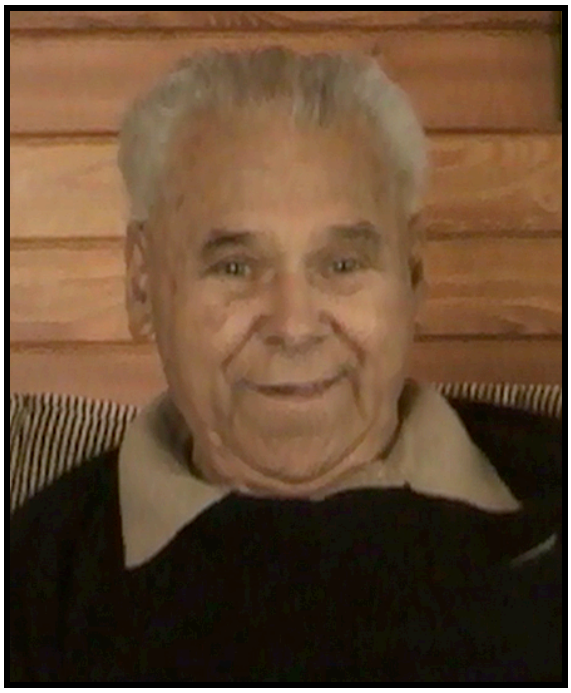
Hei Tikitiki

Māori Rites of Passage & Youth Development Research Project

Te Ora Hou Aotearoa Incorporated



He maimai aroha ki a Mowhia Kerehoma (1927 – 2010)

E te matua ki te tini me te mano, e te totara haemata hei taumarumaru mo te pani me te rawakore. Ka motu atu koe ki tawhiti, ki te au pōuri ki te rerenga wairua. Kāti ko te aroha e kai nei i a mātou. Tēnei āu tamariki i te tira Te Ora Hou e hohoro te kake mai, kia mihi atu, kia tangi atu. I ngā tau, i rongo nei mātou i te aroha e pupū ake ana i tōu whatumanawa, i ōu ngutu e māturuturu ana te rongopai a Ihowa, i ōu ringaringa te ture o te atawhai. I te ao i te pō, i te pō i te ao, nāu i ruirui te kakano pai, nā, kātahi ka puāwai i āu tini tamariki e kawe nei i ngā wawata i wawatatia ai e koe. Tērā te reo karanga a te Runga Rawa e whakatau nā atu i a koe "Pai rawa e te pononga pai, uru atu koe ki te hari o tōu Ariki". Heoi anō, e te kuru pounamu, me okioki ki te Atua, moe mai i te moe reka, haere, haere, haere oti atu ai.

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Ka mahi koe, e te tamariki moe pori…

Well done youngster, you stayed close to your whānau
and acquired much knowledge and wisdom from them.

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More than 100 people around Aotearoa have participated in different parts of this project and provided invaluable support through the process.

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Nga mihi mahana, mihi maioha, mihinunui ki a koutou katoa.

Manu Caddie
Project Manager
Hakihea 2010

1. Executive Summary

Introduction

The purpose of this community research project was for Māori youth workers, rangatahi and whānau members to explore traditional youth development practices within their rohe and then share their learning between rohe and with others outside the research group.

The project logic is based on a number of premises:

1. That within traditional Māori societies there were child-rearing and youth development practices based on a number of common principles.
2. That some of these practices and the underlying principles may be unfamiliar to Māori youth workers and people responsible for supporting Māori youth development today.
3. That some of these principles and practices may be useful to inform contemporary youth development practice within Māori communities.
4. That kaumātua and other sources of knowledge may be willing and able to provide some of their experiences and understanding of traditional practices and principles that will be of use to current and future generations of rangatahi Māori, their whānau and others.

Māori youth workers have not had access to a large amount of research on indigenous youth development to help inform their practice. Most research used by Māori youth workers has been undertaken with a focus on other disciplines including health, education and social work.

Having youth workers and whānau undertaking the research was designed to ensure the knowledge was developed and is retained within the communities it is intended to benefit. This project helped build the research skills of youth workers, rangatahi and whānau affiliated to Te Ora Hou and learnings from the process will be able to be applied in other rohe who want to undertake similar processes.

Existing Literature

Anthropological enquiry has for at least the last 200 years sought to establish general theories about the purpose of rites of passage within cultures. Definitions and schema for determining what constitutes a rite of passage tend to suggest that they deal with entering a new stage of life (Moore & Habel, 1982), maturation in physical, social and sexual status (Rogoff, 2003) and membership of a new group (Pervos, 2001). Blumenkrantz & Goldstein (2010) have comprised a list of twenty elements of youth rites of passage that may be used to inform current efforts to re-establish healthy rites of passage in contemporary societies.

An important theme running through much of the literature is that rites of passage do not exist for the benefit of individual participating in the process but for the benefit of the community and culture to which s/he belongs (Pervos, 2001; Blumenkrantz & Goldstein, 2010; Rogoff, 2003).

Another important premise is that rites of passage for adolescents are the primary mechanism by which a community or culture ensures that its members have acquired the knowledge, skills and values necessary to be healthy, contributing adults in their society (Blumenkrantz & Goldstein, 2010; Rohr, 2004). Rites of passage may be the vehicle for teaching essential lessons (Rohr, 2004; Rogoff, 2003) that young people need to know or they may be graduation markers that the lessons have been learnt (Best, 1924; Stirling & Salmond, 1980).

Te Ora Hou Aotearoa (2007) have been developing a Māori model of practice that incorporates indigenous models of youth and whānau development. The Circle of Courage (Brendtro et al., 1990) and Professor Mason Durie's six primary capacities for whānau ora provide the core components of the Maia model emerging from Te Ora Hou centres around the country. Interestingly the interviewees undertaken as part of this project appear to endorse the components of the Maia model and may add another level of validity to its design.

Urungatanga is a phrase termed by this review for the process by which young people achieve new levels of responsibility through their day to day exposure to particular practices and knowledge. Much of the literature surveyed documented the common expectations on young people to acquire the skills and information they needed through participation in adult activities (Makereti, 1986; Hiroa, 1950). Even as infants, Māori children contributed to adult conversations and decision-making processes (Elder, 1938) and joined their extended whānau in most aspects of village life (Moon, 2008).

Strong support and sanctions within Māori society ensured that moral and ethical codes were upheld by its members (Stack, 1898; Couch, 1987).

Mentoring by community elders or *Pukengatanga* is a common practice in Māori society. One of the most common and important strategies was for an elder to take a young person under their care and teach them directly as a mentor to feed them knowledge. The student would accompany the elder to hui and special occasions – the child functioning as a link between generations that ensured survival of critical knowledge about connections between people, places and the natural world.

Grandparents or other elderly members of the community would often take a first born child (Hiroa, 1950) or a child of special character (Walker, 2005). The age of elders usually means they have special access to memories and experiences that younger members of a tribe or community do not possess. The advent of the printing press, electronic recording media and photography may have reduced the centrality of elders as preservers of knowledge and memory for cultures that have primarily maintained inter-generational communication through oral traditions. McCarthy (1997) and others (Mikaere, 2002; O'Regan and Rangipuna, 2009; Moon, 2008) stress the importance of elders in the transmission of values and knowledge in Māori society and the role of young people in acquiring taonga to interpret for themselves and pass on to others.

Whare Wananga were formal learning institutions – often specialising in particular areas of knowledge and practices (Tikao, 1990) but sometimes as in the case of Tapu schools were more generic in the range of lessons taught (Best, 1924).

