Proceedings of
Te Hua o te Whānau
Whānau health and
development conference
16 April 1999

Conference held at
Te Pūtahi-ā-Toi
School of Māori Studies
Massey University
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Information Centre
Ministry of Health
Wellington
Foreword

Following on from my address to the Te Hua o te Whānau conference in April this year, I am pleased to endorse this document which represents the views and opinions of the many speakers and participants who attended the conference. I wish to thank you all for your efforts in contributing to this conference and this publication. This information has provided many new insights to inform policy development and help improve whānau development and positive health outcomes.

As a result of the 1995 Health and Disability Services Amendment Act, amendments to the Health Act 1956 and the Health and Disability Services Act 1993, the Ministry of Health is required to improve, promote and protect the public health. In accordance with the Act as amended, the Public Health Group of the Ministry of Health is required to regularly consult the public, those involved in the provision of public health services and other key stakeholders. The publication and distribution of this proceedings document completes the consultation process on this particular project on whānau health issues. The Ministry will be distributing the document to all conference participants after 30 June 1999, and making other copies available to the general public on request.

Hon Georgina te Heuheu
Associate Minister of Health
Te Kupu Whakaāiao

Ngā manu whititua, ngā manu ururangi, te haemata o ngā waka te whakangaro atu nei! Te hekeheke o te rangi, te hekeheke ā nuku; i patupatu te tū, i patupatu te tū. E aku whakapiri māhuri ka rarapa nei te uira, kua horo te whetu, kua horo te marama, taukuri e!

Te paorotanga o te hau o Te Hua o te Whãnau
Kati rā ngā kupu e ua, e heke koutou
E heke koutou te uru tapu nui
Ko te whânau o te mamae
Ko te whânau o te ora
Ko te whakapiki i te ora o te whânau
Whakamauā ki a tīna, tīna!
Haumi ē, Hui ē tāiki ē!

Ko te kupu tēnei a Te Pūtahi-ā-Toi rāua tahi ko Te Manatū Hauora e mihi atu nei ki te hunga i whakaeko mai ki te whakarangatira Te Hua o te Whãnau. Ngā manu koroki, i whakawahi i te kupu kōrero mo te rā, kei te mihi atu kia koutou. Ngā rangatira, ngā kupu kōrero te reo o tēnā, o tēnā wānanga nui, o tēnā kura nui i riro ai ma Te Hua o te Whãnau tātau e hao ki te wāhi kotahi i raro i te ūranga mai o te kupu.

Me kī ra ko Te Hua o te Whãnau tātau e whakatangi nei mo Te Ura Mai o te Motu. Koia rā te haeata e tākina nei tātau kia ā ai te matamata nui o te whânau ki tēnā whakatupuranga ki tēnā whakatupuranga. Tēnei te mihi atu ka a koutou katoa. Kia hora te pai, kia hora te nui, kia koutou katoa ngā pae wānanga o te motu.

E tā e taku mokopuna he wā poto noa koe
Homai o taringa kia ngaua e ahau
Mai kore noa e tau te whakaaro nui ki ā koe
He wā poto noa koe i waenga te ao e tū mai nei.

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Acknowledgements

Te Pūtahi-ā-Toi, School of Māori Studies, Massey University, and the Ministry of Health have collaborated in the organising of Te Hua o te Whānau. Special acknowledgement should be given to the many individuals who gave freely of their time in organising such a successful event, particularly Julia Taiapa and Pauline Hill.

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We would also like to acknowledge the Crown Forestry Rentals Trust and Corporate Communications Section, Massey University, for their assistance with the conference.
He Taonga: Te Hua o te Whānau

This taonga (pictured) was commissioned by the Ministry of Health to mark the Millennium Address on whānau issues. It was presented to Professor Mason Durie following his address Whānau Development and Māori Survival: The challenge of time at Te Hua o te Whānau Conference on 16 April 1999. The taonga was carved by Hona Taiapa who is currently based at Ngā Hau E Whā National Marae, Christchurch, as a whakairo tutor.

Kaupapa: Te Hua o te Whānau

The meaning of the taonga is as follows. 'Like our forebears, our forefathers, our whānau of “before”, Te Kotahitanga, Te Whakawhanaungatanga, through to the “now” and the “after”. All of these things are portrayed in the taonga. The Base represents Te Kakano which has been sown, our roots, our teachings. Te Kotahitanga, Te Whakawhanaungatanga. The Upright: The uplifting, the uprising, the push, the determination, the returning, the growth, the continuation.'
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Whānau Development and Māori Survival: The challenge of time
Mason Dune, Head of School, Te Pūtahi-ā-Toi, School of Māori Studies, Massey University

Appendix 1: Programme – Te Hua o te Whānau Conference
Appendix 2: Conference Participants
Introduction

Te Hua o te Whānau Conference was held on 16 April 1999 at Te Pūtahi-ā-Toi, School of Māori Studies, Massey University, in association with the Public Health Group of the Ministry of Health. The programme for the conference is provided as Appendix 1.

Approximately 290 participants attended the conference (see Appendix 2), including:

- kuia and koroua
- whānau
- Māori health sector providers (eg, marae-based initiatives, mental health, cervical screening, tamariki and rangatahi health, alcohol and drug, public health services, HHS's and other health professionals)
- iwi social service providers
- Māori academics, researchers, students
- Māori educationalists and work/education training scheme providers
- business people
- policy makers.

The conference is part of the School of Māori Studies’ Kaupapa Ruamano programme which comprises a series of alternating lectures and conferences. This series began in 1993 and will conclude in the year 2000, with a Millennium Conference Theme: ‘Toi te kupu, toi te mana, toi te whenua: Māori endurance and advancement in a global society’.

The conference focused on the social, economic and cultural determinants which impact on Māori development and health. The aim was to bring together key groups (including researchers and Māori providers) to contribute to the development of future policy, programme and research directions and strategies to enable significant improvements to whānau development and wellbeing.

Two background documents, which examined whānau issues, were provided to participants at the conference: Whāia te Whānaungatanga: Oranga Whānau. The Wellbeing of Māori: The public health issues (published by the Ministry of Health/Manatū Hauora), and the Massey University publication Oranga Whānau: Māori Health and Well-being, and Whānau. A report prepared by Te Pūmanawa Hauora.
Opening Address

Hon. Georgina te Heuheu,  
Associate Minister of Health

Opening address to Te Hua o te Whãnau Conference,  
Te Pûtahi-ã-Toi, School of Māori Studies, Massey University, 16 April 1999

This week is Mana Wãhine week and just this past Wednesday I was privileged enough to support my colleague Hon. Tau Henare in launching the statistical profile prepared on Māori women - Māori Women in Focus: Titiro Hangai, Ka Marama. At that launch I took the opportunity to point out a very important issue to Māori people, and it is a point that I stress whenever I can lest we forget its importance.

For Māori women to progress we need our Māori men. Our traditional society was a balanced one where men and women played different, but equally important roles. These roles were no less important were they carried out by men, or by women. The important issue was the balance they created. If there is an issue that needs attention today it is the imbalance in our families, in our communities. We need to sort these issues out so that we can all move forward together; men need women just as women need men.

I was fortunate enough last week to spend some time with the United States Secretary of Health and Human Services, Donna Shalala. She was an inspiring woman who provided some useful insight to the differences and similarities in New Zealand and the United States. She spoke last week on the six important lessons that she and others have learnt in the United States from their experience of putting women’s health on the national agenda. I would like to refer to these today; they are not as different to our circumstances as some might think.

Lesson one:  
We must help women see their whole selves

It is important that women recognise that every aspect of their lives is an aspect of their health. The US approach to women’s health is to look at it as though it were a seamless change of seasons across a lifetime - with no season more important than another. Prevention is a centrepiece of any strategy. Prevention and lifestyle changes provide the greatest room for improvements in the health of Māori
families. Women will lead those changes because we are responsible for so much of the care of our families and communities.

Lesson two:
Build an army from the ground up

Women’s health issues did not always have the profile they presently do, so the need to mobilise not only women but the communities they come from to recognise the relevance of these issues is essential.

Have we done enough in our own communities to raise the levels of awareness and participation that we could? Last year during the campaign on breast cancer awareness, I took a box of those pink ribbons into Parliament and pinned them on all my male colleagues. Some of them thought it was a dag, and had smart comments to make, until I reminded them that it was an issue that can affect us all. Breast cancer as an example is a much more sobering issue when we think about its broad impacts. Too many of our men think women’s health is women’s business. Too many people continue to tell them that women’s health is women’s business alone.

Lesson three:
Pick the right battles

In politics this is an important lesson. You don’t use all your resources and friends on a trivial issue, and have nothing left for the real fights. We are making real progress in many areas of Māori health but let’s not get distracted from the issue of improving Māori health status by other matters which might use our efforts and energies unnecessarily. A well-quoted phrase in Black American civil rights movements is ‘Keep your eyes on the prize’. The prize is the improved health of Māori people, it is not necessarily the increased number of Māori health providers.

Lesson four:
There’s a women’s health aspect to almost every issue

The health of families, communities and nations all depend on the health of women. The poignant pictures we have all seen from Kosovo in the past weeks, the most disturbing are of women and children. Our hearts are most torn by their images. The use of resources in one area affects the use of resources in another. The treatment of preventable disease reduces the number of grommet operations. Treatment for the effects of tobacco reduces our ability to treat other less
predictable disease. The health of women is affected by the health of their families. The health of families is affected by the health of their communities. The health of communities is affected by the health of nations.

Lesson five:
Weave your way around the opposition

Politicians do this all the time and some are better than others. Women and men need to teach young men to share in the responsibility for preventing unwanted pregnancies; young men need to be raised so that they recognise their responsibilities in relationships and in raising their own children. Men are not the opposition on issues like these, although often they are portrayed as such. When we all recognise the inter-relatedness of our health we are better able to recognise the responsibilities we hold.

Lesson six:
We must support everyday heroines

Do we really value each other enough? Do we recognise our mothers and grandmothers as everyday heroines? We should be proud of our sisters who raise their children and not restrict our admiration to national figures or sportsmen. The future of our country depends on how we raise our families.

It is true that the Government determines how much money is directed at education or health, but ultimately the rearing of children is the responsibility of mothers and fathers. We do not have government inspectors sitting at our dinner tables supervising our meals for nutrition, neither do we have them supervising our tobacco or alcohol consumption. These things are left to us, so we are the ones most capable of changing these things and the results they produce.

Conclusion

People ask me what I stand for now that I am a politician. Hardly anyone cared before so it's something a person has to think about. People ask me how I manage the demands of a broad group of ministerial portfolios, how do I focus on the different issues, how do I ground my decisions? My answer to this is that 'I believe in families, and I stand for families'.

I think this theme is one that I am sure most of you all use, knowingly or unknowingly. I base all my work on the importance of families and communities. Families are important to me. The priority issue in each of my four portfolios and any other work I do is to improve the ability of families to provide for themselves.
As the Minister for Courts, I am interested in families and the protection of their security and safety. I am also interested in the rehabilitation of young members of families so they can contribute constructively to our society, and their parents can be proud of them. I am anxious that our legal and justice system functions effectively and to the benefit of all. Whether that be the rehabilitation of young people going wrong, or the proper treatment of people who find themselves being the victims of crime or ill-doing.

As the Minister of Women's Affairs, I am interested in families and the ability of women to provide for themselves and their children. I am particularly concerned for women and families at risk. I am concerned, as I said earlier, that we don't cloud our thinking in this area by trying to do things without our men; if we don't bring our men forward with us our progress will be so much slower. In our communities, in our families, there is a need for a sensible balance.

All of you know what I am talking about, because without that sort of balance you would not be as successful today as you obviously are. The balance in families allows us to better understand the need for balance in the communities we come from and live in.

As the Associate Minister of Health, I am concerned for families. Concerned that they are raised as well as our country can provide, raised so they are healthy members of society and can take their rightful place within it. Raised so they aren't burdened with an unfair disadvantage, and raised in an environment which encourages their development. Healthy young people are a nation's asset, they are strong and grow up to be worthwhile and contributing members in our communities. They participate, they contribute and they lead.

Many of the health issues that affect us are lifestyle issues. The food we choose to eat, or choose to feed our children has implications for our health. Low protein fatty diets invariably catch up with us. The cigarettes some of us choose to smoke are a burden, not only on our own bodies but the health consequences are too often a burden on our families and communities as well. I want to encourage healthy living, I want to inform people of the consequences of healthy living and of unhealthy practices so they can make informed decisions on the consequences of their choices.

As the Associate Minister of Treaty of Waitangi Negotiations, I am concerned for families. I am concerned that Treaty claims are resolved and that the benefits of those settlements are used on the important issues in people's lives, so that our people can get on with their lives unencumbered by a need to do something about the past, to instead focus on the future. Treaty claim resolution can have a positive impact on a community or it can have a negative one. I'm for the positive impact.
So, I stand for families and although it may bore some people, I am proud of it and I will tell anyone who wants to listen. Maybe even those who don’t. I commend you for the work you do, because health and healthier lives must start in our families and how we raise our children. Let’s take responsibility, let’s take the lead – because these issues are too important to do any less.

Thank you all very much. I would like to wish you all well and open today’s conference.
Changing Whānau Structures and Practices

Joan Metge

Keynote address to Te Hua o te Whānau Conference, Te Pūtahi-ā-Toi, School of Māori Studies, Massey University, 16 April 1999

Ngā iwi o tenei rohe,
Te Pūtahi-ā-Toi, Te Manatū Hauora,
Ngā manuhiri e huīhuī mai nei,
Tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā tātou katoa.

I should like to begin by warmly congratulating Te Pūmanawa Hauora and the Public Health Group of Te Manatū Hauora on the two works provided as background to this conference, Oranga Whānau: Māori Health and Well-being, and Whāia Te Whanaungatanga: Oranga Whānau. Their coverage is both thorough and insightful. I endorse most of what they say, and I am not going to repeat it. Instead, reading between the lines, I shall focus on some of the things they leave unsaid or unemphasised.

Kinds of whānau

Both works point out that the word 'whānau' has a wide range of applications in Māori discourse but choose to focus on the whakapapa-based whānau as 'one of the most fundamental social units of Māori society'. While agreeing on the primacy of this kind of whānau, I would insist that the other applications must always be held in mind, because Māori themselves slide easily and often unconsciously between applications, and because certain kinds of kaupapa-based

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whānau have established their own special niche in Māori society. (Here let me just note that whakapapa and kaupapa are not really opposites, since whakapapa is itself a kaupapa, a reason, ground or basis for group formation. We should really contrast whakapapa-based whānau with whānau based on other kaupapa, but that would be clumsy.)

In justifying their focus on whakapapa-based whānau, Te Pumanawa Hauora claim that ‘whakapapa-based whānau are distinct in that all Māori have connections to a whakapapa-based whānau which has links to the land and is a potential source of health promoting resources’. This claim needs some unpacking, for it telescopes two ideas. It is helpful to distinguish between the whakapapa-based whānau as category and as group. The whakapapa-based whānau as category consists of all the descendants of a particular pair of ancestors regardless of whether they know or interact with each other; the whānau as group consists of those descendants of the same ancestors who interact and work together for common purposes, that is, who have a degree of corporate or common life. In today’s world, all Māori are manifestly not members of whānau which are functioning as groups. But all Māori are members of at least one whānau descent category, from which a functioning whānau already has been or may potentially be drawn. Making this distinction has important consequences when (for example) finding whānau guardians for children in need of care and protection. Rather different strategies are needed to help functioning whānau to develop to full capacity and to encourage whānau which exist only potentially to develop into a group.

As yet I have seen no research which establishes the proportion of Māori who are active members of whakapapa-based whānau which are functioning as groups. It is certainly very much higher than most Pākehā civil servants and citizens recognise but it is not a universal feature of Māori life, as it was at the turn of the eighteenth century. An equally unknown but significant proportion of Māori currently prefer other options. Some operate, temporarily or permanently, as egocentric loners or self-contained nuclear families; some give their primary loyalty to groups based on other kaupapa; and some mix and match their group membership.

Both resource works accept that whakapapa is more effective than other kaupapa as the glue which holds Māori together in functioning groups. While this proposition has not to my knowledge been tested empirically, my own experience informs me that it is true as a general rule – but also that there are significant exceptions. I would add three riders to the proposition. Firstly, whakapapa does not of itself guarantee effectiveness or harmony in operation: whakapapa-based groups struggle with internal tensions and conflict and develop unity and group loyalty only by working hard at it. Secondly, under certain circumstances kaupapa-based groups can develop a group identity which is effective and relatively long lasting. (Here I would suggest making a distinction between

kaupapa-based groups which are formed for short-term goals and disband as soon as they are achieved, and those which serve multiple functions and aim to last.) Thirdly, care must always be taken in particular cases to establish that the whānau under discussion is a group and not a category, functions effectively, and is not dysfunctional.

I endorse emphasis on building up the whakapapa-based whānau as an exciting and potentially fruitful strategy for developing Māori health and wellbeing, provided that it does not exclude other possibilities. Since most kaupapa-based whānau model themselves on the values and practices of the whakapapa-based whānau, strategies designed to strengthen and enhance the latter should not be difficult to transfer to the former.

'Changing family structures'

Changing family structures are nothing new in the Māori world. Māori think of the whakapapa-based whānau as traditional, 'tuku iho no ngā tupuna'. But the whānau as we know it in the nineties is probably less than a hundred years old. When Europeans first arrived in Aotearoa, the word whānau was primarily applied to a group of people, between 15 and 30 in number, comprising two to three generations, living and working as a single household: a residential unit that was also a production and consumption unit. Then in the 19th century, Māori were assimilated into the money-and-market economy established by Pākehā settlers and the whānau underwent a radical change. The whānau as I encountered it in the 1950s was generally a larger group, comprising between 30 and 100 members and four to five generations, living in several scattered households and coming together at intervals ('occasionally') for purposes other than everyday domestic living.

The 'changing family structures' we have come here to talk about involve significant variations in certain features of this 20th century whānau but not, I think, as radical a change as happened in the 19th century.

Most of the changes currently in process are changes in the structure of the parent-child family, which is the major building block of the whānau: a decrease in the number of children per mother, increases in the proportion of de facto compared with de jure marriages, in the frequency of marital break-up, in the proportion of one-parent families, and in the proportion of children living with one parent, in blended families or moving between two parental homes. A second factor of change is the increase in Māori life expectancy, with implications for relations between the generations and leadership.

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A third factor is the high mobility of individuals and nuclear families, which results in the geographic scattering of whānau members. I doubt that there has been much increase in the overall rate of Māori migration, which has been high since World War II, but the last two decades have seen significant increases in the frequency of moves and the range over which they are made. Few whānau now do not have members overseas. Since 1980 there has also been a marked increase in migration back to the community of whānau origin, powered by both cultural and economic motives. Mobility on the part of individuals and nuclear families compounds the problems of communication between whānau members and the maintenance of the whānau corporate life.

A word of warning: these changes have not occurred nor can they be dealt with in isolation. They are causally related to wider trends and changes in every aspect of social and economic life in Aotearoa New Zealand. Policies of whānau development will make a major contribution to improving Māori health and wellbeing but they should not be seen as a panacea nor yet as a substitute for more general policies and action.

The net result of the changes in family (including whānau) structures over the last two decades has been an increase in the diversity of whānau forms, in the forms of whakapapa-based whānau as much as of kaupapa-based whānau. Whakapapa-based whānau cover a broad range: from small three-generation groups focused on living tupuna to large groups encompassing five or six generations from tupuna nobody living remembers; from whānau whose group life is so attenuated that they come together only at tangihanga to whānau which are vibrant and multi-faceted corporations using modern technology to keep in touch; from whānau which are firmly grounded in their ancestors' home community to whānau which are to all intents and purposes alienated from their roots; from whānau which cherish and live up to the values handed down from the ancestors to whānau which are seriously dysfunctional. To these differences must be added the range of variations between iwi in the tikanga governing whānau organisation and functioning.

Features to remember

Whatever their form and tikanga, whakapapa-based whānau have certain characteristic features which are easily overlooked because they are taken largely for granted.7

A whakapapa-based whānau (that is, a functioning one) is a group made up of individuals and nuclear families. If costs begin to outweigh benefits, if

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participation is too much of a burden, or if other kaupapa are seen to matter and offer more, individuals and nuclear families can and do opt out of active participation.

The whānau outlasts its individual members. Individuals are born, marry, migrate and die, they opt in and out at different life stages, but the whānau survives as long – and only as long – as it has a core of committed members and can hold most of its new recruits.

Individuals can and often do belong to more than one whānau at once. They manage this because whānau activities are mostly organised on an ‘occasional’ basis. There is always potential for conflict between loyalties and responsibilities. There is equally potential for maximising benefits, tangible and intangible.

The whānau is not static but dynamic, always in process. It goes through a life cycle of birth, growth and death, just as individuals do. Over time, as new members are born into the whānau, the number of generations from the ancestral pair identified as ‘founders’ increases. (Few of them ever set out to ‘found’ a whānau; rather they are identified as founders in retrospect.) Constituent parent-child families grow into three to four generation extended families which sooner or later start operating independently for particular purposes: for example, setting up their own whānau reunion. There seems to be an optimum size for a whānau, past which it typically splits up into several new groups.

Remembering their common origin, these new whānau regard themselves as linked together in a larger grouping which they also call a whānau. Not infrequently it becomes a case of a whānau within a whānau within a whānau. At this point the largest whānau grouping may develop in one of two ways. Its members may reconstitute it as a hapū, with a name taken from one of the ‘founders’, and take on a new set of group functions, or they may largely lose touch with each other, cease to be a group and lapse back into being a category of co-descendants. Years on, some descendants with a strong sense of family may sponsor a whānau reunion ‘to get everybody back together’, but it usually remains a one-off. Those who attend take away happy memories and knowledge, which they may activate on occasion, but they do not really have a group life.

Whānau reunions are a relatively recent phenomenon, dating mainly from the 1980s. They are usually staged after the process of distancing between whānau branches has occurred and typically bring together co-descendants who have never met before, let alone worked together, and many who have never visited the community of origin. They fulfil important functions of education and identity reinforcement but should be distinguished from regular whānau hui attended by whānau members who have ongoing involvement with each other.

