

blue skies FUND



families commission
kōmihana ā **whānau**

WHĀNAU IS WHĀNAU

TAI WALKER, NGĀTI POROU
HEALTH SERVICES RESEARCH CENTRE
VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

JULY 2006
BLUE SKIES REPORT No 8/06

The Families Commission was established under the Families Commission Act 2003 and commenced operations on 1 July 2004. Under the Crown Entities Act 2004, the Commission is designated as an autonomous Crown entity.

A key role of the Families Commission is to promote research on issues that will give the Commission and the public a better understanding of family life. The Blue Skies Fund provides funding for dynamic new work that examines contemporary and emerging family issues. The fund is intended for new research, emergent ideas and 'ideas papers' which have the potential to lead to new research.

For more information on the Blue Skies Fund, visit the Families Commission website www.nzfamilies.org.nz

Blue Skies research reports, which result from studies funded under the Families Commission's Blue Skies Fund, are produced by independent researchers. The content of the reports and the opinions expressed by the author/s should not be assumed to reflect the views, opinions or policies of the Families Commission.

This report is copyright to the Families Commission. The copyright-protected material may be reproduced free of charge for non-commercial personal use without requiring specific permission. This is subject to the material being reproduced and attributed accurately and not being used in a misleading context. Requests and enquiries concerning the reproduction of information for any purpose other than personal use requires the permission of the Families Commission.

The Commission can be contacted at:
Public Trust Building
Level 5, 117-125 Lambton Quay
PO Box 2839
Wellington

Telephone: 04 917 7040
Email: enquiries@nzfamilies.org.nz
www.nzfamilies.org.nz

➤ Giving New Zealand families a voice *Te reo o te whānau*

ISBN 0-478-29266-X

WHĀNAU IS WHĀNAU

**TAI WALKER, NGĀTI POROU
HEALTH SERVICES RESEARCH CENTRE
VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON**

HE MIHI

He mihi tēnei kia rātau mā i homai o rātau whakaaro rangatira. My sincere thanks to the participants who gave freely of their time and knowledge. Thanks to the Families Commission for funding this project. Thanks also to my supervisors, Drs Jackie Cumming and Kevin Dew and Professor Richard Hill for their support, and to Dr Ginny Sullivan, Sue Buckley, Lynne Pere and Hilary Stace for editing this paper. Kia koutou katoa, tēna koutou.

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	4
1.0 INTRODUCTION	5
2.0 RESEARCH METHODS	6
2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW	6
2.2 INTERVIEWS	6
3.0 LITERATURE REVIEW	8
3.1 EARLY ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERCEPTIONS OF WHĀNAU	8
3.2 SUMMARY	10
3.3 THE REASSERTION OF WHĀNAU LINKS TO THE PAST	10
3.4 SUMMARY	11
3.5 CONTEMPORARY PERCEPTIONS OF WHĀNAU	11
3.6 SUMMARY	14
3.7 THE IMPACT OF POLICY ON THE CONCEPT OF WHĀNAU	14
3.8 SUMMARY	18
4.0 NGĀ KŌRERO A RĀTAU MA	19
4.1 WHĀNAU TŪTURU OR INTRINSIC WHĀNAU	19
4.2 WHĀNAU Ā KAUPAPA	21
4.3 OTHER WHĀNAU TYPES	22
4.4 WHĀNAU ORA	24
4.5 AWANGAWANGA	25
4.6 SUMMARY	25
5.0 VIEWS ON THE PLACE OF WHĀNAU WITHIN POLICY	26
5.1 SUMMARY	27
6.0 DISCUSSION	28
7.0 IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY	32
8.0 CONCLUSION	33
REFERENCES	34

ABSTRACT

This small qualitative study into whānau was funded by the Families Commission through its Blue Skies Research Fund. The aim of this study was to explore with Māori within the policy environment their understandings of the concept of whānau and its use in social policy settings. The literature covers a period of 60 years, and has been reported on by conceptually diverse disciplines. The result has been a range of constructs and new ways of viewing whānau. Māori interviewed for this project asserted the primacy of the whānau tūturu based on whakapapa as forming the ‘intrinsic whānau’, with the metaphorical use of whānau forming an outer layer. Differences between the ‘intrinsic whānau’, the ‘whānau ā kaupapa’ and family were also described. While the notion of whānau – both biological and ā kaupapa – has been used in policy settings since the 1980s, participants felt it was not the role of academics and policy-makers to define whānau, assume its meaning and embed the notion in legislation. Both the assumed understandings of the concept of whānau and its application within Western legal approaches pose risks for Māori. Given the breadth and depth of the notion of whānau, it would be difficult for policy and legislation to capture its whole meaning and to apply it appropriately.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The objectives of this study were:

- > to explore notions of whānau identified by the literature, ie whakapapa whānau, kaupapa whānau, statistical whānau, virtual whānau, new whānau, family, whāmere, whānau reo Māori and whānau ora
- > to consider the policy implications of the use of the term whānau.

Since 1980, interest in and application of the concept of whānau by government agencies has grown, with the implementation of the Maatua Whāngai programmes, the development of the Te Kōhanga Reo movement and Kura Kaupapa Māori. The use of a whānau model is a key ingredient in these three initiatives. *Puao-te-Ata-tu* (Ministerial Advisory Committee 1986) strongly urged the need for whānau, hapū and iwi engagement. More recently, the Ministry of Health (King and Turia 2002:i) published *He Korowai Oranga*, the Māori Health Strategy, which places “whānau at the centre of public policy”. This use of whānau and whānau models was instigated by Māori within the public sector.

This research takes place in the context of diverse views expressed by Māori scholars and within a social context where Māori are asserting their right to retain, promote and protect a distinctive cultural identity. There appears to be two differing schools of thought: one that argues for the retention of traditional whānau with links to hapū and iwi, and another which calls for new types of whānau arrangements to be recognised. The topic is both complex and dynamic.

A whakapapa approach has been employed for the structure of this report. It assumes that in order to know where one is going, one needs to know where one has come from. Chronological order is paramount in this approach. This paper will therefore first explore literature from shortly after European contact, before contemporary perspectives are discussed, and the ways the concept has been implemented and applied in social policy. The findings will then be reported and the implications of the research for social policy discussed.

2.0 RESEARCH METHODS

The primary philosophical context for this study privileges Māori knowledge and ways of knowing and being over academic knowledge and constructs. The research consists of two main parts: a literature review and interviews with Māori. The literature review provides part of the objective and historical framework that surrounds the concept of whānau, and the interviews with Māori in the policy environment focus on their understandings of the concept of whānau and its use in policy.

2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

A comprehensive search of the literature was undertaken using library databases alongside the author's personal literature collection and personal contacts. The Victoria University of Wellington Library Database Basic and Advanced search functions were used to search under the keyword whānau. Theses and dissertations were also searched. A similar search was conducted using the National Library of New Zealand database, Index New Zealand, which contains lists of articles. The National Library Bibliographic Database was used to source books and journals. These databases brought up all documents that had the word whānau in the title, author or abstract. A search under 'kaupapa whānau' did not produce results. Many of the key texts were already in the author's possession.

Bibliographies in books such as *New Growth from Old* by Metge (1995) were useful for identifying literature, and informants within government departments were also very helpful in identifying reports and documents held by government departments. The Official Information Act was used to obtain two reports. Ministerial speeches on the Beehive website were another source of literature.

Thirty-four items of literature were identified and reviewed to form the draft of this paper. Copies of the draft report were then sent to participants and reviewers for comment. Their feedback has been included in this report. On the recommendation of the external reviewer, however, a further 21 items were added to the literature review. The categories of whānau in the literature include: whakapapa whānau, kaupapa whānau, whānau ora, statistical whānau, virtual whānau, family, whāmere, whānau reo Māori and new whānau.

2.2 INTERVIEWS

While the research had planned to use focus groups for gathering data, this method was abandoned in favour of kanohi ki te kanohi or face-to-face interviews because of the difficulty of getting people in the same place at the same time (Patton 2001:386-388). Nine participants from the government and non-government sectors, based in Wellington, were interviewed using a semi-structured schedule. Participants were of Māori descent and came from Ngā Puhī, Ngāti Porou, Te Arawa, Tainui, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Tuwharetoa and Ngāti Mahuta from Tainui. Although Wellington-based, the majority of participants were strongly linked to their respective tribal areas and returned frequently for whānau, hapū and iwi activities. Only one participant claimed not to be so involved with hapū and iwi. This may have been related to distance from the participant's tribal area and the age of the participant, ie this person was one of the younger participants. Five of the participants were women and four were men and their ages ranged from mid-20s to mid-50s. Their occupations included managers, advisors and policy analysts, and one was a consultant. An unexpected bonus was that four of the participants had one Pākehā parent and were able to give valuable insights into the perceived differences between whānau and family. Two participants were heavily involved in the Kōhanga Reo movement and commented on the differences between the 'intrinsic' and 'ā kaupapa' whānau. One participant had a child at kura kaupapa Māori and had some involvement in kura kaupapa activities, and four described work-based friendships as whānau, a description not recognised by another participant.

Participants were recruited using a variety of methods, including formally approaching government departments, using networks within departments, and taking advice from key informants. Each participant was then contacted personally and asked to agree to take part in the research. Participants were chosen because they identified as Māori and because they had some understanding of the policy-making environment.

Ethical approval was sought and received from the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee, assuring anonymity and confidentiality to participants. This was of the utmost importance to those who chose to speak of their own personal understandings and involvement with whānau rather than presenting a departmental view.

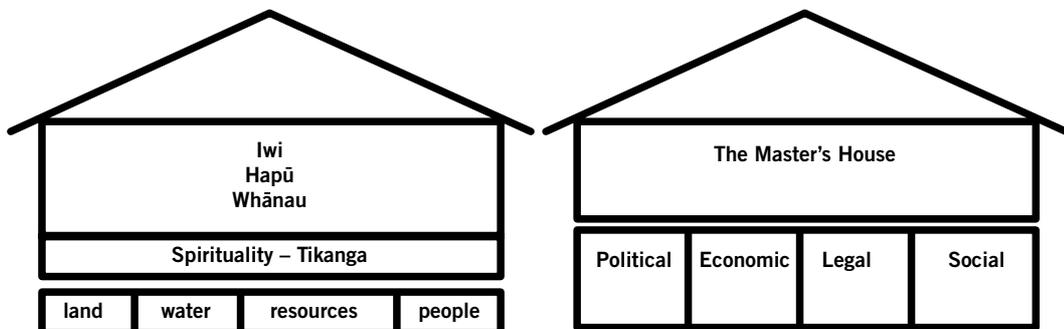
Data were analysed according to the themes that arose, using the qualitative data management software Nvivo 2. The study was constructed and analysed using a Māori worldview, which asserts a positive position and is strengths-based. Marsden (1981:143) describes this as a view from “within a culture”. Apart from being holistic, “a Māori worldview is integrated, paradoxical, inter-dependent and multi-dimensional” (Walker 2004:118). Worldviews are important because all thoughts, ideas and policies carry their own assumptions about the nature of knowledge (epistemology) and the nature of being (ontology), which in turn informs the way we see the world. As Addis et al (2005:21) point out:

...among Māori there have been multiple tribal worldviews... Today Māori worldviews are the product of the original worldviews, overlaid by a variety of post-European colonial experiences, Christianity, literacy, the impact of new technologies and economy, the Treaty of Waitangi and the Māori renaissance. ...In recent times there has been a realisation in Māori communities that a Māori worldview, along with other aspects of the culture, is something that must be preserved and promoted. This has largely been since the 1970s when Māori political activism reacted very strongly against the Government's assimilation policies. Activists promoted the retention and development of a distinct Māori culture within New Zealand that should remain different from mainstream Pākehā culture. ...A new generation of Māori has consequently appeared that resents any perceived threat or antagonism to Māori values as this is seen as a direct threat to the survival of Māori culture itself.

The much-used Two House Model in Figure 1 illustrates two worldviews side by side, one Māori and the other Pākehā. A ‘Māori house’ is used to demonstrate a Māori worldview, whilst a ‘Pākehā house’ is used to demonstrate a Pākehā worldview. The ‘Māori house’ is the domain of whānau, hapū and iwi, and bases its foundation on land, water, resources and people, under the umbrella of spirituality and tikanga. In contrast, the ‘Pākehā house’ is referred to as the master's house (Lorde 1984:112), and its foundations are based on political, economic, legal and social structures. The model shows how vastly different values inform the worldviews of Māori and Pākehā, yet Māori live in both these ‘houses’ or worlds, to varying degrees, and move between them with relative ease. They often work in the mainstream ‘house’, and go home to the other ‘house’, or engage in a range of cultural activities in their leisure time that may be more closely associated with the ‘Māori house’, such as kapa haka and waka ama.

The formal relationship between these two houses was originally established at the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. Since that time, the relationship has often been strained and tested, mostly because the Treaty of Waitangi has been so consistently disregarded by the ‘Pākehā house’. The laws of the land and the formulation of policy occur in the ‘Pākehā house’, where Māori public servants occupy a ‘room’, but this is often without consultation with the neighbour. Although Māori have had more input into the development of policy since the 1980s through their room lease, there are very many areas that still need much improvement. The literature below is a product of both these houses.

Figure 1: Ngā Whare e Rua – A Two House Model



Jackson and Poananga 2001.

3.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review will, firstly, examine the early literature (Early Anthropological Perceptions of Whānau); secondly, look at the literature just after urbanisation when problems experienced by whānau began to emerge (The Reassertion of Whānau Links to the Past); thirdly, consider more contemporary understandings of whānau (Contemporary Perceptions of Whānau); and finally, give an account of social policy literature in relation to the use of the concept of whānau in the public sector (The Impact of Policy on the Concept of Whānau). A summary of the literature will follow at the end of each section.

The literature is organised in chronological order from the earliest to the most recent publications, consistent with the whakapapa approach employed. This whakapapa framework allows for changes in whānau, and how whānau is viewed, to be tracked over time. The literature spans a period of 60 years. During this time, major social, political and economic changes have occurred, and the concept of whānau and its application has adapted to these changes. Contributors to the literature were Māori and Pākehā academics, Māori experts with insider knowledge and experience of whānau, policy advisors, social workers and Māori postgraduate students.