Apprenticeships were commonly used in particular areas of pursuit including arts and crafts and there were rituals associated with the start and end of the apprenticeship (Hiroa, 1950; Stowell, 2009).

Most of the literature focuses on male rites of passage and some (Rohr) suggest that men need to learn lessons from rites of passage that women traditionally learn through menstruation and child-bearing. Plumridge (2008) however provides some insight into 20th Century markers of womanhood for young members of the Māori Womens Welfare League. Others argue that indigenous women did have their own rituals connected to milestones like their first period (Rogoff, 2003) that ensured the women understood the responsibilities to the tribe that come with the ability to have children of their own and continue the line of whakapapa of the whānau.

Graduation from learning contexts into new stages of life were marked in quite different ways depending on the location and situation. Best (1924) documented the story of Topia Turoa who provided information on a certification process for graduates of a particular traditional school of learning in Whanganui. Three different types of stone were presented to students upon leaving the school as symbols of their new status and as sources of energy and memory to help them in different situations through life. Eruera Stirling (1980) had to perform a physical and spiritual test prior to his graduating from years of tutelage under an elderly couple.

Active suppression, urbanisation and internal migration (Nikora et al., 2008), the increasing influence of Christianity and western culture (Moon, 2008), reduced access to natural resources and other social, political, economic, environmental and cultural factors have contributed to a trend away from traditional rites of passage for Māori over the last 100 years. New rites of passage were progressively adopted by whānau Māori so the 21st Birthday is often marked with a large party, the gift of a key and yard glass (ALAC, 2008).

The New Zealand literature reviewed suggests a range of principles and practices associated with traditional Māori rites of passage and these can be considered alongside international literature on

rites of passage and indigenous youth development. Combined with findings from interviews with kaumātua there is a rich source of inspiration for contemporary rites of passage development through planning and implementation.

Interview Findings

30 interviews with pakeke/kaumātua/kuia were completed for this project. Interviewees were identified through local networks – some are well known national or local public figures, others are less well known. Many were raised with Te Reo as their first language at home and in the community, others had very little exposure to Te Reo.

The interviews followed a common set of questions and at times it was appropriate to ask supplementary questions. While the purpose of the project and interviews was to focus on the interviewees experiences relating to rites of passage and markers for their community in the transition from childhood to adulthood, many more issues were touched on that needed to be discussed to put the kōrero into a cultural, historical and social context. Common themes emerged from the interviews with most including discussion on the following aspects of their early lives and reflection on life today:

- Pre-natal and birthing traditions and practices
- Naming rites
- Home and family Life
- Growing up with material deprivation
- Food production and chores around the home
- Adolescence, changes in roles, milestones and rites of passage
- Education and employment
- Mentors
- Words of wisdom
- Important Relationships
- Discrimination
- Church and marae experiences
- Te Reo
- Tikanga, Wairuatanga and Other Traditions
- Te Ao Hou

Most of the interviewees had grown up in communities and a time where Te Reo was the dominant language and tikanga Māori was still the dominant culture. A few had direct experience of traditional institutions like the whare wananga and/or were mentored by tohunga and kuia born in the 19th Century who ensured certain processes and rituals were in place for the child and adolescents.

Many of the interviewees felt that their experience of rites of passage was more a general process of development rather than an explicit event or an intentional set of lessons that the teachers and learners were consciously participating in.

Most interviewees identified a range of experiences more closely assigned with western or contemporary rites of passage including leaving home, first job and working to support parents and siblings, getting a mortgage, general educational advancement including Māori trade training schemes, personal rites of passage, legal marriage, being given or taking responsibility for housework and farm work, choosing own clothing, fashion as a symbol of independence and enlisting in the military.

Common themes that emerged about the purpose and outcomes from experiences that they considered rites of passage include the intergenerational transmission of:

- Maramatanga / essential values: manaakitanga (hospitality), respect for and valuing the guidance of elders, strong work ethic, personal integrity, contribution to the wellbeing of the whole community, respect and care for the natural environment and other creatures, etc.

- Mātauranga / essential knowledge: whakapapa (genealogy and how different whānau, hapū and iwi are connected), wahi tapu (sacred places), wahi kai (food sources), battle-sites, astrology, astronomy and patterns of natural phenomenon that guide certain activities, roles and responsibilities of particular whānau within the hapū, cross-cultural comparisons, etc.
- Mahitanga / essential skills: cultivating food, hunting and collecting food, preparing and storing food, communication skills (whaikōrero/karanga/kōrero/karakia) and hosting skills, house building, martial arts, creative arts and crafts, caring for the natural environment, etc.

Less intentional lessons were also learnt through some experiences such as the importance of alcohol in whānau life, the gendered nature of work, the cyclical nature of violence, etc.

No summary can do justice to the depth of wisdom shared through the kōrero and so much valuable insight has been omitted from this report due to considerations of length and readability. The task of this project is not necessarily to interpret the content of the interviews in terms of what it will mean for rites of passage within Māori communities today, but the essence of the whakaaro shared in the interviews is captured in this section of the report.

Learnings from the interviews in relation to the role, nature and value of rites of passage in traditional and contemporary Māori communities include rituals, processes and events connected to whakapapa, whānau and cycle of life.

- Rites of passage can occur before birth, they can have wide-ranging implications not only on the individual but on the community that that they are a part of. Family responsibilities and events including birth, tangihanga and marriage are important milestones in shifting attitudes and roles within families.
- Cultural rights and responsibilities are core rites of passage and for Māori include things like taking on new roles on the marae such as whaikōrero, karanga, and responsibility for hosting others. Being gifted of land or tuku whenua is a rite of passage, requiring new responsibilities for resources handed down through generations to care, nurture and grow.
- Māori rites of passage assume some meaningful connection exists between the participant and their kāinga, whenua and hapū. A rite of passage determines a growing expertise in tribal history and skills in karakia, waiata tawhito and tauparapara.
- Marae as physical and spiritual places play an important role in facilitating rites of passage for all age groups, from working in the kitchen to sitting on the taumata.
- Work and service is a rite of passage, even for children. The passage from childhood to adulthood was marked by work – not only paid employment but responsibilities for making a contribution around the home, on the farm, at the marae and in the wider community.
- Food production and preparation involved many rites of passage, particularly in communities with little reliance on monetary trading systems. Developing an individual's knowledge on food collection so that by the time a child had become an adult they knew how to take care of themselves.
- Going to paid work, going to war, leaving home were all important rites of passage.
- Dances, fashion and biological changes around puberty were opportunities to transition from a state of child to maturity.
- Birthdays had little importance as rites of passage for most interviewees. Many rites of passage can be religious in origin and the churches provided some formal examples through confirmation, first communion and baptism.
- Learning about racial prejudice, being able to give it a label and understanding the motivation behind it was part of growing up and maturing.
- Mentors within the immediate family and community life were very important facilitators of developmental opportunities for most interviewees.

- Rites of passage are not only restricted to humans. Everything in nature has a part to play in developing into something else.
- Something that may be a rite of passage to one group of people may not be accepted by another group i.e. marriage within families.
- Reliance on the older generation for advice to transition into adulthood seems to no longer considered necessary by the current generations. In this contemporary context very few healthy rites of passage are celebrated today. Rites of passage are meant to provide a road map on living.

All of the interviewees were able to provide examples of what they considered rites of passage. These were all personal experiences from their childhood and adolescence, in some cases pre-birth and for a few there were experiences they had in late adulthood – a few spoke of practices common in their community that they were aware of in their lifetime or their parents life.