Whānau of different depths and degrees of integration fulfil different functions and require different kinds of support.
Whānau have internal divisions and tensions, which are part of their structure and essential to their functioning. Often, however, these are aggravated by contemporary influences and practices. Handled wisely, with reference to traditional tikanga, they can be turned to good account. Handled unwisely, they disrupt the whānau functioning and can split it apart.

One important area of tension is that of intergenerational relations. Tamariki, rangatahi, mātua and kaumatua have different interests and goals, yet must work together and support each other to achieve whānau goals. Traditionally, there is a special bond between alternate generations, with grandparents playing an active part in the raising of their mokopuna, especially in building up their self-esteem and passing on whānau knowledge and tikanga, and mokopuna cherishing and confiding in their tupuna. This relationship is supported by rather different sorts of relations between aunts and uncles and their nephews and nieces. In the 1990s several circumstances impact adversely on intergenerational relations. The younger generations grow up in a predominantly non-Māori environment, which emphasises youth, individual rights, and the rights of parents over children to the exclusion of other relatives. Often they have acquired knowledge and skills their elders do not possess. They are more likely than ever before to question and even to reject the tikanga of respect for kaumatua as such. The increased life expectancy of the senior generations often causes frustration in the succeeding ones, if long-lived kaumatua block access to leadership positions.

Yet if intergenerational differences are a problem for whānau operation, they can also be a source of stimulation and creative energy when the parties are bound by ties of affection, as well as whakapapa. Interaction within the whānau, if handled aright, can go a long way to overcoming the alienation between generations fostered by the world outside.

Similarly, the relationship between those who are tuakana and teina in the whānau, and between men and women, are fraught with tensions which can be constructive if the parties recognise and accept their complementary rights and responsibilities, and destructive if they enter into competition for status and power.

Careful examination of whānau and hapū history suggests that leadership in those groups was traditionally as much a team effort as an individual one, with siblings or spouses contributing different expertise as leader, organiser, repository of knowledge and spiritual guide. This is another area where important strategies and values lie ready to hand in the tikanga tuku iho no nga tupuna.

If they are not descendants of the whānau ‘founders’, spouses occupy an equivocal position in the whānau. Members of the whānau as a functioning group but not of its core group, they are barred from inheriting whānau land and taonga, and in many cases excluded from the whānau executive. Yet they are vitally important to the whānau as parents of its new recruits, as workers, and as links and go-betweens with other whānau. If they are not treated with respect there is always
the risk that they may transfer their loyalty to their natal whānau and take at least some of their children with them.

Finally, migration and the geographic scattering of whānau households introduces a non-traditional tension between those members who live in the home community and carry the main burden of maintaining whānau taonga such as land and marae and those who live at a distance, as ex-patriots, and are limited in how often and for how long they can visit. Their experiences, interests, and ways of proceeding are quite different, and typically they become involved in debates that can deepen into conflict over goals and responsibilities. The distancing of whānau members also means that many spend a great deal of time, energy and resources in just getting together. Those who do the travelling commonly arrive in no fit state to undertake the business in hand and have to rush away at a set time whether it is concluded or not. The resulting tiredness and pressure is, I believe, an overlooked factor in the high accident rate, which shatters the wellbeing of too many Māori families.

Consequences for policy-making

Recognising the diversity of whānau forms and tikanga means that there can be no blanket answers, no single pattern of development or practice that fits all cases. For reasons of both philosophy and practicality, policies of whānau development must meet two criteria: they must be capable of being adjusted or modified to meet the requirements of widely differing contexts, and they must be so designed that they empower whānau members to make their own informed decisions according to their own situation and needs. Policies so designed should surely be capable of application to kaupapa-based whānau as well as whakapapa-based ones.

It is entirely appropriate that Manatū Hauora has taken the initiative in this matter, in consultation with Te Puni Kōkiri and Te Pumanawa Hauora, but further development and implementation of policy must involve co-operation and partnership with other government departments, as well as Māori organisations and communities.

So much for generalities. Translating policy into practice is an even bigger challenge. I should like to conclude by highlighting possible strategies of whānau development.

The increase in the proportion of one-parent families seems to be a major focus of concern, supported by increasing evidence that children raised in such families suffer certain adverse effects vis-à-vis those from two-parent families. Among the obvious reasons are the strains imposed on parents carrying a double workload, the probability of a low income, and the loss to the children of close contact with role models from the other sex. While I accept both evidence and explanations, it concerns me that discussion so often assumes a negative cast and that it takes little or no account of context. Not all children raised in one-parent families suffer disadvantage, not a few notable achievers come from that
background. I suggest that (first) we make every effort to stop the thoughtless repeating of the negative stereotype, (secondly) draw public attention to the success stories, along the lines of the Mana Tangata radio interviews and (thirdly) identify the factors that make a difference. These will almost certainly include participation in a functioning whānau. But in most cases nowadays, geographical scattering limits the amount of close, regular interaction and support between whānau members, which is what one-parent families need most.

One way of countering this is by increased emphasis on the extended family household containing one or more parent–child families and perhaps single relatives. There seems to be a widespread assumption that extended family households are temporary stopgaps, second–best alternatives to the one-family household. I am a strong advocate for them being valued in their own right. I spent my early years in one, for which I am eternally grateful, and I live in one now by choice. For an extended family household to work, however, it has to be chosen for its advantages, not as a default position; those involved have to think through their goals, and develop rules designed to achieve them. Among the resources I should like to see developed, are discussions in print or video, of the pros, cons of, and rules for extended family living, and a set of house plans designed for that purpose.

Back in 1992, Donna Durie-Hall and I advocated rethinking the legal concept of guardianship to take account of tikanga Māori. We floated two possibilities: increasing the number of guardians appointed in particular cases to give legal recognition to the role of senior relatives, and developing a special category of additional or supplementary guardians to provide support and supervision for parents having difficulty meeting their legal responsibilities.8

The provision of ‘parenting programmes’ is a helpful strategy, but the question is, what sort of programmes, prepared and delivered by who, for who? To most people, given current laws and social attitudes, ‘parenting’ is the responsibility of parents in relation to their children, and the presumption is that ‘parenting programmes’ are for parents only. Adopting a policy of whānau development means taking a view of child raising which is both broader and based on different premises. Traditional Māori methods of child raising were practised rather than theorised about. They have been constrained and distorted by changing social and economic conditions and pressures from Pākehā society. The kohanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori movements have done much to explore and adapt traditional concepts and practices but their outreach is limited. There is a particular need to encourage and empower Māori communities and organisations to work through the issues involved and to develop child-raising programmes that meet their own particular needs and goals.

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The whānau has always been a primary context for the transmission of mātauranga (knowledge), both specific whānau knowledge and more general knowledge about Māori values, language and tikanga, and the importance of this educational function is increasingly recognised. In the past, whānau members drew on their own experience and inherited resources, but many feel that they no longer have the command of these that their forebears did. On the other hand, there is an increasing range of resources available in the form of books, audio and videotapes, computer programmes, and live, creative performances by individuals and groups. But many whānau who are crying out for such resources do not know they exist or how to access them. Some lateral and creative thinking is needed to publicise what is there and encourage whānau to develop their own. We need more schemes like Books in Homes, more programmes like Marae, Waka Huia and the new Tumeke, more singers, dancers and drama groups touring marae as well as schools.

One of the things I have missed most since I left Wellington is the vibrancy and creativity of Takirua. The plays I saw there in the 1980s and 1990s form a canon that teaches much about whānau and whānau relationships of all kinds. I remember in particular the series of one-act plays Takirua staged in the National Museum theatrette. At the end of each play, the cast entered into dialogue with the audience about the characters and events depicted. It was a typically Māori and highly effective method of transmitting ideas and stimulating creative thinking.

Each whānau puts together its own informal organisational structure and practices, resulting in enormous variation, not least in efficiency. Changing social and economic conditions, especially the geographic scattering of members, pose organisational challenges which most whānau are not adequately prepared to handle. One urgent need is a handbook/video offering information about laws and possible models, with special reference to accountability, the conduct of meetings of different kinds, decision-making, and conflict resolution. Involvement in whānau activities can be an excellent training for participation in larger groups and public life, if they are well managed. Otherwise they can inculcate bad habits.

Closely associated with whānau organisation is the issue of training for leadership. Traditionally the kaumātua of the whānau took responsibility for training potential leaders, but where they live distanced from each other, this no longer works. Many kaumātua are less knowledgeable and/or less confident than their predecessors, and young people often have different agendas. In this connection I would suggest revisiting the Young Māori Leaders Conferences which were held in the 1950s and 1960s. These were organised in partnership by Auckland University’s Department of University Extension and the Māori communities of various regions in the university’s area. The communities selected the rangatahi, organised venue and hospitality, organised pre-conference research, and drew up the conference programme. University Extension provided funding, recorders, the services of Māori staff and copies of the proceedings. At the conference itself, discussions took place in separate round-tables for elders and young people and
were reported to plenary sessions. The programme was tailored to the specific needs of the communities and the latter were involved as equal partners at every stage. While they were not perfect, these conferences went a long way to empowering both individuals and communities.

Every time I have tried to cut this paper I have ended up extending it. I comfort myself with the reflection that its object is to stimulate discussion.

Heoi ano, kia ora, kia kaha, kia maia ki te korero.
Changing Whānau Structures and Practices

John Tamihere
Chief Executive Officer, Whānau o Waipareira Trust

Keynote address to Te Hua o te Whānau Conference, Te Pūtahi-ā-Toi, School of Māori Studies, Massey University, 16 April 1999

... Tino rangatiratanga has come to mean the right of collectively and at a national level, to determine their own policies, to actively participate in the development and interpretation of the law, to assume responsibility of their own affairs and to plan for the needs of future generations ....

We think that most people would agree with the above proposition and we acknowledge that we have taken it, to an extent, out of context from the way in which it might well have been quoted within the body of the paper in which it was presented. We intend to state the obvious and that is, communities and cultures are not static. They are undergoing incessant and consistent drivers for change, whether they are external to that community or culture, or whether there are internal drivers which shape that community or culture.

It is important we define what we are talking about when we are talking about whānau, hapū, iwi and community. It is important for us to define the term Māori as liberally utilised by many. For the purposes of this discussion I define a Māori as being a person of Māori descent. That person of Māori descent may be able to recite a whakapapa, they may not be able to. They may have a deep and abiding knowledge of their Māoritanga, they might not. They may live in, and around, the majesty of a Tribal Mountain, they may not. They may be able, to speak the Māori language, they may not.

The key debate, which must be had as between Māori is that in the rush to uphold and support Māori rights in this nation, we should not be seduced into taking easy, comfortable processes, which might satisfy romantic notions in terms of the reconstruction of an idyllic Māori state of welfare and being. We must acknowledge that Māori society has evolved dramatically from the 1840 rule and

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these Māori communities have rights which are ambulatory and can be applied in their present day realities.

Under no circumstances do I derogate from the desire that many Māori may have in practising their Māoritanga within a Whānau, Hapū, Iwi mantra. With respect, this mantra is not exclusive and other ways of developing and evolving are just as valid and just as credible and just as required. The debate should not be influenced by romantic notions or for that matter, by notions of power and control within certain august groups supposedly armed with the capacity to hold onto ‘the collective right’.

With respect, I am still struggling with the notion of co-operative and collective rights given the innate and huge tension that this must create. Let us define what we mean by a co-operative or collective right held by the ‘iwi’. Who are the iwi and how do they relate to their people? Are their people hapū? Are their people whānau? Are their people individuals?

With respect, we cannot suggest and abuse ourselves by believing that some organisation which runs out and constitutes itself as a corporate individual and entity under some act of incorporation, all of a sudden takes on the auspices of knowing innately and inherently what the ‘collective’ might think. How does the individual that makes up the whānau, that makes up the hapū, that makes up the iwi participate and engage in any meaningful form of development or for that matter participate in the opportunity to engage in that debate?

A number of other commentators have defined the whānau, hapū, iwi models in the huge myriad of variations of them; these commentators can take on a far more eloquent style than I. Come to think of it they get paid to actually research and write along these lines as well. I intend to provide my insight into the changing nature of whānau from the urban perspective and take on a case study to help demonstrate a number of the propositions I intend to make.

There is no doubt that on the way through in terms of a number of comments I am going to be provocative to you. I do this, not to get personal with certain eminent tribal politicians, I do it not to personalise politics, but I do so in an attempt to challenge rote learned poetry that a number have taken to be premised and based on truism.

As at today’s date the following points are irrefutable:

- 54% of the prison population of this country are acknowledged as being of Māori descent
- 68% of all youth justice incarcerations today are Māori youth
- by the time a Māori male reaches the age of 30, 7 out of 10 would have come to the attention of the criminal justice system
- as at the 1996 Census, some 376,000 acknowledged that they were of Māori descent
44% of all Māori families are solo parent families

80% of all Māori as at today's date live in urban areas. In 1956 76% of all Māori lived in rural areas with a close association to their tribal structures.

80% of all Māori are under the age of 40 – only 4% are over the age of 60.

I could go on giving you a range of indicators in terms of our poor housing, our poor health, our poor education status and the like. The official unemployment rate for Māori as at today's date is 20.1%. This figure is extraordinarily misleading and I will not waste time in substantiating this proposition. It is true to say that 6 out of 10 Māori families today obtain their sustenance by way of state funded benefit. To this extent one of the worst performing state owned assets in this country are the Māori people. Being made premature pensioners at the age of 18 must cause significant concern.

The Ngati story

Ngati is a 23-year-old Māori. He left school at the age of 15, with two years of secondary schooling and no School Certificate. He has never held a steady job in his life since leaving school. He has come to the attention of the criminal justice system in terms of police youth aid and has latterly had convictions for petty crime, one for assault, two for burglary, shoplifting and drink driving. Ngati was picked up on a shoplifting together with drink driving offence and taken before the Henderson District Court. At 10.00 am the following morning, Ngati is released on bail intimating a plea of guilty, however, awaiting two further Court reports.

Ngati's father used to be a railway worker and is now unemployed. His mother left the family when Ngati was 11 years, and three of his siblings have the same employment history as himself. They do not have strong ties or connections to their ancestral tribes. They do not speak their language but there is absolutely no doubting the fact that they are Māori.

The flip side to Ngati is as follows:

- once Ngati is apprehended he kicks in the following services:
  - Vote Police
  - Vote Courts
  - Vote Corrections in terms of a pre-sentence report
  - Vote Legal Aid in terms of the duty solicitor's scheme

- in accordance with our law, an independent alcohol and drug assessment agency assesses Ngati

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Proceedings of Te Hua o te Whānau 19
Ngati is released on bail and proceeds to Income Support Services to determine whether there will be any payments made into his bank account or whether, for whatever reason, they will be arbitrarily cut or discounted.

With this information, Ngati proceeds to Housing New Zealand where he advises why his rental payments will not be brought up to date.

From there, Ngati proceeds to the Employment Service where he must check with his Case Officer as to whether there are any employment opportunities available for him.

From there, Ngati proceeds home to find sitting on his doorstep two workers from the Children Young Persons and Their Families Service. He has one 5-year-old child with a de facto wife and the care and protection of this child has been brought to the attention of the Children and Young Persons and Their Families Service by the school.

He presently cares for one of his nephews who is 11 years of age and has been apprehended supporting the commission of burglaries. At the same time, a Special Education Services Officer arrives to see whether they can be supportive in any way in terms of the 5-year-old child.

You will appreciate that Ngati's de facto wife has a separate file with each of these agencies.

Maori society as we know it today, in large part, has all its duties, responsibilities and obligations externalised. As a consequence, everything is regulated by external raters, moderators, regulators, and measures. The ability for our people to have a greater appreciation of respect, duty, obligation, and responsibility for their own families, for their own siblings, for their own children, for their own parents has been depreciated to a huge extent.

There are over 3000 agencies operated by the State at any one time in this country, mandated by our justice system, and to a large extent regulating Maoridom into mediocrity, if not worse.

Ngati and his evolution

Thankfully, Ngati becomes associated with a strong, mentoring Urban Maori organisation, is connected to his tribe and spiritual roots and through a range of study courses supports an application they take to the Environment Court against the piping of water from the Waikato River into Auckland. The case is known as the Stonefields case (Minhinick v. Watercare Services Limited [1998 NZLR 294]). I utilise a legal study because I have legal training but more importantly 'the law is enduring and pervasive in our society'.

In the Environment Court, Ngati and his relations argued on the basis of S.318 of the Resource Management Act 1991, that they should achieve an enforcement
order against the piping of water out of their spiritual and ancestral taonga, the Waikato River. This was due to the fact that they found this to be offensive or objectionable. A precedent has been set on the basis of a person wanting to paint a swastika on his property and the Environment Court ruled that this would be offensive or objectionable to a number of persons in the community. This was based on the ‘reasonable person in the community’ test.

Ngati and his relations argue that a reasonable person must take into account the views and deeply held cultural religious, spiritual and physical desires of the Māori people. The Environment Court denied the application. By this time Ngati was becoming quite a well-educated bush lawyer and he and his relations appealed the Environment Court decision to the High Court. At the High Court level, Justice Salmond found in favour of Ngati and his relations. This decision was appealed to the Court of Appeal and the ratio of this case at the Court of Appeal turned against Ngati and his relations.

It turned against them on a matter of fine statutory interpretation as applied by the Court of Appeal. Nevertheless, there is strong obiter in this Court of Appeal judgement, which goes to an assimilationist perspective of the definition of a reasonable person in the community test. The point of this story is to note that this assimilationist perspective hidden under the guise of judicial speak, continues to assign Māori rights to a metaphysical plane. To that extent Māori rights are ignored and assimilation takes place. But Ngati is caught in a never ending story of what is he and where does he sit?

Ngati Urban

Ngati by this time has become very conversant with Māori and Pākehā ways. He identified with his tribal homeland, the tribal marae. Yet everything that he knew and understood was encapsulated in the streets of urban Auckland. This was where he played rugby league. This was where he had all his friends. This was where he had grown up and this was where his children and no doubt his grandchildren would participate. The urban-based whãnau that set him on the road to find his tribal roots and ensured that he achieved the education to support them in their cases were becoming extremely anxious as to whether and where they fitted.

Government-applied policy had built up momentum and it denied the fact that over 80% of Māori had moved from their tribal ancestral homelands and were now working, loving, worshipping and procreating in new communities. They were reorganising, disciplining themselves and moving forward as multi-tribal groups in unison, rather than in factional tribal and disparate groupings in the cities. Ngati felt more at home with them and lived, loved and worshipped as a Māori on urban-based marae. The Kawa on these marae are extraordinary flexible. The Kawa takes on the kaupapa of the Hui. If it is tangihanga, the Kawa follows that of the Tūpāpaku.
He understood that these marae and this community would be prejudiced by an emphasis on historical tribal crystallisations of matters, rather than taking into a more inclusive paradigm, which meant that the types of the Ngatis of this world and those that are not as lucky as Ngati were going to be left behind.

Ngati and his urban whānau filed applications in the Waitangi Tribunal against the Department of Social Welfare alleging, amongst other things, that providing preferential treatment to traditional tribes (iwi) prejudiced their position and did not take into account the fact that their rights were ambulatory and could be applied in light of their progressive and development rights. Māori won the right to go fishing in high technology super trawlers, out 200 miles and beyond. The right to develop and progress has been accepted. But when the fish are brought to shore, they must be poured back into an iwi mould predicated on an 1840 rule.

It is apt to highlight, that Māori living in cities are a majority within a minority. The claims of the wider Māori community to sovereignty, to justice, to an economic platform on which to thrive applies to all Māori. However, in the rush to get to the money, some of the most dispossessed and poorest have been left behind. There is nothing new about this phenomenon in conservative majoritarian democracies. The stark reality of urban Māori is that the justice system has real difficulty in seeing or hearing them. Apparent judicial independence or neutrality is yet another hurdle for them to overcome.

To define Urban Māori, I mean a Māori who either, cannot, does not or chooses not to associate or affiliate with tribal administrative structures. In terms of cannot, they are socially and economically incapacitated, to the extent that they find it very difficult to attend parent-teacher evenings, be interactive with their children in sports and the like, let alone travel huge distances to participate in tribal affairs. In terms of those that choose not to associate, they might well have had some significant and unfair experiences meted out at the hands of their whānau, hapū or iwi groupings. In terms of those that do not, a large number of Māori, through no fault of their own, do not know the name of their traditional tribe. The 1996 Census figures show that almost 20% of Māori did not know the name of their traditional tribe and over 26% of all Māori either did not know or chose not to affiliate with any traditional tribe.

The claims of this group are often misunderstood and drawn into competition with their ‘rural kin’ to the extent that they are in conflict; it is driven by Crown policies which seek to allocate only to exclusive particular groups, rather than on the basis of entitlement, need and right. What gives comfort and a sense of order and redress does not necessarily mean that the process is right and just.

To be Māori it appears you must affiliate to a traditional tribe and receive Government handouts or settlement benefits through that tribe. This bears no or little correlation to the real world of Māori in the cities, or for that matter, Māori in rural locations. Settlements are about refashioning Māori society so they can perform at the right end of the nation. This will not be achieved from a pragmatic, practical or commercial perspective by groups or associations hundreds of miles away.
away from the communities in which Māori continue to live work, love, worship and procreate in a multi-tribal organisational sense.

Waipareira

Waipareira has won a range of contracts in spite of and despite of a range of setbacks and difficulties in an attempt to provide a one-stop seamless service shop to our people from the provision of early childhood education, health, welfare, and justice related programmes. At the same time we have a strong, robust commercial arm endeavouring to lever valid, fair, durable and sustainable employment outcomes.

We have over 22,000 people affiliated to us in terms of the utilisation of a range of our services and through our joint venture programmes with the Pacific Island community and the Pākehā community in the greater Auckland metropolitan area. In the health area alone we have 40,000 patients in primary healthcare services. We are aggressively pursuing the service-related industries to lever our people into greater opportunities.