3.1 EARLY ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERCEPTIONS OF WHĀNAU

One of the earliest to discuss the notion of whānau was Best (1952:96-97), a Pākehā ethnologist who first published his interpretations of whānau in 1924 and again in 1934. He notes that “an examination of the social organisation of the Māori as the smallest cohesive and self-contained group was that termed by anthropologists as the extended family or family group. It was the real social unit, not the true family, and this family group was termed a whānau. It extended to about four generations from the common ancestor – the primal pair after which its title and status would be altered to that of a hapū or clan”. He goes on to say that “true family life, as we know it, did not exist among the Māori ... each family group had the right to use certain lands, fish certain waters, etc so that clan and tribal boundaries were well known”. Best was also convinced that “all members of a Māori tribe were not only blood relatives but were descended from a common ancestor ... because no outsider can become a true member”.

Te Rangihiroa or Sir Peter Buck (1949:333) states that “the smallest social unit is the biological family ... termed whānau”. Buck refers to at least four generations of whānau members living in close proximity to each other. Even when the whānau expands through successive generations, additional dwellings are added to accommodate them. After the arrival of Europeans, in particular the missionaries, Māori were converted to Christianity and persuaded to leave their fortified hill pa and to move to the lower flat lands. However, in spite of those changes, “the arrangement of family units ... followed the established pattern”. The issue of reciprocity and interdependence of whānau members on each other is identified by Buck (1949:175) in his statement that “mutual help was a fundamental expression of blood kinship as well as human kindness”.

Buck (1949:342-343) also comments on the way in which continuity is maintained over successive generations: “The kinship terms [for example, tūpuna meaning grandparent or ancestor] meant more to the Māori than such terms mean to Europeans. The use of the Māori kinship terms helped to keep alive the fact that all members of the tribe belonged to the same family and the stressing of the blood tie made them stick together”.

In his book on the economics of Māori, Firth (1959:111) describes much the same whānau arrangements as Buck regarding the number of generations occupying a similar dwelling or area, but adds that the whānau could consist of a man, his wife and their children. He translates whānau to mean an “extended family”, likening it to the German equivalent of family. He describes whānau as “a social unit of the utmost importance. It had great cohesion since its members were few, ranged only through three or four generations, and were bound together by the closest of kinship. Of its nature the whānau was not a large group... The whānau functioned as the unit for ordinary social and economic affairs. Besides common occupation of the dwelling house, its members, under the head man, followed many individualistic pursuits together”. These pursuits included gardening, harvesting and eeling. Firth recognises the need for a “sociological analysis” of the whānau. No further information is provided.

The work of Best, Buck and Firth, and other academics such as van Meijil (1995) and Webster (1997, 1998), who have examined Māori social and political organisations such as waka, iwi, hapū and whānau, is still influential. The latter two scholars have not provided any new insights, however.

Three Māori anthropologists in the 1950s added new insights with their wider studies that were based on observation and interviews with whānau in each of their tribal areas. They were Hohepa (1970), Winiata (1967) and Kawharu (1975).

In his study in the Waima area of Hokianga, which was first published in 1964, Hohepa (1970) describes whānau as extended family and whāmere as family. According to Hohepa (1970:93), “the whāmere or family traces its descent from a progenitor deceased within living memory, usually the father of the oldest living member of the group. This person is regarded as the founding ancestor, while the whāmere consists of all his descendants, their spouses and their adopted children”. Hohepa (1970:93) explains that “the whāmere resembles the English family in its broadest sense, especially when the word ‘family’ describes a ‘family gathering’, and not the individual nuclear family”. He identifies one of the characteristics of whāmere as being assistance provided to another whāmere “in times of economic stress”. He claims that this assistance is reciprocal.

Winiata (1967:27) looked at whānau as part of a wider study on leadership in his tribal area. Like Firth, he likens the extended family to whānau. His whānau type also consists of three to four generations and he reports that they “might number as many as 30 persons”. He also describes the whānau as “the most convenient work unit”, noting the changes that occurred as a result of European settlement: “Land was owned by whānau (extended family) units, and although the whānau is slowly but surely breaking up into nuclear units, sentiment and integration within the whānau framework are stronger than between whānau and whānau in the village and hapū” (Winiata 1967:82).

Whilst discussing “bilateral extended family”, Kawharu (1975:50-52) refrains from using the term whānau “since the term may be applied to kin groups that vary in sociological significance”. He therefore defines “the family” as consisting of “a parental couple, their children, the latter’s children and married children with their issue. It may therefore contain upwards of four generations living both in Orakei and in other suburbs of Auckland. Children or grandchildren living at a distance from Auckland, although not denied membership of their family, of necessity act only marginally in its affairs”.

Metge, a Pākehā social anthropologist, who has studied Māori culture and the concept of whānau for 40 years, argues (1995:35) that Best, Buck and Firth eventually arrived at a common definition of the eighteenth century whānau as being characterised by all of the following:

- > A family group usually comprising three generations: an older man, his wife and some or all his descendants and in-married spouses or some variant such as brothers, their wives and families.
- > A domestic group occupying a common set of buildings.
- > A social and economic unit responsible for the management of daily domestic life, production and consumption.
- > The lowest tier in a system of socio-political groups defined by descent through common ancestors traced through links of both sexes, the middle tier consisting of hapū and the highest tier of iwi.

She claims that “the model is often referred to as the ‘traditional Māori family’”. However, her preference is to describe the whānau of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century as the “classic” whānau (Metge 1995:35).

Metge (1967:6) describes whānau in much the same way as the previous anthropologists, ie that the “basic social unit of Māori society was the household, which usually consisted of an extended family: a patriarch and his wife or wives, their unmarried children, some of their married children and the latter’s spouses and children. The free members of a household were whānau”. As mentioned above, Metge spent many years studying, writing and publishing on the topic of Māori society and in particular whānau. In her book *New Growth from Old* (1995:51-60), she discusses the many meanings of whānau. She revisits the extended family/descent group approach and argues that “given that the whānau descent group is contained within the whānau extended family, is it really necessary to distinguish them in this way? Why not accept extended family as the primary meaning of whānau?” Metge (1995:64) acknowledges that English translations of the term whānau are “far from satisfactory”. In this book, Metge develops the concept of whakapapa-based whānau, which is posited on descent, and covers the group that has been described above. Kaupapa-based whānau refers to people who come together for a common purpose. She notes that “lacking descent to serve as a unifying principle, kaupapa-based whānau place particular stress on the other characteristic feature of the whakapapa-based whānau, that is, whānau values and the ways of working derived from them” (Metge 1995:305).

3.2 SUMMARY

Understandings and representations of whānau at the time of European contact have been dominated by the discipline of anthropology, and by literature which has been informed by Western academic approaches. Generally, early definitions of whānau focus on a whakapapa group with three to four generations living either in the same household or in a compound. This group occupies a defined geographical area and co-operates occasionally. Best, Buck and Firth make no reference to whānau members who have migrated to other areas.

Metge (1990:57-59) conducted an extensive critique of the work of Best, Buck and Firth, focusing on some of the theoretical shortcomings of these writers. She claims that the “whānau described by Hohepa, Kawharu and herself differed substantially from the whānau described by Best, Buck and Firth” (Metge 1990:64). For example, whānau “lacked residential unity and economic self-sufficiency, and their members cooperated on an occasional rather than a daily basis”. In his study, Kawharu includes whānau members living out of Auckland who retain membership of the whānau, suggesting that membership of whānau is through whakapapa and descent, irrespective of domicile.

3.3 THE REASSERTION OF WHĀNAU LINKS TO THE PAST

Since World War Two, Māori society has undergone further change, moving from what was essentially an agrarian society to an industrialised urban society where many whānau became separated from their tribal heritage. The process of urbanisation after 1945 was rapid. Durie, a renowned Māori scholar (1989:289), claims that “Urbanisation ... has meanings other than simply living in a town or city: tribal control is effectively absent; the population is heterogeneous (other tribes, other ethnicities); the individual acquires rights through residency rather than descent; and claims to land are based on acquisition which excludes those who do not purchase or rent”. Tangaere (1998:19) claims that “the city disadvantaged Māori people because its culture, language and customs were Pākehā-dominated. The dilemma for the traditional whānau structure was that there was very little or no support system in place... The Māori were forced to change their lifestyles from the collective support of the whānau to the Pākehā-oriented nuclear family. The families were small, they lived in small houses on a quarter-acre section. There was also the absence of grandparents and extended whānau support. The success of the policies to destabilise Māori society resulted in many Māori families alienating themselves from their own whānau structure, values and culture. The values, structure and culture of the Pākehā had captured these many Māori minds”.

Besides these social and cultural changes, there were also economic and demographic changes that had profound effects on Māori society. All of these stressors meant that there was a growing awareness of links with the past, and a sense of the differences between life in the new urbanised settings and its inevitable impacts on communities that maintained their rural and tribal characters, and life as it had been, with its clear lines of kinship, leadership, reciprocity and tribal affiliations.

In 1979, the New Zealand Planning Council published *He Matapuna* (Walker 1979), which contains stories written by Māori on the topic of being Māori. Rose Pere (1979:25) and Tilly Reedy (1979:43) were two of the contributors to this publication. They both described their experiences of growing up in traditional whānau where the values, beliefs and support they gained stood them in good stead throughout their lives. Reedy stresses the importance of the links with the past and notes that her “roots and identity” connect her to her tribe and “highlight the extended family ties that support me, my eight children, and our grandchildren”. This link to the past includes those “who have passed on”. Pere (1979:25) reinforces this view with her statement that the “survival of the kinship group is of prime importance”.

Both acknowledge the presence of a spiritual force greater than themselves and both also comment on the tensions that arise from working in a Pākehā world whilst having obligations to the whānau. An example given is deliberating whether or not to take the children out of school to attend a relative's tangi. Pere also raises the issue of living outside her tribal area and not being able to fulfil all the responsibilities and obligations to the kinship group.

Rangihau (1981:166) states that “kinship is the warmth of being together as a family group: what you can draw from being together and the strength of using all the resources of family. And a strong feeling of kinship or whanaungatanga reaches out to others in hospitality”. Even though Māori were

experiencing urbanisation, undergoing the impacts of assimilation and developing a pan-Māori identity, they never lost the primacy of tribal identity (Rangihau 1981:174). He writes, “although these feelings are Māori, for me, they are my Tuhoetanga. My being Māori is absolutely dependent on my history as a Tuhoie person. It seems to me that there is no such thing as Māoritanga”. He notes (1981:174) that each tribe has its own history, which is not a shared history. Rangihau, in his career as a Māori Welfare Officer with the Department of Māori Affairs, wrote the whakatauaiki (proverb), “Hokia ki o maunga kia purea koe e ngā hau a Tawhirimatea” (Return to your mountain so that you may be nurtured by the winds of Tawhirimatea).

Walters and Walters (1987:7-8) describe whānau as “an institution in its own right”. Whānau is based exclusively on whakapapa (blood ties), “where children, parents, grandparents, aunts, uncles and cousins ... belong together in a whanaungatanga, [a] wide range of shared, nurturing and supportive relationships. ... There is no limit to the largest unit of whānau. This will vary according to which ancestor the direct descendants want to identify with”. They state (1987:8) that “every Māori comes from a whānau ... and is therefore assumed to be well cared for”. They also note the complexity of the society in which the whānau of the 1980s lived and worked. While some Māori coped, others did not, evidenced by the “disturbing reports of the growing parental negligence, increased divorce rates, large numbers in prisons, poor performance in education, inadequate skills in the work force and poor health amongst Māori”. They also note (1987:15) that “whānau has become so closely enmeshed with family that we no longer notice the difference. Whānau and family are not the same”. No further explanation of the difference is provided.

Henare (1988:11-12) describes whānau as the “basic social unit” of Māori society, with three generations and up to 30 people living together. As the basic social unit, the whānau is responsible for “food gathering, residential and land holding”. Houses, tools and other material goods are held in common. Henare also notes that “The whānau had its own internal authority structures and was the group in which the day-to-day decisions were made”.

Walker (1990:63-64) describes whānau in much the same terms as earlier anthropologists. The whānau is “the basic social unit in Māori society”, which he describes as the “extended family”, consisting of “three generations” with “kuia and kaumatua at the head”. “The whānau, depending on the size, occupied one or several sleeping houses. Large whānau had their own compound or papakainga”. However, Walker states that “the main function of the whānau was the procreation and nurture of children... Children were used to receiving care from many people besides their parents”. He notes that in this secure environment, “mokopuna ... were probably more influenced by their grandparents, the kaumatua and kuia”. The impact of the loss of a parent through death or separation is minimised. Another role of the whānau is that “it looked after its own aged or disabled members”. In a later chapter (1990:200-201), Walker describes the changes in whānau as a result of urbanisation and states that “one of the more important cultural transplantations into the urban situation ... was the whānau”. He claims that the whānau “was replaced by the nuclear family” and the reason for this is that “the nuclear family fits the demands of the industrial society more easily than the extended family”. He adds that this is not “the death of the whānau” but whānau “is transplanted in a modified form”.

3.4 SUMMARY

The central theme of the literature in this section is the impact of urbanisation on whānau, where some whānau members have become isolated from the more supportive environment of the wider whānau. The writers of the studies referred to in this section had insider knowledge of the practice of whānau and drew on their own experiences and understandings, and were keenly aware of the negative impacts of urbanisation and the breakdown within whānau. In trying to address these issues, these writers generally reassert the importance of the links with the past and their tribal heritage. Some of them argue that whānau need to return to their tribal heritage and their past if they are to revive and retain their personal and cultural integrity. The influence of anthropology is still apparent in the literature addressed in this section.

3.5 CONTEMPORARY PERCEPTIONS OF WHĀNAU

Metge (1990:68) states that “The time has come for us to recognise that, in the real world, not the academic realm of abstractions, Māori people use the word whānau with an array of references, that its use varies according to context, and that its meaning in particular situations must never be taken for granted”. Metge (1990:71-73) notes eight different meanings for whānau. They are:

- > Cognatic descent category of limited depth, through a relatively recent ancestor, traced through both male and female lines.
- > Fluent Māori speakers sometimes use it for a set of siblings exclusive of their parents.
- > A cognatic descent group of limited depth comprising those members of a whānau descent category who participate in ongoing but occasional activities.
- > An extended family group.
- > A kin cluster where a group of kinsmen cooperate for common ends.
- > On occasion whānau can be described as an elastic band, inclusive of a wide group of people, eg a speaker defines whānau as ‘it’s not only blood, it’s ethnicity means Māori’.
- > Whānau has also been used as an action group of kinsfolk for support, for example, in a job interview. They may include affines and Māori and Pākehā friends.
- > The metaphorical use of whānau or kaupapa whānau.