Only a few interviewees were able to share stories of how they participated in particular rituals, institutions or events that would adhere to the famous three stage (separation, transition, and reincorporation) rites of passage. However nearly all of the experiences shared were consistent with the idea of rites of passages being markers of transition from one state of being to another, of being directed by and for the benefit of the wider community and of being essential for the intergenerational transmission of cultural values and community knowledge.

The interviewees stories validate the claim of Blumenkrantz and Goldstein (2010) that the rite of passage process "not only guides the individual's transition to a new status, but, equally important, it created public events that celebrated the transition and reaffirmed these community values, which inform and guide expectations for behaviours essential for the group's survival."

This initial survey of traditional Māori rites of passage has identified some gaps in both the literature and popular knowledge about this subject. The topics canvassed would benefit from further research on what contemporary rites of passage are most common in Māori communities today and how useful traditional values and practices are in a community where the social order is pluralistic, multi-cultural, market-driven and consistently changing at an accelerating pace.

2. Introduction

BACKGROUND

Te Ora Hou Aotearoa is a national network of faith-based Māori youth and community development organisations. Established in the 1970s, Te Ora Hou currently has affiliated groups in seven centres around the country and partner organisations in other parts of the South Pacific.

Te Ora Hou has been interested in the relationship between customary culture and contemporary Māori society for many years. Established largely in a response to the disproportionate number of rangatahi Māori experiencing poor social, economic and cultural outcomes, Te Ora Hou has been interested in the role of whānau and the wider community in providing positive guidance, support and resources for rangatahi.

Te Ora Hou has actively involved kaumātua/pakeke in activities of the organisation to share their knowledge and pass on lessons learnt from their experiences and stories from older generations to rangatahi, whānau and youth workers involved with Te Ora Hou. Te Ora Hou has facilitated a number of wananga and visits to marae over the past few years that have focused on local stories and lessons learnt from the experiences of tupuna connected to those marae and rohe.

Some of this kōrero has been at national events, some at the regional/local level and not a lot of it shared with people who were not present at the event. Barely any of this learning has been formally documented and the Board of Te Ora Hou Aotearoa decided it was appropriate to undertake a more methodical process to capture some of the kōrero we have access to from our kaumātua/pakeke before the knowledge and experience they possess passes on.

A brief literature review was undertaken to identify some of the existing documentation on traditional models of Māori youth development and provided the basis for further research work on the theme.

PROJECT PURPOSE

The purpose of this community research project was for Māori youth workers, rangatahi and whānau members to explore traditional youth development practices within their rohe and then share their learning between rohe and with others outside the research group.

The project logic is based on a number of premises:

1. That within traditional Māori societies there were child-rearing and youth development practices based on a number of common principles.
2. That some of these practices and the underlying principles may be unfamiliar to Māori youth workers and people responsible for supporting Māori youth development today.
3. That some of these principles and practices may be useful to inform contemporary youth development practice within Māori communities.
4. That kaumātua and other sources of knowledge may be willing and able to provide some of their experiences and understanding of traditional practices and principles that will be of use to current and future generations of rangatahi Māori, their whānau and others.

PROJECT RATIONALE

Māori youth workers have not had access to a large amount of research on indigenous youth development to help inform their practice. Most research used by Māori youth workers has been undertaken with a focus on other disciplines including health, education and social work.

Teorongonui Keelan has done some important work over the past ten years in conceptualising an indigenous framework for youth development. This project was intended to test some of the concepts[1] she proposes through both primary and secondary sources.

Having youth workers and whānau undertaking the research was designed to ensure the knowledge was developed and is retained within the communities it is intended to benefit. This project helped build the research skills of youth workers, rangatahi and whānau affiliated to Te Ora Hou and learnings from the process will be able to be applied in other rohe who want to undertake similar processes.

EXISTING MĀORI YOUTH DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH

A wide range of sources concur that rangatahi Māori participated in a range of developmental processes to prepare them for adulthood and mark the transition to roles of responsibility within their whānau and hapū.

Inter-generational transmission of knowledge and values were critical to the wellbeing of the hapū and while parents were usually involved in providing the things that were essential to survival and economic and social wellbeing, older whānau members were often recruited to raise the children. Elders were considered a vast repository of important information and their wisdom and knowledge considered essential to the teaching of practical and social skills, ethics and esoteric knowledge (Hemara, 2000).

The development process was initiated pre-natal and carried on throughout life. Children were active participants in political affairs and were encouraged to engage in community discussions and activities from an early age (Hemara, 2000).

Strong bonds between individuals and whānau were based on trust and respect that ensured the health, survival and growth of rangatahi and the community, and the well being of future generations. A range of rights of passage were used to mark various transitions as the individual moved from one phase of life to another.

Prior to commencing the project, at least three strategies were identified as commonly employed to ensure young people developed in ways that were healthy and equipped the hapū with people who could protect and enhance the interests of the community:

1. *Pukengatanga*

   One of the most common and important strategies was where an elder (pukenga) took a young person under their care and taught them directly as a mentor to feed them knowledge. The student would accompany the elder to hui and special occasions – the child functioning as a link between generations that ensured survival of critical knowledge about connections between people, places and the natural world (Stirling & Salmond, 1980).

2. *Whare Wananga*

   Whare Wananga were formal structures established to pass on specialist skills and knowledge – participants were often selected because they displayed giftings in the particular interests of each whare wananga – e.g. diplomatic skills, cultivation, physical aptitude, carving, etc. (Royal, 1983).

3. *Urungatanga*

   A third approach has been termed 'education through exposure' – where participants were not given formal instruction but were exposed to a situation and expected to work out what was going on and solve problems that arose. This type of education included areas as diverse as cultivation, childcare, and public occasions such as the structure and roles within hui and tangi (Hemara, 2000).

Some of the principles identified through these strategies of youth development include:

- the need for a range of formal and informal learning environments;

[1] *Whakapapa* (genealogy) and *whanaungatanga* (relationships), with their *hoa-haere* (companions), *awhi* (foster), *manaaki* (show respect to) and *tiaki* (guard) are the basis of Keelan's framework articulated in her 2001 resource 'E Tipu E Rea' for the Ministry of Youth Affairs.

- a mix of theory and practice as the rangatahi experienced situations, reflected and gained new understanding about their world through relationships to others;
- reciprocal and life-long learning processes;
- a commitment to low adult/child ratios to ensure quality relationships and transmission of values and knowledge;
- both specialist and generalised knowledge and skill acquisition;
- the use of metaphor, allusion and disequilibrium as a teaching strategy that promotes active enquiry and problem-solving;
- simple understandings leading to complex analysis;
- symbiotic relationships between adults and young people;
- verbal and physical tests used to measure the development of rangatahi;
- rituals mark the entry to and exit from formal youth development processes/programmes.

(Hemara, 2000)

Teorongonui Keelan (2001) has suggested Apriana Ngata's whakatauki *E Tipu e Rea* as a framework for indigenous youth development work:

> "The *E tipu e rea* theory focuses, therefore, on four areas of youth development: appropriate time and place; opportunities to maximise resources; cultural participation; and spiritual well-being."

This framework was promoted by the Ministry of Youth Affairs (NZ) as a companion Activity Kit to the *Youth Development Strategy Aotearoa* launched in 2002.

3. Methodology

Project Establishment

Te Ora Hou Aotearoa submitted an application for funding for the Hei Tikitiki project to the Lottery Community Research Fund in August 2008 and received a positive decision letter in January 2009 – the decision to award funding was conditional on Te Ora Hou finalising a Terms of Reference for the project and receiving approval for the project from an appropriate ethics committee.