We were obliged to file a Waitangi Tribunal Claim (Wai 414). The prevailing view of Government and a minority of Māori leaders was challenged with this Waitangi Tribunal Claim in that the Crown practice of dealing only with iwi and in this sense with so-called traditional tribal kin-based groups in total was incorrect. The Tribunal made some telling comments about Crown policy, but perhaps the most important was that Te Whānau o Waipareira Trust exhibited Rangatiratanga.2 Rangatiratanga is encapsulated within Article 2 of the Treaty of Waitangi. Article 2 is an article where the exclusive rights of Me Ngā Rangatira (Chiefs), Me Ngā Hapū (Sub Tribes), Me Ngā Tangata Katoa (all of the Māori people) were to have undisturbed and exclusive use of their forests, fisheries, land and taonga (treasures). The Treaty of Waitangi granted rights to all Māori not just the Chiefs or Hapū. Article 3 obviously provided us with equality of rights with British subjects. This is a Tribunal of special character and special expertise. It considers any debate about the term ‘iwi’ is unhelpful.

Further Tribunal comments of note:

_We can find no fundamental tenet of custom law that says Māori can be serviced only through tribes. On the contrary, there is evidence that Māori were creative in adopting a range of institutions to meet their needs that were not based on kinship, but were Māori nonetheless . . . The recognition of Waipareira has been seen as incompatible with Māori values, when in fact Waipareira serves to maintain them in the modern context (pages 218–220)._3

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3 Ibid.
As we have explained in Chapter 1, a defensive, restrictive construction of the Treaty with a minimal recognition of Māori rights is quite the wrong approach for the Crown to take. Neither does it provide a stable basis for this nation's social contract. All Māori are entitled to protection. In all, we could find no proper grounds for the Crown to take a restrictive approach to devolution policies or sound reasons for differentiating between non-tribal communities and tribes as a matter of welfare policy (page 229).

For the foregoing reasons we conclude that bodies other than traditional tribes may be entitled to the special protection of the Crown envisaged in the Treaty of Waitangi according to the circumstances of the case. This is particularly so if the community or group concerned is not merely a grouping of Māori for any purpose but is a group that is distinctly Māori and adhering to customary values in seeking to promote the welfare of its community. Such a group is not to be treated as simply another cultural group, and indeed it is doubtful that Māori would have signed the Treaty had it been said at the time that distinctive Māori communities would have no greater status in their country than any other subsequent arrival. The promise of protection in Article 3 of the Treaty is evidence of the special way in which Māori were to be seen (pages 30-31).

Prior to the release of this Tribunal Report, Waipareira was obliged to join the litigation over allocation with all the tribes over the way in which a huge stake in the country's fisheries industry was to be allocated.

Our preference was for the consolidated assets to be wielded and utilised under one corporate entity and for inshore fishing rights to be streamed out where possible to those iwi groups that could fish them, or alternatively to be fished under one of the few major Māori companies for inshore fisheries. Deep-sea fisheries take on a totally different form of cost requirement and technology and as a consequence are better managed in terms of catching and processing under a consolidated corporate model.

Furthermore Te Whānau o Waipareira Trust had attempted on numerous occasions to achieve work and employment for the hundreds of young people it continued to try and get to work-ready standard and status. Despite our request to the Fisheries Commission and for our tribal leadership to be acknowledged, our capacity to provide workers to the company known as Moana Pacific – one of the largest inshore fisheries companies in the country and owned exclusively by Māori – we were denied. This was based on the fact that we were not traditional and tribal. On this basis we went to litigation. The case went to the High Court.

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4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
It was then appealed by us, to the Court of Appeal where the Court of Appeal found in our favour, where the Commission was to make a 'just equitable and separately administered' allocation to Urban Māori. This Court of Appeal decision was taken to the Privy Council and overturned and referred back to the New Zealand High Court in regard to the answering of two questions. Those two questions were answered in August 1998 against Urban Māori and we have since sought and achieved injunctive relief against the Commission and are taking our appeal before a seven-member Court of Appeal bench.

Substantial proceedings thereafter still needed to be argued and a date has been set for the year February 2000. This debate and the outcome of the litigation and political ramifications which will occur thereafter, is crucial. It is crucial in terms of the way in which our nation might well continue to develop and it is crucial in terms of indigenous people's rights in the world. I have had the opportunity to travel to the United States, Canada and Australia and met with indigenous peoples. I have always been proud of my people in their acknowledgment of some of the greatest attributes that we have had handed down to us from our ancestors and they are about arohatanga, manaakitanga, tautokotanga. These attributes mean that no matter where we are or what we are doing, the basic ingredients of being fair, just and sharing must occur. We cannot right one wrong with the application of another and the principles of whānaungatanga in Māoridom mean that I personally and thousands like me, can genealogically connect with tribes throughout the whole of the country. This has been underwritten by one of our protocols, which died only one generation ago, and that is the protocol of Tomo. Tomo was obviously betrothal. And it was through betrothals that tribes ensured there was continuity, seamlessness and if at all possible some degree of homogeneity.

All of a sudden today tribalism is incentivised. Fractiousness is incentivised. The reliving of battles fought three, four and five hundred years ago is excited to the extent that instead of our wonderful attributes ruling us, we are led by avarice, greed, envy and ego.

No one has written the Māori evolutionary manual and no one has an exclusive monopoly on how a dynamic people may progress and evolve.

All that we need to continue to explore is a challenge handed down to us as stated by Te Rangihiroa when he challenged us to be 'Vikings of the New Sunrise'.
Economic Issues that Impact on Hauora Whānau and Whānau Development

Judy Hawkins

Paper presented to Te Hua o te Whānau Conference, Te Pūtahi-ā-Too, School of Māori Studies, Massey University, 16 April 1999

I am a housewife, a mother, and a grandmother. I don’t know anything about ‘the economy’. That is why I stand in awe when the Minister of Finance tells us that the increasing gap between rich and poor families in this country shows that the economy is healthy and that the Government has got the fundamentals right. As a housewife I accept without question the statement by a finance sector economist when he claims with great authority and conviction that ‘unemployment is good news’ - I am told (and therefore I agree) that increasing unemployment demonstrates that ‘the labour market is working efficiently’.

And when the Minister of Housing condemns critics of the Government’s housing policies for claiming that there are over 400 empty state units in Auckland while families live in caravans and tents - I accept the Minister’s word that the introduction of market rentals for state housing makes a great deal of ‘economic sense’. As a housewife, I know Dr Brash is right when he says that inflation must be ‘strangled’ in order to keep prices under control. We housewives know something about the rising costs of food and housing, and so when Dr Brash tells us that last year’s recession was simply the result of (and I quote) ‘the normal lags between monetary policy action and the effect on the real economy (and therefore it is) quite unlikely that the Monetary Conditions Index (MCI) had any material effect on our economic performance’ - as a housewife, I believe!!

As a mother, in my heart of hearts, I know the Government must have the interests of our children (and our children’s children) in mind when they sell land, and electricity, and our country’s assets to transnational companies and overseas buyers. I also accept as an act of faith, the conviction of our ‘super ministries’ of health and education that competition and user pays in the ‘illness’ and ‘instruction’ industries will automatically lead to population health gains for Māori in South Auckland, and to cutting-edge technology for unemployed Māori youth in Northland and the East Coast. And although I do not understand the reasoning behind our immigration policies, I am sure that there must be a sound
plan in place that makes sense to export young New Zealanders overseas and then replace them with immigrants from Asia and South Africa.

Unlike many of the learned people in this audience, I am not paid to think and as a consequence I have this unfortunate tendency to accept whatever the experts tell me. Sometimes I do wonder aloud - and that habit, I am told, is an extremely dangerous practice. For example:

- I sometimes wonder how political leaders can talk about the importance of ‘the family’ while at the same time they cut benefit rates, and thereby impoverish many families, especially families with children.

- I wonder at the very public media campaign aimed at single-parent families and the unemployed, by politicians who were once single parents themselves - politicians, who might well be candidates for the unemployment benefit following the next general election.

- I wonder (in silence) at some of our Māori leaders when they advocate investing capital assets in buying a sports team and in pursuing their dream of owning a gambling casino.

- and I wonder at the apathy of some Māori parents who seem to have lost the desire and the drive to provide for themselves and their children.

This type of ‘thinking aloud’ inevitably leads you into areas in which you have no expertise. And because you have no expertise, you begin to ask ‘dumb questions’. Questions (thankfully) that a housewife and mother is not expected to answer. Here are some examples:

- If we have got the economic fundamentals right, as the Minister of Finance claims, then why has the country spent more than it earned every year over the past decade? In 1998, we spent $6 billion dollars more overseas than we earned, while at the same time most of the benefits from the sale of state assets went to their overseas owners.

- Why do our Māori youth, especially the 30% of young Māori who are currently unemployed, fail to see what the finance sector economists see – namely, that unemployment is basically ‘good news’?

- Why were 5% of New Zealand income earners able to increase their earnings by 25% over the past 12 years, while at the same time the economic position of Māori declined? Māori rental housing became less affordable and the gap between Māori and non-Māori household income and home ownership widened – can anybody here tell me why?

- Are the Reserve Bank and the Treasury right when they tell us that they have been extremely successful in ‘strangling inflation’ – is there any relationship between this ‘success’ and the significant decline in manufacturing? If the productive sectors of ‘the economy’ continue to decline, where will our people be employed?
If the restructuring of health was designed to produce a higher level of social wellbeing for all New Zealanders, then why has the gap between Māori and non-Māori widened? If we look at the rates for cot death, glue ear, youth suicide, diabetes, stroke, pneumonia, influenza and mental health, the health status for Māori has deteriorated - why?

Is there any programme or set of policies in place to provide Māori families with an economic future? Today, almost 40% of Māori households draw government benefits as their main source of income. Can the experts here tell me - is that trend going to continue? And if so, what is going to be done to give our children some hope - some future?

I told you they were 'dumb questions'. And I obviously don't have any answers - because the only economy I know anything about is the economy of the household. In this economy the major issues centre on the way in which household assets, capital and labour come together, both to generate wealth and to distribute the benefits of wealth. Our wealth is in the land and in those physical, social and spiritual resources with which we, as people, have been endowed.

In this economy, the most important resource I have is my whānau - my husband, my four children (now with children of their own) and my four grandchildren. The strength of this economy stems from the relationships we have established between various members of the whānau, and between our household and the hapū and iwi of which we are members. In this economy we are able to draw on our collective resources and strengths as we experience the successes and failures of everyday life. As with nature itself, the 'life cycle' of the household goes through various stages of development, as family members come and go, and the resources of the whānau are stretched to accommodate new growth. And throughout these changing patterns of family life, our successes and our failures are punctured by emotions - by laughter and anger - by sadness and joy - by cooperation as well as competition - and by a genuine human desire to meet the needs of whānau members, irrespective of their various contributions. That is what one should expect from a living, dynamic, household economy. (Wouldn't it be nice if the Government was like that?)

In the household economy we don't distinguish between productive and unproductive work. In the early years of our family's development, my husband was engaged in paid work which provided us with an income - I provided most of the domestic labour and contributed to the education and development of my children - and the children worked in education and play at a level that was appropriate for their capacities and skills.

I was initially employed as a shorthand typist, but once my six children reached intermediate age I found employment in an orchard where I graduated from thinning to apple packing. I learnt about the horticultural industry from the ground up and once I had assembled the knowledge I required, I established a contract business of my own. Initially we exported squash and pumpkin to markets in Europe and the USA, but more recently the market focus has been on Australia and Japan.
My household economy has expanded. Today I employ 300 people at the height of the harvesting season from September to April. The people I employ are young people - unemployed - 'youth at risk' I think is the fashionable term we use today.

Initially I contacted the Employment Service to recruit employees, but the Service was no help at all - and so I flagged them away. I took a van and went into Napier and Hastings and collected young people off the streets. I went to their homes and found parents struggling on the benefit, often unable to pay the school fees or provide their young people with basic necessities such as food and clothes. The young people were terribly frustrated that they could not get work, and their parents were extremely depressed, largely because of their economic circumstances and the limited opportunities they saw for themselves and their children.

These are the young people I take under my wing. I provide training for them on the job. I teach them to read. These activities have now been formalised and after working for a certain period of time and gaining the necessary skills, they graduate with a Certificate in Harvesting and Grading Squash. To see the faces of these young people when they receive their first pay packets is one of the most rewarding experiences you can ever have. They earn more than they can receive on a government benefit and they have the satisfaction of knowing that they did it themselves. When I ask these young people about school and the reasons that they dropped out, I am told it has to do with literacy and with health problems during their early school years - eye problems and hearing problems - these are most frequently quoted. They believe that they are capable of doing the work and they don’t ‘blame the system’. Until recently, these young people and their whānau were not able to participate in the life of the community. Because they did not participate, they did not belong. That has now changed, at least for some of the young people who are now engaged in ‘the household economy’.

I have obviously learnt a great deal from these experiences, and I am extremely grateful to those young people and their families who have allowed me into their lives. However, it is difficult to teach grandmothers new tricks and as a consequence I still have that unfortunate tendency to ask ‘dumb questions’. For that reason I hope I am never given responsibility for the nation’s economy, because I would run it like a household.

I would refuse to sell land and our natural assets to overseas interests - I would expect to see these resources used in order to promote the economic and social wellbeing of us all. I would want to invest in our young people and to that end I would establish an employment policy that enables them to participate in the life of the community. I would expect the Government to become directly involved in industry and regional development - they have been standing on the sidelines for too long. I would invest in the nation’s physical and social infrastructures and I would foster partnerships between employers, workers and Government in order to build a dynamic productive economy.
And I would continue to ask 'dumb questions' of politicians, economists, public servants and academics who have lost contact with our most valuable economic resource - our people - you can see why I will never be given responsibility for the nation's economy.
Whānau Reunions: Some economic issues impacting on whānau wellbeing

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A paper prepared for Te Hua o te Whānau Conference, Te Pūtahi-ā-Toi, School of Māori Studies, Massey University, 16 April 1999

Ko Hikurangi te maunga
Ko Waiapu te awa
Ko Te Whānau-a-Tūwahakairora o Ngāti Porou te hapū
Ko Hinemaurea te marae
Tēnā tatou katoa.

This morning I wish to share with you some research in progress, but before doing so, I would like to pay tribute to all kuia and kōka in this room, as Mana Wahine week draws to a close. Up until this initiative, there has been little public focus on Māori women’s contribution to, or their position in, the economy. Mana Wahine week has come to represent a time when the whole nation is able to focus on the successes of a few Māori women at a national level. For too many of our women though these successes are not part of their lived reality.

‘Mana wahine’ as used by Māori women, is about Māori women, for Māori women and by Māori women, and is expressed every single day of our lives, not just one week in the year. It is one way in which we can make sense of the reality of our lives and explain the nature of our experiences in contemporary contexts.

Māori women have always played a major role in the social, political and economic development of whānau, hapū and iwi, but this role has been eroded by the dislocation of whānau and hapū from iwi roots. I tend to agree with the Minister, the Hon Georgina te Heuheu, when she says Māori women need our Māori men to progress. Leadership and management, whether at whānau, hapū or iwi levels was always about joint ventures and maintaining a balance. It was about men and women supporting each other in very different but complementary roles. It was about men and women both being obligated to take responsibility for the care and protection, and health and spiritual wellbeing of their families and communities. Today however, the reality is one where more and more of our...
women have sole responsibility for the wellbeing of the children as well as their households.

Back in 1988, Miriama Evans, then director of Te Ohu Whakatupu, spoke of Māori women striving to achieve equality and economic wellbeing for themselves and their whānau. Over a decade later, some of us are more optimistic, and firmly believe that Māori women will play a greater role in the development of Māori society, as politicians, bureaucrats, consultants, educationists, lawyers and bankers. Through a growing emphasis on self-determination in Māori society generally, Māori women more than ever, are facing the challenge to lead. No reira, kia kaha tātou katoa wāhine mā.

We have heard this morning from Dame Joan Metge about the various interpretations of the word whānau and its changing structures and practices, and I would like to acknowledge her for all the work she has done in this area, and in particular, her recent publication, New Growth from Old: The Whānau in the Modern World. As I pointed out in a review of this book, she has made a valuable contribution to understanding the 'many meanings of whānau, the subtleties of hapū interaction missed by earlier anthropologists and ethnologists, and the importance of context in understanding Māori events or gatherings'. I said then, that it was essential reading for everyone who works with Māori, and for the many Pākehā who interact with Māori this book goes a long way to helping them comprehend families very different from their own. I look forward to the same levels of scholastic writing and rigorous research from Māori currently involved in research in progress. Such contributions will provide the means for Māori to take control over definitions and meanings, further improving the levels of knowledge and understanding of the complexities of whānau today.

What we have heard this morning is that whānau and its adaptation and evolution, reflects varying situations, pressures and policy outcomes, and so is a good example of a dynamic changing social group. What we also know is that in this time of dynamic change and evolution, it will be Māori who will define what whānau means for them, and at this point, I would like to acknowledge the work of the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Longitudinal Study currently being undertaken in the School of Māori Studies, here at Massey University. The central aim of this project is to provide a sound empirical base that will inform Māori and other planners and facilitate the development of policies and programmes appropriate to Māori

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advancement in cultural, social and economic terms. Four aims of this study make it significantly different from others. First, because it takes into consideration the major influences acting on Māori society, it incorporates a Māori framework, which gauges personal and family development.

Second, it examines the relationships of Māori families and individuals with structures in New Zealand society at local, regional and national levels and including Māori societal structures. Third, the integrated nature of the study provides a basis for the development of co-ordinated policies and programmes, mainly by Māori, but also by other central and regional authorities. Fourth, by adopting a longitudinal approach, the study offers a unique opportunity to chart the natural history of families and individuals and to assess the impact of policies and programmes introduced to address their specific and general needs. The study recognises the diverse realities within which Māori families live and accepts that identification as Māori necessarily includes a range of cultural, social, lifestyle and economic realities. A whānau identity in the new millennium will also encompass all of those factors.

For the remainder of this presentation I will reflect on current research in progress, which seeks to examine the actualities of whānau as a diverse reality for Māori today, and in particular some of the economic issues impacting on whānau wellbeing. Whānau economics is linked to whānau management and organisation, and provides an infrastructure for various frameworks within which to describe what is going on in whānau today. The following framework was found to be a very useful tool for describing a recent whānau event, how it was organised and the processes that were involved. The case study was a good example of whānau integration and co-ordination and strong leadership. I will also use another framework devised by Mason Durie to measure the status of this whānau group and their capacity to perform tasks which Māori have come to expect of whānau.

We heard Joan Metge during her keynote speech describe the whānau reunion process as a relatively recent phenomenon. This commonly occurred after the process of distancing between whānau members. Such whānau reunions often bring together co-descendants who have never met before, worked together, nor visited their community of origin. These reunions fulfil important functions of whānau education and identity reinforcement. However, they need to be distinguished from regular whānau hui attended by whānau members who have ongoing involvement with each other, such as land meetings.
The Whānau Reunion – A framework for describing whānau activities, whānau organisation and whānau processes

A Description of the Hui

This whānau reunion was attended by approximately 200 descendants of a matua tupuna. Those who attended spanned four generations and came from New Zealand, Australia and the United States. It was held at a small coastal marae in the Bay of Plenty, which the tupuna had close associations with. It took place over a period of four days at the beginning of this year.

Representation

Of the 16 children born to this tupuna, nine of the ten surviving children were present, three with their spouses. Their ages ranged from 55 to 77. Each had varying numbers of their particular whānau (children and spouses, grandchildren and great grandchildren) with them. One child for example had 38 members of her whānau present, from 16 different households. Three of six deceased children were also represented.

Assumption of Roles

During the initial planning stages, the role of organising and managing the hui was assumed by the grandchildren, and the children held an advisory role in matters of tikanga mainly. The key organiser in this case had a privileged position in this whānau. She was the eldest child of the daughter who is acknowledged as being the 'boss', and the 'kai pupuri' of much of the whānau knowledge and history. Her daughter had extensive background knowledge of all the branches of the whānau as well as the tupuna. She also had access to a computer and the Net, and a reliable vehicle – very important when she needed to speak to kaumātua personally. She identified other grandchildren who had similar experiences and skills within their own whānau groups and asked them to join the organising committee. This group was responsible for networking and communicating information to their particular whānau groups.

Closer to the time, a smaller co-ordinating group consisting mainly of people located nearer the marae was formed. They had the task of finalising details of the management of the hui – kai, rosters, activities etc.

During the hui, other roles became very important. At the pōwhiri, the marae kainga, the people maintaining the ahi ka welcomed everyone. One of the
daughters and her husband were also part of this group, and they maintained this role throughout the hui. The husband maintained his 'kaumatua' role of that particular marae, and was the spokesperson at any discussions during the hui. On the last day he took responsibility for the leading the poroporoakī and farewelling everyone, and ending the hui with karakia.

Kuia and kaumatua were respected for the positions they held in this whānau, and were consulted for a variety of reasons ranging from tikanga, catering tips, whakapapa discrepancies, historical facts. Everyone though took responsibility for jobs allocated to them and these were carried out in an efficient and effective manner.

Administration and Management

The careful planning and co-ordination of the hui was evident. Minutes were taken for all meetings held of committee groups and regional groups. An extensive mailing list was collated and each household from all branches was sent copies of all records. Regular communication was kept up via the e-mail. This careful organisation also extended to the financing of the hui.

The fundraising ventures of families in one particular region raised close to $4,000. Structures were put in place to organise activities and to administer accounts. Other monies were collected from registration fees and the total amount collected covered all the expenses incurred at the hui. Much of the kai (pigs, kaimoana, preserves, baking, vegetables, mutton and beef) were donated by various members.

Outcomes of the Whānau Hui

- The enhancement of whānaungatanga – this was evident in the way members up and down the generations, as well as across the generations, participated in organised activities and took care of each other. For example, one day was spent on a hikoi to three urupa and three different sites, where karakia were recited, hymns sung and tales told about the deceased members. It was a very moving experience each time. It was also evident in the poroporoakī and the testimonies of various members about what they had gained from the hui. All spoke of the strengthening of bonds, the overwhelming feelings of āroha, manaaki and belonging. Many were sad to be leaving.

