired at 68 years. My iwi involvement continues today for tangi, iwi planning and research, iwi hui and trustee for various maori whenua trusts. A full life of service for my iwi, whanau and community. I hinga noa atu I te 16 o nga ra o Paengawhaha, 2024. Moe mai e te mareikura, moe mai.



Irlene Miriama Searancke

(Te Arawa, Ngati Whakaue, Ngati Toa Rangatira, Ngati Koata, Taranaki Ngati Ruahine, Ruamano, Ngati TO, Ngapuhi, Ngati Kura)

Whanau - e rua aku tamariki, e wha aku mokopuna, e toru aku mokopuna tuarua. E noho ana ahau ki Ohinemutu, Rotorua.

I am the Ngati Whakaue Representative on Te Pukenga Koeke o Te Whare Taonga o Te Arawa; member Paepae Tapu o Ngati Whakaue; President of Ohinemutu Branch of Women's Health League.

I play Mahjong three times a week and in Tournaments around the motu



Iris Te Rohu Te Karapu Thomas nee Hayward. He uri no Raureti Mokonuiarangi.

(Te Arawa, Ngati Whakaue, Ngati Rangitihi, Ngati Rangiwewehi).

I was born in Rotorua and Ohinemutu holds a special place for me as it is my tōrangawaewae. I am married and have one daughter and four mokopuna. I have a Bachelor of Social Work and a Certificate in Counselling, and I have spent 24 years working in the community statutory organisations. I am an active and life member of Ohinemutu Women's Health League. He koeke hoki ahau o Ngati Whakaue e noho ana ki runga te Paepae Tapu o Ngati Whakaue.



Vicki Mae Hineiwahia Bhana

(Te Arawa, Ngati Maniapoto)

She was born in Ohinemutu, and grew up a child of the pa. After some time in Auckland where she was active with the Polynesian Panthers, she returned to the whanau homestead with her husband Nigel. They have three sons, and many mokopuna. Vicki Mae is involved with numerous Ngati Whakaue governance bodies, particularly Te Rora o te Rangi. Her interests include housing, education and health, and she is committed to the Women's Health League.



Tuatini Sinnott

(Te Arawa, Ngati Whakaue, Airihi)

Tuatini is a stalwart of Ngati Whakaue whose skills in the wharekai at Ohinemutu Village Marae are widely known. She is a trustee of Te Papaouru Marae and Huirua Trust and a strong supporter of the various organisations of Ngati Whakaue and Te Arawa whanui. She was a founding member of Ngati Whakaue contemporary reo movement and its revitalisation. A strong advocate of marae tikanga and standards of behaviour.



Eileen Ann Jones (McRae)

(Te Arawa, Ngati Whakaue, Ngati Pikiiao, Tainui)

Ko Martin Te Takahi raua ko Ngawaru McRae oku matua. Born & bred at 96L Koutu Road, Koutu, Rotorua. Retired, and superannuitant. All the mahi i do is voluntary. I am a trustee of Te Papaouru Marae, and a trustee on the Wahi Tapu and Wahi Tupuna Funding Committees of the Ngati Whakaue Assets Trust. I am also a kaumatua on te paepae o Ngati Whakaue. In addition I am a life member, executive committee member and Club Manager of the Waikite Rugby & Sports Club. As the chairperson of Te Taipakeke Charitable Trust I am involved in receiving and considering funding applications. I am also involved in event organising. Although it is all voluntary, I love what I do for our iwi and whanau.

Research Team



***Professor Linda
Waimarie Nikora***

(Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti, TOhoe).

Linda Waimarie Nikora is a Pou Whakahaere of Nga Pae o te Maramatanga and a Professor of Indigenous Studies at Te Wananga o Waipapa, the University of Auckland. She was previously Professor of Psychology and Director of the Maori & Psychology Research Unit at the University of Waikato. Her specialities are in community psychology, applied social psychology, ethnopsychology and Maori development.



***Emeritus Professor
Ngahuia Te Awekotuku***

(Te Arawa, Ngai TOhoe, Waikato, Ngapuhi)

Ngahuia te Awekotuku continues to contribute to the arts and creative sector. With degrees in Art History and English, her PhD (1981) was in cultural psychology. She wrote an early (1991) monograph on Maori research ethics. For decades she served nationally in the heritage and museum sector as a governor, curator, writer and activist/advocate.



Dr Teorongonui Josie Keelan

(Ngati Porou, Ngati Awa, TOhoe)

Teorongonui Josie Keelan works some of her time at Nga Pae o te Maramatanga as a Senior Research Scholar and the other part of her time on the WAI 2700 Mana Wahine claim and as a member of Te Pukenga (NZIST) Council. She has a background in youth development, education (learning and teaching), community development and entrepreneurship with a focus on how matauranga is an essential system of knowing and being in each of those areas.



Dr Kiri Edge

(Ngati Maniapoto)

Kiri is currently the Pouhere Rangahau for Nga Pae o Te Maramatanga, New Zealand's only Maori Centre of Research Excellence. Kiri's professional foundations draw on Maori Psychology and Community Psychology, and foreground Te Tiriti o Waitangi relationships and practice. As an Indigenous community researcher, Kiri has contributed to a wide range of research and evaluation projects across both academic and community contexts. Kiri's research interests are diverse, but emphasise endeavours that seek to make a positive difference in lives of people, whanau and their communities, and ultimately support the creation of flourishing futures for generations to come.



Okeroa McRae

(Ngati Whakaue, Ngati Mahuta)

Okere is currently the Waikato Waiariki Regional Senior Adviser for Te Puni Kokiri. Okeroa holds a Masters in Community Psychology. Okeroa's contribution to a diverse professional landscape including Iwi, Hapu, Community, academia, local government and central government, derives from matauranga and tikanga focused research.

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