In March 2009 a project governance group was established to discuss an appropriate ethics committee. The governance group submitted profiles of suggested ethics committee members to the Lottery Community Research Fund Committee for approval in April 2009, which was subsequently granted. The ethics committee was established and considered an application for ethical approval along with the project Terms of Reference and associated project documentation. After making some adjustments to the project plan and Terms of Reference as a result of the ethics committee feedback, approval was granted by the group for the project to proceed in September 2009 and a initial payment for the project costs was subsequently released.

A project planning meeting was held in Otautahi to confirm participating centres, budgets, timeframes and deliverables with project staff from participating centres.

Research Teams

The project established research teams led by local youth workers in four participating Te Ora Hou centres (Whangarei, Tairawhiti, Whanganui and Otautahi). Each team had at least two youth workers and some involved rangatahi as well. Interviewees were invited to include their whānau in the interview process, while some included their spouse, mokopuna, siblings and/or children, others did not take up the opportunity. The original project plan included the involvement of rangatahi and whānau in each interview, but it often transpired that whānau were not confident enough to participate in a video or audio interview.

Interviewee Selection

Initially kaumātua/pakeke were identified as a potential interviewee because they had mokopuna involved with Te Ora Hou, but most rangatahi were similarly reluctant to be involved in the interviews. This may be some reflection of the worth that whānau and rangatahi attribute to their own family stories, it may also reflect the painful nature of many parts of the stories that whānau would prefer not to be part of remembering and recording. The interviews with whānau members, particularly mokopuna, present provided rich sources of insight and inspiration for the whānau members who were privileged to participate. Interviewees subsequently included a mix of kaumātua/pakeke with whānau connections to Te Ora Hou and others who were approached because they had existing relationships with research team members and/or are recognised in their community as individuals with stories of wider interest.

Research Team Training & Tasks

Initial training for the local research teams was provided over two days in Wellington by the Oral History Unit at the National Library of New Zealand, Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa. Most members of the governance group and the National Project Coordinator had significant experience in oral history research in Māori communities and provided ongoing support to each of the four teams.

The research teams had four main tasks:

1. Undertaking a review of written/recorded evidence of traditional youth development and child-rearing practices with a focus on rites of passage and transition processes from child to adult rights and responsibilities from within their whānau, hapū, iwi and/or rohe.
2. Planning and facilitating a series of wananga/hui with pakeke/kaumātua/kuia from whānau, hapū and iwi that research team members whakapapa to. These hui provided time and space for the kaumātua to share their experiences as children and young people in terms of how essential knowledge, values and practices were passed on from one generation to the next. Each interview was recorded and subsequently abstracted to provide a quick reference guide to the topics covered.
3. The most significant points of learning from both sources were identified and compared with the findings from other rohe.
4. Subject to any ethical or logistical limitations, each group presented the project findings to an open hui in their rohe and highlighted the commonalities and differences between stories from their rohe and others.

Project Findings

Findings are provided in this report, and will subsequently be published on the Te Ora Hou website – the website may include video and audio from some interviews. DVD versions of each interview have been provided to each interviewee and a short compilation DVD is currently being produced subject to consent from participating interviewees.

A summary of the process and findings were compiled and summarised in this report and may be used as the basis for further work such as comparing the principles identified with existing models and frameworks developed by the likes of Keelan (2001), Durie (2006) and the Ministry of Youth Affairs (2002).

Project Milestones

- Project Terms of Reference (including Interview Questions) agreed by TOHA Board
- National Project Coordinator appointed
- Role descriptions written for local Project Coordinators and research team members
- Project Coordinator identified in each rohe
- Research teams identified in each rohe
- Training wananga for research teams
- Rohe Literature Reviews completed
- Kaumātua per rohe identified and approached to participate
- Interviews undertaken
- Interviews abstracted
- Interview videos edited and compiled onto DVD format
- Research team reflection and learning process
- Teams feedback to participating kaumātua to check draft findings and handover interview DVD
- National feedback/sharing wananga between rohe
- Research team reflection and learning process
- Summary report written
- Public hui held in each rohe, report written for website and summary resources produced

Interviewee List

Centre	**Interviewees**
Whangarei	Manu Korewha Barney & Lil Watts Ian Peters Marie Amos Terahingahinga Reti Taipari Monroe Jo Rudolph Bryan Pou
Whanganui/ Poneke	Marama Day Malcolm Rerekura Gavin Brooks Tania Tekoari Gerrard Albert Bryan Kora Mowhi Kerehoma Janis Awatere
Otautahi	Bernice Tainui Charlie Crofts George Ehau Haromi Heagney Heeni Wera Nekerangi Paul Pita Hira Ta Tipene O'Regan Te Whe Phillips Henare Edwards
Tairawhiti	Charlotte Nikora Oriwia Bradbrook

4. Literature Review

Research teams completed reviews of literature from their rohe on themes pertinent to the project scope and a national literature review was also undertaken. Over 60 sources of relevant written material were identified and provide useful secondary sources to compliment the primary sources provided by project interviewees. The documents identified are listed in the Bibliography as an appendix to this report.

While efforts were made to identify writings on rites of passage specific to each rohe, the review found such information very difficult to access. It is assumed that such information, if it does exist in written texts, may be held in unpublished form such as Māori Land Court records, archival records, and more obscure sources such as waiata and whānau whakapapa.

Source Selection

Sources of written material were identified through database key word searches, internet searches, library catalogues and enquiries with iwi authorities, interviewees, academics and other experts. Electronic databases were used to identify relevant material:

Australia New Zealand Reference Centre: The Australia/NZ Reference Centre includes Australia and New Zealand specific magazines, newspapers & newswires, reference books, and company information.

Masterfile Premier: This multidisciplinary database provides full text for nearly 1,950 general reference publications with full text information dating as far back as 1975.

InfoTrac OneFile: Provides access to periodical and news information on a diverse set of topics, including humanities, education, business, science, current events, art, politics, economics, social science, law, health care, computers, technology, environmental issues, and general interest topics.

Given the dearth of material on Māori rites of passage, selection has been made largely on a basis of what is available on particular topics in closely related fields of enquiry including human development in Māori society, learning systems, gender and social roles and ritualistic cultural practices. Given the limitations on the project which relied on community-based novice researchers in a few provincial centres who are mostly also working as youth workers, the review has not been conducted in a purely systematic method. Research teams were provided with guidelines and coaching on the purpose and structure of reviewing literature relating to their rohe and a general national survey of relevant sources was also undertaken.

While it is acknowledged that selected passages from the literature can provide a basis from which to explore the experiences of kaumātua/pakeke and kuia, this study does not presume that rites of passage were:

- uniformly practiced across communities;
- understood in the same way;
- experienced in the same way; or
- limited to traditions and processes present before Māori contact with other cultures.

General Theories and Definitions of Adolescent Rites of Passage

According to Moore and Habel (1982), a rite of passage is a ritual action by means of which the initiate is ‘separated´ from one ‘world’ and taken into another. Rites of passage are performed on special occasions and mainly deal with entering a new stage of life. Many cultures perform birth rituals,

puberty rituals, marriage rituals and death rituals; In the Catholic Church for example these turning points in life are celebrated with Baptism, Confirmation, Matrimony and the Extreme Unction.