- The notion of development – everyone was pleased with the economic and financial success of the hui – there were no debts. Positive cultural development was evident in the use of te reo Māori, and knowledge of marae tikanga and kawa. Those able to carry out specific roles on the marae however were lacking, for example Kaikōreo. Various social benefits such as the enhancement of whānaungatanga, feelings of identification and belonging were identified by participants. Two educational developments
arising from the hui were the production of both a visual and a written record commemorating the event and its activities.

- **The strengthening of networks** – a record of the names and addresses of those who attended the hui during the four days was kept, and this has enabled many to continue to keep in touch with each other.

- **The creation of an infrastructure** for future whānau activities is now in place and plans for similar reunions at branch level later this year have been one of the positive outcomes of this hui.

**A Whānau Profile**

The majority of this whānau group are located in various towns and cities in the North Island with a smaller number living in the South Island and overseas. They range in ages and stages of human development, with the majority being of parenting age. A large number of those of employable age were employed in a variety of occupations as teachers, nurses, factory hands, farmers, plumbers, taxi-drivers, clerks, while still others were self-employed. This was an example of a whānau group for whom associations between several households and the maintenance of certain responsibilities and obligations is important.

**Other Observations**

The following observations made at this whānau event indicate that whānau is still a very important societal unit. Various members shared the following information:

- During the time the reunion was being planned, contact and links between individuals and their whānau members was strong. This has continued for some branches.

- Most indicated that their whānau had certain expectations of them and one particular family provided the registration fees for whānau members travelling from overseas to the event.

- The priority given demands of whānau, both for ongoing personal support to whānau members outside the household, and for whānau events such as reunion but more so for unplanned events such as tangihanga, meant that sums of money sometimes went out before being allocated for household uses.

- As whānau members, many shared a collective attitude to money.

- They were considered part of the whānau for occasional events.

- As Māori involved with active whānau some felt that they definitely lived in two cultures.
The financial costs of whānau participation are the costs supporting old and recent institutions of Māoridom.

It cannot be assumed that all members of a whānau group will participate actively in such events, or that all whānau function for the benefit of their members, for example some members chose not to participate in this event.

The choice of whānau participation is important for those who want to keep in touch with their cultural roots.

**Functions of Whānau**

Mason Durie describes five key functions of families and whānau relating to healthy development. These include *manaaki* - the capacity to care; *tohatohatia* - the capacity to share; *pupuri taonga* - the capacity for guardianship; *whakaniana* - the capacity to empower and *whakatakoto tikanga* - the capacity to plan ahead.5

**The Capacities Evident During the Whānau Reunion**

*Manaakitia*: The capacity to care for all its members.
This was evident throughout the hui, where tuakana/teina relationships operated well and were encouraged. Kaumātua and tamariki mokopuna were fed first and cared for, while the generation of mātua were the main cooks, cleaners, caregivers and organisers.

*Tohatohatia*: The capacity to share the resources fairly and equally.
Sharing was visible at all times, between and across the generations particularly of resources such as blankets, tents, kai, clothes, money. Kaumātua freely shared their knowledge and information about whakapapa and history. There was a sense of collective responsibility for the wellbeing of each person there. Special attention was paid to those who were unable to care for themselves, namely the very young and the disabled.

*Pupuri taonga*: The capacity for trusteeship and guardianship of resources.
For many of those attending the reunion, it was the first time they visited wāhi tapu such as urupa (three sites) where whānau members were buried, two marae which held huge importance for their tūpuna, the whānau home and associated lands. For others, it was the first time they heard about the narratives associated with the hapū and iwi of the tūpuna. One of the children, a daughter in her early seventies, was identified as the kai pupuri taonga - the trustee of this knowledge and information. The fourth child, she had spent much of her childhood and unmarried years with her father and mother. Two older daughters were both

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whangaiied and an older son had farm duties and later, the Second World War to
tend to. One of the positive outcomes for many attending this hui was the access
they had to all these taonga and their associated korero.

Whakamana: The capacity to empower its members.
This was particularly visible among the 'rangatahi' generation. For example, one
night was set aside for a concert where the surviving children who were present
(ages ranging from 55 to 77), could be publicly acknowledged by their respective
children, grandchildren and in some cases, great grandchildren. Various skills and
talents were exercised but more importantly this exercise confirmed the huge
wealth of knowledge and skills among the whānau, which it had to offer to the
wider community.

Whakatakoto tikanga: The capacity to plan ahead for change.
This hui was the result of many discussions over the years, particularly as many of
the grandchildren realised they did not know each other or their families. Two of
the granddaughters of this tupuna then took on the task of getting things started.
Both had access to the Internet and after consultation with elders, systems were
put in place – communications, management, advisory. Registrations were
decided upon and an account opened for receiving monies from fundraising
ventures and fees. Whānau members met in various regions – Auckland,
Wellington, Hawkes Bay, Bay of Plenty and the East Coast, to discuss fundraising
strategies and to collate information for a publication commemorating the event.
From its formal beginnings (the time of the first pānui) till the actual hui, took
10 months. It was well planned and administered, due in part to the location of
many of the key players in their current positions, their various skills and their
respective positions in their own whānau. All these proved to be very important
in the success of this hui.

Conclusion

The land base for whānau today has all but disappeared, so the focus of whānau
development and whānau economics needs to be on all of these functions, and the
important role they will play in the survival of the whānau, and in the
strengthening of its human capital to reach their potential.

The importance of Māori societal units such as the whānau cannot be ignored. As
more Māori continue to live outside of their tribal boundaries, it is the whānau and
its many faces, that is seen as the appropriate vehicle for aiding the socioeconomic
situation of all Māori. The whānau has been described by Māori leaders as the
basic building block of the culture and the core of future Māori development.
Strengthening the whānau is seen as a means of strengthening the individual.
Finally, changing socioeconomic circumstances have seen modifications in the
structure and function of whānau, but there are strong indications that whānau
ought to be considered in any priorities for future Māori development.
Workshops

A set of workshops was held and all hui attendees were asked to participate. Two questions were posed and participants were asked for their views and opinions. The following summary has aggregated common themes identified by participants. In order to protect confidentiality verbatim transcripts have not been included.

Question 1: What do you consider whānau to mean?

Participants raised a number of additional questions as well as discussing possible definitions and purposes for whānau. The most striking issue, however, was the degree of caution expressed by participants at being asked to give a definition.

Caution and Suspicion

- Suspicion and concern was expressed by participants as to why we would want to define whānau, for whose purpose and for what use.
- Whānau should be defined by the beneficiary (of a service or policy) rather than the service deliverer or policy maker.
- We (Māori) should be wary of the application of any external analysis on whānau.

Range of Definitions

Clearly there is a range of views on a definition for whānau.

- Participants acknowledge the diversity of whānau forms.
- A number of differing definitions were proposed covering the following range:
  - traditional
  - whakapapa-based
  - contemporary
  - kaupapa-based
  - nurture-based
  - short-term (eg, at hui)
  - collective
  - nuclear to extended.
• Participants acknowledge the existence of ‘purpose-motivated’ whānau, but believed that a whakapapa-basis to whānau is central.
• Kaupapa whānau = tino rangatiratanga whereas whakapapa whānau = mana motuhake.
• Whānau are a collection of interacting units.
• Whānau is a component of a bigger whole.
• Māori can be members of several whānau.
• All whānau are dynamic.
• Whānau have one common kaupapa.
• Whānau means different things to different people.

Questions Raised
A number of questions were identified, not for resolution but to inform the debate.
• What about hunaonga? (Should in-laws be included?)
• What about Pākehā members of whānau?

Purpose
Some participants believed that whānau was defined by its purpose:
• defined by actions: unconditional love, trust, nurturing, rights and responsibility
• sharing unity under whakapapa, interest, history, land
• source of identity
• vehicle for role modelling
• dynamic interactions occur
• whānau purposes are personal, political and cultural
• nurturing, mātauranga, aroha, manaakitanga, identity, tikanga, direction, respect, sense of belonging
• whānau are constantly changing as a unit and as individual roles change.
Question 2:
What are some of the strengths of whānau?

Participants again expressed a range of views:

- collectiveness
- control and leadership within whānau could be a strength
- whānau are a foundation for living
- diversity, diversity, diversity
- Māoritanga and knowledge within whānau are a source of identity
- a sense of humour!
- taha wairua
- Māori identity, values and spirituality
- as a vehicle for capitalising on Māori economic and social potential
- differing attitudes to the Treaty of Waitangi
- lack of consultation can be a strength (benevolént dictator?)
- gives leadership
- diverse, dynamic and enduring
- respecting members and each other
- co-operation
- vehicle for empowering members
- shared history
- tamariki
- sense of belonging/security
- te reo me ona tikanga
- aroha, wairua, mātauranga, arts, waiata, kapa haka
- kotahitanga within the whānau
- Te Tiriti
- political mobilisation
- identity (whakapapa)
- use of new technology (can be), for example in communicating over great distances
- unity – common purpose
- spirituality – wairua, mauri, strength, manaakitanga
- growth/re-growth – whakapapa, kai, whāngai, birth, death and tangi
• philosophy
• exemplary roles and models – tikanga handed down, continuity between generations, respect and responsibility.

Question 3:
What are some of the threats to whānau?

• Whāngai? (vulnerable to the collective in the sense that sometimes whāngai do not have the same rights, for example of succession under tikanga although not under the law).
• The imposition of an external gender analysis.
• Individualism.
• Negative perceptions – stereotypes and dysfunction.
• Loss of te reo: ‘ko te ngaro haere o te reo’.
• Crown inadequacy of addressing Māori needs in all sectors.
• Loss of the Māori identity.
• Lack of leadership.
• Differing attitudes to the Treaty.
• Whānau is stifled by the imposition of structures and systems since colonisation.
• Poverty.
• Fragmentation.
• Isolation.
• Complacency.
• Environmental factors (social/physical).
• Barriers to participation – not having access.
• Lack of positive leadership.
• Lack of control over our own development.
• Lack of political control.
• Colonisation/assimilation.
• The breakdown of whakapapa.
• Loss of tikanga.
• Colonisation – Government policy, Christianity, kawanatanga, Treaty of Waitangi, drug and alcohol, abuse and neglect.
• The media, ‘play-stations’ and TV.
• Emigration.

An effort was made to prioritise these many themes in a policy, research, services and community sense. However, the hui preferred to leave the themes without prioritisation as a set of comments gathered for further debate.
Panel One: Te Ao Mātauranga
Chair: Taiarahia Black, School of Māori Studies, Massey University

Presentation One – Toni Waho
Mana Tamariki

1. Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori epitomise the Māori reclamation of our fundamental social organism, the whānau.

The whānau of Kohanga and Kura are the community responsible for nurturing the children in their care. Individual nuclear families combine with teachers, elders and other supporters to collectively work together. They are brought together by common goals, the revitalisation of Māori language and the education of their children.

2. While debate has raged about grander macro-structures, particularly in relation to fish, Māoridom will advance or fall upon the ability of the whānau to thrive. The good health of each whānau unit will contribute to the good health of the individuals within it.

The whānau is not a nuclear cell. It is a broad social body. It is one of the pillars of Durie’s Māori Health matrix, Te Whare Tapa Whā where the Taha Whānau accompanies the Taha Wairua, Taha Hinengaro and Taha Tinana. This concurs with the World Health Organization’s definition of good health: ‘... a state of complete mental, physical and social wellbeing and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity’. My understanding is that this definition has guided public health policy since World War Two and has been the platform from which sprung the Ottawa Charter and the recent Jakarta Declaration on health.

3. All Māori have two kinds of whānau, whether they are consciously active within them or not. We move between a blood whānau (the real one) and fabricated ones (often referred to as urban), of which there may be several.

The mass relocation of Māori from the traditional kāinga to take up jobs away from the real whānau environment has brought about this duality amongst Māori. Even those left to keep the home fires burning were affected as they became woven into the urban networks of their relations, albeit temporarily and intermittently between visits. While dislocated Māori street kids might not often see or even know the grandmother or grandfather generation residing miles away, their lives will have been touched by this dichotomy. I don’t doubt that at sometime, somewhere the question of
where they belong has entered their thoughts. These are the extremes on either end of the scale that stretches between each type of whānau. The scale indicates the frequency or ease by which Māori are involved in their real and urban whānau. That we have to interact between two whānau worlds is not a choice. It is a fact of Māori life. It needs to be understood, nurtured and embraced by Māori, public policy makers and wider society in order for the Whānau pillar of the Whare Tapa Whā to be sturdy.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale of Involvement in Type of Whānau</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mainly traditional</td>
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<tr>
<td>Based mainly on Māori values and beliefs.</td>
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4. We depend upon a directory, from which two chapters guide us to successfully traverse the divide between the real whānau and the urban one.

The directory ensures Māori cultural practices, values and beliefs are understood. How well we are able to interact within a type of whānau environment often determines if we maintain an involvement. More often than not in the recent past, our inability to function fully in the traditional context has resulted in Māori gravitating more to our urban whānau.

5. A third chapter of our directory is that which Māori require to traverse wider New Zealand society, indeed the globe, unimpeded – the other biculturalism of Māori life.

As a nation, it is this biculturalism that has emerged from the Treaty of Waitangi. It was the Treaty that set out to ensure the protection of Māori life and it is the Treaty that guides us in our deliberations to sort out Māori-Pākehā relations and the management of the public purse and public resources to put right the wrongs of the past.

6. Healthy whānau ensure their members are conversant with all three chapters of the directory to Māori life.

7. Knowing how to be Māori and being able to remain so in any context is a key outcome of the use of the directory.

Māori not only need to know and understand themselves, but a strong understanding of the wider society, its history, values and beliefs will also
strengthen Māori. The transportability of Māori cultural mores beyond the whānau must be supported by wider society in order for whānau to thrive.

8. Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori are about giving Māori access to the directory and empowering them to encode and decode all that it contains.

Both Kōhanga and Kura are guided nationally, each with its own chartered philosophy that outlines key Māori practices, values and beliefs. Mana Tamariki is guided by these documents and is able to interpret them to suit our own individual whānau context. The Kōhanga and Kura whānau may be blood related real whānau but most, as in Mana Tamariki’s case, are predominantly urban.

9. Key outcomes for the whānau of Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Mana Tamariki:

Being Māori:
- It is safe to be Māori.
- Everything Māori, real whānau and urban whānau is embraced.
- Mana Tamariki is a Māori environment controlled by Māori for Māori.

Reversing Language Shift (RLS) and active Māori language revitalisation
RLS is the internationally accepted term to describe the efforts to reverse the shift by a specific group to adopt a language other than their own to be their main language. Māori RLS is the effort to ensure Māori once again becomes our main language.

Māori language revitalisation is the phenomenon of bringing the language to a thriving healthy state, a language of daily use in all interactions of discourse. At least one Māori parent of each family must speak Māori only to their children enrolled in Mana Tamariki at all times. Mana Tamariki is 10 years old next year and we were not able to implement this policy until five years ago. This indicates how Mana Tamariki, indeed Palmerston North, has developed for such a policy to be sustained. The learning environment is strictly total immersion in the Māori language except when English is taught in the Secondary Department for two hours a week.

Bilingualism and Biculturalism
The product of a total immersion education is the ability of the child to traverse the divide within the Māori world and that between Māori and wider society. Equally high levels of competence in Māori and Pākehā language, culture, skills and abilities are expected and actively sought.
Wairua Māori – Spirituality

The only spiritual dimension maintained by Mana Tamariki is that which is indigenously Māori. Māori spirituality is an intrinsic part of the Kōhanga and Kura programmes. The environment is managed so that children are actively nurtured within wairua Māori.

Empowerment

The curriculum is directed by the whānau. Teachers design learning programmes based on that direction. In our Kōhanga these are aligned with The National Kōhanga Reo Charter and Te Whāriki (Guidelines for the ECE Curriculum). Kura programmes are aligned with Te Aho Matua o nga Kura Kaupapa Māori and The New Zealand Curriculum Framework. Each member of the whānau is highly valued and required to be active in the whānau decision-making forum to govern the learning environment. There is a partnership between the home and the facilitators of the learning environment.

Excellence

High expectations and quality learning outcomes are held by the whānau for the children in all aspects of daily Kōhanga and Kura life. Low ratios between adults and children are maintained to ensure high-quality interactions. The presentation and production of resources should be of a high quality and the ambience of the environment is expected to be bright, clean, warm, nurturing and loving.

10. Māori commitment to Kōhanga and Kura is strong. Every indication is that this commitment will continue. They must be supported by the public purse to ensure they are able to thrive.

A litany of documentation could be shared here today outlining the inadequacies in government resourcing of TKR and KKM. These whānau were born of Māori who strive to hold them together. 13,000 children in more than 700 Kōhanga and nearly 5,000 students in around 60 Kura Kaupapa Māori indicate a strong commitment amongst Māori to work as whānau. They must be resourced to ensure the good health outcomes for whānau are achieved.
Te Kura o Takaro is situated in the hub of a very proactive and special community in the Western pocket of Palmerston North city. We are an urban mainstream school offering three education options for our whānau and their children – these being Mainstream, Bilingual education and Total Immersion Māori. Of the total student number, 75% of the students are Māori, 20% Polynesian and 5% European. The school ‘recapitated’ under the Ministry’s EDI (Educational Development Initiative) in 1992, allowing Years 7 and 8 the option of staying on for their Intermediate years. An initiative that was instigated by a group of whānau who wanted to maintain ‘the real partnership’ of being involved in their children’s education.

Throughout the process of Today’s Schools, we have been proactive in encouraging whānau to take an active role in their children’s education, by actively ‘throwing off’ the stigma and anti-school feeling that many of our people have against school.

I consider it a privilege to be able to share some of the educational initiatives that have been successfully implemented to improve their social, emotional, physical and mental wellbeing and standing, in a society which is quick to label communities as ‘down andouters’. Staff make every effort to make themselves available to whānau throughout the school day. We take the ‘open door’ policy to its broadest meaning and keep reminding whānau to come. Everyone is known and addressed on first name basis. Whānau ‘feel’ and are ‘made to feel’ welcome, heard and appreciated by staff. There is a positive feeling of school is an OK place where everyone can celebrate their achievements together.

We offer a range of education programmes, which relate directly to improving health and whānau wellbeing:

- **Early diagnosis** and early intervention of health problems – 5-year checks continue, eyes, ears, immunisations – any follow-up work is co-ordinated by the school health nurse, who visits the home or assists with transport to the doctor.

- Once a term **free doctor’s health clinic**, based at the school. Parents are advised through the school newsletter. These are well supported by parents who often bring preschoolers whilst also tending to personal health issues.

- **School lunches** are available for the children – a project which is supported by a local church group.

- **Special lunch day.** The Junior school prepare a weekly lunch for everyone. At a cost of $2.00 the children get mince and noodles, sweetcorn, watermelon and a cake. This money goes towards their Education Outside the
Classroom funds. Several parents support the pupils in the preparation of the meal.

- We are fortunate to utilise the services of Bachelor of Social Work students, who are placed with us for 5 to 6 weeks. They often work with individual pupils and their parents on building self-esteem, anger management and conflict resolution issues which are apparent in the schooling setting.

- **After school homework programme** - an initiative which is supported by the Highbury Whānau Centre, twice a week for all students and parents wanting support with their studies as well.

- **Duffy Books in Homes.** Yes we are proud to be involved with Duffy, as it has certainly helped in getting books, which have been chosen by the children, into the home. Parents have been enthusiastic towards the programme and have come to school asking for help to develop their literacy skills.

- **H.E.L.P.** is a reading programme, which supports parents with home reading. The staff run a one-day training course for parents followed by a five-week implementation period. Parents work in pairs, with a group of us to four pupils every day, for periods of 40 minutes. At the end of this time, tutors graduate and are awarded their H.E.L.P. certificates, at school assembly. This programme is supported by funds from a community trust.

- **Drug education programme.** The school secured funding from ALAC to assist programmes such as those supported by the BSW students.

- Programmes have been developed for parents according to their particular needs. Some wished to learn basic computer skills, so a five-week course was initiated by staff to teach these skills.

  Others wanted to learn te reo Maori - a course is about to begin for this group. Others wanted to learn more about the curriculum, particularly maths. This is another opportunity for the staff to assist in upskilling our parents, who really wish to be more informed about what is happening in their children’s education.

- **You Can Do It.** An Australian Scholarship Group grant which focuses classroom programmes on personal growth and wellbeing, through goal-setting and achieving self-determined aspirations.

- **Community Taskforce.** Several parents have been eligible for this funding and have been able to receive this funding whilst they have also been involved at school. I am pleased to report that several of these parents now have the confidence to go on to Polytech, or into other courses. Three of these parents are now employed in full-time positions as teacher aides at the school and are completing their teacher aide courses.
What this school offers over and above the school day, means much more to a community and its parents when programmes are initiated because of a common need. Parents feel as though they own the programmes and they know that teachers whom they are very familiar with, are there to support them. This, they well know, is a community school and it is there to service its community, and we know that we achieve this goal successfully.

Presentation Three – Putiputi O’Brien
Kaumātua o Ngāti Awa, Kaupapa Hauora

Tēnei anō taku whakahau, kia ora anō tātou e te whānau. Kia ora anō tātou e noho nei i tēnei o tātou na whare, marae kāinga. Kei te harīkoa ka tu atu i mua i a koutou e ngā mātā waka, e ōku hoa, e te iwi whānui o tēnei motu. He hoa katoa koutou nōku, he hoa mahi i waenga i ngā mahi o te hauora ahakoa kei hea kei hea. Ko ahau i whakaturia i tēnei wā hei riwhi mō Peti Nohotima ki te kōrero i ngā kōrero i a korria ai ahau mai i te wā e pepi ana au, kātahi ka pakeke haere ake, ko te kōrero i te reo i te wā kāinga.