She notes (1990:75) that the concepts of descent category, descent group and extended family are the most important.

More recently, Durie-Hall and Metge (1992:60-61) and Hall and Metge (2002:41) have claimed that “Māori recognise two kinds of family, the nuclear family and the whānau. Their understanding and experience of the nuclear family is affected by their understanding and experience of the whānau”. They note “that whānau are not exclusive groups” and belonging to one whānau through one parent does not exclude individuals from belonging to the whānau of the other ‘in-married’ Māori parent. If individuals marry, they can become a member of their spouse’s whānau. If a whānau is functioning well, its members are bound by ‘aroha’; provide financial and moral support to each other; are able to manaaki visitors; accept responsibility for each other’s behaviour by checking another member who steps out of line; and enjoy each other’s achievements and successes. Durie-Hall and Metge (1992:62) state that the “actual whānau depart to a greater or lesser extent from this model”. Māori nuclear families, on the other hand, may or may not belong to a functioning whānau. There is scope for nuclear families to be independent of whānau. As Walker (above) has noted, children are not the exclusive possession of their parents. Grandchildren can and do have a special relationship with their grandparents that is “characterised by warmth and intimacy” (Durie-Hall and Metge 1992:64). “Māori parents are not jealous of the part grandparents and relatives play in the rearing of their children”, but embrace it and “capitalise” on it.

Durie in his (1994:70-73) Whare Tapa Whā model identifies whānau as one of the corners of the ‘house’ along with the mind, body and spirit. Whānau is considered important here because of the role it plays in supporting and caring for Māori. Whānau also plays a role in reinforcing “identity and a sense of purpose”. Pere (2003) uses Te Wheke (the octopus) as a framework for teaching children, with the head of the octopus representing whānau. She notes that the wheke can reach out with its tentacles to absorb what is being taught. In Ako (1988:23), Pere outlines some of the qualities that whānau exhibit when she writes “loyalty, obligation, commitment, an in-built support system made the whānau a strong, stable unit within the hapū and consequently the tribe”.

Selby (1994:144), in her chapter on whānau, raises some important points. She notes that she “belongs to several whānau” but limits her discussion to “extended whānau type” members including parents, brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, nieces, nephews, cousins and grandparents. Another point she makes in relation to the role of whānau members (Selby 1994:147-148) is that “I am the parent of my sisters’ and brothers’ children, just as they are parents to my children. Those whānau members are all parents, and will love and discipline and care for the children in a special way in their role as parents”. Selby (1994:147) states that “there are no first and second and third cousins in Māori whānau, and there are no first cousins ‘once removed’ or by marriage. Whānau are whānau and responsibilities to one another are clear”. One of the responsibilities of whānau is the care and maintenance of the marae. Another is recognising the importance of the elderly and the stories they are able to share as well as “the art of storytelling”. Finally, Selby (1994:157) asserts that “the whānau is not only a historical family unit. It is a living, vibrant, demanding, supportive, active unit, which plays an important role in the lives of tangata whenua. To be ignorant of our whānau makes us poorer”.

Bradley (1995:27-29) describes the various stages of change undergone by whānau from the “omnipotent ecological whānau to the more exclusive nuclear whānau of today”. These stages are:

- > Te Ao Whānui – where whānau life principles were more ecological by nature where natural forms were personified, eg rivers and mountains.
- > Whānau Whānui – the life principle of the whānau began to narrow toward a more tribal orientation.
- > Whānau Tu Mokemoke – the period around 1860 where whānau forms were moving toward the ‘narrow exclusive whānau’ of today.

- > Whānau Tu Wehenga – the period of urbanisation and ‘the time of cultural individualisation’.
- > Whānau Whariki Tangata – the period of the children of the generation who moved to urban centres and the period of assimilation. The Māori Community Development Act of the 1960s promoted a pan-tribal committee system with no regard for the retention of rangatiratanga.
- > Whakatapuranga Rua Mano – the time of the re-emergence of tribalism. Māori had become equally distanced from the traditional Māori world as Pākehā.

Bradley (1995:27) claims that urbanisation saw dramatic changes in the “structure of whānau”. He describes the stages of adaptation as:

- > Traditional Whānau – the person has links to a rural base; marae; one’s tūrangawaewae [the place where you stand]; to a wide extended whānau/hapū; a strong predictable sense of order; having more than one generation of whānau; the whānau is more than likely fluent in Māori and English.
- > Migrant Whānau – relates to those whānau who moved to urban centres but maintained their links with the marae on occasions. Increasingly their children preferred to remain in the urban centre when their parents returned to the marae.
- > Marginal Whānau – this is the first generation of urban-born children as adults. For some there will be the sense of having little or no worthwhile identity.
- > Adapted Whānau – whānau are beginning to adapt well to the urban environment. Families are becoming increasingly monolingual and monocultural. There is a sense of detachment from one’s heritage.

The 1980s was a period when Māori began to reassert their voices with the establishment of Kōhanga Reo, Kōkiri marae-based programmes, Tu Tangata and Maatua Whāngai. Bradley (1995:28) describes Māori of today as being characterised by several different cultural and philosophical paradigms that relate to historical changes and dynamics:

- > Traditional thinking by adhering to an iwi worldview.
- > Nationalist thinking – having a pan-tribal and pan-Māori worldview.
- > Assimilationist thinking – sees Māori resurgence as unrealistic, regressive, romantic and divisive.
- > Traditionalist thinking – those who defend the return to tribalism as the basis of true sovereignty or rangatiratanga. These Māori are learning Māori as a second language and teaching their children.

In a paper on counselling Māori students, Taurere and Agee (1996:61) write that “whānau membership ... is generally an integral part of the individual’s sense of identity”. They quote Tukukino and Tukukino’s (in Taurere and Agee 1996:61) statement that “there is no greater power in contemporary Māori society for fulfilling the cultural needs, aspirations and identity than the whānau system. This provides a network, a resource group, a support system and a healer far greater than any support system in the Pākehā world”.

Durie (1997:2) asserts that “the meanings of family and whānau ... have changed to a point where some would argue they have lost all significance and are, at the best, vestiges of bygone eras. Others maintain that family and whānau have simply evolved to meet new circumstances and are no less significant now than they were three or four decades ago”.

Durie (1997:9-10) discusses some of the roles of family and whānau in terms of capacity. They are: the capacity to care, or manaakitanga; the capacity to share, or tohatohatia; the capacity for guardianship, or pupuri taonga; the capacity to empower, or whakamana; and the capacity to plan ahead, or whakatakoto tikanga. He outlines the tasks, qualities and application of each of these categories. He (1997:16-17) also describes types of whānau who are ‘at risk’, where there is violence; others that lack guidance; some that have good intentions but lack skills, knowledge and confidence; and those who are isolated or alienated from Māori networks. In a later work (2001:291-195) he outlines various whānau types:

- > Whānau as kin – the whakapapa whānau.
- > Whānau as shareholders in common – interest in whānau land.
- > Whānau as comrades – the kaupapa whānau.
- > Whānau as models for interaction – as practised in Kura Kaupapa Māori.
- > Whānau as neighbours – in urban centres Māori have congregated in certain suburbs.
- > Whānau as households.
- > The virtual whānau – the use of technology to communicate with each other.

At the *Hui Whakapūmau Whānau*, Durie (2003:16) also introduced the notion of “statistical whānau” where, in a range of publications “including statistical reports”, there is a tendency to use family and whānau as if they are synonymous. He also claims that there is a tendency to use whānau to mean “a household”.

Taiapa (1994:6) in the Intra Family Income Study writes that “the term whānau has gained currency in recent years and is now used in a range of contexts, not only by Māori but also by others”. She goes on to say that “the wide use of whānau by Māori and Pākehā suggests that whānau is associated with a set of values which are currently prized”. She reports that “Māori couples in the study live in two dimensions. They are part of nuclear family units in terms of day-to-day living ... and they are part of the whānau for occasional events” (1994:54). Taiapa gives an example of one of the differences between the nuclear family and whānau: “As part of the nuclear family unit they manage their money individually or as a couple; as whānau members they share a more collective attitude to money” (1994:54).

Smith (1995:23) looks at whānau within a kaupapa Māori framework, using ‘extended family’ purely as a working definition. In this context, whānau is seen “as a collective concept which embraces all the descendants of a significant marriage, usually over three or more generations”. In addition, he includes a group of Māori who may share “an association based on some common interest”. There is a discussion of “new whānau groupings where criteria for recruitment have transferred to some other such as common local residence or a common goal or programme” (Smith 1995:27). On the topic of ‘new whānau’, Mead (2003:210) suggests that “new whānau need to be recognised”. Exactly who these “new whānau” are, though, is unclear.

Pihama and Penehira (2005:19) note that “definitions of whānau have also tended to entrench western notions of gender relationships”. They report that “new developments culturally, socially and politically have meant that whānau is now viewed differently from how our tupuna viewed whānau. New formations of whānau have taken place to provide for the needs of Māori people within the social, political and economic contexts they find themselves in”. Once again, there is no explanation of what the “new formations” are.

3.6 SUMMARY

A number of significant points are made in this section, which examines modern-day perspectives of whānau. Whilst an anthropological approach is still present, there is a development of new categories for whānau, and an emergence of indicators and measures in which the concept of whānau is articulated as diverse. There is also an inclusion of whānau in models for improving health and education. While whakapapa and kaupapa whānau still predominate, there are calls for recognition of other whānau types. The notion of whānau is becoming a generic term and is also used in a range of ways that differ from the earlier, especially Pākehā and anthropological, applications of the concept.

3.7 THE IMPACT OF POLICY ON THE CONCEPT OF WHĀNAU

The Department of Māori Affairs set up the Kōhanga Reo movement in the early 1980s, and the first kōhanga reo opened in 1982, Pukeatua in Wainuiomata. Revitalisation and retention of te reo Māori were and still are the driving force behind the establishment of kōhanga reo. As well as placing Māori language at the centre, kōhanga reo are also managed and operated according to a whānau model and kaupapa Māori embraced by tikanga Māori. As Tangaere notes (1998:23), “the advent of Te Kōhanga Reo in the early 1980s began the commencement of a Māori cultural renaissance which sparked the hearts of Māori people not only to learn te reo Māori but also traditional values and knowledge”. The Kōhanga Reo movement utilises both whakapapa and kaupapa whānau approaches.

At about the same time as kōhanga reo were being established, the Maatua Whāngai programmes were implemented by the Department of Māori Affairs, Department of Social Welfare and Department of Justice (Reedy, Grant and Oughton 1986:1). The objective of Maatua Whāngai programmes was “to deinstitutionalise Māori people” and, broadly, to address the social devastation caused by the entry into institutions such as Social Welfare homes and prisons of so many, especially young, Māori. There was a two-pronged approach: one was to prevent this flow of Māori into institutions and the other was to relocate those in institutions within whānau and iwi. Bradley (1994:185) claims that the Maatua Whāngai policy “was the main mechanism for the devolution of government funding directly to iwi for

the purposes of Māori community development. The main thrust of Maatua Whāngai was to: compile a register of Māori foster parents, to provide the Department of Social Welfare with Māori consultancy services, and to encourage the development or strengthening of tribal infrastructures to ebb the flow of Māori children and young people to institutions”.

In 1985 a Ministerial Advisory Committee was established by the Minister of Social Welfare to provide advice on how best to “meet the needs of Māori in policy, planning and service delivery in the Department of Social Welfare” (O’Regan and Mahuika 1991:31). The outcome was the report *Puao-te-Ata-tu* (Ministerial Advisory Committee 1986:9-11), which recommended a number of sweeping changes within the department, including revision of legislation, the development and provision of training and the need to address the issue of racism. Recommendation 4c (ii) advocated the involvement of whānau, hapū and iwi in the placement of Māori children and young people. Recommendation 7 advocated that the “Maatua Whāngai programme in respect of children return to its original focus of nurturing children within the family group”. There were various reactions to *Puao-te-Ata-tu*, and in its entirety it was never implemented. As O’Regan and Mahuika (1991:38) state, “we had great hopes for *Puao-te-Ata-tu*. *Puao-te-Ata-tu* was not adopted by DSW [Department of Social Welfare] except for hiring a few brown faces”. But Walker (1995:12-13) claims that “the important thing is that Māori have and will not forget it. It is truly a policy document of the people. It will not go away”. According to Keenan (1995:29), “The Children, Young Persons, and their Families Act 1989 ... was substantially developed out of *Puao-te-Ata-tu*”.

Pakura (2003:3) claims that the Children, Young Persons, and Their Families Act 1989 gave whānau, hapū and iwi an opportunity “to make decisions about the care and protection and youth justice matters relating to their younger members”. In particular, the Family Group Conference (FGC) approach was adopted “for young people ... under the age of 17”. The FGC was an attempt to break away “from state paternalism”. Pakura (2003:4) comments that “the Crown’s vision [of the FGC process] was similar but not the same as Māori. ... The key element of this vision was that children and young persons of all ethnic groups were part of their extended family, and these families had the right to have the major say in how their younger members were treated”. One of the problems encountered by FGCs is the fact that, often, individuals are part of “scattered and eroded extended family links. For Māori the major factor in this erosion has been the geographical dispersion of whānau members through the effects of the urban migration and colonisation”. “Whānau links for many have receded to meeting from time to time at tangi or hui. Many Māori have lost their links to iwi and hapū” (Pakura 2003:5). Pakura (2003:7) concludes by saying, “The FGC process has been accepted and is part of a New Zealand way of decision making and for Māori families right now, it is the only way.”