Rogoff (2003) cites Simon Ottenberg's list of reasons for initiation processes:

> *Status change in adulthood, recognition of sexual maturity, incorporation into the larger society, creating a sense of ethnic identity and/or social solidarity, a working through of Oedipal or of early childhood experience, preparing for adult gender roles and identifying with the proper gender, channelling assertive aggressive or sexual tendencies of the young into socially acceptable adult roles, maintaining gerontocratic control of the younger generation, inculcating basic cultural values of the society into the maturing individuals, and teaching new skills and attitudes.*

Arnold van Gennep (1873–1957), a French anthropologist, is famous for his study on and terming the phrase 'rites of passage'. In his book Les Rites de Passage (1909), van Gennep argues that rites of passage comprise of three ritual stages; the so called tripartite structure: séparation, marge and aggregation (separation, transition, and reincorporation), or preliminal, liminal, and postliminal stages (before, at, and past the threshold).

Pervos (2001) summarises the three stages of Gennep's schema as follows:

> *Separation rites involve the initiate being symbolically, and in many cultures physically, removed from the world to which they have belonged. Separation rites often involve symbolic actions like removing clothing or parts of the body. After the rite of separation the initiate is in what van Gennep calls the liminal world, a social and religious nowhere land. The word liminal is derived from the Latin* limin *(threshold).*
>
> *Transition rites require the person in the liminal world, between old and new states. During this stage, the initiate gets instructed in the responsibilities of the new role. Transition rites express the liminal condition of the candidates. In this condition they are often considered to be in danger themselves, or a danger to others. To mitigate this negative influence, they are provided with a sponsor whose role it is to protect the candidates.*
>
> *Reincorporation is the final step of the tripartite. The initiate is confirmed in his or her new status, the initiate crossed the threshold so to speak. These rites may include spitting on the new member, or investing the candidate with new clothes, rings, tattoos, etc. These marks of identity publicly announce that the individual belongs to the new group or status.*

Few of the rites of passage literature in this review provide enough detail to determine how closely they adhere to system Gennep determines to be the typical rite of passage. However some, such as Eruera Stirling's experience of being taken to a remote pool, diving for the special stone and returning to the elders and then his whānau, would generally confirm with what Gennep has prescribed as a traditional rite of passage and initiation.

What van Gennep described as rites of passage were community-created and community-directed experiences that transmit cultural values and knowledge to an individual (or individuals). Blumenkrantz and Goldstein (2010) posit that the rite of passage process not only guides the individual's transition to a new status, but, equally important, it created public events that celebrated the transition and reaffirmed these community values, which inform and guide expectations for behaviours essential for the group's survival. The historical record shows that rites of passage have been present, in various manifestations, in all cultures for thousands of years.

Blumenkrantz and Goldstein argue this suggests the strong "evolutionary validity" of these processes, which have remained an important part of community and cultural health promotion during the major transitions of life. In this context the rite of passage can be considered as much, if not more, for the health and wellbeing of the community as for than the individual participant/s in the ritual or developmental process.

Blumenkrantz and Goldstein go on to suggest that cultural rituals and secular strategies in modern society do not effectively assist our children's transition to adulthood:

The lack of clearly established rites of passage in America is partly due to the ambiguity about when and how one becomes an adult in contemporary society. The ages at which youth receive certain adult privileges (e.g. right to drive, right to vote, right to drink, etc.) are rather arbitrary and are not related to any actual competencies or maturity on the part of the individuals who gain those privileges.

The developmental psychology literature provides considerable evidence that adolescents desperately seek public markers and community approbation to verify their entry into adult status. In the absence of meaningful community-based rituals, youth will define and create their own marker events based on peer or media values, many of which may be destructive both individually and communally. Indeed, this is how binge drinking, drug use, teen pregnancy and other similar behaviors have become elevated to rites of passage reflecting adult status.

Similarly a recurring theme in Professor Mason Durie's work (2003, 2006) is the impact on the health and wellbeing of Māori from cultural loss and natural resource depletion since colonisation. Durie belives that Māori offending is a frequent response to a sense of emasculisation:

For the offender there is a brief recovery of power; and, ironically, incarceration provides an opportunity for the power games to continue. The punishment becomes the cure.

Durie (2001) examines causes of death among Māori and in particular the alarmingly high rate of suicide among young Māori males. His work details the importance of whānau and suggests ways of restoration and revitalisation along with principles and strategies for Māori health and well-being.

For the purposes of this review, rites of passage are defined as transition points or milestones that mark or signify the journey made by an individual from childhood to adulthood. They may be ritualistic and symbolic, an educative process over a period of time or a special event or activity recognised by the Māori community.

However, while they can be located within Māori or other cultural frameworks, developmental transition markers within cultures are not always reliable (Ministry of Youth Affairs, 2002). General forces beyond an individual's control can shape, minimise or prevent their occurrence. Personal circumstances may also exclude an individual from participation in commonly accepted forms. For example, in traditional Māori society not everyone could become a tohunga and experienced the particular traditions associated with the development stages of those individuals.

Franciscan sociologist Richard Rohr suggests in his book *Adam's Return: The Five Promises of Male Initiation* (2004) that initiations took specific ritual forms in every age and every continent for most of human history. They were considered central to the social survival of nearly every culture — and to the spiritual survival of males in particular. Sometimes the ritual was used to teach a lesson that the young person needed to learn before they could be a healthy adult member of the community, other times the rite of passage was simply a marker of some accomplishment already achieved.

Patterns of initiation are the oldest system of spiritual instruction that we know of, predating all institutional religions. They emerged rather universally in what Karl Jaspers calls Pre-Axial Consciousness, before the Axial Age (800-200 BCE) when we began to organize thought all over the world. There is much evidence that this Axial age has run its course and is now turning in on itself. We see it in the bad effects of rationalism, individualism, and patriarchy. I believe this is at the heart of many of our cultural and religious problems today. We now need to recapitulate the wisdom of the pre-Axial Age, together with the clarity and radiance of the Axial Age.

According to Rohr, there are five lessons that male initiation teaches:

1. Life is hard.
2. You are not that important.
3. Your life is not all about you.
4. You are not in control.
5. You are going to die.

These are the five truths that young men in every society need to learn before they can be mature, contributing members of a healthy community. Rohr suggests that men need initiation and women

don't because women's bodies do the initiating for them: menstruation and childbirth teach women the things that men learn from initiation rites.

Rohr mirrors the claims of anthropologist Margaret Mead in her book *Male and Female: A Study of the Sexes in a Changing World (1949)* which studies models of gender in different Polynesian cultures and compares them to 1940s America. She argues that girls just become women naturally: it's something that happens to them naturally, and isn't something they have to earn any more than they have to earn their wombs, whereas boys need to earn their masculinity, and men need to have a special thing that only men can have in order to be able to feel manly. Others beg to differ (see Rogoff's reflections on the *Kinaalda* ceremony below).

Almost all the examples of rites of passage from the anthropology literature are highly prescriptive. They were intended to initiate youth in small, highly homogeneous communities, where consensus about community values and appropriate behaviors can be easily established, into a rather limited number of adult roles. In today's pluralistic societies where there are multiple possibilities for values and ethics that inform and guide expectations for behaviour, Blumenkrantz and Goldstein (2010) ask: can meaningful rites of passage be developed? They believe they can. The challenge, they say, is to help the communities articulate their shared values and develop processes and rituals that effectively impart these values to youth.