I whakahua au i te ata nei ki ētahi o ngā kupu whakaari a ōku pakeke e ki ana, ko te wehi ki a lhowa te timatanga o te mātauranga. Kei a ia te timatanga me te whakamutunga o ngā mea katoa. Kei roto i taku hinengaro ērā kōrero mai rā anō, mai rā anō. Ko ahau i akoria ki ētahi o ngā kōrero a tō mātou koroua a Te Kooti, i ki mai ai ia ki te minenga ... 'haere, he kura anō tāku, haere ki te ako ki te tuhi i o koutou ingoa, ka mutu i reira, ka hoki mai ki ahau'. Ka maumahara tonu au ki nga kōrero a ōku pakeke, ā, ka pakeke ake mātou kia aronui ki ā rātou tohutohu mai rā anō, mai rā anō. Ko tōku waimarie i taku tipunga ake i tērā wā, he kōrero Māori tonu mātou i ngā wā katoa. Haere rawa atu ki te kura, ka rima ngā tau, kua mau i a mātou te reo. Ka huri ake aku whakaaro ki ā tātou e patupatu ana i te mahi a te tamariki a tauiwi te haerenga ki te kura kātahi ka whakahurīhia e tauiwi me kōrero tātou i tō rātou reo. Engari i tērā wā kua mau kē i ahau te reo. Ko ngā mea i muri ake i ahau, i patua, ā, ka ngaro te reo. Ka nui taku aroha ki a rātou, kei konei te nuinga o wērā o tātou e whā te kau tau pea o rātou pakeke inaihie, e kore ana e matatau ki te reo. Engari kei te kite a kei tēnei whare wānanga e akona ana te mahi a ō tātou wāhine, tāne hoki, kia mau i ā rātou te reo.

Kia huri ake ahau ki tētahi o ō tātou reo, pea. Ko taku hiahia me kōrero Māori tonu au i ngā wā katoa. E mōhio ana hoki au, koei ne te wā o te mana wāhine, ko tēnei wiki, mai i te tekau mā rua ki te tekau mā ono o ngā rā o tēnei marama. Kei te maumahara ahau e koro mā, e kui mā, koei ne anō te tau mō tātou mō ngā pakeke. Koinei te tau mō tātou mō ngā kuia, koroua. Ka nui ngā mahi mō tēnei tau mō tātou hei whakahae i e te haka o ō tātou tamariki, mōkai kei te wā kāinga.

Anyway, me tino whakahuri kē au ki tērā reo! Ka roa rawa tātou!
I am privileged to be standing here, privileged to have been born when I was born – honestly I am. Pleased that I was born in those early years, that’s well over 50 years now, and brought up with all our pakeke (you’re quickly assessing now aren’t you how old I am). Wonderful years. I was brought up with our pakeke, full of wisdom. I could always talk about Taiarahia who is here now facilitating, how I worked amongst the Tuhoe, my beloved Tuhoe and today the language there is as pure as pure.

Ka hoki au ki aku mokopuna e ako ana i te reo. Kia mau rā hoki au ki te reo. Kātahi ka haere mai au ki konei, ki tētahi hui, ka noho au ki te taha o Taiarahia. Kei a ia ngā mōkai kei te kōrero i te reo, i te reo motuhake. Ka hoki ake ana ki a mātou, ka tītiro kē ki ngā mōkai a Taiarahia. Koinei au taku mīhi āke nei ki a rātou i tēnei Whare Wānanga i ngā tohutohu a ō tātou mātua tipuna ki a rātou.

I have gone through the era of knowing and hearing my grandparents and my elders talk the language. My parents when we learnt the language, we were never left alone. I was lucky enough to be brought up with our Ringatu faith. They took us to all the marae hui and when you hear of being left alone in the home it was never so in our time. My/Our parents, this is how we learnt, whakarongo tonu, we had to, ki te pai hoki ka patu i ngā tau, ae, ka patua. Ka wehe aku makawe o taku mama, he kore e whakarongo ngā taringa. Ināianei, e koro mā kua kore kē tātou e pai ki te patu mokopuna nērā. Ae, ae. They did. We followed them no matter where they went. It was years of learning, but how I appreciate it very much. Today, I repeat a lot of the sayings that my dad always said. Now today for instance, was a special day. The rains came, the wind blew, the tent was flooded. Now normally you would say ... ‘oh, e koro, ka kino hoki tēnei māhi – what a terrible day’. He would just simply say ... ‘kaua e pērā ngā kōrero e hine, he pai katoa ngā rā o te Atua’, and that’s beautiful. It is said all God’s days are beautiful days. Wake up and say ‘thank you Lord’ and you know that you can see it, you can hear it and all these sorts of things that He has blessed us with. And these are all the years, haere mātou ki te kura, kare kau ō mātou hū, ana, ka haere i runga i te rori te haerenga o ngā hoihono, ana, kua kuhu ō mātou waewae ki raro, i ngā whakarere-tanga iho o ngā hoihono he tika tonu, kei te kata ngā koroua nei, kia mahana i ō mātou waewae.

But anyway I’m getting away, I was only here to talk to you about the early years and how the language was so important to us as children. I really am blessed with the early years that I started with. Today my mokopuna are in the Kōhanga Reo. Our Kōhanga Reo are the hui that we attended in the early years with our pakeke – ngā tangihanga, ngā hui o ngā marae, kaore rawa kē mātou e whakarereia ki te kāinga. I mua tonu ake nei kua rongo ahau ki etsahi o ō mātou tāne e ki atu ana ki ētahi o ngā wāhine, wāhine whakarereia mō aku tamariki ki te kāinga. Me pēhea hoki ngā tamariki rā e mōhio ai ki a tātou tikanga pēnā, kia waiho i te kāinga. Koinei katoa, these are the changes we have now witnessed, the changes that are happening to us as a people. Some of the teachings I do remember as a child before I was five, my hair, you know how simple that was. Ka kt a mama ... ‘kia tupato koe ki o makawe, kaua e waiho kia marara haere he wāhi ano mō tēna’. Whakaakona mātou ki te tiaki o mātou makawe, kia pai ai te whakatahi atu, he
tapu kē hoki te mahunga o te tangata. Timata mai rā anō, i reira anō. Ka noho i runga i te tepu kai, ka ki mai ... 'e tipu mōkai, chara tēnei i te nohonga mou. He aha e pērā ai – kia kore e noho ki te tepu kai. Ana, kua whakamārama anō rātou nā, ka haere anō mātou ki ngā rā o te Hāhi, kua puta ngā kāri, āku mokopuna wērā, āku tamariki. Kua puta ngā kāri kua pēnei hoki, he kore hoki kāore anō e karakia, ana, ka ki atu ngā kuia rā, 'kao, kāore e pai tēnā mahi', me te whakamārama atu nā te mea he wā karakia tēnei, me noho pukumahi koutou.

Those were the beautiful things I had learnt as a child, until I was five. It was then too late for the school to thrash you for talking Māori anyway because we had established a language by the time we are five. I believe that the Kohanga Reo who are now teaching our mokos are doing exactly the same. Beautiful mokopuna that are now reciting the language. Once they are five they can go on and get onto the mainstream and learn the other side of it. Kei konei ngā āwangawanga. A lot of our people are uneasy about the Kura Kaupapa, the Kohanga Reo, wondering what they are going to do at the end of it but you know they are already talking English when they come home.

Enough for them to progress. Koinē noa iho āku kōrero ki a koutou. You know my life really wasn’t in the language today, I came for the hauora part of it. I must confess to you I suppose I must be one of the oldest practising nurses in the dominion and it’s true, I have not given up what I was sent to do. My parents literally dumped me in Hamilton when I went to train and forgot about me until I graduated and that was in 1945. You see how far away that was and I talked the other day about this. Koinē anō ngā tahutahu o ngā pakeke. When I left, my kuia put this around my neck and she said ... ‘haere, he piko he taniwha’, and I knew straight away what she knew because she said I was already at this stage 19, gone through all the teachings and I knew she meant at every bend there was a serpent, you must never transgress, you must respect other people wherever you may go and this is how my life went through in Hamilton, in Waikato with the Tainui people.

From then on I made a commitment, in the School of Learning it said ... ‘enter to learn, go forth to serve’. Tono mai ki te ako, haere atu ki te wāhi ki waho ki tō āwi whānui. I then made a commitment, I’m sure you will find Tai, I made a commitment to serve my people there and then, when I graduate I will go back to the people and do fieldwork. In my entire 40 odd years of service, I spent in the public health nursing division. And then, you’d have thought that would have been enough, I retired when I was 60, the Government made you; now of course there’s a change, they want you to go on to 65 or 70 before, there is something about that. They don’t want to pay you a pension but we were made to retire at 60, we weren’t even ready for it. Women now are not ready to step down at 60 and when I had stepped down I thought now where to from here. Now, this is why I think you admire people who support you.

Already at home they said, go to the Board of Governors, go to the Bay of Plenty Hospital Board, go to this, make use of what you’ve learnt at school, never waste it. I’ve served those many years in stepping around, what for, to represent our
people. Now today at my young age, I still co-ordinate services in Ngāti Awa ki Rangi taiki looking after our kaumātua and the women in family health. In other words, for the Eastbay Health, or now Pacific Health cervical screening. But what a beautiful life to be serving my own kaumātua and I’m one of them. It is, it’s a most beautiful unit to belong to, they’d do anything for you, he tika tonu, and the women of course are our own women, that you befriend, you become emotionally involved in them and their lives and you’d do anything for them to come forward willingly to free services, that is something they’re not very good at doing – making use of the free services that tauiwī give to us.

Ka haere kē ki te utu toru tekau mā rima tāra kē ki ngā takuta. But, nevertheless that is my life and I am so pleased that I’m able to share this part of my life with you. I always believed that every one of us in this room have been slotted into a certain slot by our Lord above. We have all been given something special in our lives, every one of us. I might be good at making a sultana cake but somebody else might be better at doing something else. But at the end of it, we’re doing it what for, but for our people. That’s what we’re here for, I know this what we’re here for, to serve our Māori people, to be there to talk, to link up with tauiwī and talk on their behalf. If you know a good thing, pass it on. I never let a thing go by, if tauiwī had said something wrong or something that I felt wasn’t quite right as far as our people go, I don’t hesitate to speak to them because I have always felt it easy to journey together with them. I have no problems journeying together with tauiwī. I think that I remember that, I took what they gave me with one hand in my training and gave it back to my people. Kia ora anō koutou and I am delighted to share this part of my life this year and I’ll be back with you the next time around.

Presentation Four – Dawn Mitai-Pehi
Tumuaki, Turakina Māori Girls’ College

Kia ora tātou katoa, kei te tautoko ahu ngā mihi a koutou, kia ora. Let’s have a little interaction, shall we. Hands up those of you who attended a Māori boarding school. Take a look around you ... are you smiling? Good. Hands down – how many of you went to Turakina Māori Girls College - I need your names after this. You have some mahi to be done. Kia ora anō. Ngāti Manawa, Tuhoe, me Ngā Puhā ahau. Ko Dawn Mitai-Pehi – Te Tumuaki o Turakina Māori Girls College.

After 28 years of teaching, I think it’s unfair that I speak on behalf of Māori boarding schools. I’m a new Tumuaki at Turakina so I don’t think I have the right to speak on behalf of Māori boarding schools. I didn’t even attend one. However, my mum went to Hato Hohepa and so did my sister and my other sister and all my aunties and all my cousins. My sons went to Hato Paora and all their cousins and all the whānau. So yes I do know a little more about the other Māori boarding schools. But let me share with you Turakina Māori Girls’ College.
In general you know that each of our Māori boarding schools has common traditions, some good, some not so good. The common traditions are the ones we smile about, even just with say Māori boarding schools, the Māori tradition. We have tradition with the hāhī. At Turakina we’re Presbyterian but, you don’t have to be Presbyterian to come to our kura so long as you’re prepared to follow the Christian values that we live by. We have common goals in our Māori boarding schools. We want to produce fine Māori leaders for today and for tomorrow. However, when I look at the mission statement of Turakina Māori Girls’ College of 1905, the mission statement stated: Turakina Māori Girls’ College will produce fine, young, farmers’ wives. I’m pleased to say, this goal has changed and we do look at the holistic education for our girls. In our Māori boarding schools, we have common concerns. I’m pleased to say that Hato Paora are being assisted by the Ministry of Education to put programmes in place to address their concerns. I’m pleased to say that Hato Tipene have a taskforce in hand that is addressing the concerns you heard of earlier. These programmes have milestones in place that key performance indicators to be done within set timeframes and then monitored by independent monitors and well on task, so I’m really pleased for our Kura.

At Turakina we live by what we call our mana programme – mana wairua, mana Māori, mana wahine, mana mātāturanga and that’s it.

**Mana Wairua**

For each girl to understand that she has a spiritual base and just how valuable the spiritual base can be for her in her health, her wellbeing. We have a chaplain on the staff, a Māori woman or a Nan as the girls call her. A fine role model. By mana wairua, we don’t mean that each girl learns karakia, himene – spouts it off at the appropriate time etc. We mean life and its values. And I know that all our Māori boarding schools go steps beyond to nourish our Māori youths spiritually.

**Mana Māori**

Do I need to explain mana Māori further? It’s interesting, I ask only one question when girls ask, or whānau ask, will I take their girl into Turakina Māori Girls’ College? And the question is – do you want to come here? If it’s yes, tell me why. Do you know the number of them they say, ‘I want to be Māori’, ‘I want to learn my Māori side’, ‘I want to find my identity’, hence our mana Māori programme is of most importance. We want to ensure that our girls are happy and they seek the goals that they set themselves. To put this in place, we’ve had to ensure that we’ve had the right resource people and that’s not easy so we have taken on board fluent Māori speakers who pass on their knowledge in the right manner. Appropriate teaching styles. However, when we talk about teaching styles, you know our girls are not the easiest to handle. I bet those of you who went to Māori boarding schools could recall some of the things you did. Some of our girls are still doing it. It’s putting strategies in place so that rather than feeling like they have to be
naughty, that they feel empowered to be the opposite and things like tuakana/teina just fall in place. Things like being the kaia or kaiārahi just fall in place and you don’t really have to teach it, but it’s all to do with our mana Māori programme. The girls learn from a balanced programme, a balanced education. We do teach them to belong to two worlds, Pākehā and Māori. We do teach them to get the best out of both worlds and to use it and use it well.

Mana Wahine

What on earth do we mean by mana wahine - look at this room full of Māori women. I’m sure you know that you’d have your own interpretation of that, but let me share with you, that at Turakina Māori Girls’ College we have a concept which is the 24-hour learning environment. You are learning all the time. No longer do you go to school in the morning at nine o’clock and finish at twenty past three, chuck your books in your locker and think ‘that’s that’ for the day. No you’re encouraged or empowered to take hold of some of those books and carry them around with you and if you need a little bit of help and there is somebody walking past who can, let’s do it. Hence we have a reading programme that goes right through into Hostel time. We have tutoring that goes into Hostel time. Not just that prep time or study time that some of you used to have, you know from six o’clock until half past eight. Sit in your desk, straight up back etc, but real tutoring. So our 24-hour learning environment is something that we’re hoping will grow in a positive manner and make our environment a positive learning environment.

Mana Mātauranga

We have had to recognise that the learning and teaching styles at Turakina were not adequate for the girls we were teaching. We’ve had to recognise that teaching styles had to change so that academic achievement would happen because it just doesn’t happen by standing in front of a classroom and teach. Therefore you have unhappy girls. So teaching styles has been the professional development side for our staff. It’s still ongoing and it will continue for a long time yet. The next step is getting girls to understand their learning styles and to recognise how best they learn. By doing that we’re actually empowering them for life. I wonder if some of you know your learning styles. Within the classrooms however, within the kura, resources contribute to good Māori health. Would you agree? I mean material resources. We got a computer suite put in our Kura. Wow, our girls were happy. No stress about getting those assignments done on time. No stress about well-presented assignments. Because now we can use computers, we are computer literate and we have access to them. So resources within our kura are part of our health programme too.

We look further along the health programme than the curriculum says we must teach. We’ve chosen to take on Tena Kowhiria, which is, we were told, a primary school programme. We’re taking it into our junior school Forms 3 and 4, years
9 and 10. Not because of it being a drug programme, but because of it teaching the individual to make the correct choices. That’s what life is all about. Knowing the correct choice. Knowing the right decision to make. Our latest initiative is being in a partnership with the Ministry of Education. It’s called the Paerangi Project. All of the Māori boarding schools are in this support school programme and for the last two years the Ministry have given us $100,000 at Turakina and we hope for the next year they will also fund us another $100,000. And that’s to help to set us right to reposition us in our achievement levels. So we’ve been able to use these funds to address a lot of our concerns. The counselling, even the computer suite was one. That took some arguing but we got it. We’ve found that really what we need most are people resources. The right people resources and I mean Māori. I mean Māori who can communicate with Māori.

Unfortunately, at the moment, we don’t have any vacancies. But the minute any become, please let me know if you’re available. The correct Māori resources to help our girls to keep them on track or to help to put them on track. We have access to a health nurse once a week. We have access to all of the outside agencies and it’s usually the health nurse and the counsellor, or the chaplain who move those girls in those directions. Privacy and all of that is taken note of as well. Confidentiality. We really try our best for our girls even though sometimes they really do try us.

I think I’ve said enough but mainly to let you know that the Ministry is trying its best to help us to address the concerns that we have as Māori boarding schools and we do appreciate their input. It is positive, it has offered us professional development as principals and as staff. It has offered to help us to set up courses for our girls, but what we haven’t been able to do – and I turn to you for some assistance here if you can – and that is, we haven’t been able to find the right personnel to train our hostel staff, and that is a wide issue. Correct training or appropriate training for Māori boarding school hostel staff and I’d really welcome any ideas on that. If I could leave you with that. Kia ora tātou katoa.
Panel Two: Te Ao Kaupapahere  
Chair: Druis Barrett, President, Māori Women’s Welfare League

Presentation One – Keriata Stuart  
Te Ohu Whakatupu,  
Ministry of Women’s Affairs

I don’t quite know how to follow that presentation of Putiputi O’Brien’s – he tino ātaahua tō kōrero i tēnei wā, ngā mihi nui ki a koe.

Ko Te Ati Awa te iwi, ko Te Matehou te hapū, ko Keriata Stuart te ingoa. Tēhei mauri ora! Ka nui ngā mihi ki a koutou mā, kua tae mai i runga te kaupapa i tēnei wā. Ki a koe, ko Druis, ko tenei te wiki hei whakamana wahine, he pai ki a au kia kite i tētahi wahine tino toa, tino kaha, i runga i tēnei turu.

What we do may seem to you quite far removed from the flax roots, the hard work that you do for our people. But I just want to outline briefly what Te Ohu Whakatupu does, and the organisation it belongs in.

The speakers today have been talking about the meaning of whānau, the structure of whānau, and the flexible and adaptive nature of our people. One of the issues that they also touched on is the diversity of the Māori population. That is central to what we do. Te Ohu Whakatupu (which means a group of people committed to development) is a part of the Ministry of Women’s Affairs. We help Government to recognise the diversity of Māori, and to respond to that diversity, in particular in relation to one group – wahine Māori.

Māori are such a diverse population. We have iwi, hapū, and whānau affiliations. We also identify ourselves with other groups. We’ve talked about some of those, whether they’re he tane, he wahine rānei, urban people, rural people, kuia, koroua, rangatahi, tamariki. As distinct and yet interwoven groups we are all part of the whāriki, and we each have unique experiences, issues and needs.

The Ministry of Women’s Affairs in its role as a government agency provides advice to the Minister, and works with other government departments to ensure they take into account issues in relation to Māori women. We work to achieve, for women and ngā wahine Māori:

- equity
- opportunity
- choice

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• full and active participation
• adequate resources
• no discrimination
• and a society that values the contribution of women.

And in doing so, we try to take into account the Treaty of Waitangi in all our work. But as you’ll know, how you do that is a continuing learning process.

We are a very small agency, with only about 35 staff. We don’t have any operational role now, so that you may not have seen us as much as you used to. In addition to policy advice, we do provide information about government policies and processes to women, to women’s organisations, iwi, and groups that contribute to advancing the participation of women in all parts of society. One of the characteristics of the Ministry of Women’s Affairs is that we do not have a Māori unit that sits out on the side of the organisation, but two policy units who are, as much as we can be, partners. We share the policy work, with Te Ohu Whakatupu retaining the lead responsibility for providing advice on Māori women’s issues. Te Ohu Whakatupu has five analysts covering the whole state sector, which keeps us busy. To do that job as well as we can, we work very closely with the population ministries, in particular Te Puni Kōkiri, Youth Affairs and Pacific Island Affairs – other agencies who work across sectors such as Health, Education, Labour, Commerce, and so on.

We do not as a rule lead policy projects. Often we come up with a proposal, and work with other agencies and to get the support of Government for them to be implemented by others. You may know about projects such as the Māori Women’s Development Fund, and the Wahine Pakari business training programme for Māori women which we initiated, but which have been implemented by other agencies.

To help us in our work, we meet with, consult with and gather information from Māori women around the motu. In particular, we try to work closely with the Māori Women’s Welfare League, and with other Māori women’s groups. We also hold Rūnanga Kuia, gatherings of kuia from around the motu every few years, to discuss issues relating to Māori and to whānau. They have had very deep whakaaro about whānau development, and what is needed.

Our approach to whānau development and wellbeing has several components. First, it is integral that all members of the whānau must benefit from development: women, men, children, everyone, not just the few. Second, policies must also take into account the fact that a whānau has spiritual dimensions as well as material ones, which is something that the workshops today have talked about very deeply. And lastly, while in advising on Māori women in business or their sexual health needs we may be looking at one aspect of a woman’s life, we try to take into account all aspects of her being.
We support women as part of the collective, in order to restore and maintain the balance about which our Minister spoke this morning. But at the same time, we take the view that Māori women are a tāonga in their own right, to be valued in their own right.

One of the characteristics discussed in the workshops has been the interdependence of Māori society, and that’s very much how Te Ohu Whakatupu have to work too, to get things done. I do work with the Ministry of Health, with Internal Affairs, perhaps Social Welfare or Education. That’s how we do things – in some ways taking a taha Māori approach to our work.

I would now like to touch on two areas of our work which contribute to whānau development. One of these our Minister mentioned, and it has been given to you with your conference packs – the report Māori Women in Focus: Titiro Hāngai, Ka Mārama. This is a project that we’ve done jointly with Te Puni Kōkiri. What we found is that government departments were saying, that they can’t provide good advice about Māori women, because the information is lacking. This report is a start at getting some of the information to them in a way that they can understand and use. I also hope that it will be of benefit to you.