Commenting on policy in the report for the *Royal Commission on Social Policy IV*, Gilling (1988:601) makes the point that “modern social policies are predicated on the supposition that they are in the best interests of the child and family, yet all too often, implementation of such policies reveals conceptual bias, and the pursuit of sectional political interests”. She also points out (1988:609-620) the contradictions that exist in policy between the rights of “an individual vis-à-vis those of a relationship. There is another contradiction. At the heart of whanaungatanga are people of all ages, yet a Youth Affairs Establishment Unit has recently been set up in New Zealand designed to focus not on family or whānau but on particular age cohorts. This would seem a monocultural approach and though not strictly within the orbit of family law, it captures the racism or monocultured vision so ensconced in state praxis”. The practice of allocating resources on the basis of age cohorts continues, with separation into tamariki or children, rangatahi or young people, and kaumatua or elders. This practice is not helpful for the maintenance and cohesion of whānau.

Hall and Metge (2002:46-47) have summarised Māori social policy objectives for Māori that were derived from the Royal Commission on Social Policy’s *The April Report, Volume I, New Zealand Today* (see Gilling 1988; Henare 1988). An analysis of the consultation with Māori appears in the report called *‘Ngā Kohikohinga Mai*. They apply the broad general social policy objectives to Māori whānau. The key points in relation to whānau policy are:

- > The recognition of Māori family forms (nuclear and whānau) as an integral part of iwi and hapū.
- > The replacement of policies that undermine Māori family forms and replace them with policies that enhance them.
- > Māori participation in legal management of family affairs.
- > Maintenance and enhancement of the links between Māori, te ao turoa and their tūrangawaewae.
- > Recognition and protection of the estates of taonga tuku iho (Hall and Metge 2002:46-47).

Hall and Metge (2002:47-48) go on to critique family legislation and its impact on Māori. They state, “in 2001 many of New Zealand’s family laws serve a policy that is basically assimilationist, ignoring the social objectives articulated by Māori. The Children, Young Persons, and Their Families Act 1989 is the only one which makes a real attempt to recognise and support them. The Adoption Act 1955 openly rejects Māori beliefs and practices”. Hall and Metge (2002:48) have identified other pieces of legislation that are not particularly supportive of Māori values and beliefs. They are “the Marriage Act 1955, the Guardianship Act 1968, the Family Proceedings Act 1980 and the Child Support Act 1991”. While these pieces of legislation do not “attack Māori beliefs and values, they ignore them”. The Domestic Violence Act 1995, and the Property Relationships Act 2001 “take a step toward recognition of Māori cultural differences by using a Māori word to refer to a Māori concept in a sub clause” (Hall and Metge 2002:48).

The Ministry of Education’s curriculum document for early childhood *Te Whāriki* (1996) uses the whakapapa whānau when referring to mokopuna and their whānau, and the concept of kaupapa when referring to the kōhanga reo whānau. Another Ministry of Education (Group Māori) document, the training manual for providers of early childhood services entitled *Atatawhaingia Te Pā Harakeke* (1999:9), uses the metaphor of the flax bush as the underlying concept for its training package. The expression ‘pa harakeke’ is commonly used in Māori society to mean whānau. Metge uses the same concept in her 1995 book, *New Growth from Old*. The manual states that “the pa harakeke, the flax plant, observes a framework of growth patterns, support systems and relationships akin to that of the family”. The document lists four family or whānau types (Ministry of Education 1999:3-6):

- > Traditional whānau – refers to the features described by Best, Firth and Buck and outlines the impact of colonisation on whānau structures. The manual states that “despite the challenges faced by whānau through the impact of new relationships and events within history, the whānau as a unit continues to function with inherited practices and values. The unit’s structure might have changed in diverse ways, but many of the ways of old have come through, one still ‘speaks’ whakapapa through children’s names, sees the images of old through children’s faces, and hears the ways of the past through children’s song and verse. Through these remnants the whānau as an institution can rebuild its strength for the future”.
- > Contemporary whānau – here there is a description of the non-whakapapa whānau described above as kaupapa whānau, where groups are formed to serve a common interest.
- > Rural whānau – the features of this whānau are: the people have always lived locally; they engage in community activities including Māori cultural activities and events on the marae; the children are known to each other; and their community is their world. The challenges faced by reverse migration from urban centres are also noted. These are that only some members of the whānau have returned while others have remained in urban centres, and they may have difficulty relearning marae and whenua (land) obligations.
- > Urban whānau – in some cases, urban Māori have lived away from their tribal areas for 30-40 years and have very few links to their traditional area. “Despite this ... many Māori have maintained Māori cultural practices.” The development of te kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori has provided a forum for non-whakapapa whānau. The urban Māori authorities Te Whānau a Waipereira and Manukau Urban Māori Authority have replaced the extended whānau network. Taura here have provided support for urban whānau.

Gifford (1999:53-57) wrote her MA thesis on the whānau ora model developed by Te Oranganui Iwi Health Authority based in Whanganui. She argues that the concept of whānau ora is built on traditional Māori concepts of whānau, tikanga and health, and applies these concepts to contemporary ideas regarding Māori health and development. The vision, as articulated by the Hon. Tariana Turia, is as follows:

Whānau ora is about making a difference. Whānau-focused services are about collective rights and responsibilities, starting to get back to our own values. Whānau ora was more about restoration and affirmation of cultural values, beliefs and practices. Organised on a whānau, and hapū basis. Workers were to register families belonging to hapū and iwi, to get whānau back to hapū as the basis of wellbeing. Whānau ora was seen as an opportunity to address the hard stuff happening in families. Workers had a relationship with whānau.

Gifford (1999:66) identifies five key concepts within the framework. They are:

- > services to Māori are delivered at a whānau level
- > service delivery is based on Māori concepts of health and wellbeing
- > whānau ora operates on the principles and processes of tikanga
- > the organisation as a whole is driven by tino rangatiratanga
- > the work itself is about whanaungatanga identified in Whakapiripiri Whānau.

In 2001, the Ministry of Health published the draft discussion document *He Korowai Oranga* (Māori Health Strategy), with the final strategy released in 2002. The strategy states (King and Turia 2002:1) that the aim is to achieve “whānau ora Māori families supported to achieve their maximum health and wellbeing”. It delineates outcomes to be achieved for whānau as well as factors that will contribute to better outcomes for Māori. It is described as a “strategic tool for the health and disability sector”. The strategy also states that whānau ora sits between population health and individual health. District health boards are required to measure whānau ora but it is unclear in the strategy whether whānau is based on the collective or the individual. A key informant in the Health Reforms 2001 Research Project (Cumming et al 2003:70) states that it will be difficult to measure because “there are different measures for the individual and different measures for the collective”.

In a paper delivered to the Social Policy Forum, Metge (2001:21) claims that “perhaps the biggest challenges facing policy-makers in the family field is to recognise and provide for this diversity in family and whānau. In the face of their diverse and changing nature, there can be no blanket answers, no single model of development or practice that fits all cases. The most successful policies are likely to be those that recognise the complexity and variation within the field of family relations, provide for adjustments and modifications to be made according to the context, and emphasise empowerment and capacity building”. Metge goes on to say that “the first step in developing such policy is to get rid of any tendency to idealise or romanticise either family or whānau – to see one or the other as the ideal form to which all (or all Māori) should aspire”.

At the *Hui Whakapūmau Whānau*, Durie (2003:17-18) identified positive outcomes for Māori: “A good outcome is where Māori resources are plentiful and in development mode”. The outcomes identified by Māori at Massey University are:

- > Te Manawa – a secure cultural identity
- > Te Kāhui – collective Māori synergies
- > Te Kete Puawai – Māori cultural and intellectual resources
- > Te Ao Turoa – the Māori estate.

Durie (2003:20) also states that “progress might be driven by the notion of positive development rather than a focus on disparities or deficits”.

The Hon. Tariana Turia stated in a speech in November 2003 that, “There is no doubt that whānau development is a major challenge. The issues we confront are gnawing at the very heart of our culture and identity as tangata whenua and our future as whānau, hapū and iwi. ...Our traditional social structures have been stretched to their limit – in some cases to breaking point. Whānau members lost contact with each other, and many no longer have contact with those parts of their cultural heritage that are rooted in our traditional landscapes”. She goes on to say (2003:3), “We need to stick with our own pathways – and the challenge for government is that the public service must see where it can work alongside of us – not determining the pathway forward. And in turn, we have to stop thinking that we need to change to fit the proposals dished out to us. Is the provision of government services what Tuini Ngawai was referring to when she said, ‘Kia tupato ki te mātauranga a te pākehā, He patu tikanga – he patu mahara – he patu mauri’, a reference to the imposition of the Western benefit system which she said would undermine our tikanga, our thinking and endanger our life force?”

At the launch of *Wellbeing and Disparities in Tamaki-Makaurau*, the Hon. John Tamihere (9 December 2003) stated that “the report’s principal finding is that whānau remains the dominant kin group among urban Māori, and strengthening the whānau and harnessing its potential for social and economic development should be a major focus of social policy”. He goes on to discuss sole-parent families and that the ideal of caring and nurturing plus the presence of aunts, uncles and grandparents is not a reality for urban Māori. He then (2003:3) states, “For a lot of Māori whānau is a myth. It doesn’t exist”. He emphasises the need to work with “the current reality” in order to make whānau real again. Tamihere claims that “Whānau is at the heart of our success. But it is also at the heart of our failure”.

Using data from the Massey University longitudinal study *Te Hoe Nuku Roa* (4th Phase), which is a study of Māori households in different regions, Cunningham, Stevenson and Tassel (2005:16-17) note that there are regional differences in response to the question of how many generations participants identify. Māori living in predominantly rural areas were able to identify that they belonged to several generations, while urban Māori were not able to do this. The authors conclude that “the urban/rural difference in membership of whakapapa whānau may mean that kaupapa whānau are more important in urban and metropolitan settings”. In terms of membership of kaupapa whānau, “over three-quarters indicated they were members of Kōhanga, Kura or wānanga whānau”. Cunningham et al state that “the meaning of whānau is largely subjective to the individual defining their membership. What’s more, individuals affiliate themselves to more than one whānau, which are often a mixture of both whakapapa and kaupapa whānau”.

According to Cunningham et al (2005:31), it was Durie who first coined the phrase ‘Diverse Māori Realities’ which appeared in a paper to the Ministry of Health in 1995. In this paper, Durie identifies three main groups of Māori:

- > some Māori are linked with conservative Māori networks
- > there is a group with limited association with Māori society
- > the third group will not be likely to access Māori institutions, nor to take advantage of mainstream services.

Another grouping has been added to the above to construct – the “New Māori” diversity framework. This grouping is the “pluralistic Māori ... categorised by the growing Māori middle class”. Such individuals are comfortable in te ao Māori and mainstream society. The New Māori diversity framework consists of:

- > Conservative Māori who exhibit a culturally conservative profile.
- > Integrated Māori who are more likely to be in a reasonably orthodox kiwi family in the suburbs and have limited association with Māori institutions such as iwi and marae.
- > Pluralistic Māori who are likely to move with ease between the mainstream and Māori worlds.
- > Isolated Māori who are not likely to interact well with either mainstream or Māori society (Cunningham et al 2005:31-32).

This diversity model is applied at a whānau level in Section 12.3, p 53, of the report *Analysis of the Characteristics of Whānau in Aotearoa* by Cunningham et al (2005) that was written for the Ministry of Education to inform policy development. This section describes four different whānau that conform to the framework above.

3.8 SUMMARY

For the last 25 years, policies that involve whānau have been implemented for short periods. The three policies that have survived so far are kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori and the inclusion of whānau in the Children, Young Persons, and Their Families Act 1989. Whānau ora, developed and trialled by a Māori health provider, is now the centrepiece of the Māori Health Strategy. One piece of family law is hostile to Māori, some ignore cultural values and beliefs, and two others make a brief reference to Māori concepts. The focus of the writers has shifted toward identifying measures, indicators and outcomes for assessing the progress of Māori development and reinforcing positive messages to and for Māori.

The literature, although not exhaustive, is fairly extensive. The writers come from very different perspectives. The anthropological approach is based on observation supplemented by interviews; other writers speak of their own experiences within traditional whānau. Social workers, educationalists and health professionals have categorised whānau in relation to their work. Because of the different interpretations of whānau, it is inevitable that a degree of reconstruction of the concept occurs.

4.0 NGĀ KŌRERO A RĀTAU MA

This section reports on the findings from interviews undertaken with nine Māori with in-depth understanding of the notion of whānau and knowledge of whānau-related policy issues. The interview schedule consisted of broad questions, which asked for people's understanding of the various whānau types identified in the literature. Policy questions focused on the impact policy had on whānau and whether the notion of whānau was redefined in the policy environment. The data in this section create a typology of whānau. Material from the interviews with participants has been grouped under key themes. These themes privilege terms used by participants rather than the terminology used by the literature. The typology itself has a whakapapa, which begins with the whānau tūturu (intrinsic) – the underived whānau type; this is followed by permutations or derived whānau types. The concept of intrinsic whānau is used rather than whakapapa whānau, and the term whānau ā kaupapa is used rather than kaupapa whānau (as described by Metge 1995). Under the heading 'whānau ā kaupapa', four different types of metaphorical whānau are briefly described: kōhanga whānau, the group created by work colleagues and friends, the student group and international whānau. In addition, further metaphorical whānau types are presented: statistical whānau (Durie 2003), virtual whānau (Durie 2001), new whānau (Mead 2003) and family. While participants often used the word 'family', they were clear that they were discussing whānau. Although whāmere (Hohepa 1970) is a whakapapa group, it appears in this section because there was little data on it. Finally, whānau ora (Gifford 1999; King and Turia 2002) is described, and the participants' awangawanga (concerns) are outlined.

4.1 WHĀNAU TŪTURU OR INTRINSIC WHĀNAU

"It comes down to where your heart is at. If your heart isn't with whānau then it's not whānau."

The term tūturu relates to the original or fundamental, underived or intrinsic whānau. Participants spoke from the heart on the topic of whānau, and reinforced the importance of whakapapa and the sense of belonging to hapū and iwi (tribe). Participants described the width, depth and breadth of whānau, and where they sat within a much wider framework.

From their responses, a clear picture of the *meaning* of whānau emerges. Divorce, separation and death do not sever the links within whānau or the sense of whānau. Whānau is not an exclusive category, and occasions were described when non-kin were accepted as part of a whānau. Living arrangements such as being part of a household and living at a distance did not alter the sense of whānau.

For the majority of the participants, whānau sat within an iwi framework, which was just as important to them as the whānau. One participant, although connected to the whānau, felt less connected to hapū and iwi.