Derived from over 40 years of practice and extending van Gennep's three stages of the rite of passage, Blumenkrantz and Goldstein identify twenty elements that they claim contribute to an effective, contemporary community-based rite of passage:

Principle/Characteristic	***Definition***
Paradigm shift.	Adolescent development is connected to a community development process rather than being seen solely as an intra-psychic phenomenon. Interventions are ecological rather than individually oriented.
Community values and ethics.	The hallmark of a community-based rite of passage strategy is the creation of intentional, inclusive community dialogues to address what are the values and expectations that youth must carry forward to insure the future success of the community. There must be deliberate structures that allow these community discussions to occur so that some consensus about essential expectations for behaviour and values emerge. This process must precede the creation of experiences that foster youths' understanding, appreciation and commitment to these expectations.
Program success relies on relationships	Meaningful outcomes ultimately depend upon the quality of the relationships between youth and adults, and between the adults and the "program." Positive outcomes only occur when people within a setting are intimately connected to the creation and/or adaptation of a strategy. It is only then that a strategy can be implemented with sufficient commitment and creativity to make it a success.
You can only bring someone as far as you have been yourself	If relationships are key, then those who are initiators of youth's coming of age need training and professional development to build their personal awareness and resources. Individuals need to undergo their own initiatory experience and rite of passage to aid his or her transition to maturity to be an effective initiator of youth.
It must happen in the home community	Children grow up, by and large, in communities that are defined by geographic boundaries and real live interpersonal interactions. Connection to an actual geographic place, especially when there is deep contact with nature and a psychological sense of community is critical to a sense of self and security for children. Effective rites of passage establish a safe place for intentional conversations to occur between citizens of the community, youth and adults.
Rites of passage create expectations for socially appropriate behaviours.	Coming of age in a rites of passage experience involves creating and supporting intentional environments that transmit essential values and ethics that guide and inform expectations for socially appropriate behaviours.

Rituals represent a detailed sequence of actions that are regularly followed.	Ritual, as part of the Rites of Passage experience can set a tone and impact climate in ways that help to create a productive context for learning.
Adversity or personal challenge.	Experiences that challenge the individual emotionally and/or physically and which present opportunities to learn new values and/or skills.
Silence.	Children and youth grow up in a cacophony of sound that makes the "call to adventure," the internal alarm clock awakening them to the coming of age process almost inaudible. Silence helps a young person develop an internal dialogue for narrating and making sense of what is going on around them.
Stories, myths or legends.	Stories passed down from previous generations that convey morals or cultural values.
Connection with nature.	Experiences that help individuals realize and appreciate their connection and interdependence on the natural environment.
Time alone for reflection.	Time intentionally set aside for a person to reflect on his/her personal values, actions and beliefs.
Connection with ancestral roots.	The opportunity to learn, value and appreciate one's connection to those who went before and the values and ethics their heritage embraces.
Play.	The opportunity to help individuals find their "bliss," those activities that they can immerse themselves in with great passion, and from which they receive unbridled joy.
Giving away one's previous attitudes, behaviors, etc.	The coming of age process through rites of passage includes the giving up or giving away of some aspect, e.g., behaviour, attitude, cherished item, that characterized their former status. This process conveys a reality that change – leaving something dear in the past behind – is an integral part of the transition.
Non-ordinary states of reality.	The use of sanctioned behaviours such as vision quest, meditation, yoga, movement and dance, play in 'in the zone' with sports and hobbies to experience non-ordinary states of reality.
Obligation to service to the larger community.	Through the initiatory process, adolescents are oriented to recognize that service to the community is an essential part of becoming a fully functioning adult in society.
Changes of appearance that express/reflect new status.	As recognition of their transition to a new status, initiates may adorn themselves with some external symbol that symbolizes this attainment. This might include special cloths, adornments, and badges etc. that are awarded during public rites of passage.
Opportunities to demonstrate new competencies & status.	Opportunities for participants to demonstrate publically newly acquired kills and status.
Celebration of status.	Community celebrations in which the new status of initiates is recognized and acclaimed.

TABLE 1: ***Twenty elements of rites of passage,*** Blumenkrantz and Goldstein (2010)

This framework provides a useful lens through which to consider the kōrero of interviewees as they reflect on their adolescent development and transitional markers that may have been ritualistic events or, as seems to be more common in their day and age, were intentional developmental processes provided by their community of carers that they participated in over a longer period of time.

It was noted during the interviewing process for this project that 'Pākehā' rites of passage, such as 21st birthdays or wedding celebrations, were not always considered important to kaumātua and kuia. When asked whether these 'events' held personal significance, in many cases, they did not.

Participants had varying levels of understanding concerning rites of passage based upon their personal circumstances, but rites of passage can be experienced differently by older and younger generations

as well as by individuals within the same age cohort. Understanding this reveals the complexities and pitfalls inherent in attempting to discuss the topic.

Another theoretical framework that may be useful for this study is *Maia*, the emerging model of practice being developed by Te Ora Hou Aotearoa Inc. (2007):

> *[Maia] is adapted from two independent conceptual frameworks for understanding indigenous peoples health and development. These two models have been combined to provide a more comprehensive framework for rangatahi Māori.*
>
> *The **Circle of Courage** is attributed to Lakota Sioux traditions of the Medicine Wheel that has four key factors that are present for healthy transition of young people from childhood to adulthood: Belonging; Mastery; Independence and Generosity.*
>
> *Professor Mason Durie's **Whānau Capacity** framework suggests six factors of a healthy whānau: Manaakitanga; Whakatakato Tikanga; Whakamana; Whakawhanaungatanga; Whakamau Tikanga and Pupuri Taonga.*

Fig. 1 Maia Model (Te Ora Hou Aotearoa, 2009) incorporating the Circle of Courage, Whānau Capacity framework and Te Mauri o Te Ora Hou (Te Ora Hou Aotearoa seven distinctives)

The Circle of Courage is a model of positive youth development first described in the book *Reclaiming Youth at Risk*, co-authored by Larry Brendtro, Martin Brokenleg, and Steve Van Bockern (1990). The model integrates Native American philosophies of child-rearing, the heritage of early pioneers in education and youth work, and contemporary resilience research. The Circle of Courage is based in four universal growth needs of all children: *belonging, mastery, independence* and *generosity.*

Anthropologists have long known that Native Americans reared courageous, respectful children without using harsh coercive controls. Nevertheless, Europeans colonising North America tried to 'civilise' indigenous children in punitive boarding schools, unaware that Natives possessed a sophisticated philosophy that treated children with deep respect. These traditional values are validated by contemporary child research and are consistent with the findings of Stanley Coopersmith who identified four foundations for self-worth: significance, competence, power, and virtue.

Te Ora Hou and other organisations in Aotearoa have adapted these four foundations using concepts from Te Ao Māori, namely: *Whānau, Pukengatanga, Mana Motuhake* and *Ohaoha.*

The Circle of Courage component of the Maia model is useful for assessing individual development and wellbeing, but measures of wellbeing for groups require different approaches. Professor Mason Durie (2006) suggests a way to measure the wellbeing of whānau for example is to assess the collective capacity to perform tasks that are within the scope and influence of whānau.