The second is that we do a lot of policy work which is health and wellbeing work in the broadest sense. To take three areas we have worked on over the last year:

- **Alcohol and Māori women** – this includes such things as liquor advertising proposals, the new Sale of Liquor Act, and major issues such as Foetal Alcohol Syndrome.

- **Rangatahi Sexual Health** – we are working with Ministry of Health and with groups such as Te Puāwai Tapu on having services which are more responsive to the needs of young Māori women.

- **Maternity Services Review** – this is something in which our Minister has taken an active interest – the Ministry is really working to ensure that the consultation process is adequate for women, and that Māori women’s issues are really considered in the final recommendations and in the services that come out from it.

Whānau wellbeing and development for us is really everything we do, something to which all our work contributes.

One last thing I want to do is to pay tribute to the kuia, first of our whānau, to my mother Ephra Garrett who is sitting here today, and the work that she and all my other women of my whānau and hapū have done; and to all the kuia who have worked, despite the obstacles, to pursue the goal of hauora whānau and whānau development.
We are very aware that Mana Wahine week is only one week out of 52. Te Ohu Whakatupu tries to ensure that issues for Māori women are not forgotten during the other 51. We benefit from the assistance that we get from you every day, and we promise to keep on working for those goals. E noho mai rā.

Presentation Two – Mārama Parore-Katene
Health Funding Authority

Tēnā koutou katoa.
Taku mihi tuatahi te iwi kainga, nga kaumātua, nga kuia
Tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa.
Ko Mārama Parore-Katene ahau
No Ngati Whatua, Ngāti Kahu, ko Ngāti Toa ōku iwi
He Māori Development Manager ahau i roto i te Health Funding Authority ki Poneke.

Key theme
- Oranga Whānau: Māori Health and Well-being, and Whānau. A report prepared by Te Pūmanawa Hauora. Massey University, Department of Māori Studies/Te Pūmanawa Hauora.

I’d first like to pay tribute also to Aunty Putiputi O’Brien who’s been a tremendous mentor and inspiration to people like myself. I’d also like to pay tribute to the nurses who are here today, Jamesina, Becky, Pauline, Kāmiria, Jeanette Page. Tēnā koutou, he mihi aroha ki a koutou katoa. As a young student nurse (I’m very nervous, I’m shaking), they’re the ones who were the inspiration for people like myself as they supported us getting through nursing training. I’d like to pay tribute secondly, to the health providers who are here today. They’re the ones who do the real work. I’m just the person who sits in the office in Wellington and tries to make their dreams a reality.

In considering what on earth the Health Funding Authority (HFA) could talk about today, I must apologise on behalf of Rob Cooper, the Tumuaki of the Māori Health Group. I am him today. I was lucky enough to get this assignment yesterday, engari, when I thought about what I could talk about that would be relevant to the theme of this hui, I could go on about policy development and about us as an agency and the work that we do. I looked at the documents that were sent to me, both from the Ministry and from Te Pūmanawa Hauora and

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thought about aligning my presentation with the mahi that is in the two
documents that were given to me. In the Ministry of Health document they set out
six principles for policy development. I thought about those principles as I was
putting together this presentation.

**Principle 1:**
Whānau wellbeing is pivotal to the wellbeing of Māori people

The HFA supports this principle by:
- purchasing whānau ora services from Māori providers
- health goals are determined by whānau.

The HFA supports this principle by purchasing whānau ora services from Māori
providers. Purchasing services in which health goals are determined by whānau
and not by bureaucrats sitting in Wellington. I'm assuming that most of you are
fully aware of who the HFA are. We are responsible for purchasing health
services on behalf of the people of New Zealand. Our budget is $4.3 million and
we currently have just over 5,000 providers. I'll talk more about whānau ora
services as I go on into the presentation.

**Principle 2:**
The recognition and upholding of Te Tiriti o Waitangi is fundamental
to the wellbeing of whānau

The HFA supports this principle by:
- the HFA Māori Health Policy
- developing relationships with iwi Māori and Māori organisations
- sector enhancement through specific contract requirements.

The HFA supports this principle by firstly a piece of quite significant public policy.
I think it is significant in that we are the only Crown agent who have published a
health policy that goes across all of our business. This was only published in
September of last year as a result of our restructure; it was approved by our Board
and published. What it means is that we as a Crown agent are starting to take
seriously our responsibilities with regard to the Treaty with our relationships with
iwi, with the people that we’re employing in all of our employment contracts.

Every person who works for the HFA now has a specific clause in our contract that
says this is how you are individually going to seek to improve Māori health and
that is already starting to have some significant influence in my interface with my
non-Māori colleagues on a day-to-day basis.

Health provider contracts are of course, the biggie. It’s all very well saying, yes
we’ve got support amongst Māori, however what about the big, HHSs that used to
be called CHEs now called hospitals? The big IPAs groups of doctors and others?
Well it means that for the first time ever in the current contract round, we'll be negotiating into their contracts specific clauses that say, this is how you, HHSs, are going to seek to improve Māori health.

For the first time, we, as a Health Funding Authority, are going to be able to bring to bed the full weight of contracting behind that. It means seriously that if after we evaluate at the end of this financial year, specific health improvements on specific targets are not met, then serious consideration will be given as to why we continue to purchase services from those organisations. We've not been, quite frankly, in this position before as the HFA and it is an exciting place to be.

Developing relationships with iwi Māori and Māori organisations is an important and ongoing piece of work that we're doing. We've recognised the responsibility that we have as a Crown agent with regard to our relationships with iwi Māori and Māori organisations. Sector enhancement, I've already talked about that, that's through contracting. It's all very well doing all the talking and publishing a document, but the real guts of it is, when you get it into a contract and you say, right I'm going to monitor you whether or not this happens.

**Principle 3:**

**Whānau wellbeing is affected by all aspects of the economic, political, social and cultural position of its members individually and collectively**

Our three key strategies for the HFA are Māori participation, Māori workforce development, and sector/mainstream enhancement. That's throughout the whole sector. That's about getting more Māori working positions within the HFA, right through the whole sector. Māori workforce development. We recognise that there is an enormous amount of work to do around Māori workforce development in terms of increasing the critical mass of trained Māori clinicians in the sector and mainstream enhancement. That in itself in this year's contract round is proving to be quite interesting as we go out and challenge HHSs and IPAs in saying to them, how are you going to do this, and no this is not negotiable. So that's proving to be a challenge to them; however, they'll get over it.
Principle 4: Whānau wellbeing is dependent on the social and cultural values and beliefs of whānau being respected and valued

The HFA supports this principle by:
• purchasing holistic services based on Te Whare Tapa Whā
• sector/mainstream enhancement.

Remember I took these principles from the Ministry of Health document and I thought it was really interesting as I was working through them to see the alignments between the policy development that the HFA are doing and the work that the Ministry has published and Te Pūmanawa Hauora. We seek to purchase holistic services based on Te Whare Tapa Whā. I know and you know, those of you who are health providers, that over the last five years, this has been a challenge in the way in which the four, then, regional health authorities purchased services from Māori. We were very good at making you run out there and work really hard, count the number of people that you were seeing, specifying things like, you have to have a hui but to be a hui, you have to have 20 people there. Specifying what 'whānau' meant. That's hōhā.

As a central government agency we do not have the right to tell Ngāti Whatua what our definition of ‘whānau’ is. So with the restructuring of the HFA, the merging of the four offices into one, we certainly have taken on board the work of developing more appropriate contracts that are about whānau outcomes, not about our outcomes. Not about numbers, keeping you busy, ticking little bits of paper, ticking boxes, putting our people into endless boxes.

The other thing that we were really good at doing was buying bits of services. We buy women’s health from over here, kids ears over here and child health checks over here. We're trying to put those together in a way that meets the needs of 'whānau', not the needs of the 'agency'. That in itself is quite challenging as a government agency and again sector and mainstream enhancement. We're trying to work with the big providers that we have throughout the country and say, how are you going to improve health outcomes for Māori in your population? And don't be telling me that you're just going to count them as they come through the door. How are you going to improve their health outcomes?
Principle 5: Whānau is the most direct source of support and encouragement, which contributes to the wellbeing of its members

We are currently doing a piece of work developing something called Whānau Ora Service Specifications, kind of what I was talking about with the other principle. Basically it's a life-span approach which aligns really well with the paper from Te Pūmanawa Hauora. It looks at tamariki, rangatahi, matua, pakeke, kuia, koroua. In trying to purchase services for whānau in a far more holistic meaningful manner rather than just buying bits of services where you've got whānau who have to run from one person to another person to another person to get health services. What ends up happening is that you just don't do it, you walk away.

I remember when I was a young mum with four kids under five and I'd have to go somewhere to get my kid weighed and somewhere else to have something else done and another place to get the vaccination done. Well I didn't do any of it because it was too hard. So, the challenge for people like me is, put it together. Buy the whole service not bits of the service. Tikanga Māori basis. We're very lucky to have very strong kaumatua who work with us and remind us what we're in the mahi for. You fullas are only as good as you're getting out there in front of the people. Don't get too carried away with yourselves in the end. That's really important for us, for keeping us grounded and whānau focused.

Principle 6: Whānau experience diverse realities and operate in a range of settings which must be recognised during policy, programme and service development processes

We currently purchase services from 220 Māori providers throughout Aotearoa. We have a wide, wide range of Māori providers, from iwi providers through to Māori Women's Welfare League providers. We also have a wide geographical spread and I'm delighted to see our whānaunga from Whare Koura here today, that's just awesome. All the way from the Chathams, he mihi nui ki a koe. So we've got this wide geographical spread as well.
The strategic direction for the Health Funding Authority in the next year is to strengthen and support those Māori providers. To work very hard in enhancing the work that mainstream HHSs and IPAs in particular are doing and saying to them very clearly, if you are not improving the health outcomes for Māori people, why do we buy services from you. Putting the onus firmly on them to prove that indeed they can do the work that they’re saying that they can do. If we always do what we’ve always done, Māori health will not improve, therefore we need to challenge, that’s the role that I’ve got within the HFA. We need to challenge the way that we’ve done things in the past. Be very clear about what our whāriki is and it’s about whānau and move on into the future. No reira, tēnā koutou katoa.

Presentation Three – Paora Howe
Te Puni Kōkiri

Celebrating the Whānau

E ngā mana, e ngā reo, e ngā hau e whā. Tēnei te mihi ki a tätou i raro i te mana whānau. I would like to thank you for the invitation to address you today at this conference to celebrate whānau wellbeing, held on the eve of the millennium. I use the word ‘celebration’ deliberately as we have much to celebrate and enjoy about who we are as whanau, our whanaungatanga. Too often, we can become disillusioned, when we read of the negative statistics surrounding the wellbeing of the whānau. However, the whānau is the essence of who we are as a people.

The first and major point I wish to emphasise is that the right to define ‘whānau’ belongs to Māori. I am concerned when my colleagues are allowed to isolate Māori terms from the context of te reo Māori me ngā tikanga, so that the relevant government agency appears to be reflecting Māori needs and concerns. I note the change of nomenclature of CYPFA, for example, which came from CYPS and is now Child, Youth and (their) Whānau services. Using te reo Māori in this way is a two-edged sword. It can reflect the Crown’s move towards understanding things Māori. But it also allows Government to define and narrow the meaning of terms (such as whānau), and to give the terms currency which they have neither earned nor deserve. The choice of such nomenclature (and I am not trying to deliberately bag my colleagues here) does illustrate the tensions which do exist when te ao Māori is intruded on by Government.

I believe a significant role for Te Puni Kōkiri is to not only reflect what the Minister of the day wants – and in doing so he/she has to trust our advice – but to also reflect what Māori are telling us is right or wrong with the policies and processes of the Government which impact on Māori. We need to be sensitive to the kinds of tensions, which are created when Māori models of whānau, for
example, are not consistent with policies which are generally designed to enhance the needs of individuals. This is not to say that all Government agencies focus only on the rights and needs of individuals. However, in the social policy area, it would be accurate to say that many of our criticisms of policy derive from a lack of appreciation of the whole picture.

For example, the Māori education strategy does not focus solely on achievement in schools and Māori individuals in schools, as the strategy also involves the impact of schools on whānau and vice versa. In the justice sector, evaluations of programmes, which focus on the impact of prison on inmates is more likely to succeed in changing behaviours inside and outside prison when the needs of whānau are also considered. Similarly, in health, the focus on the needs of whānau makes a lot more sense than looking at the medical model of health impacts on individuals.

Tihei Mauri Ora: The ‘sneeze of life’

Whānau is founded on the life-giving principle, te mauri ora, ‘the sneeze of life’. Consequently, it is dynamic and evolutionary. While centred on whakapapa, whānau is also broader than physical birth, it includes children who are whāngai, those, as Metge states, who are ‘born of my heart’. Today, this principle is embodied in many differing whānau groups.

One issue already raised by conference members is the notion that such concepts above inevitably lead to the question of whether or not such concepts belong to a romantic or romanticised era long since gone. I would like to suggest that no matter what definition the conference comes up with, there are some basic principles of operation – tikanga, if you want – which belong only to us. The tikanga, the value systems behind them, are the backbone of whānau, hapū and iwi – indeed the backbone of being Māori. These touchstones include, for example, Māori values, which have been identified in a number of other hui, such as the Te Ara Whakamua hui in 1994:

- kotahitanga (unity)
- aroha (caring love for others)
- mauri ora (spiritual wellbeing and respect for the natural world)
- muru (reciprocity and reparation)
- manaakitanga (protecting and nurturing)
- tiakitanga (guardianship)
- tohatohatanga (the capacity to share resources)
- pupuri taonga (guardianship in relation to whānau resources and knowledge)
- wairua (the importance of a spiritual approach)
whakamana (the ability of whānau to enable members) and
whakatakoto tikanga (the ability of whānau members to plan for future necessities).

This list is obviously not exhaustive. When all goes well, these values are expressed as mahi-a-ngākau (work of the heart): the provision of financial and moral support (āwhina), generous care (manaaki) and protection (tiaki) for each other and for visitors, working together (mahi tahi), and being responsible for each other, building up each other’s mana, checking behaviour that breaches whānau values such as arrogance, physical, verbal or sexual abuse. Whether we are talking about the ideal whānau (the romantic vision) or kaupapa-based whānau, surely these are the basis for defining what whānau really means and what Māori want whānau to mean.

1996 Census

The 1996 Census shows that one in five Māori women live in extended family households, the most common with generations. The Census also indicates that 12% of Māori women who live with their parents have one child, as opposed to 5% of non-Māori women. It would appear that Māori grandparents are more likely to be involved in the nurturing of the mokopuna than non-Māori grandparents. These illustrate that in reality there are different models operating in Aotearoa.

Whatever the social groupings, who comprise the whānau, the whānau remain the foremost unit in Māoridom today. Clearly, Māori, as do all indigenous peoples, find the whānau unit the most natural social unit for any organisation.

Te Puni Kōkiri’s Role

What role does TPK play in improving whānau health outcomes and whānau development? Te Puni Kōkiri is not a delivery agency, we are a policy agency. Consequently, our role is one of working closely with other government departments, such as Social Policy Agency, Health, Education, etc to ensure that their programmes are representative of Māori. Te Puni Kōkiri also monitors other agencies on their responsiveness to Māori. There are a number of specific policy developments in which Te Puni Kōkiri has played a role (and also in terms of our monitoring and evaluation function is likely to continue to play a significant role). These include the following projects.

Fostering Relationships: Whānau Toko i te Ora

Te Puni Kōkiri plays a role in assisting the development of relationships between Māori groups and various government agencies, such as the development of Whānau Toko i te Ora, a joint parenting initiative between the Māori Women’s Welfare League and the Ministry of Education. This initiative is the first in the
sense it approaches parenting from a Māori perspective based on tikanga which aims to improve and promote wellbeing of tamariki through positive parenting, confident family functioning, relationships and attitudes as well as learning and development opportunities for tamariki. The programme emphasises the first five years of a child’s life, and provides a Whānau Toko i te Ora family worker to visit and assist the whānau. A group programme is also provided for whānau who want to work in groups to learn how to better assist their children.

Strengthening Families

The Strengthening Families Strategy was developed because Government recognised that part of delivering better services to all families is to have greater co-ordination between government agencies at the local level and more inclusive policy development at the national level. The work in this strategy is comprehensive and includes the prototype pilot programme, Family Start.

The Family Start Programme

Family Start provides for intensive home-based visiting through the provision of a family worker, who will work alongside a family designated at risk (an unsupported parent; lack of antenatal care; mother aged under 18 years; low income status; lack of essential resources; mental health history; relationship problems; low maternal educational qualifications; family history of abuse; substance abuse; frequent change of address; and SIDS factors) for a period of five years from the birth of a new baby. The areas selected for the initial pilots were Whangarei, Ranui-Massey and Rotorua. A similar development occurred for Christchurch.

Te Puni Kōkiri regional officers were involved in the selection of the providers and with the ongoing monitoring at the local level. This initiative is due to be expanded into other regions, with Te Puni Kōkiri’s assistance.

Maternity Review Launch

Te Puni Kōkiri’s role also extends to ensuring that initiatives such as the Maternity Review, launched by the National Health Committee last month, is responsive to Māori. This includes adequate consultation and hui with Māori. The review is assessing the satisfaction of all women who have had birth experiences within the last three years. Te Puni Kōkiri’s assessment identified the need to ensure Māori report issues of access and sensitivity to their needs and those of their whānau.

Māori Education Strategy

As mentioned before, this strategy is a joint initiative between Te Puni Kōkiri and the Ministry of Education. The proposals involved in this strategy are focused upon raising Māori under-achievement through deliberate strategies that are more
inclusive of whānau. These include improving whānau access to school governance, developing strategies that allow for more flexible governance arrangements, such as the pilot East Coast schools programme, greater teacher responsiveness to tamariki and whānau and kaupapa Māori education which is about providing for Māori education from kōhanga reo to whare ākanga.

Family Violence

Te Puni Kōkiri are developing a strategic agenda for family violence to focus the work of agencies and to provide a co-ordinated and strategic approach to reducing Māori family violence. Māori are over-represented among victims of family violence. Māori women are more likely than non-Māori women to report psychologically abusive behaviour, to have experienced physical or sexual abuse, and to have experienced more serious and repeated acts of violence. The impact of family violence within the whānau impacts across a wide range of sectors including health, education, welfare, and justice. The aim of the family violence strategic agenda for Māori is to focus the work of agencies and develop a co-ordinated and strategic approach to reducing Māori family violence.

The Government Statement of Policy on Family Violence sets out the Government’s broad objectives, principles for action and strategic directions for family violence work. Within the Statement, a number of strategic directions are intended to guide the development and implementation of policies and programmes to address family violence.

Housing for Whānau

Te Puni Kōkiri is also engaged in developing initiatives designed to increase the rate of Māori home ownership through programmes such as Kapa Hanga Kainga (Group Self Build) and Papakainga Housing, and to provide better advice to the Housing Corporation and the Social Policy Agency Housing portfolio (formerly the Ministry of Housing), which will improve tenure for Māori. Our role is to remind agencies that the basic unit is the whānau, not individual house owners. These are all examples of strategic initiatives in which Te Puni Kōkiri’s role is to influence the policy development of other government agencies to be responsive to whānau.

Gaps Identified by Te Puni Kōkiri

I would like to stress that unless policy focuses upon whānau in a strategic and comprehensive way to enhance whānau development, we will not make a difference to whānau wellbeing. To date, the policy focus has been on the individual, Māori and non-Māori as population groups, and on the coming to terms with hapū and iwi, such as the Waitangi Tribunal’s recommendations regarding Waipareira and the central funding authority it deals with. We see the emergence of strong urban lobbies for the redistribution of the fishing quota.
amongst urban groups and traditional tribes. It is Te Puni Kōkiri's role to remind other agencies that without specifically focusing upon the whānau, hapū and iwi would cease to operate.

The Healthy Individual and Whānau

To sum up, Māori (and other indigenous peoples) require being nurtured in ways which ensure a healthy sense of self. When a whānau is functioning in a healthy way, the whānau nurtures the health of each of its members. Healthy whānau members are characterised by:

- a sense of identity
- knowledge of te reo me ōna tikanga Māori
- whānau support
- a sense of control over his/her destiny
- personal mana and pride
- intellectual alertness
- physical fitness and spiritual awareness
- personal responsibility and co-operation
- respect for others
- economic security.

Te Puni Kōkiri will encourage all agencies it deals with to develop policies which embrace the wider meaning of whānau wellbeing. Current policy is moving towards positive interventions at the local level. Te Puni Kōkiri will support such policy interventions and programmes.

Celebrating the Whānau in the Year 2000

I would like to conclude with an anecdote of how we as Māori can celebrate the whānau. There are many whānau holding whānau reunions; this is a strategy adopted by Māori to strengthen our whanaungatanga. This is happening with indigenous peoples all over the world. I know of one African-American family of 15, born into the poverty of the rural South whose grandparents had been slaves. This family held their first family reunion last year. They used the reunion as a time to reinforce their family values by presenting various members with 'Family Member of the Year' awards. The awards were for specific behaviours and values that the family treasured. I was struck by the vision that if all our whānau had the opportunity to reinforce our values and strengthen our whanaungatanga we could drastically reduce the rate of youth offending.
Challenge for the Year 2000

Let us not forget, that while policy focuses upon assisting the whānau, change comes from the strength and power of the whānau, seen most clearly in daily acts of aroha. My concluding statement is a wero to all of us to think about how each and every one present today can celebrate our own whānaungatanga now and in the year 2000.

No reira, kia mau ki tōu whānau me ki ngā tikanga a kui mā a koro mā i roto i te whānaungatanga a tātou te īwi.

Presentation Panel Conclusion:
Druis Barrett

In sitting in some of the workshops this afternoon and this morning, some valid questions are going to be coming out for the government agencies, but having said that I think that it’s really brave of people, our people; we must remember they are our people in those agencies who can come and talk to us at a hui and face up to us with what they’re doing, whether we think it’s right or wrong. I know I’m the worst culprit if things don’t go my way but we can each do that separately by going in to see them and that I don’t think that publicly, we should throw stones, or rocks at them because I think that they are doing a grand job in there. So I want to acknowledge the panel – Keriata Stuart from Te Ohu Whakatupu, Mārama Parore-Katene from Health Funding Authority and Paora Howe from Te Puni Kōkiri.