All participants described whānau as being related through "blood", "whakapapa" and marriage. Several participants talked about whānau in terms of grounding and how it establishes the "basis of who I am, where I come from and tūrangawaewae". One added that it was "grounding and something you intrinsically care about". Another said "it is the essence of life". It was described as having a spiritual connection. Whakapapa formed the basis of the "intrinsic whānau" which "rippled out – you have this close bond".

One participant described her whānau as "operating as a micro unit, a little whānau unit that [makes up] the whole, within a wider unit, with values, beliefs, stories, [and] knowledge" which is shared with the wider whānau. While sharing values with the wider whānau, there was room for "different priorities". Two participants described the connections as "horizontal and vertical", and for another the connection was "deep", "it's right from your puku [stomach]". Another participant described whānau as having "levels" starting from those who share a house, "spreading out" to grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, nieces, nephews and anyone who shared the same whakapapa. One described whānau as having "layers" within their own living arrangements.

Another participant, while acknowledging the "extended family", saw whānau as parents, brothers, sisters and nieces.

Participants described the importance of whānau in different ways. For one, “whānau comes first”, for another “it is the ultimate responsibility”, and several spoke of “unconditional love”. Some participants found it difficult to put into words their feelings about whānau – they described whānau as “very hard to explain, but it’s very real, it’s strong”. For another participant, whānau is about “the bond which is more spiritual”. Yet another participant said, “Yeah it’s strange, you know, at the reunion in Northland, you see these pictures of cousins and nieces and you feel like they’re yours. Even nieces living in Australia who have never been back to Northland, they have that same sense of whānau”.

One participant felt whānau is “hugely important in a world that is changing, the ability to stay connected”. Returning to “traditional celebrations such as the Pokai is really important [because] you get to see everybody” despite having “to work all the time”. For this participant, the “individual needed to have a sense of being part of something” and to “be supported”. For another, whānau are “the people you live and work for”. This participant also wanted the whānau to be “proud of [him], and when they’re sitting back and talking about the family they would talk about someone who was making a contribution to whānau, to the society and to the Māori community”. Whānau were also “the people to forgive you when you do something you’re not proud of”. One participant described how her children have chosen where they will be buried when they die. This was seen as a mark of success by the parents because the children will be returning to their tribal lands and tūrangawaewae.

Several participants explained how divorce and separation do not break or diminish the whānau bond with former partners, especially when children are involved. An example was given by a participant of being reminded by his parents that his former partner “as the mother of their mokopuna was still part of the whānau”. When the former partner died, it was the participant’s whānau who took care of the tangi and funeral arrangements and she was buried in his whānau urupā or cemetery. This was done with the blessing of her whānau. Another participant spoke of his son’s mother and her whānau as being part of his whānau although the relationship had ended. Another told how his grandmother had had two husbands, the first of whom was Māori (of whom the participant was a descendant) and the second Canadian. It was the Canadian grandfather who encouraged the grandchildren to pursue their Māori heritage. This participant considered the Canadian grandfather to be part of the whānau, because he never tried to take over and had deep respect for his wife’s culture. A further participant spoke of unrelated young people who in effect had adopted the participant’s whānau: “In every respect, except inheritance in land, they are part of the whānau”. In these instances, through a special connection that had been established over time, unrelated individuals were given the status of whānau.

Several participants referred to the connection that remains after death. As one said, “Whānau is not just a whānau who are the living but we also have a strong connection to our whānau who have passed on. As a whānau we are together in this life or the next life. There are times when our old people cross over and give us good messages”. This participant told the story of a female mokopuna (grandchild) who had been named after her great-great-grandmother. When she was at kōhanga she began talking about “wanting a moko” (which is a chin and lips tattoo for women). Later, the whānau came across a photograph of this great-great-grandmother and “she had a moko”. The whānau interpreted this to mean that the great-great-grandmother “was helping the mokopuna answer the question”. The question for the child was having a moko. Another participant talked about the bond which extends to whānau members you “have never met, but who have died. Often your [tupuna] manifest in dreams and some of the whānau are able to see that”. This participant felt that “colonisation has suffocated our children’s ability to see that”.

A participant gave an example of “going to a tangi for my dad’s mother’s first cousin’s son”. Work colleagues considered this a distant relative but for the participant it was a close connection. The participant also stated that “Māori is whānau, it is integral to who we are”. Household whānau was not seen as “an adequate description ... as it goes further out”. Another participant described her “household whānau, [which has] three generations plus whāngai living in the same house”. The participant reinforced the inadequacy of the term ‘household whānau’ as it excluded whānau members living elsewhere, such as a mother in Rotorua and a son and his whānau living in Auckland.

Unlike the whānau described by Best, Buck and Firth, where whānau members live in close proximity to each other, whānau members now reside in different parts of the country and the world. For all participants, “distance and location” made no difference to the sense of whānau. As one participant said, “With the technology available today, ie the internet, email, mobile phones and texting, it’s like they’re just around the corner”. This participant described his children as being part of the “travelling generation”. With their children living overseas, parents are able to travel and reinforce tribal links, particularly to the mokopuna.

Distance from tribal areas and other members of the whānau created different challenges for some participants. It mattered to some who had to drive long distances to attend whānau activities, whether it was to attend a tangi or a celebration, for example, in Ngā Puhi or Rotorua. Although there were “challenges” in terms of driving long distances, there were also “rewards”. One participant was keenly aware of the separation from her whānau because of distance, and longed for kanoahi (face-to-face) contact when she said, “I yearn to see my sister sometimes”. However, the strategy developed by this whānau was to return to Ngā Puhi every three months. One participant commented that being able “to practise being a whānau gets harder” with the distances involved. With “competing demands on people you have to be quite deliberate in maintaining the whānau collective. Opportunities for whānau to come together fairly regularly becomes increasingly important”.

In response to the question, “Is the whānau mantra a myth?”, all participants replied in the negative. For them, whānau was “real”. They saw they had a responsibility to ensure the wellbeing of the whole, offer support, and assist emotionally and financially when required. One participant spoke of whānau members who had relocated to an urban centre, and the children had not been socialised in the tikanga and values of the wider whānau. One of the responsibilities was to go through a “process of re-educating them in the tikanga and whakaritenga of the whānau and marae”.

The connection to whānau as articulated by participants was profound. It was of the utmost importance and absolutely fundamental to all of them. It was the lynchpin from which they operated in day-to-day life. Whānau was deep, wide and fundamentally grounding, providing members with the strengths to engage in work and in wider society. Whānau was considered to be “absolutely important; to do anything you’re going to do you need that support”. Participants spoke of what whānau meant to them and how they felt about being a member of a wider group. They were both expansive and inclusive when referring to membership of the whānau.

4.2 WHĀNAU Ā KAUPAPA

“It’s not the same, it’s not the same as going back home and linking with home.”

There were four types of ā kaupapa or metaphorical whānau described by participants: kōhanga reo, workplace and friends, a student group and an international whānau. There were formal and informal ā kaupapa arrangements discussed. Participants described whānau ā kaupapa as people getting together for a common purpose. One participant who did not recognise ā kaupapa groups as whānau stated that “people will describe whānau in ways that suit their purpose because whānau is whānau”.

Participants described some of the reasons for establishing the kaupapa-type whānau and developing whānau-type relationships as being centred on the importance of the group or the collective rather than the individual: “Māori I believe are a collective race, they need to be with people, not even necessarily like-minded people because many of our people who live abroad operate that way too. We are not individuals; we are part of a collective. We contribute as individuals to the collective. We look for people who are like-minded, people who have some sort of common understanding, people who share a similar value system”. Another participant said, “We’re stronger; we can achieve more. If an individual is doing everything, they can achieve a certain amount, but when you bring everyone’s skills and abilities to bear on a moment, and all their power and mana to a certain kaupapa, then a lot more can be achieved”.

Participants were clear that ā kaupapa whānau did not take the place of their own whānau. However, it did provide support and a collectivity when their employment took them away from their own whānau. Participants also described how they created whānau-type relationships at different stages of their lives.

Kohanga whānau. Three participants, who were very closely involved in kōhanga reo through their children and mokopuna (grandchildren), described different philosophical positions in response to the admission of children who did not have Māori language skills to the kōhanga reo, and in response to the concept and meaning of kōhanga whānau within their particular social and communal settings. It was felt that kōhanga reo needed to centre on a “language domain”. The kōhanga reo could not admit too many children with no Māori language skills “otherwise what are we here for?” Another difficulty when using this whānau-type model is when “people don’t do what they say they are going to do”. If “the individual fails, the kaupapa fails and we can’t let that happen and we can’t let them fail either because we have to grow and be successful people”. A concern was raised about the need for a

kaupapa to have people or whānau involved in order for the kaupapa to work effectively. “There are people within an ā kaupapa whānau who realise that without people, there wouldn’t be a kaupapa.” This participant felt that kōhanga reo run by whakapapa whānau were more likely to operate as a whānau. While kōhanga reo is made up of whānau, “whether we operate as a whānau, I don’t know, I don’t know if I’d actually call it a whānau, I don’t know whether I really believe it’s whānau.” For example, “If a whānau’s aunty or uncle dies, do we all go? Do we give a koha? No.” The participant acknowledged that kōhanga reo based on whakapapa were probably different from those in urban settings. Another participant noted that building and maintaining the connection with kōhanga whānau was something that had to be worked at.

One participant reinforced the point of view that kōhanga reo was “about te reo, the whānau” but also “our survival as Māori, and if you want to be Māori you need to act Māori”. For this participant, the Kōhanga Reo movement had focused on whanaungatanga. In a marae setting, whanaungatanga is taken for granted, but within kōhanga reo, the concept and what it means has to be continually reinforced, as new whānau join. This participant felt that kōhanga reo and the way it operates “helped a lot of our people who were disconnected, go back and find their tūrangawaewae and papakainga”.

There was an explanation of the differences between intrinsic and ā kaupapa whānau. One participant stated that “Whānau is about people, a kaupapa is a kaupapa, and that’s the essence between the two sorts of whānau. When you’re in the kaupapa you’re there for that part of it and then you go home. The other elements that are part of whānau aren’t there, so you don’t have those other assets and collectiveness available to you.”

Work colleagues and friends. Several participants considered work colleagues as whānau because you “have a shared vision and goals”; work colleagues are akin to whānau because members of the group share similar values and interact as whānau; “you sometimes get on better with them than with your whakapapa whānau”. Ā kaupapa friends gave one of the participants “the sense of knowing that there are people who care for you, that you can rely on them to be there for you”.

Student group. One participant described involvement with an ā kaupapa group at university which formed to give mutual “support”. One of the difficulties for the group was people entering and leaving. It was a very dynamic relationship, but when someone who had a leadership role “left university it left a gap” and “the group wobbled”. In contrast, the Ngā Puhi whānau “may come and go but there’s a core base there, and that’s always there. They’re there forever”. Where there were divisions within the student group, the divisions were caused by “differing philosophies and values”.

International whānau. One participant had been a home-stay student in an Asian country and had felt at home “because I came from a culture whose value system was almost identical to theirs. I stayed with an Asian whānau and they were my surrogate whānau. I instantly created a rapport with them and the moment that happened my whānau were connected with them even though it was a dotted line connection”. The participant’s parents went to Asia and there “was a high degree of obligation” on both sides. When that occurred, “we created an international whānau”.

Ā kaupapa whānau exist for a purpose and, once that purpose has been accomplished, the individual or whānau exit. Some of the tensions experienced were described.

4.3 OTHER WHĀNAU TYPES

Participants were clear about their understandings of the intrinsic whānau. Some were engaged in ā kaupapa whānau activities. They were asked about the following categories of whānau, all of which are derived from discussions of the concept of whānau: whāmere, statistical whānau, virtual whānau, new whānau, family and whānau ora. Their concerns or awangawanga are also noted. These constructs are part of the way Māori society is being redefined, and care must therefore be taken in seeing how they are understood and used, and the level of their acceptance and degrees of concern about their loose application and highjacking in the policy context.

Whāmere. Most participants were not very familiar with or clear about the term whāmere. One said, “I’ve heard the word, it’s from the north, isn’t it?” The two participants from Ngā Puhi were familiar with the expression. One participant said, “That’s a Hokianga word for whānau, family”. For another participant, whāmere meant “family, it’s a transliteration but I don’t feel the depth of it and it doesn’t mean whānau in the sense that I mean. He [Hohepa] always says to me, whānau is a relatively new

word, modern word. I don't like transliterations". Another participant said, "I don't know, it's a transliteration of whānau, I don't necessarily think it's any different from a whakapapa or kaupapa whānau".

Statistical whānau. Most participants did not understand the concept of statistical whānau. For one participant, "That's probably how government or organisations define whānau but it still goes back to whakapapa and kaupapa whānau. It's just a way of measuring whānau rather than a whānau type". Another participant said, "I don't know what that means". One had heard of statistical whānau and described it as being "around households", and added "I don't use it myself". Another did not know what this meant but thought the term was "a very clinical definition". One participant asked, "He aha tēna?" or "What is that?"

Virtual whānau. This terminology was generally greeted with puzzled bemusement: "I don't know what they're talking about". One participant "didn't necessarily understand but assumed it was about how you connect with other people possibly over the internet". Another had never heard of virtual whānau. One did not know what it meant and thought it was about "not being fully connected in some way". For another participant, "virtual is a means of communicating, but they are no less part of the whānau just because they happen to be living in Australia or the UK or Malaysia, but we use virtual systems". Another interpreted virtual whānau as "sort of like being a whānau without being a whānau".

New whānau. One participant said, "I don't know whether whakapapa whānau could ever be a new whānau". Another participant had never heard of new whānau. One said, "It is probably linked to modern day whānau which is very much linked to the Western model of whānau which is mum, dad and 2.7 children". For another participant, "It is whānau who have just recently become part of the collective whānau". For another, new whānau was "strange – it might be a new whānau member". For yet another, "Whānau is whānau. It couldn't be an old whānau, it couldn't be a new whānau because whānau is whānau". Two participants saw new whānau as new members of kaupapa whānau.

Family. Several participants had a Pākehā parent and described the differences between family and whānau. The mother of one of the participants was from Europe and the participant described the European family as "very formal. You've got to be invited or you ring to say I'd like to call on you". The participant also said "Family doesn't cut it for me, whānau is a lot deeper". Another area of difference with family was "taking kai (food) as a koha, it was an insult, it showed that they couldn't feed us properly". This participant discovered while travelling overseas the importance of being Māori; it was brought home to the participant "how being Māori is valuable".