Six primary capacities are identified by Durie:

> *The capacity to care, **manaakitanga**, is a critical role for whānau especially in respect of children and older members. Care also entails the promotion of lifestyles that are consistent with tikanga Māori, maximum well-being, mobility and independence, full participation in society, and reciprocated care for other whānau members. The best outcome is one where whānau members have a strong sense of identity, feel well cared for, are able to enjoy quality lifestyles with a sense of independence, yet remain concerned about the wellbeing of other whānau members.*
>
> *The capacity for guardianship, **pupuri taonga**, expects whānau to act as wise trustees for the whānau estate – whenua tüpuna (customary land), heritage sites such as fishing spots, environmental sites of special whānau significance, urupa and wāhi tapu. A desirable outcome is one where whānau assets increase in value and whānau members are actively involved in decision-making about the estate.*
>
> *The capacity to empower, **whakamana**, is a whānau function that facilitates the entry of members of the whānau into the wider community, as individuals and as Māori. The whānau might be the gateway into the marae, or into sport, or to school, or to work. A good outcome is one where whānau members can participate fully, as Māori, in te ao Māori (the Māori world) and te ao whānui (wider society), and whānau are well represented in community endeavours.*
>
> *The capacity to plan ahead, **whakatakato tikanga**, requires a capacity to anticipate the needs of future generations and to manage whānau resources (human and physical) so that those needs may be met. A good outcome will be one where systems are in place to protect the interests of future generations and whānau have agreed-upon broad strategies for further whānau development.*
>
> *The capacity to promote culture, **whakapümau tikanga**, is a further whānau function. It depends on the capacity to transmit language, cultural values, narratives, song, music and history. A good outcome is one where whānau members have access to the cultural heritage of the whānau, are both fluent in te reo Māori, knowledgeable about whānau heritage, and actively support the whānau as the major agent of cultural transmission.*
>
> *The capacity for consensus, **whakawhanaungatanga**, reflects the need for whānau to develop decision-making processes where consensus is possible and collective action strengthened. In order to reach consensus there must be opportunities for contributions to a shared vision and processes that enable whānau to take decisions in a way that is fair and consistent with tikanga. Strong interconnectedness within the whānau and better overall results is a desired outcome of consensual capacity.*

A Whānau Ora model based on these six capacities emphasises progressive advancement rather than the management of adversity and the focus is on functional capacities. For each capacity it is possible to identify goals and indicators. For example, the capacity for guardianship can be measured by increases in the duration, frequency and intensity of whānau time helping out at marae working bees, while the capacity to plan ahead might be measured by the establishment of an education plan for future generations.

Te Ora Hou kaimahi have been implementing the Whānau Ora framework and amongst other developments designed and administered since 2008 a Whānau Capacity Self-Assessment Tool based on the Whānau Ora model proposed by Professor Durie.

Themes that emerged through the interviews undertaken as the key part of this project can be aligned closely with the Maia model – themes relating to the importance of Whānau, Pukengatanga, Mana Motuhake and Ohaoha came through strongly as did the centrality of the whānau capacities Durie

identified. This was an unexpected but welcome affirmation of the Maia model that was not specifically built into the interview questioning but came through anyway.

Tohi - First Rites of Passage

While traditional birth rites have been explained in several general sources, Elsdon Best (1958) notes the difference between those practiced by important as opposed to ordinary families. Following the birth of a first born chiefly child the people would assemble for ceremonial rituals, the most important being the tohi, a kind of baptism. Makereti (1986) suggests the Tohi rite is a practice for all children, but for the child of noble birth in her area of Te Arawa it has extra ceremony involved:

> *The ceremony took place in the early morning, before anyone had partaken of food, in a running stream, at some hidden spot which faced the rising sun. The people who attended the ceremony were the parents, grandparents and near relatives of the child, and one or two Tohunga. When they reached the place arranged for, the parents would stand in front by the stream, with their parent behind them, and so on. The Tohunga, who had taken off his kakahu (cloak), went into the stream wearing only a rapaki (apron) of green leaves, until the water reached his pito, navel. He held branches of the green karamu (Coprosma robusta) in his right hand, and with his ringa maui (left hand) which he formed into a cup, he took up some water and-began to karakia, telling Parawhenua, the personified form of water, that he now stood as one with her. Then a karakia was directed to Io-matua, i.e. Io the parent, saying that he was a tapu and learned person in all ritual matters, and that he was now a qualified person to carry out this tapu ceremony, and that he places the child under the mana of the gods. He then dips the karamu branch in the water for a moment, then turns to take the infant from the mother who has been holding the child with its head resting on her right arm. He and the child turn and face the rising sun, and he repeats the karakia that the child he holds is now dedicated to nga atua in the heavens, at these waimatua virgin waters of Tawhirimatea of Ihorangi, of Papa-tu-amiku, and of Para-whenua-mea. After this he repeats the name which has been given to the infant. With his left hand the Tohunga covers the mouth and nostrils of the child, then slips down in the water for a moment so that he and the child are covered. When the child went under the water with the Tohunga, he was freed from all the evil influences of the earth, and was directly under the mana of the gods.*
>
> *This ends the tua ceremony, and the Tohunga hands the child to its father, who hands it to the mother who stands on his left. The party then return to the kāinga (village), and as they get near to the kāinga, the assistant Tohunga repeats the whakaaraara which tells the people at the kāinga that the tua ceremony is over. Cries of "Haeremai, haeremai", Welcome, welcome, rend the air from the many people at the kāinga who have all gathered to prepare a ceremonial feast. After the arrival, the Tohunga repeats another karakia asking that the child may have of the best in future, and in this the people join in a short response at the end. Then there is a ceremonial feast in which the parents, grandparents, and near relatives eat their foot apart from the other people.*

Makereti (1986) goes on to describe a number of other milestones for young children including ears being pierced at a young age (both ears for girls, usually one for boys), the teaching of household and community responsibilities as soon as the child is old enough to understand, tikanga related to menstruation and broader values connected to practices of hospitality, generosity and sharing.

Urungatanga – Learning by Exposure

Young people were generally regarded as people of significance to their local community and tribe in traditional Māori society. Firsthand accounts from a number of biographies and missionary diaries note that even small children were encouraged to contribute to tribal meetings discussing serious issues and esoteric debates.

Early missionary Samuel Marsden (Elder, 1938) noted the practice of children being taken to meetings to listen to discussions on a range of issues.

> *The chiefs take their children from their mother's breast to all their public meetings, where they hear all that is said upon politics, religion, war etc, by the oldest men. Children will frequently ask questions in public conversation and are answered by the chiefs. I have often been surprised to see children sitting amongst the chiefs and paying close attention to what was said. The children never appear under any embarrassment when they address a stranger whom they never saw. In every village the children, as soon as they learned any of our names, came up to us and spoke to us with the greatest familiarity.*

Such learning by osmosis encouraged children to take an interest, from a young age, in matters of huge significance to the wider kinship community. However, Workman (2010) suggests that by the late 1940's and early 1950's, child rearing practices had changed.

> *It became clear to me by the time I was 8 or 9, that there were children turning up at school, with bruising and injuries, without proper food, and filthy clothing. We all knew who those whānau were, and their dysfunction rested heavily on the shoulders of us all.*

Henry Stowell cited in Orbell (1978) suggests the fact that a child was considered to belong to the whānau, hapū and iwi imposed considerable responsibilities on those charged with the child's immediate care:

> *Parents largely held their children in trust for their immediate relatives and the tribe generally. If a child that was under the care of its parents met with an accident and lost its life, a taua-muru, or raiding party, was organised against those parents by the relatives and tribe. This party proceeded to the parents' residence and stripped them of their possessions. The object thus served was a two-fold one; it was a warning to other parents to be careful of the children, and it secured compensation for the loss of a member of the tribe.*

Mereana Mokikiwa Hutchen in O'Regan and Rangipuna (2009) remembers the close knit relationships that existed in her 20th Century community context:

> *Everybody knew each other where I grew up. When a child was born the whole community came out to celebrate.*

Similarly Naomi Bunker recalls the importance of mutual aid and celebration:

> *One thing that was important for all of us, no matter how busy life might have been, was that we all pitched in and helped out with the workload and we always, always had time for family fun.*

According to Young (1998) Māori usually came from large families. A poetic expression from the Purapurawhetu tukutuku panel in the Auckland Museum (1997) suggests:

> *The Māori desire for a large family is a trait handed down from our ancestors. Generally speaking, a man who visualises big things usually has a large family; the head of a small family is often more prone to think and plan narrower, in a more circumscribed manner.*

Because Māori came from large, extended families, adolescents were used to receiving family guidance, had relatively low allegiance to one's own self-esteem and being part of something bigger they cooperated to accommodate the needs of their community in the wider whānau and hapū.