I think that each one of them captured some things that we all have talked about today. That’s about whānau wellbeing and whānau development. But Paora you raised an issue that made me really mad this week when CYW announced their new inoa. I felt like flattening them because I find it’s racist that they add whānau to their kaupapa without consulting us? So some policy from the whole three of you about erasing that because for me and perhaps I have a narrow mind, and I don’t think so, but perhaps I have. When you term it whānau it directly points to us and whānau to us is precious as I’ve heard you say today and the context of it has been used loosely. So, heoi anō rā, kei te mihi tonu ki a koutou te tokotoru nei, I won’t put tapu on the end of it, but kei te mihi tonu ki a koutou tēnā tātou katoa.
It is a privilege to be able to deliver this address tonight in the presence of so many people, and groups, who have contributed to the advancement of whanau and to the promotion of Maori health and wellbeing.

In particular I wish to acknowledge Dame Joan Metge whose scholarship over many years has enabled New Zealanders and an international audience to gain some appreciation of Maori society and the changing nature of whanau. And it is a similar honour to be able to recognise the efforts of the Maori Women's Welfare League, and their President, Druis Barrett. The League has consistently and often single-handedly championed the cause of whanau, not only guarding the rights of women and children, but also recognising the significance of the whanau as agents for change and catalysts for Maori development. In the post-war years when men spoke only of land, as if that were to be the Maori salvation, members of the League focused on whanau; when successive Governments urged Maori to greater economic heights, members of the League refused to turn away from the economic realities of whanau; and when the trail of urbanisation disrupted the lives and homes of Maori people, the League sought to re-establish the spirit of whanau in new suburbs and among dispirited urban migrants. The Maori Women's Welfare League's forty-six year campaign on behalf of whanau, and on behalf of Maori people generally, is a story of dedication and inspiration.

Face to face with so many experts on whanau and whanau development it is therefore with some hesitancy that I embark on the topic of Whanau Development and Maori Survival: The challenge of time.

However I take heart from the occasion for this lecture; it is one in a series of Millennium Lectures, Te Ura Mai o te Motu, instituted by the School of Maori Studies to celebrate the new millennium. And because the invitation is a once-in-a-thousand-years event and therefore unlikely to come my way again, any lingering diffidence about delivering this address on whanau is offset by a sense of opportunism, a chance to be part of the millennium hype.
Poised as we are on the verge of the next thousand years, there is every reason to humble ourselves in the face of time spans so endless that the human life cycle appears little more than a brief moment, and not a hugely significant one at that. What I intend to do tonight is to enter into the spirit of the millennium and consider the journeys of whänau, not through the twentieth century alone, but across time spans of thousands of years and in both a backwards and a forwards direction. It is probably an unduly ambitious aim, but the good news is that I do not intend to discuss each of the two thousand years one by one.

Instead there are only three points I intend to make. Actually they are questions rather than statements, and in the end they may not be answerable anyway. But, given this rather unique chance to reflect on the millennium just past, and to consider the millennium yet to come, we have the opportunity to go outside the usual boundaries and to adopt much more expansive timeframes than we would normally entertain.

The first question then is about the endurance of whänau over the past thousand years: how did whänau survive? The second question is easier to answer since it is related to the present: how are whänau faring today? And the third question is about the thousand years ahead: how will whänau survive in the next century and well beyond that, across the next millennium?

Whänau

But before exploring those questions, I should try and define what I mean by whänau, at least for the purpose of tonight's lecture. Apart from its fundamental meaning, to give birth, whänau is a word which has undergone change in parallel to the changes in Māori society; it lends itself to a variety of interpretations. Joan Metge has illustrated that point in her seminal study, New Growth from Old.¹ Common to all meanings, whänau refers to groups of people, brought together for a special purpose. Generally the members of a whänau are Māori, though not always, and generally their association together is mutually beneficial, though, as I will discuss later, that is not always true either. In a narrower definition, whänau members all descend from a common ancestor and therefore, among other things, possess common patterns of DNA. Their shared heritage may go back four, or five, or six generations, or may be traced back well beyond the memories of the oldest members, into the depths of history and the domains of tradition. In modern times, whänau is also used to describe a group who share not a common heritage but a common mission – a kohanga whänau, a whänau support group, team-mates perhaps. Then there is an increasing trend to use the word whänau synonymously with family, or household.

It is not for me to accept one definition and reject others; they all have some validity according to the particular context. Although for the most part tonight I will be adopting a conservative approach, and interpreting whānau to mean a group who boast a common descent, a shared whakapapa; many of the principles underlying the discussion will be equally applicable to whānau in other situations.

1000 AD

Deliberate Strategies

That leads me back to the first question. How did whānau manage to survive throughout the past thousand years and to emerge after a millennium in greater numbers and, I think, with greater heart? How did they overcome the twin threats to survival: confrontation with a new environment and confrontation with the West?

Of course none of us really knows for sure what life was like in New Zealand in the year 1000. But very elegant DNA studies, from Massey University no less, seem to confirm that a significant colony of Māori settlers was firmly established some 800 or so years ago. And not by accident. Simulations point to at least fifty women being at the same place at the same time – an unlikely event unless it had been planned. A critical mass was necessary. Accounts of settlement by accidental voyaging, fishermen blown off course, are not supported by the new DNA evidence. On the contrary, careful planning to make the voyage to Aotearoa seems to have taken place over a two or three hundred year period, from the time of Kupe, until the arrival of the larger canoes bearing new settlers.

Even before then, however, there were Polynesian migrants who had been in New Zealand for a longer period of time. Some evidence of the early settlements is archaeological, and includes discoveries of kiore (rat) bones, but it is the oral narratives which are especially descriptive. Most tribal histories include accounts of early settlements in New Zealand. Best wrote about te Hapu Oneone and te Tini o Toi, early tribes whose members married with the descendants of Mataatua. Te Herekiekie Grace described a ‘fair skinned and flaxen hair people’ called Ngāti Hotu who occupied the Taupo area prior to Tuwharetoa, and Pei te Hurinui Jones mentions several early tribes, including the Pananehu, Maruiwi, and Tai Tawaro. The very early voyager, Toi te Huatahi came across some of

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them. ‘These people were not like Māori,’ Jones writes, ‘for some of them were very black and they had flat knees, he turi pārahara.’\(^5\) The local women ran after Toi’s men ‘because they were so handsome’ and intermarriage led to their absorption. While there is some archaeological evidence of those earlier peoples, there is no DNA evidence to indicate the survival of groups who are distinctive from Māori.

I suspect that a thousand years ago the Pacific migrants who were in Aotearoa, found life in their new land a laborious and often discouraging task. Imagine after living in Rarotonga, or Tahiti, arriving in Aotearoa to face westerly winds, an absence of safe lagoons to buffer the force of the waves and to trap shoals of fish, no mammalian food reserves, and frosts in the morning. None of the familiar comforts of home; no access to customary sources of food; and no tapa that could be fashioned into warm garments.

**Adaptation to the Environment**

The consuming task for whānau then must have been one of survival. How to maintain sufficient food supplies to last through long winters; how to keep warm and dry; how to create fire; how to deal with illness when the old medicines were no longer available; how to snare birds which lived so high off the ground; how to interpret the signs of nature, and how to cope with a new social order, yet to take shape. The challenge was to adapt to a new environment and use it to further the human cause. No question of returning to the good old days – they were now too far away in both time and distance.

Add to that the need to construct a new vocabulary. The situation in Aotearoa was different enough to require new words to describe the new faces of nature. There is no word in Rarotonga or Tahiti for frost. In other Pacific Islands, ‘tio’ means a white oyster as it does to Māori. But in Māori the word ‘tio’ also means a frost. Did frosts resemble oysters in some way so that the word ‘tio’ was used, initially as a metaphor, until eventually it came to mean frost? And another novelty, a giant flightless bird had to be named. There was nothing like it in other islands, but smaller fowls were called ‘moa’ in Hawaii, Tahiti, and Tonga. So the word ‘moa’ was applied to the much larger relative in New Zealand.

Finding new words may have been the easy part. Getting used to a different climate, distinct flora and fauna, the interpretation of the seasonal signs, flooded rivers, earthquakes, and long land distances would have been much more demanding challenges. I doubt that they were conquered overnight. Perhaps it took two hundred years or so to understand the environment, and maybe another hundred years to feel at one with the new land.

Amazingly, not only did the new settlers survive but they flourished. Writings of Pei te Hurinui Jones and Bruce Biggs⁶ and Angela Ballara⁷ seem to confirm that within two or three hundred years, small whānau groups had formed themselves into larger social units, hapū, and had constructed elaborate rules and conventions for the conduct of trade, fishing, agriculture, and warfare. Life has become highly organised. Survival was no longer the all consuming task and the exploits of whānau gave way to the more complex exploits of hapū and iwi. Now there was time to develop more sophisticated ideals and art forms and to codify what was previously a matter of experience and common sense.

**Laws for Survival**

The laws of tapu and noa for example took on new forms once the immediate challenge to survival had passed. Probably (although I am now speculating) in the first two or three hundred years of settlement in Aotearoa, whānau gradually learned about their new environment, at least enough to know what was safe, noa, what was risky, tapu, and what should be avoided at all costs, rahui. But over time the reasons for introducing sanctions and recognising social liberties became incorporated into more elaborate explanations. Now the laws of tapu and of noa seemed to be derived from higher powers and mere mortals were expected to fall into line, or run foul of the authorities. What had started out as a series of whānau practices based on the law of survival, had become codified into a more complex statement about social conduct – still linked to survival but not so closely identified with whānau as with tohunga, or rather unforgiving gods.

The story about Moses and the ten commandments is not so different. Experience had taught the children of Israel, as they fled Egypt, that some conduct was in the interests of the wellbeing of the whole community while other behaviours would compromise group survival. To enforce the message ten points were codified into a set of laws, the ten commandments, endorsed no less by Jehovah. My guess is that the stone tablet handed down to Moses was the final version of several drafts, the product of a long period of trial and error which saw the gradual evolution of a desirable way of doing things in order to increase the chances of group survival. Anyway, attributing the commandments to God converted a survival strategy into a moral code.

So it seems to have been with tapu and noa. Initially they were part of an agenda for survival. Later, the survival aspect took on a spiritual guise and to some extent the original point was lost. Or maybe the spiritual explanation made better sense and continued to provide a reason for sensible behaviour even after the threat to survival had actually passed.

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⁶ Jones and Biggs (1995) *op. cit.*
I do not really want to embark on a lengthy discussion about the laws of tapu. However, this brief excursion into tapu and noa, and the codification of the laws of survival, has a purpose. It is primarily to illustrate one of the ways in which whānau survived. Adaptation to the cold, to dense bush, to ocean swells, to tough fern roots, to mountain peaks, took its toll on human life. Survival of future generations required adherence to safe practices that were relatively risk free. I do not know of any application of tapu which is not about safeguarding life. Tapu is closely linked to health risks. And for the most part, safety is synonymous with the state of ‘noa’.

### Procreation

Developing rules for safe living was only one survival strategy. The other was to ensure the vitality of future generations. In the scholarly study of Tainui, Pei te Hurinui Jones and Bruce Biggs recount some of the more colourful histories relating to individuals and hapū. They give a graphic description of the Tainui canoe, its voyage and eventual arrival at Kawhia. But there follows a period of some two or three hundred years from which no narratives have been retained. Tribal sagas take up again around 1500 AD with the story of Tawhao and his celebrated sons, Whatihua and Turongo. Ballara as well commences her accounts of īwi and hapū in the late eighteenth century. The gap of three or four hundred years is consistent with a period in Māori history when energies were focused on survival and adaptation. It is not that nothing happened in those times but the priorities were less about social exchange, trade, or the arts, than about establishing a subsistence economy. And the key players were whānau.

However, by 1500 AD demographic trends were towards a rising population. Whānau had prospered well and had multiplied to the extent that larger social entities, hapū, had become powerful with both political and territorial might. Inevitably tension between groups began to emerge. Economic inequalities, the result of growing populations and limited resources, led to increasing conflict and open warfare.

Threats to survival now hinged not so much on the forces of nature as on challenges to autonomy from neighbouring and sometimes distant tribes. Earlier alliances and loyalties remained important but as the population expanded, so did contests become more frequent between neighbours, even between members of the same whānau. Some writers attribute these battles to domestic quarrels, often between husband and wife. But the more obvious source of dissent was the increase in size of hapū, and whānau, and the consequent drain on resources. It is

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8 Jones and Biggs, *op. cit.* pp. 62-85.
11 Many of the stories in *Ngā īwi o Tainui* are about interpersonal quarrels.
generally believed that the decision to quit Hawaiki in favour of Aotearoa, those hundreds of years before, stemmed from a population explosion and a desire by some tribes to seek autonomy in distant lands. Now, some five hundred years later, a similar population increase was challenging the autonomy of hapū in many regions. Internal migration to less populated regions was a common response, even into the nineteenth century when Te Ati Awa went to the Chatham Islands and Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa moved away from Waikato into the lower part of the North Island.

Perhaps this is a good time to take stock of the direction this discussion is taking. With a broad brush I have been looking back over the past thousand years and wondering how the early Māori whānau managed to survive and then to flourish. So far I have referred to three or four strategies which may have made the difference. First the decision to leave Hawaiki and migrate to Aotearoa was deliberate; it was a planned operation. DNA studies suggest a pool of at least fifty women was necessary to produce a viable colony. Second, over a period of two or three hundred years, Māori learned to adapt to a new environment and to stand alongside the natural order of things. The new country became, so to speak, user friendly; the children of Rangi and Papa had become part of a greatly expanded concept of whānau. Third, a system of laws based on tapu and noa, was instituted to guide behaviour and to reduce unnecessary risks; a code for adaptive living had been developed. Fourth, by the middle of the millennium, around 1500 to 1600 AD, survival had been more or less assured by numbers. By the mid-1700s the population had grown to somewhere between 100,000 and 500,000. At the same time, the size of the population now presented fresh challenges. Whānau coalitions emerged, and out of the new alliances came a series of politically distinct entities, hapū, to champion the survival of whānau.

Yet despite the tensions between hapū, and skirmishes on most borders, in less than five hundred years, Māori had successfully adapted to Aotearoa and a degree of demographic stability and social balance had been achieved.

**Confrontation with the West**

There, things might have remained were it not for a second challenge to survival. The first challenge you will recall had come from migration itself, the long voyage from Hawaiki, and then the need to front up to a sometimes harsh and unforgiving environment. In contrast the second threat to survival came not from long and dangerous voyaging by Māori or from the environment, but from confrontation with a wave of new settlers, this time from England and the West. By 1800 sufficient encounters between Māori and Europeans had occurred to indicate that a new order was close at hand. At first it was a novelty. Whānau vied with each other to have a Pākehā retainer and to marvel at a range of new

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technologies and home comforts. But as the numbers grew, and the hunger for land increased, so too did the novelty wear off. Now the laws of tapu had little effect – it was not nature or other Māori that needed to be calmed but soldiers, muskets, legislators and missionaries. Whānau were about to enter into a period of extreme deprivation. By 1857, the population had already declined to around 56,000. Diets of potatoes and little else were simply not compatible with life and certainly gave little protection against new infectious diseases such as measles, tuberculosis, and influenza. The decline was swift and relentless. Mortality rates soared as in parallel fashion land holdings decreased.

Convinced of the inevitability of Māori demise, in 1874 the *New Zealand Herald* maintained: 'That the native race is dying out in New Zealand there is, of course, no doubt. The fact cannot be disguised that the natives are gradually passing away; and even if no cause should arise to accelerate their decrease, the rate at which they are now disappearing points to their extinction in an exceedingly brief period.'

The prediction seemed to match the demographic facts. A little over a hundred years ago, in 1896, the population reached its lowest ebb. At 42,000 there was every reason to believe that survival had come to an end and that the next millennium, if not the next century, would see the passing of the Māori.

In defiance of popular expectations, however, the passing of the Māori did not occur. In what became an unprecedented renaissance, the population decline was halted and whānau again began to grow in numbers. This time, however, the rate of increase was not to be as slow as it had been in the first half of the millennium. Even by 1936 there was evidence of a substantial reversal (82,000) and by 1996 the population had reached an all-time high. 579,800 New Zealanders claimed Māori descent. True, the face of Māori had changed. 'Fair skinned and flaxen hair Māori' were once again evident and there were very early signs of an increasing number of people over the age of 75 years. Moreover, many Māori, perhaps twenty percent, had lost any link to a hapū. What remained though was a strong sense of whānau and a positive feeling about being Māori. Survival had required fresh adaptations, new alliances, and conversions to different philosophies and different forms of behaviour.

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13 Ibid. p. 55.
14 *New Zealand Herald*, 17 August 1874.
16 In the 1996 Census, the total Māori population was based on Māori descent, rather than the quantum of 'Māori blood'. Comparisons with earlier times are therefore not always reliable. But the general trends are consistent.
17 In the 1996 Census, of the 579,714 people of Māori descent, 523,000 identified as Māori.
Against all odds whānau had endured two serious threats to survival. They had coped with the long voyage to Aotearoa and survived confrontation with a new environment; and they survived a confrontation with the West.

2000 AD

You will remember that at the beginning of this lecture I raised three questions. The first was how did whānau survive their first 1000 years in Aotearoa? The second question was how are whānau faring in modern times? What are the characteristics of today’s whānau and how well equipped are they to move into the next thousand years?

There are a number of ways that whānau wellbeing might be measured: comparisons with non-Māori (disparities), progress over time, whānau adversity, whānau potential, whānau functioning, and whānau capacities.

Disparities

One measurement which has become the popular way of reporting compares Māori living standards with those of non-Māori. Disparities between Māori and non-Māori give some indication of the gaps between Māori individuals and other New Zealanders. There are no surprises. On almost any indicator, such as health, education, employment, offending, home ownership, income levels, Māori performance is substantially lower.18

Progress over Time

But measurement of progress by using Pākehā New Zealand as the benchmark does not really capture the dynamic state of Māori society, and the hugely significant gains made this century. In 1900 for example, Māori life expectancy was around 32 years; in 2000 it will be around 71 years.19 In 1929 the infant mortality rate was 94 per 1000 live births;20 in 2000 it will be less than 20, around 18 per 1000 live births. Deaths from tuberculosis were as high as 37 per 10,000 in 1945.21 Now they have been virtually eliminated. And, as I have mentioned, the

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21 Maclean (1964) op. cit. p. 213.
Maori population has increased from 42,000 in 1896 to 580,000 in 1996. These signs of progress do not mean that there are no substantial health problems remaining; indeed there has been deterioration in some areas. Concern is now fully justified about Maori mental health and there is increasing anxiety about high death rates from cancer. Many whanau are robbed of parents and grandparents well before children and mokopuna have reached independence. But the point is that any assessment of whanau wellbeing need not always be seen alongside Pakeha statistics. Comparisons over time and between Maori may be more indicative.

Whanau Adversity

It is also misleading to focus only on those measures which seem to suggest whanau are in some irreversible decline, even though there is no shortage of signs to advance that view. Suicide rates for example have increased for young people and are a cause for concern; and the large number of Maori children who are brought up in a household with only one parent, often in dire economic circumstances, must be a matter of considerable worry. As well the high unemployment rates and correspondingly low-income levels offer little hope of realising Maori potential or guaranteeing full participation within society. Add to that the problems associated with binge drinking and cannabis misuse, and gambling, and whanau could well appear to be in a state of deficiency.

Whanau Potential

But those negative images should not hide the strengths, which also characterise whanau in modern times. With over half of the population under 22 years, there is potential for great things to happen. In that age group alone, Maori language competence is higher now than it has been for more than five decades. Maori are living longer; can look forward to a standard of living which would be the envy of their parents; can expect to make it in sport and in the entertainment industry, and have entered the worlds of commerce, law, health, and politics in increasing numbers. Moreover, in Whaia te Whanaungatanga: Oranga Whanau, the Ministry of Health has identified whanau strengths and whanau-based principles which have the potential to advance the health of all Maori.

Whanau Impacts

Not all whanau are able to provide the same level of health and safety for their people. Whanau can therefore be assessed according to the impacts they have on health risks. Unsafe families, whanau tuikino, for example show a fundamental

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lack of respect for others and not infrequently revert to violence in order to make a point. Laissez-faire families, whānau wewete, are essentially disorganised and although there is no ill-will, neither is there any sense of direction or guidance. Anything goes. Restricted families, whānau pōhara, are well intentioned but lack resources to convert aspirations into action. Instead their members are denied the benefits of society. They are poor in both economic and cultural senses. Isolated families, whānau tū mokemoke, are so alienated from Māori networks that their members are imbued with narrow perspectives of the world and lack the confidence to bridge barriers or new alliances.

**Whānau Capacities**

Another way to measure the status of whānau in modern times is to assess their capacities to perform those tasks which Māori expect of whānau. Five primary capacities have been identified: the capacity to care; the capacity to share; the capacity for guardianship; the capacity to empower; the capacity to plan ahead. An additional sixth capacity, important for survival, is the capacity for growth.

The capacity to care, manaakitia, is a critical role for whānau. Unless a whānau can care for the young and the old, for those who are sick or disabled, and for those who are temporarily out of pocket, then a fundamental purpose of the whānau has been lost. However, being concerned for whānau members does require resources and the stark reality for many whānau, is that an absence of material and social resources counts against caring for others. Nor is there always sufficient geographical closeness to exercise the caring function.

The capacity to share, tohatohatia, depends on generosity and a sense of collective responsibility. It represents a redistribution of wealth among family members and the promotion of a spirit of selflessness – it also reduces the emphasis on personal possessions at the expense of the group. For many whānau, sharing means that no one becomes rich. At the same time, however, the whānau is able to act as a buffer in times of hardship.

The capacity for guardianship, pupuri taonga, expects whānau to act as wise trustees for whānau heritage – cultural heritage such as language, taonga and narratives; physical heritage such as land; and site heritage such as fishing spots and wāhi tapu. Wise management means that whānau members will be able to gain access to those cultural and physical resources to which they have an entitlement. While many whānau take these roles seriously, it is also true that many whānau members have very limited access to their own heritage and are the poorer for it.