Another participant said "They don't have that sense of whanaungatanga that my family from Hokianga have. The tauwi way of dealing with family is very insular, we don't know who some of the cousins are really", and described the concept of family as "very narrow". The participant gave an example of "hosting the kai, it's your responsibility and it's being done for the prestige", whereas with the whānau, "there's a real sense of collective responsibility". For another participant, there was "an immediacy about family, it's the here and now", whereas whānau meant the "connectedness to a wider group of people and a responsibility to pass on things from the past into the future". For another participant, "Family is a Pākehā word. If you define family in the Western way, it's the immediate family, the family unit, the nuclear family. The government finds it easier to define families if they keep it to a household". For this participant, defining family as a household was "too restricting" because they would always be aware of family members who are not in the household.

For another participant, "family and whānau were from two different worlds": "I don't believe the same rights and responsibilities exist within family as they do within whānau. The rights and responsibilities of a whānau are more of a priority than in a family. The rights and responsibilities in a family will happen not because you're part of the family but because of your make-up as an individual, and those rights and responsibilities you feel as an individual contributing to that family. In whānau they are implicit and clearer. For me whānau is a wider concept because of that connectedness to hapū and iwi, whereas family I don't think has that strength and genealogy".

4.4 WHĀNAU ORA

Whānau ora is not a whānau type but appears in the Ministry of Health's Māori Health Strategy *He Korowai Oranga* as a vision or goal for gains in Māori health. It was the most challenging of all the concepts for participants, mainly because they were not familiar with the concept and what it meant. Views on possible meanings were divergent, with one participant declaring that: “Whānau ora is a myth because it can't be defined to be measured”.

Whānau ora was discussed as a vision, as a strengths-based approach at the level of the whole of government and incorporating specific Ministry of Health paradigms. It involves issues surrounding funding and contracting of whānau ora services, and the role of Māori health models, providers and whānau. The notion of ora was seen as being different to wellbeing.

One participant said, “Whānau ora should be about equal prospects of success rather than opportunities since it denotes a guarantee of success when nothing else is acceptable. Whānau ora should always be about entering equal and positive prospects”.

Another participant stated that “The concept is not new to Māori but it is at a government level. It hasn't been defined which is an advantage and a disadvantage when you want to monitor or show something in a quantitative way.” The participant also raised the need for intersectoral collaboration with other agencies such as Work and Income New Zealand (WINZ) in order to assist whānau. Another participant discussed government approaches, saying “There were some Ministry [of Health] models around health impact or equity assessment. These whānau ora models, if applied correctly, can have an outcome”. The participant was interested in “whānau ora best-practice models, which is more about what can you do to achieve whānau ora, what has worked and what hasn't worked”. One participant said, “Whānau ora would be achieved if the structure of the whānau could support itself well, could support others, that functioned well and was cohesive”. The participant felt that all the responsibility for the care of children, the elderly and the more vulnerable in society should not fall on whānau alone: “The state provides services to non-Māori and they should also provide for Māori”.

Another participant said whānau ora was about “the steps for achieving wellness for Māori whānau”. While the Māori Health Directorate has given it a definition, “whānau ora may be different, depending on who the whānau is”. For this participant, whānau ora was about “keeping the children safe, loving one another and keeping them [the children] together” as a whānau.

Another participant discussed some of the difficulties with whānau ora in the current funding and contracting environment, and stated that “what we are trying to do is get a fundamental concept of whānau and put that into a funding formula that will fund specific things. It's very difficult when you have a comprehensive lifestyle and then you try and buy certain services to meet that lifestyle. It's very difficult and then you silo the whānau. So in effect it negates the whole concept of what the whānau ora contract is... Whānau ora, in my view, is a vision that can never be realised.” The intent and the implementation are not aligned and are difficult to operationalise. The participant stated that “They tried to conceptualise the whole of the whānau requiring care, support and advocacy as a model. They were trying to get away from the silo effect of disease states. If you target care at one person, the impact is on the rest of the family so therefore you need to look at the broader complexities of care and wellness to one person. They try their best to acknowledge [whānau ora] and develop a type of payment”. It was felt that because whānau could not be defined, it cannot be measured and is therefore a myth.

Other participants talked about Māori health models. Two participants mentioned the Whare Tapa Whā model as being useful. Iwi providers were also mentioned as another model of whānau ora delivery. The Ngāti and Healthy project (a diabetes intervention project run by Ngāti Porou Hauora) was cited as a whānau ora model because it links back to whakapapa and iwi. One participant would like to see services that are “seamless”, for example, Māori mothers and children all under one roof. These services should include midwives, doctors, dentists, paediatricians and kaumatua working together. Plunket nurses were not regarded as being appropriate for new mothers because there are “wairua aspects” around birthing that new mothers cannot discuss with a Plunket nurse.

When asked if whānau ora was about the health of the collective or the individual, one participant said “It is about the health of the whānau but you need to have healthy individuals because the whānau is made up of individuals”.

Other statements regarding whānau ora were:

- > “Having a well whānau and family.”
- > “That’s a deeper, wider collection of meaning of whānau.”
- > “It’s another word that’s being bandied around like healthy whānau, their wellbeing, working toward healthy whānau.”
- > “It’s about knowing who you are intrinsically, where you have come from, [knowing] the roles, responsibilities and privileges that come with that. When you go somewhere, your whānau is part of you and you are part of your whānau.”
- > “Te reo and tikanga are important aspects of Māori wellbeing.”
- > “I suppose whānau ora is like a kaupapa around a kaupapa.”
- > “Well and happy families.”
- > “More of a slogan.”

One participant stated that the term ‘ora’ referred to “being alive in all dimensions”. For this participant, it was not just “physical wellbeing but that emotional and spiritual wellbeing as well. Is it the same as wellbeing? No, but that’s the closest Pākehā word I can think of.” Another participant said ora is that wider, deeper part of what whānau is. In response to the question, “Does ora mean the same thing as wellbeing?”, the participant said, “No, it doesn’t. It’s greater and deeper than that [wellbeing], it’s spiritual, emotional and profound”.

One participant felt very strongly that whānau ora should not be defined in policy “because as soon as you define it, it becomes only that. It’s our concept; don’t make it someone else’s concept. With policy, as soon as you get something in there, that’s all it will ever be”.

4.5 AWANGAWANGA

Some participants expressed their concerns (awangawanga) regarding the way academics and others are reconstructing the term whānau and all that it means.

One participant queried the use of the word whānau, saying, “I don’t know about calling it a whānau. I think what happens is that a word gets to the extent of its meaningful limit. If you push it beyond that, it no longer has its original meanings. You’ve got to be careful when you use our words. Why don’t they call it something else?” Another participant stated, “When I read these questions [the interview schedule], I thought gosh that’s making a lot out of whānau”. Another participant said, “Do we really need to define something new? Why is it so important that we do that?”

Another participant felt very strongly that academics should stop trying to define whānau and whānau ora: “The more academics try to define it, they just confuse the issue. Who are we defining it for? Why would we need to define it? If it’s not connected to money, just leave it alone”.

4.6 SUMMARY

Participants stressed the importance of the whānau they were born into plus other individuals who have been included in the whānau network (intrinsic whānau). For the majority of participants, hapū and iwi were still important although this contact often required travelling long distances. The connection with the past, including the ancestors, did not end when someone died but remained to guide the living from time to time. Former partners were also seen as part of the whānau. Contact with whānau living overseas was maintained through the use of modern technology. If the whānau were required to travel frequently to attend tangi and unweavings, the travelling presented challenges when parents were working and bringing up children. Whānau was seen as wide, deep, horizontal and vertical.

The metaphorical or ā kaupapa whānau, while exhibiting some of the characteristics of whānau, also had major differences. In this study, the examples of a kaupapa whānau were limited to four different contexts: kōhanga reo, workplace and friends, a student group and an international family. Experiences of ā kaupapa whānau varied, with some participants enjoying close relationships while others did not.

The other whānau types identified in the literature were somewhat of a mystery to the participants. The concept with the most divergent views was whānau ora. It was linked to iwi health, to outcomes and to being healthy.

5.0 VIEWS ON THE PLACE OF WHĀNAU WITHIN POLICY

“Until you know what a whānau really is, how can you write policy for whānau?”

This section will first look at the impact policy has had on Māori and whānau, both positive and negative, and the concerns raised with regard to the defining and redefining of whānau within policy. A cautionary note was sounded by participants.

One participant discussed the policies that have impacted on whānau such as the establishment of a colonial government, policies that drove urbanisation, and the banning of te reo Māori in schools: “These policies have had a huge impact on whānau and whānau have survived in differing degrees”. The survival was attributed to “whānau being an inherent concept within people”. This participant said, “You can have the best policy in the world to do something but if a person doesn’t want to go there, that policy is never going to affect that particular person. Despite all the things that have happened to Māori as people, we’ve still got our culture, language, knowledge systems and our beliefs intact to varying degrees”. The participant felt Māori were resilient because of generations of adapting to new environments: “Policies will come and go and some have been quite detrimental to our people, but despite this there is resilience in being whānau, because being active is being Māori”.

One participant saw some policies as having positive effects for Māori and described *Tomorrow’s Schools* as “transformational” in that it provided Māori parents with an opportunity to make decisions regarding their children’s education. Another participant said, “Every policy impacts on whānau in some way”. An example of a positive policy was the Māori Health Strategy *He Korowai Oranga* as it focuses “on outcomes. You move the gaze away from something that hasn’t been working to something that might work”.

One participant stated that policy played a strong role in defining whānau. Since colonisation and urbanisation, the state has become the pivotal provider for some whānau. At one time, the collective cared for itself, but that has changed. The participant also said that “Policies had impacted drastically on whānau in the areas of education, health, housing, labour, employment and Treaty of Waitangi settlements. Policies have always had the interests of the Crown and government first rather than whānau, which contradicts the purpose of whānau anyway”. The participant said that one of the main reasons the Crown has taken on this role, “and unfortunately Māori accept this position”, is for “economic reasons”. The most important thing is that it is “Crown interests that come through and not whānau [interests]”. The participant went on to explain how the “Kōhanga Reo movement and kura kaupapa were whānau-led models which the Crown has adopted and adapted as Crown models and become responsible for. Providers should revisit their existing relationships because over time you could cede rangatiratanga to big brother so that to some extent the position becomes compromised. The values and principles on which it was based are changed and where the interests were more whānau-oriented or centred, it becomes the interests of the wider state”. The participant felt that kōhanga reo had maintained its integrity to some extent because it had resources independent of the state.

One participant felt that there were risks associated with using whānau in policy “because if it comes to something it will be somebody else’s concept. [Once whānau is defined in] policy it becomes immovable and everything is measured against this one single definition, which is not Māori, has never been Māori, or tries to be Māori but is not. It just holds us back from doing what we would have done anyway. It loses meaning so we need to try and find another term. I don’t think defining or redefining the concept of whānau is the role of policy-makers”.

Another participant had reservations about entrenching whānau in policy and said “Once something like whānau is written down and put into legislation, it takes away some of the freedom to apply it sometimes and not other times. The discretion is quite limited in a legal sense because you have to follow quite strict rules to exercise discretion”.

Another participant said that “A difficulty I find is that [when] I am talking about family and whānau, I know what I am talking about. When you are talking with other people who don’t have a common understanding of family and whānau, there is tension and conflict about how the word whānau is used. To me, regardless of what government policy says about whānau, I know what whānau is for me and I don’t need government to define it for me”.

One participant stated that, “Māori concepts can be modified by the policy process so it is important to have strong Māori groups out there discussing and challenging government on their policies, particularly for Māori”. Another said, “What I find interesting with policy-makers is that they are trying to find out what whānau is, a definition, but it’s really hard to define or give a definition to, which is like an umbrella definition that covers whakapapa and kaupapa whānau. In education, while they have thought they have defined whānau, what they have done is marginalise whānau in some of their policies”. Another participant said, “Policy-makers have been trying very hard to capture the essence of whānau but it doesn’t quite do it. I have often wondered if it was written in Māori, if that would do it. My view is that in defining a concept they actually cut something out of it, so it is so changeable, so flawed. When you try and create a static definition, it loses its power and raises more questions about the bits that have been left off. So the question is, is it really important [to define whānau]? So in the end it is for us to understand and no one else”.

One of the participants pondered whether policy-makers were the best people to develop policies for whānau: “Are policy-makers the best people to know what is going on in whānau? Wellington policy-makers are too distant from what’s really happening. The intention and willingness of policy-makers is really high but they are disconnected from what’s happening and it’s the nature of what happens. There is a wall around Wellington”. The participant gave an example of developing education policy, stating that “it’s been years since I saw the inside of a classroom but everyone should know what the inside of a classroom looks like, everyone in Māori education should know what a kōhanga and kura look like. I think that [disconnection] happens in all sorts of government agencies”.

This participant also said, “I think policy writers write from a view of overseas research and evaluation and just take a snapshot out of it and transpose it over to us. Well, we’ve got fairly good research and evaluation ourselves, but I don’t think we take enough notice of it”. This participant did not think policy-makers had redefined whānau because “I don’t think they’ve hit it on the head yet. I still can’t fathom how they can form policy without talking to the people who matter. They’ve a Families Commission and Ministry of Social Development who are talking about subsidising whānau to go to early childhood education, but another arm of their department is talking about mums going back to work straight away, so there’s no cohesion with it”.

One participant felt that the government should be promoting whānau values, for example, in relation to children, and cited Scandinavian policies that are family-friendly. Some New Zealand policies, such as having a Children’s Day once a year, were seen as inadequate. The production of fridge magnets along with other activities to recognise Family Day was not seen as an adequate response to this important topic, and the participant felt the government should be more serious about whānau and family.

Another participant discussed one of the difficulties of incorporating Māori values into policy when he spoke of a recent whānau reunion where a tohu (a sign) presented itself in the sky: “The tupuna were present, the whole hui was like that. If you start talking like that, tauwi can’t comprehend it and you can’t write policy for that sort of thing. What you have to look at is a group that has a whakaruruhau associated with it, a group of kaiwhakahaere that are operating in a way that seem[s] to have all the principles and values of a whānau. People at different levels contributing to the running of things and real outcomes for the whole collective whānau; then you know those are the characteristics of a successful whānau”. This participant identified these elements as “indicators of a successful whānau”.

One participant felt that currently “policy places a lot of emphasis on whānau and when things go wrong we blame the whānau. That’s where some state support would be quite nice”.

“So in the end it’s for us to understand and no one else.”

5.1 SUMMARY

Participants felt that all policies impacted upon whānau. Several participants cited instances when policy had positive effects, such as Tomorrow’s Schools, while others aligned policy-making with the destructive effects of colonialism that have continued to place the health of Māori society and culture at risk.

It was clear from the discussions that policy-making had in many ways added to and subtracted from the concept of whānau, and several participants therefore expressed the perceived risks of defining whānau within policy settings. One participant felt that it was not the role of policy-makers to define whānau, and that this in fact would limit and hijack the concept of whānau.

6.0 DISCUSSION

The literature on whānau spans a period of 60 years and is conceptually diverse and disparate. Anthropologists, both Māori and Pākehā, were the first to describe whānau from a functionalist perspective. Issues arising from the relocation of Māori into urban areas saw other Māori writers encouraging Māori to return to their tribal areas. More recently, social workers, educationalists and health workers have categorised whānau into different types and have developed indicators and measures of the functioning of whānau.

The notion of whānau belongs to specific cultural and tribal contexts, each with its own unique meanings, understandings and applications. The concept has been defined and redefined since the early twentieth century and that practice continues today. The application of academic theoretical frameworks to the notion of whānau does not appear adequately to capture the wider, deeper and fuller meaning of the concept. It becomes an abstract concept removed from the reality. Aligned to this approach is the placing of a concept derived from an oral culture in an alien context and explaining that concept not only in another language but also in another form, ie in writing. The term whānau is also used liberally today to mean anything the speaker wants it to mean, therefore reducing it to what amounts to a 'generic' brand. It has lost some of the special qualities that it originally possessed. In short, it is being over-used. In this study, whānau was discussed as heart knowledge by most participants. This may be because Māori are beginning to reassert what matters to them in ways that are meaningful (Addis et al 2005). They are also reclaiming their terms while allowing them the widest possible inclusive and authentic range of meanings and nuances.

The whānau described by Best (1952), Buck (1949) and Firth (1959), except for the notion of whakapapa, no longer exist in this form. Living arrangements have changed and whānau members reside outside their tribal areas in different parts of the country and in other countries. Over 80 percent of Māori live in urban centres. However, the whakapapa ties remain. Whakapapa and whānau, while linked, are different. Whakapapa is about descent while whānau members are the expression of that descent line or lines. Whakapapa is based on descent from ancestors, each tribe having an eponymous ancestor after whom the tribe is named. Mahuika (1998:219) states that "whakapapa is the determinant of all mana rights to land, marae, and membership of a whānau, hapū and collectively of iwi". Reedy (1979), Pere (1979), Rangihau (1981) and Selby (1994) also support this view. The majority of participants claimed that these links are important.

Whānau is a paradoxical concept, much like the metaphysical domain of the worldview it derives from (Walker 2004). On the one hand, it is based on whakapapa or the "intrinsic whānau"; on the other hand, individuals who have established a special relationship can become whānau. Whānau can also include whāngai, both kin and non-kin, and legal adoptees who are unrelated. Former partners, particularly where children are involved, remain part of the whānau. The inclusion of non-kin as whānau is a decision made by the whānau and is not imposed externally.

The majority of the participants were passionate about the importance of whānau to them. They did not raise issues of material wellbeing such as income, ownership of property, housing, cars and other symbols of 'doing well' in society. For participants, the reality of whānau was something profound and difficult to describe adequately. Some of the characteristics referred to by them included "unconditional love"; "a spiritual connection"; "the essence of life"; being "deep and wide" and "horizontal and vertical"; "inclusive of all whakapapa connections, alive and dead"; "the people you live and work for"; and "the people who forgive you". Membership of whānau was characterised by having shared values, beliefs, stories and knowledge. Marsden (1981:143) states that "Māoritanga is a thing of the heart, rather than the head".

Imagery such as "levels" and "layers" were used to describe immediate whānau members, rippling out to other members of the tribe. One participant considered her immediate whānau as consisting of her husband and children as "a micro unit", which in turn belonged to a much wider unit. Another participant used the phrase "household whānau" with a qualification that this was inadequate as it excluded other whānau members. Durie (2001) states that "whānau is often used to describe a household". At one level, participants did live in 'households', but they did not perceive themselves as separate from other whānau members elsewhere. Whānau members in other towns or cities were brought to mind when the whānau talked about them.

Whānau members living in other parts of the country or the world were still considered whānau. Distance did not diminish the connection. One participant accepted that travelling and residing overseas is something the younger generation do. Modern technology was used as a means of communication. Durie (2001) refers to a “virtual whānau”, and while participants acknowledged the use of technology, they did not see this as creating a whānau type. On the other hand, distance posed challenges in terms of returning to whānau, hapū and iwi events, particularly when long distances were involved, such as between Wellington and Ngāti Porou and Wellington and Ngā Puhī. In order to meet the obligations and responsibilities to whānau living in the tribal area mentioned by Pere (1979), planning and strategies for overcoming fatigue were required. One participant described a “yearning” to see her sister sometimes. Within Ngāti Porou culture, the term used to describe this type of longing is kōingo. This refers to an inner longing either to speak to or see a familiar face in a familiar place. Pere (1979) also describes the issues of living outside the tribal area.

The term ‘extended family’ is frequently used in the literature to describe whānau (Best 1952; Firth 1959; Winiata 1967; Kawharu 1975; Metge 1967; and Walker 1990). This term was also used by one participant.

The metaphorical whānau is derived from the intrinsic whānau in as much as the term has been applied to pan-tribal groups. Different types of metaphorical whānau have various characteristics depending on the purpose for which they were established. In this study, the ā kaupapa groups described fell into two categories: formal and informal arrangements. The informal arrangements were workplace friendships. Kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori were more structured. The metaphorical use of whānau has become entrenched in the minds of participants, although most participants did not see it as being whānau in the same sense as their own kin group. The ā kaupapa whānau was another ‘level’ of engagement. The women in the study found workplace friendships primarily with but not limited to Māori. In one instance, the ā kaupapa group included a Pākehā. These groups were seen as providing support, strength and a sense of collectivity. Rangihau (1981) describes the sense of collectivity as whanaungatanga, and applies whanaungatanga to a kin group. Here it is applied metaphorically.

Kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori operate under more formal arrangements where a level of management and organisation is required. Whānau was seen as being about people, while ā kaupapa or purpose is just that, in other words, the reason for being together centres on the language domain. The levels of commitment to whānau and ā kaupapa differ. Concern was expressed at the absence of cultural values such as koha when there is a death within the kōhanga ‘whānau’. Although kōhanga reo is a language domain, it is also premised on the philosophy of whānau and whanaungatanga. One participant identified the need to teach and reinforce tikanga or cultural values. There are inherent tensions between ā kaupapa and a whānau as they carry different assumptions and expectations. Many Māori today are products of the process of urbanisation, when cultural values have been lost. This has been described by Walters and Walters (1987), Durie (1989), Walker (1990), Bradley (1995) and others.

One participant was opposed to the application of the concept of whānau to ā kaupapa and other whānau types and asserted that “whānau is whānau”. The participant added that “people will describe whānau in ways that suit their purpose”. Whāmere is used in the Hokianga area of Ngā Puhī and only one participant used this transliteration of family. The other whānau types from the literature, ie statistical (Durie 2003), virtual (Durie 2001) and new (Smith 1995; Mead 2003) whānau, were outside of the experience and understanding of participants. Participants queried how a whānau could be new if whakapapa is the basis of whānau. Walters and Walters (1987) state that “all Māori belong to a whānau” and, as Selby (1994) points out, she “belongs to several whānau”.

Participants did not consider whānau to be a myth as stated by Tamihere (2003). One participant acknowledged the wero or challenge that lay behind the comment, given the level of inequalities and disparities experienced by many whānau that result in an inability for them to function well.

Participants saw family as a Western construct and described it as narrow and insular, referring to the immediate family unit and the nuclear family. There was an immediacy about family, living in the here and now, whereas whānau is about a much wider group and the transmission of knowledge from the past to future generations. Participants felt that whānau is a lot deeper and wider and more informal than family, and it includes the notion of collective responsibility. The prioritising of rights and responsibilities to the wider group in whānau is implicit and clearer than in family. One participant described the sense of knowing he was connected to nieces in a photograph although he had never

met them. Contrary to the claim by Hall and Metge (2002), participants did not describe themselves as belonging to a nuclear family and whānau, just whānau. They did not make this distinction.

WHĀNAU ORA

Whānau ora was described in several ways: as a vision; as being the responsibility of the whole of government; as being about funding and contracting; as the domain of providers and Māori models of health service delivery; and as being to do with whānau responsibilities. One participant stated that whānau ora should always refer to equal prospects of success rather than opportunities.

Intersectoral collaboration between government departments such as Work and Income New Zealand, Housing New Zealand, the Ministry of Education and the Department of Labour to assist whānau would enhance the whānau ora approach to Māori health. It was felt that all the responsibility for the care of dependent members and the more vulnerable should not fall solely on Māori, given that the state provides support to non-Māori. At a Ministry of Health level, health impact and equity assessment tools were seen as assisting whānau ora, and if applied correctly could result in good health outcomes for Māori. The focus for one participant was on what could be done to achieve whānau ora. There is a broad statement of what *He Korowai Oranga* hopes to achieve and it lists a range of factors which would contribute to whānau ora. These understandings could vary according to the whānau.

Some participants involved in implementing the whānau ora policy experienced difficulties with (a) the definition and (b) the implementation of whānau ora. Funding, contracting and monitoring are from a Western framework. The difficulty is trying to align funding formula and contracts, which have been designed in the 'Pākehā house', to a concept from the 'Māori house'. The dynamics of whānau are such that they do not fit easily within these frameworks and whānau ora was therefore declared to be a myth because it can never be realised.

Iwi and Māori health providers were perceived as delivering services to whānau along whānau lines. Rather than the current system of taking a child to a doctor in one location and to the dentist at another location, whānau-friendly services with a range of health professionals would be a preferred model. The ideal would be for seamless services from conception through to the elderly. The need for kaumatua involvement in the delivery of health services was stressed. Gifford (1999) discusses the delivery of services to and by Māori as one of the components of whānau ora as envisaged by Tariana Turia.

While whānau ora is about the health of the collective, one participant felt that there was a need to place emphasis on healthy individuals because the whānau is made up of individuals.

Cohesion, self-sufficiency and the ability of the whānau to support itself and others were seen as contributing to whānau ora. The safety of children in particular was emphasised.

The concept of ora meant a lot more than wellbeing because it was spiritual, emotional and profound. Participants conceded, however, that wellbeing is the closest Pākehā word.

POLICY

There were two policies that were seen as positive for Māori. One was *Tomorrow's Schools*, because it is transformational in relation to providing the opportunity for whānau to be in control of the education their children receive. Schools are run by locally elected boards of trustees which manage the affairs of the school. They are often the parents of the children or young people attending the school. *He Korowai Oranga*, the Māori Health Strategy, was also seen as a positive policy for Māori because it shifts the gaze from something that was not working toward something that might work.

All policies were seen as having an impact on Māori and whānau in some way. These policies include those of colonisation, urbanisation and the banning of te reo Māori in schools. The Seabed and Foreshore legislation has the ability to limit access to shellfish and other coastal resources. Policies that impact on whānau are wider than family-related policies. In particular, policies in the areas of health, education, employment, housing, labour and the Treaty of Waitangi have all had drastic impacts on whānau. One participant noted that Crown interest comes before the interests of whānau.

Generally, participants were cautious and wary of policy-makers defining whānau in policy although

this was not one of the research questions. Hall and Metge (2002) have written about family law policies which recognise Māori cultural values in legislation. The Children, Young Persons, and Their Families Act 1989 recognises the need for whānau, hapū and iwi involvement in decisions regarding children and young persons. Pakura (2003) has discussed the use of Family Group Conferences in decision making.

There were several reasons why participants were wary of using the term whānau in a policy context. Firstly, when one participant used the term whānau there was an understanding of what it meant and to whom it applied. Conflict and tension arise if there is no common understanding of what whānau means. Secondly, once a concept is defined in policy, the definition becomes immovable and everything will be measured against the one single definition. There was also a concern that the concept of whānau would become someone else's concept. Thirdly, it was not seen as the role of policy-makers to define whānau. Instead, government should be promoting whānau values. Whānau and family are something government should take more seriously. One participant felt there was a disconnection between policy-makers and what was happening beyond the confines of government departments. Wellington was described as having "a wall around it". Fourthly, rangatiratanga could be ceded over time and the original meaning and values and beliefs on which the concept is based are changed to reflect the interests of the wider state. Another reason given was the tendency of government departments to rely on overseas research rather than New Zealand research. One participant felt that the wider and deeper understandings of whānau could not be adequately captured by policy.

Several participants questioned the role of academics in defining and redefining the concept of whānau and felt that it should be left alone.

7.0 IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY

Māori values and beliefs need to be recognised by the state, without modification or claiming ownership. This paper began by discussing differing epistemologies and ontologies as illustrated by the Two House model. It is difficult to see the common ground between these two houses. Māori are tangata whenua but a minority population. Generally, policy is more universal by nature. Whānau, as it has been articulated in this paper, is of the heart. It encapsulates the importance of connection with the past, with both kin and non-kin arrangements, relationship with the dead, and of belonging to more than one whānau. The concept thus presents great challenges for policy. The nature of whānau is unlikely to change and neither is the nature of policy. Inclusion of whānau in policy shifts the notion of whānau into the 'Pākehā house'. At the same time, it still exists in the 'Māori house'. The result could be at least two entirely different understandings of whānau.

The recommendations in *Puao-te-Ata-Tu* (Ministerial Advisory Committee 1986) were never fully implemented. *Puao-te-Ata-Tu* forms a foundation on which to build policy best suited to the needs of whānau. In addition, Durie-Hall and Metge (1992) have raised important issues to be considered. Some family-related legislation works against Māori interests, specifically the Adoption Act 1955. This has been described as a hostile piece of legislation. It is time recognition was given to the Treaty partner and the distinctness of Māori familial arrangements, in ways that support rather than undermine whānau development.