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The capacity to empower, whakamana, is a whānau function, which facilitates the entry of members of the whānau into the wider community. The whānau might be the gateway into the marae, or into sport, or to school, or to work. Rather than individuals negotiating the terms of their own entry, the whānau is able to exercise its wider influence to ease the passage; to advocate on behalf of its people. A current reality, however, is that the Māori human capital is seriously underdeveloped. Whānau probably spend more time deciding on land issues, even though in comparison to human wealth, land comprises a relatively small part of whānau and Māori wealth. There is a role here for whānau to take a more proactive approach to the development of human capital, and that is a point I wish to return to later.

The capacity to plan ahead, whakatākato tikanga, is probably the most important whanau function though is likely to be the one which is least practised. Apart from tangi funds, and trustees to administer whānau lands, few whānau have developmental plans in place. They are not on their own. Māori energy is largely focused on dealing with past grievances and coping with contemporary problems. Long-term planning could seem like an unnecessary refinement. It is, however, a key to survival.

The capacity for growth, whakatini, was the key to survival in the last century when the population was reduced to 42,000. As if in response to the threat of genocide, fertility rates rose, and Māori women had large families, often ten or more children. Even by 1960, fertility rates were as high as 6.6. The outcome was a rapid rise in the size of the population, especially when mortality rates declined. Since the 1960s, however, the number of children born to Māori women has decreased to a level of 2.4. The population’s survival is secure enough not to require high fertility. But some future depopulation trend coupled with a new threat to survival could be expected to lead to higher fertility rates.

In this discussion about whānau wellbeing I have referred to six ways of measuring whānau status. While problems abound, and cultural, social and economic indicators all point to ample room for improvement, there are also positive signs. Taking into account the rate of progress over the past century, as measured by the size of the population now and the determination to survive, and considering the degree of adaptability which has become a hallmark of Māori renaissance, whānau are in a reasonably sound position to address the future. In other words we are better placed to move into the next millennium than we were to tackle the previous millennium.

One, final, whānau strength deserves special mention before examining the prospect of another millennium. Despite the passage of a thousand years, the Māori DNA configuration has remained relatively intact. It is much less diverse than other Polynesian groups and is identifiable as a distinctive genetic pattern.25 Even though in terms of human migrations, one thousand years is considered a

25 Murray-McIntosh et al. (1998) op. cit.
short period of time, a thousand years has not changed the fundamental Māori make-up. In other words if Māori survival in the past can be attributed, even partly, to a unique genetic code, then the same genetic potential remains today.

3000 AD

It is entirely predictable that the next millennium will present new threats to the survival of whānau. Some of those threats will be internal — competition for resources, lack of compatibility between hapū and within whānau, failure to adapt to new circumstances. Other threats will be external — new health threats, globalisation and the assimilation of cultures and ethnicities, continued marginalisation, displacement.

Threats to Survival

In contemplating the thousand years ahead, I should say that I have no idea what the world will be like by the year 3000 AD, any more than the ancestors who arrived on these shores in 1000 AD would have been able to predict the microwave oven. But in all probability, the next two hundred years or so will revolve around the knowledge industry and enhanced forms of communication. The globe will shrink, though not necessarily leading to the abolition of states and nations. And almost certainly genetic engineering will accelerate; initially to improve the quality and durability of foodstuffs and to eliminate inherited diseases. Alzheimer’s disease, haemophilia, and juvenile diabetes may be unknown in future generations. Then genetic manipulation will be applied to other areas — perhaps to breed exceptional people or to limit procreation by those deemed to be a drain on society. And it is also highly probable that, despite scientific breakthroughs, a new set of diseases will appear, threatening human existence and challenging whatever knowledge base is available.

Demographic changes will also be a particular challenge for the next millennium. Once the third world achieves higher life expectancy and better standards of living, the globe will seem too small and the food chains will be even more stretched than they are at present. In 500 years time the world may be unable to sustain the total population — unless of course new colonies in space or on other planets alleviate the situation. When overpopulation threatened Polynesia around 1000 AD, migration to distant islands was logical. By the year 3000, migration to the moon, or to Mars or elsewhere, may seem equally logical.

In a greatly changed world, how will whānau fare? At the beginning of this address I mentioned that there were only three questions I intended to ask. The first was how Māori had survived in the thousand years past. And the second was how well were Māori placed today. The third question is how will whānau adapt to new times and new challenges in the millennium ahead?
We are not of course starting from scratch and have earned an enviable track record as far as survival is concerned. So there are some lessons to be learned from the past, and even if the next millennium will bring confrontations, which are totally beyond prediction, there are general survival strategies which could still be relevant. Six of those strategies derived from the past millennium are worth examining a little further.

Wealth Creation

Strategy number one is the maximisation of whānau assets – the creation of wealth. The prospect of wealth creation as a strategy for the future may offend some whānau members as unnecessarily commercial, even crass, but it is justified on two grounds. First there is no great virtue in poverty. The fact that many whānau experience hardship on a day-to-day basis should not be a reason for normalising the experience as if it were some sort of noble existence. Nor should wealth be viewed as if it were the prerogative of some groups, but not others. There is every reason for whānau to expect to be wealthy. The second ground for advocating wealth creation is that I am referring to making the most of the total resources of whānau – cultural resources such as language, physical resources such as land, social resources such as people. A wealthy whānau is one whose members obtain full benefit from their resources; they will be able to enjoy the heritage of language and custom; reap profits from land, fisheries, and investments in the wider economy; and enjoy the gains from their own work, the efforts of the collective whānau, and the work of their forebears.

Human Capital Development

The second strategy is the development of human capital. It is a part of wealth creation but deserves special mention because, as I implied earlier, it is an especially important task for whānau and a key to survival. The Māori resource that is least developed is not land, nor maritime reserves, but its people. Whether losses come from educational failure, or premature death, or recurrent illness, or life-long unemployment, or one-way journeys with alcohol and drugs, the effect is to rob whānau of the benefits, which can flow from competent, healthy and skilled whānau members. There are many agencies which should play some part in the development of human capital, but unless whānau are actively involved in helping members reach full potential, then progress will be uneven, accidental, and slow. There is a serious need to explore the ways in which human potential can be realised; indeed it appears to be the single area where investment will pay sizeable dividends.
Adaptation to the Environment

A third strategy for future survival is about adaptation to the environment. While Māori adaptation to the natural environment gave rise to a huge amount of Māori knowledge and custom (and in the process adaptation was perfected), environmental adaptation in the next millennium will require different emphases. First it will be necessary to identify the most relevant environment. It is unlikely that te ao turoa, the physical environment, will remain the only significant environment within which whānau will live. Over the next two centuries for example the worlds of knowledge and technology may become the most important environments. And beyond that it may be the cosmic environment, which dominates human development, or the genetic environment, or oceanic environments, or even the virtual environment. I am not suggesting that the land, forests, the oceans, rivers and mountains will cease to have special meaning. But survival could well depend on getting to know quite different environments from the world which we see around us.

Even in the past two hundred years there is considerable evidence that we have not adapted well to the environments and the lifestyles which characterise modern living. For one thing, we have not yet gained perspective on red meat, alcohol, drugs, and cholesterol-rich dairy products. If we had, then diabetes, liver disease, lung cancer, and heart disease would not be the causes of so much whānau suffering. The environment of abundance has not been tamed. Adaptation to the environment means constantly scanning the human situation in order to know what forces and powers will threaten existence.

New Rules and New Alliances

The fourth strategy I wanted to discuss follows from the identification of new environments. It is the development of new rules for new situations and the establishment of new alliances. The old laws of tapu were about survival in a harsh world. They were effective then, but they need to be updated for today and especially for tomorrow; codes of conduct will be needed as much in the year 3000 as they were in 1000 AD. It is also clear that by themselves the statutes, the laws of the land, are not effective enough to guarantee safety and freedom from risk for whānau. If they were effective, then the rates of offending would not be so high, accidents and injuries would not play such devastating roles in whānau lives, and violence to children would not be regarded as normal. I am not advocating any disregard for the nation’s laws; I am suggesting, however, that whānau should extend the laws of ‘tapu, and noa’, so that children and young people at least, will have some guidance as they move into the next millennium. It is one thing to remind children that the head is tapu or that an unfinished building is tapu; it is another to transfer those notions into laws for road usage, or classroom manners, or reciprocal obligations within communities, or conduct within the privacy of homes. Survival will be jeopardised unless relevant regulations for survival are codified into rules for interaction with each other, and with the wider environment; and rules which make sense to Māori conceptual frameworks.
As well as new laws to meet new situations, so it will be necessary to forge new alliances. From the sixteenth century, if not earlier, whānau alliances hinged on hapū. But by the end of the millennium, more diverse alliances have emerged. Some whānau have primary affiliations not with a hapū but with their church; others with a sports club; others with urban Māori authorities; others with their neighbours; others still with modern imitations of hapū, gangs. And it should not be forgotten that for many Māori adults and their children, the alliance which provides the most tangible key to survival comes from the State in the form of income support, or a disability allowance, or community service cards. Of these various affiliations, some will be of no use to future survival. But others, for a time at least, will provide whānau with the support, knowledge and inspiration necessary for advancement. The point is that survival will depend on a range of alliances; some may not be necessary for the long haul, others have yet to be negotiated.

Anticipation of Change

Strategy five concerns change, the anticipation of change and the need for long-term planning to meet future demands. There was a lapse of three hundred years or so from the time when the early navigators arrived back in Hawaiiki from Aotearoa until whānau eventually sailed to Aotearoa. News of the new land was accompanied by directions to get there. Actually the directions could have been a little brief. Kupe had left word that the way to Aotearoa was 'to the right of the sun, of the moon, of Kōpū, the Morning Star.'\(^\text{26}\) In any event the decision to set forth was made in the certain knowledge that this was to be a bold step and that energies would be committed to a new land and new futures. It took time for get ready and to prepare for the venture.

In a society which focuses on the here and now, we are generally not good at making long-term plans. Mostly we are content to simply get through the year, or, if we are politicians, to plan no further than the next general election. Nor does society encourage more distant goals. The three-year fixed term contract, or the annual budgeting round, or the annual report, make us think in short bursts. Any chances of trying to obtain a thousand-year contract from the Health Funding Authority would I imagine be fairly remote. Short-term goals mean we get quite good at knowing what we are doing (more or less) but often don't know where we are going, nor are we particularly mindful of where we have come from. New Zealanders as a whole, perhaps because we belong to a youthful nation, seem reluctant to give any credence to events, which occurred as recently as 160 years ago. At the same time in other parts of the world there are signs of longer-term memories. The Church in England, for example, is gearing up to make an apology to the Muslim community for atrocities committed in Jerusalem by the Crusaders about one thousand years ago.

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Whānau also need to think in longer time periods. We are quite good at looking backwards, hundreds if not thousands of years, but are less experienced when it comes to looking too far into the future. Much of the detailed scrutiny of events and phenomena, which preoccupy our lives, is of momentary significance only. The five-year plan would be a start, but we should try and lengthen our horizons, at least to the hundred-year plan so that our visions for the next millennium, and the survival of our people, can give future generations a greater degree of certainty – a head start so to speak. Long-term planning is a key to survival.

Celebration of Uniqueness

Finally, the sixth strategy is the celebration of a uniqueness, which distinguishes Māori whānau from others. Uniqueness has more than one characteristic. It includes language, and the institution of the marae, and mātauranga, as well as narratives, which span a millennium. However, uniqueness also has a biological component, neatly packaged as a distinctive genetic pattern. Māori DNA has shown a stability over a thousand years and may account, at least in part, for the instinct to survive. But it is almost certain that genetic engineering, not only with foodstuffs, but in relationship to humans, will occur at an ever increasing pace during the next millennium.

Many Māori commentators are rightly cautious about these new genetic developments. Nonetheless the challenge for Māori will be to use the new science in a careful way, not avoiding it (as if it could be avoided), but assessing the advantages which it might offer for survival and rejecting those innovations which will confer little survival value. And in making those decisions, the question to be answered, will not be whether genetic engineering is morally acceptable – society will long have decided that – but whether Māori uniqueness can be protected, even enhanced by gene manipulations, and as a consequence survival in some new environment prolonged.

I am aware that a celebration of uniqueness can sometimes be interpreted as a demonstration of might and that in turn can precipitate a backlash from others who are threatened by the survival power of minority groups. Kosovo is fuelled by differing interpretations of ethnic survival and deep-seated beliefs that there is only room for one. Uniqueness cannot be a disguise nor an excuse for eternal warfare. Indeed, should claims of uniqueness be misconceived as superiority, then survival itself is placed in jeopardy. A more fruitful avenue is to create a climate where uniqueness can be celebrated alongside the uniqueness of others.

Conclusion

Before concluding this address I would again like to acknowledge those whose efforts on behalf of whānau have made a difference. We follow timidly in your footsteps. And to those who have braved a wintry night to attend this function, thank you for your attention. To the team who organised this lecture and planned the seminar, which preceded it today, our appreciation. The Ministry of Health have worked closely with the School of Māori Studies to arrange the event, and we are grateful to them, and especially to Pauline Hill, for the generous support and of course for wise leadership and commitment to the advancement of Māori health.

I started this address by asking three questions. The first was how Māori had survived in the thousand years past. And the second was how well are Māori faring today. The third question was how whānau might adapt to new times and new challenges in the millennium ahead. I doubt that any of the three questions has been answered to a high level of satisfaction though in defence of the questions, they have at least provided an opportunity to raise the issues which relate to Māori survival.

If there is to be a single conclusion to be drawn tonight it is linked to people and time. By and large we greatly undervalue the parameters of time. Because our own lives are short, three score years and ten – or twenty – we have difficulty grasping the significance of a thousand years and the ongoing human struggle, generation after generation. Even though our memories of the thousand years past live on, and despite the ability to recite lengthy whakapapa records, forty or fifty generations by heart, we do not easily apply the same dedication to what lies ahead and to constantly evolving environments. My main point is, that if we take whānau survival for granted, and simply allow ourselves to go with the flow, we are neglecting the lessons of history and placing future generations at the mercy of whatever comes along. We must be more deliberate than that.

It is one thing to plan for the celebration of a new millennium. It is entirely another matter to plan for survival throughout the new millennium. As if we do not have enough to do, I am nonetheless suggesting that a long-term planning capacity is needed. Treaty of Waitangi settlements, the allocation of fishing quota, representation in Parliament, contracts to deliver primary health care, strengthening families, are all important issues, and they have significant implications for our future wellbeing. But, in addition, a Māori group needs to begin the serious business of planning for tomorrow. Not year by year, nor even decade by decade, but century by century and with the year 3000 in mind.

There are no easy answers to the questions I have asked; my instinctive feeling, however, is that Māori survival will, in the end, depend on whānau. And my hope is that whānau will be ready for that responsibility. Survival is too important to leave to chance; nor can we afford to rely entirely on the legacy for survival passed down through the past millennium.
In a thousand years time will we be remembered as the generation who became strong in numbers but overwhelmed by matters of the moment? Did we become captivated by the smallness of once vast tribal estates; or blinded by the promise of a few fish; or so intoxicated with the trappings of sovereignty, that we failed to make a place for our children in the new world?

When Kupe returned to Hawaiki in 1000 AD, he left directions for voyaging into the next millennium. His message for survival was not to look forever inwards, or backwards, but to seek out distant horizons and make the most of new opportunities. As for the direction: 'Let it be to the right of the sun, of the moon, of the Morning Star on high'. 'Waiho i te taha katau o te rā, o te marama, o Kōpū rere ai.'

Tēnā koutou katoa.
## Appendix 1:
### Programme – Te Hua o te Whānau Conference

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tr>
<td>10.00 – 10.15 am</td>
<td>Opening address: The Honorable Georgina te Heuheu</td>
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<td>Chair: Julia Taiapa</td>
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<td>10.15 – 10.55</td>
<td>Session 1: Changing whānau structures and practices that</td>
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<td>impact on whānau health and wellbeing</td>
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<td>Keynote speakers: Dame Joan Metge and John Tamihere</td>
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<td>Chair: Chris Cunningham</td>
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<td>11.00 – 12.00 noon</td>
<td>Workshop 1: Whānau diversity: threats that impact on and strengths</td>
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<td>that advance whānau health outcomes and whānau development.</td>
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<td>12.45 – 1.25 pm</td>
<td>Session 2: Whānau and economic issues that impact on whānau</td>
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<td>wellbeing and whānau health outcomes</td>
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<td>Keynote speakers: Judy Hawkins and Julia Taiapa</td>
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<td>Chair: Huia Jahnke</td>
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<td>1.30 – 2.30 pm</td>
<td>Workshop 2: Priority themes (identified by participants at Workshop 1)</td>
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<td>to advance whānau health outcomes and whānau development.</td>
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<td>2.30 – 3.10 pm</td>
<td>Session 3: Two consecutive panels: Education and policy programmes</td>
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<td>1. Te Ao Mātāuranga</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa - Toni Waho</td>
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<td>• Mainstream schools - Ripeka Kaipuke</td>
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<td>• Maintenance of Te Reo in the home - Peeti Nohotima</td>
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<td>• Māori secondary schools - Dawn Pehi</td>
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<td>Chair: Taiarahia Black</td>
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<td>2. Te Ao Kaupapahere</td>
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<td>• Te Ohu Whakatupu - Keriata Stuart</td>
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<td>• Health Funding Agency - Mārama Parore-Katene</td>
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<td>• Te Puni Kōkiri - Paora Howe</td>
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<td>Chair: Druis Barrett</td>
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<td>3.30 – 4.30 pm</td>
<td>Open forum</td>
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<td>Education and policy, research, programme and strategy issues</td>
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<td>to improve whānau wellbeing and whānau health outcomes</td>
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<tr>
<td>4.30 – 5.30 pm</td>
<td>Report from workshops</td>
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<tr>
<td>7.00 pm</td>
<td>Te Ura Mai o te Motu: Millennium Address, Professor Mason Durie</td>
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Proceedings of Te Hua o te Whānau
## Appendix 2: Conference Participants

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Participant</th>
<th>Organisation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adrian Rurawhe</td>
<td>Ratana Orakei-mui Maataua Whangai</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alice Doorbar</td>
<td>Taranaki Healthcare</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alyson Bullock</td>
<td>Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Inc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew Ririnui</td>
<td>Kupenga Hao 1 te Ora – Support Net, Pacific Health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ani Pahuru-Huriwai</td>
<td>Massey University</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ani Prip</td>
<td>Manawatū-Wanganui Cervical Screening Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ani Sweet</td>
<td>Te Whare Marie</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ann McSherry</td>
<td>Manawatū-Wanganui Cervical Screening Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anna Wanahi-Rudd</td>
<td>Te Rūnanga O Raukawa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anne Cliffe</td>
<td>Kupenga Hao 1 te Ora – Support Net, Pacific Health</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anne Huriwai</td>
<td>Ngāti Porou Hauroa Incorporated</td>
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<tr>
<td>Apera Clark</td>
<td>Te Whare Whakapikiora O Te Rangimarie MTH Clinic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aroha Webby</td>
<td>Te Pūwai O Te Whānau</td>
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<tr>
<td>Audrey Robin</td>
<td>Te Kupenga Hauroa-Ahuiriri</td>
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<tr>
<td>Avihi Rophia</td>
<td>Healthcare Hawkes Bay</td>
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<tr>
<td>Barby Joyce</td>
<td>Te Rūnanga O Whare Kaui Rekohu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Becky Fox</td>
<td>Whakarua Ko Te Whare Rekohu, Te Whanau Health Promotion Unit</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bella Martin</td>
<td>Taipa Whakaruruau, Te Hua o te Whanau Health Promotion Unit</td>
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<tr>
<td>Beissie Williams</td>
<td>Whakatapu O Te Whare Rekohu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Beissina Rewi-Pehi</td>
<td>Whakaruruau, Te Whanau Health Promotion Unit</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bronwyn Campbell</td>
<td>Massey Psych Postgrad</td>
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<tr>
<td>Calvin Kairau</td>
<td>Arawau M.H.S.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Camara Jones</td>
<td>Te Kete Hauroa</td>
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<td>Carin Wilson</td>
<td>Kupenga Hao 1 te Ora – Support Net, Pacific Health</td>
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<tr>
<td>Carol Kimberley</td>
<td>Te Rūnanga O Raukawa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Carole Tapp</td>
<td>Waipareira Pasifika Family Start</td>
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<td>Carolyn Tikitu Collins</td>
<td>Kōhanga Reo</td>
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<tr>
<td>Celia Matson</td>
<td>Te Rūnanga O Toa Gayadigi Health Unit</td>
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<tr>
<td>Charlee Kei-Poepe</td>
<td>Te Pūhia O Te Whānau</td>
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<td>Charlene Williams</td>
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<td>Charles Te Paoa</td>
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<td>Christina Parker</td>
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<td>Christine Rimene</td>
<td>Ngāi Tahu Māori Health Research Unit</td>
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<td>Christine Tuata</td>
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<td>Clare Stirling</td>
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<td>Clare Simmonds</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Participant</th>
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<tr>
<td>Claudia Budd</td>
<td>Alcohol and Drug Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colleen Cotter</td>
<td>Taiwhenua Whangawau A-Orotu</td>
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<td>Colleen Te Arihiti</td>
<td>Prime Health/First Health</td>
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<td>Colleen Wience</td>
<td>Ora Toa Health Unit</td>
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<td>Dale Phillips-Tuivaga</td>
<td>He Puna Hauora</td>
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<td>Dame Joan Metge</td>
<td>STOP Trust</td>
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<tr>
<td>Daniel Mataki</td>
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<td>Daryl Gregory</td>
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<td>David Butts</td>
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<td>David Tanatea</td>
<td>Taranaki Iwi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dawn Maney</td>
<td>Tipu Ora FamilyStart</td>
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<td>Dawn Pehi</td>
<td>Turakina Māori Oti India</td>
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<td>Dawn Weatherall</td>
<td>public Health Service</td>
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<tr>
<td>Debbie Beston</td>
<td>Otago Polytechnic/Waimarino Health Centre</td>
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<td>Dee Edwardsdon</td>
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