On the other hand, participants cautioned against the use of whānau in legislation and policy. Existing policies such as those relating to early childhood, while including the term 'whānau' in the curriculum document, do not recognise kaupapa-led initiatives such as kōhanga reo. In health, there is tension between what whānau ora is and funding and contracting. Education and health have been focused on Māori development for some time, but as policy moves toward evidence-based approaches it becomes increasingly difficult for Māori. Quantitative approaches are intrinsically contextually limiting and prescriptive, and are methodologically unable to accommodate broader inclusive and movable concepts and ontologies.

Another difficulty relates to language. The Māori language is oral as opposed to written. Translations do not adequately convey the full meaning of a word. As Palmer states in the Foreword to *Ngā Moteatea I*, (Ngāta and Te Hurinui Jones 2004):

The difficulty of translating from one language to another is a truism that needs no stress but one point should be remembered by all who read this volume. No matter how brilliant the translation, or how apt the phrase or the image, the English version is no substitute for the original Māori.

8.0 CONCLUSION

This small study on the topic of whānau has reviewed academic and policy literatures and has explored the concept of whānau with a small group of Māori working in policy in Wellington.

The academic literature on whānau has been informed by a diverse range of disciplines from both Māori and Pākehā scholars and is disparate. Anthropology has been the dominant discourse, but over the last 25 years other contributions from disciplines such as education, social work and health have added to the body of knowledge on the concept of whānau. The literature shows the development of new categories of whānau over time, with some contemporary Māori scholars calling for the recognition of new whānau types, such as 'new whānau'. In addition to the whakapapa whānau, other categorisations such as kaupapa whānau, statistical whānau and virtual whānau, have emerged.

The review of policy material shows that over the last 25 years, there have been a number of policies involving whānau. Several policies in the education sphere have survived (kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori), and whānau are also included in the Children, Young Persons, and Their Families Act 1989. More recently, the notion of whānau ora has been introduced in the health sector. The policy literature shows that *Puao-te-Ata-tu* is a key document for the development of policies and legislation which meet the needs of whānau, such as the Adoption Act 1955.

The academic literature and policy review findings were followed up with key informant interviews with nine Māori living in Wellington. For participants interviewed as part of this research, the most important whānau type was the whānau tūturu or intrinsic whānau because it provides the link through whakapapa to the hapū, iwi and ancestors who had passed on. In addition, it was a source of strength and support and gave purpose to the lives of participants. The intrinsic whānau includes those who have died, former partners and whānau members living at a distance. In special circumstances, the intrinsic whānau included non-kin. While the metaphorical whānau or ā kaupapa whānau was acknowledged by some participants, this did not take the place of the intrinsic whānau but added value to their lives in some settings. Ā kaupapa whānau could be established anywhere Māori get together. Involvement in ā kaupapa whānau was seen as transient whereas the intrinsic whānau was everlasting. Some differences between the notion of family and whānau were discussed, but for participants with one Pākehā parent, the pull toward whānau was stronger. All participants did not see whānau as a myth but as a reality.

Some of the whānau types in the literature were a puzzle for most participants. The notion of whānau ora, for example, while not a whānau type, was challenging for participants and they expressed divergent views about its meaning and relevance.

Participants expressed their concern at the attempts by academics to define whānau and the various constructs around whānau that are emerging. These attempts created a sense of unease for participants, who questioned who the various constructs were being developed for. While government policies were seen to have had both positive and negative impacts on whānau, participants generally felt that it was not the role of policy-makers to define whānau, as it would limit and hijack the concept of whānau. The depth, width and breadth of the concept of whānau could not be adequately reflected for a wide range of reasons. Participants instead suggested that another word be used in place of whānau, or that whānau values be used in policy. Māori values and beliefs needed to be recognised by the state without modifying or claiming ownership.

REFERENCES

- Adds, P., Bennett, M., Hall, M., Kernot, B., Russell, M., & Walker, T.W. (2005). *The Portrayal of Māori and te ao Māori in Broadcasting*. Broadcasting Standards Authority, Wellington.
- Best, E. (1952). *The Māori as He Was*. R.E. Owen, Government Printer, Wellington.
- Bradley, J. (1994). 'Iwi and the Maatua Whāngai Programme'. In R. Munford & M. Nash (Eds.), *Social Work in Action*, Dunmore Press Ltd, Palmerston North.
- Bradley, J. (1995). 'Before You Tango With Our Whānau You Better Know What Makes Us Tick'. *Te Komako*, 7(1).
- Buck, P. (1949). *The Coming of the Māori*. The Māori Purposes Fund Board, Wellington.
- Cumming, J., Goodhead, A., Barnett, P., Walker, T.W., Clayden, C., & Churchward, M. (2003). *Health Reforms 2001 Project: Interim Report*. Health Services Research Centre, Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington.
- Cunningham, C., Stevenson, B., & Tassel, N. (2005). *Analysis of the Characteristics of Whānau in Aotearoa*. Massey University, Palmerston North.
- Durie, M.H. (1989). 'The Treaty of Waitangi – Perspectives on Social Policy'. In I.H. Kawharu (Ed.) *Waitangi Māori and Pākehā Perspectives of the Treaty of Waitangi*, Oxford University Press, Auckland.
- Durie, M.H. (1994). *Whaiora*. Oxford University Press, Auckland.
- Durie, M.H. (1997). 'Whānau, Whanaungatanga and Healthy Māori Development'. In P. Te Whaiti, M. McCarthy, & A. Durie (Eds.), *Mai I Rangiatea*, Auckland University Press, Auckland.
- Durie, M.H. (2001). *Mauri Ora: The Dynamics of Māori Health*. Oxford University Press, Auckland.
- Durie, M.H. (2003). *Proceedings of Whakapumau Whānau*. Whānau Development National Hui, Otaki, Te Puni Kōkiri.
- Durie-Hall, D., & Metge, J. (1992). 'Kua Tutā te Puehu, Kia Mau: Māori Aspirations and Family Law'. In M. Henaghan & B. Atkin (Eds.), *Family Law Policy in New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland.
- Firth, R. (1959). *Economics of the New Zealand Māori*. R.E. Owen, Government Printer, Wellington.
- Gifford, H. (1999). *A Case Study of Whānau Ora A: Māori Health Promotion Model*. Department of Public Health, University of Otago, Wellington.
- Gilling, M. (1988). *Family: Social Perspectives*. Royal Commission on Social Policy, Wellington.
- Hall, D., & Metge, J. (2002). 'Kua Tutā te Puehu: Kia Mau – Māori Aspirations and Family Law'. In M. Henaghan & B. Atkin (Eds.), *Family Law Policy in New Zealand*, LexisNexis Butterworths, Wellington.
- Henare, M. (1988). 'Ngā Tikanga Me Ngā Ritenga o te Ao Māori'. *The April Report*. The Royal Commission on Social Policy, Volume 3, Part One, Wellington.
- Hohepa, P.W. (1970). *A Māori Community in Northland*. A.H. and A.W. Reed Ltd, Auckland.
- Jackson, J.M., & Poananga, A. (2001). *The Two House Model*. Wellington.
- Kawharu, I.H. (1975). *Orakei*. New Zealand Council for Educational Research, Wellington.
- Keenan, D. (1995). 'Puao-Te-Ata-Tu'. *Te Komako*, 7(1).
- King, A., & Turia, T. (2002). *He Korowai Oranga*. Ministry of Health, Wellington.
- Lorde, A. (1984). *Sister Outsider*. The Crossing Press, Berkeley.
- Mahuika, A. (1998). 'Whakapapa is the Heart'. In K.S. Coates & P.G. McHugh (Eds.), *Living Relationships*, Victoria University Press, Wellington.

- Marsden, M. (1981). 'God, Man and Universe: A Māori View'. In M. King (Ed.), Longman Paul Ltd, *Te Ao Hurihuri*, Auckland.
- Mead, H.M. (2003). *Tikanga Māori*. Huia Publishers, Wellington.
- Metge, J. (1967). *The Māoris of New Zealand*. Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, London.
- Metge, J. (1990). 'Te Rito o te Harakeke: Conceptions of the Whānau'. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 99(1).
- Metge, J. (1995). *New Growth from Old*. Victoria University Press, Wellington.
- Metge, J. (2001). *Family and Whānau in a Changing World*. Social Policy Forum 2001, Centre for Public Policy Evaluation, Palmerston North.
- Ministerial Advisory Committee. (1986). *Puao-te-Ata-tu*. Department of Social Welfare, Wellington.
- Ministry of Education. (1996). *Te Whāriki*. Author, Wellington.
- Ministry of Education. (1999). *Atawhaingia Te Pa Harakeke*. Author, Wellington.
- Ngata, A.T., & Te Hurinui Jones, P. (2004). *Ngā Moteatea*. Auckland University Press, Auckland.
- O'Regan, T., & Mahuika, A. (1991). 'Modern Day Developments Within a Modern Society and the Role of the Social Policy Agency as a Provider of Quality Policy Advice'. *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*, (1).
- Pakura, S. (2003). 'A Review of the Family Group Conference 13 Years On'. *Te Komako*, 15(3).
- Patton, M.Q. (2001). *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods*. Sage Publications, London.
- Pere, R.R. (1979). 'Taku Taha Māori: My Māoriness'. *He Matapuna*. New Zealand Planning Council, Wellington.
- Pere, R.R. (1988). *Ako*. Department of Sociology, University of Waikato, Hamilton.
- Pere, R.T. (2003). *Te Wheke*. Ao Ako Global Learning New Zealand Ltd, New Zealand.
- Pihama, L., & Penehira, M. (2005). *Building Baseline Data on Māori, Whānau Development and Māori Realising Their Potential*. Te Puni Kōkiri, Wellington.
- Rangihau, J. (1981). 'Being Māori'. In M. King (Ed.), *Te Ao Hurihuri*, Longman Paul Ltd, Auckland.
- Reedy, T. (1979). 'A Māori in the Future: A Woman's View'. *He Matapuna*. New Zealand Planning Council, Wellington.
- Reedy, T.M., Grant, J.M., & Oughton, D. (1986). *Maatua Whāngai*. Department of Māori Affairs, Department of Social Welfare, Department of Justice, Wellington.
- Selby, R. (1994). 'My Whānau'. In R. Munford & M. Nash (Eds.), *Social Work in Action*, Dunmore Press Ltd, Palmerston North.
- Smith, G.H. (1995). 'Whakaoho Whānau'. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 1(1):18-36.
- Taiapa, J.T. (1994). *The Economics of the Whānau: The Māori Component*. Department of Māori Studies, Massey University, Palmerston North.
- Tamihere, J. (2003). *The Myth of Whānau?* Associate Minister of Māori Affairs, Wellington.
- Tangaere, R.B. (1998). *Whānau: Kaupapa Māori Intervention Model in Education*. Māori Education. University of Auckland, Auckland.
- Taurere, M., & Agee, M.N. (1996). 'The Role of Whānau as a Support Network in the Counselling Preferences of Māori Students'. *New Zealand Journal of Counselling*, 18(1 & 2):58-72.
- Turia, T. (3 November 2003). *Te Whakapumau Whānau ki Heretaunga*. New Zealand Government, Wellington.

- van Meijil, T. (1995). 'Māori Socio-political Organisation Pre- and Proto-history'. *Oceania*, 65(4).
- Walker, H. (1995). 'Puao-te-Ata-tu'. *Te Komako*, 7(1).
- Walker, R. (1979). *Urban Māori. He Matapuna – A Source: Some Māori perspectives*. New Zealand Planning Council, Wellington.
- Walker, R. (1990). *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mataou*. Penguin Books, Auckland.
- Walker, T. (2004). 'Valuing Māori Ways of Knowing and Being'. In K. Dew & R. Fitzgerald (Eds.) *Challenging Science*, Dunmore Press Ltd, Palmerston North.
- Walters, L., & Walters, M. (1987). *Awhi Whānau*. Pihopatanga o Aotearoa, Rotorua.
- Webster, S. (1997). 'Māori Hapū and Their History'. *Australian Journal of Anthropology*, 8(3):307-338.
- Webster, S. (1998). 'Māori Hapū as a Whole Way of Struggle: 1840s-50s Before the Land Wars'. *Oceania*, 69(1).
- Winiata, M. (1967). *The Changing Role of the Leader in Māori Society*. Blackwood & Janet Paul Ltd, Auckland.

Blue Skies Research

- 1/06 *Les Familles et Whānau sans Frontières: New Zealand and Transnational Family Obligation*, Neil Lunt with Mervyl McPherson and Julee Browning, March 2006.
- 2/06 *Two Parents, Two Households: New Zealand Data Collections, Language and Complex Parenting*, Paul Calister and Stuart Birks, March 2006.
- 3/06 *Grandfathers – Their Changing Family Roles and Contributions*, Dr Virginia Wilton and Dr Judith A. Davey, March 2006.
- 4/06 *Neighbourhood Environments that Support Families*, Dr Karen Witten, Liane Penney, Fuafiva Faalau and Victoria Jensen, May 2006.
- 5/06 *New Communication Technologies and Family Life*, Dr Ann Weatherall and Annabel Ramsay, May 2006.
- 6/06 *Families and Heavy Drinking: Impacts on Children’s Wellbeing*, Systematic Review, Melissa Girling, John Huakau, Sally Casswell and Kim Conway, June 2005.
- 7/06 *Beyond Demography: History, Ritual and Families in the Twenty-first Century*, Jan Pryor, June 2005.
- 8/06 *Whānau is Whānau*, Tai Walker, Ngāti Porou, July 2006.

These reports are available on the Commission’s website www.nzfamilies.org.nz or contact the Commission to request copies.

Families Commission
PO Box 2839
Wellington
Telephone 04 917 7040
Email enquiries@nzfamilies.org.nz

Wellington office

Public Trust Building, Level 5
117-125 Lambton Quay
PO Box 2839, Wellington
Phone 04 917 7040
Fax 04 917 7059

Email

enquiries@nzfamilies.org.nz

Website

www.nzfamilies.org.nz

Auckland office

Level 5, AMI House
63 Albert Street, Auckland
Phone 09 970 1700