For Hiroa (1950) formal education began within the home. The elements of knowledge taught from an early age were things like tribal history, local mythology and folklore, this was the philosophy of tipuna, which continues through adolescence. It was to the adolescent's benefit that their eagerness towards the learning process in terms of understanding through narrative stories and folklore were intentionally triggered by the simple fact that the persons mentioned in these stories actually existed and one could trace their whakapapa through moteatea, kōrero and constant affirmation from whānau.

Hiroa suggests pre-colonisation Māori had a very structured community and personal life. Young males tended to work with their fathers to learn skills of house-building, fishing and fowling. The highest craft a young Māori male could attain was that of apprentice to an elder carver or tattooist. Some youth were dedicated to Tu (the war god) and as such were given military instruction. Upon graduation the youth became toa taua (bloodied warrior). Some youth were registered under Rongo and learned agriculture. They were apprenticed to food experts and taught correct ritual to Rongo in order to produce prolific crops. The food cultivator was not as glorified as the warrior. However:

…the fame of the warrior was transient but the fame of the producer of food was enduring.

Sons of chiefs and priests were given a very high standard of education. These young men were chosen not for their intellectual ability but because of their birthright. These young men were taught at whare wananga (specialist places of higher learning).

Makereti (1986) describes in detail how both girls and boys acquired knowledge and skills from their parents, grandparents and the wider community. In this passage she recounts how boys were taught essential hunting, gathering and technical skills:

From the age of six to that of fifteen or sixteen, the father undertook the boy's training, and the grandfather took a great part as well. They taught him to be hospitable and generous, and to share any delicacy he might be eating. A parent would ask for a portion so as to teach the boy unselfishness, though if there were only a little kinaki, or relish, parents liked to give it to their children, who ate with them. Parents did many things and devised many methods to teach children good habits and a generous nature. The boy was taught to see that everyone had kinaki before eating his.

As he grew up, he was taught all the things that his father did. He accompanied him to the cultivations, and learned to use the ko in planting the kumara, and the songs which accompanied the movements of the workers. He learned the planting of kumara and taro, and how to build the whata, the open store-house on posts, and the making of the pataka (closed store-house), and how to dig the rua, the pit in the ground for storing kumara. He learned how to hunt and snare birds, of which there were more than two hundred species, and how to make hinaki, traps for eels, nets for sea fishing, and nets for catching inanga and pahore, the small fish in the lakes, and how to dive for koura and kakahi, the crayfish and fresh-water mussels. By the time he was eight or nine, he had learned a good deal about these and other methods of procuring food.

He accompanied his father and relatives to the forest, and watched them cutting down trees and preparing logs for the houses, or hewing them out for canoes, all laborious work which took a long time with their primitive implements, and learned how to choose trees for a canoe or house, and to cut them down and take them long distances to the kāinga, or to the river or lake. He learned how to cut timber for the whare (houses) and for building the pa, fortified villages.

Moon (2008) talks about the 'absorption' method of learning in traditional society:

Instead of details being brought together in a neat order and then clearly spelt out for people to scrutinise then, traditionally, there was much greater insistence placed on the power of suggestion and of the often unspoken process of absorption. 'You know,' Hohepa had told me, 'sometimes when Manuka the tohunga wanted to teach me something, he would say nothing. And Manuka was the greatest tohunga in this area when I was small.

Moon also notes the 'observation' method of learning employed in a broader way by the prophet Rua Kenana during his time in Taneatua as he was exposed to European settler society:

The Taneatua period – if it can be so rigidly delineated – was a time of learning for Rua. He witnessed the growing gap in wealth between Māori and the European settlers and, rather than simply revert to resentment at this fact, he observed the patterns and practices that made the Europeans successful. In particular, he noted the methods of hygiene practised in their households.

The seeds of these lessons flourished in his fertile mind, and were shortly to start bearing fruit in an unexpected way.

Cultural Values Transmission

Early observers made mention of the sophisticated social order that prevailed in Māori society and the systems used to transfer values and maintain the good order of society and communities.

Stack (1898) respected the value system that prevailed in Māori society as he saw it:

In their social and domestic relations, much harmony and good feeling prevailed. They were courteous in their behaviour towards each other, and so unwilling to hurt the feelings of others, that in conveying bad and startling news they employed a song or quoted a saying of well-known meaning. Anyone guilty of rude behaviour was spoken of as one who had no parents- one hatched from a cuckoo's egg. If they met an enemy in the company of one of their own friends and allies, no matter how deadly the feud between them might be, they would be quite civil to the enemy, and do nothing to harm him while with their friend, for fear of giving him pain…their chivalrous conduct on some occasions towards their foes was very remarkable - perhaps imperilled except in the age of knighthood.

Stack lauded the peace-filled society of abundance that whānau enjoyed before colonisation:

During the centuries which preceded our occupation, the ordinary life of the people in times of peace was pleasant and agreeable. The people possessed an abundance of food, an agreeable and healthy occupation of mind and body. Each season of the year and each part of the day had its allotted work or amusement both for men, women and children. The women, besides such household duties as the preparation of food and cleansing their houses, made the clothing and bedding required for their families. They gathered the flax and ti-palm fibres used, and prepared and worked them up into a variety of garments, and when finished were beautiful specimens of handiwork. The children played a variety of games with top, balls, kites, and swings. The youth engaged in wrestling and running, leaping with poles, skipping in squads of 10 or a dozen together, and foot- and canoe races. The men gathered the food in Whatas or storerooms.

It is indeed, surprising to find a people… possessing such elaborate theories about the origin of all things – theories with contain traces of a philosophy which evidently belonged to a period of higher mental culture.

Arthur Hiwi Couch (1987) recalled the opportunity he had to be instructed by his parents and grandparents 'elders' in the 'good things of life':

…the pleasure we who are growing old share as we sit and watch our grandchildren at play. We think of our parents and grandparents; of the things they told us about their early life, and about later, when they had grown older and were allowed to sit with their elders and be instructed in the good things of life. Also where not to go to collect food or firewood because such places were tapu.

Couch laments what he considers a lack of appreciation in contemporary Māori society for the ways of the old people:

Our elders were a proud people, knowing they were the descendants of a great race. When one looks around now, or reads the newspaper, one bows the head in sorrow at the indifference of this once mighty people. If only more of our young folk could look back at the strength, both physical and mental, of their forebears, Māori names would not occupy so prominent a place in reports of the law courts. All over New Zealand efforts are being made to rekindle that pride of race in our young folk, through cultural groups and better education…They have lived over a century with the Pākeha, and with their background as a proud and independent people, they should be able to fight their own way to a successful career if they would but try.

Pukengatanga – Mentoring by Elders

One of the most common and important strategies was where an elder (pukenga) took a young person under their care and taught them directly as a mentor to feed them knowledge. The student would accompany the elder to hui and special occasions – the child functioning as a link between generations that ensured survival of critical knowledge about connections between people, places and the natural world (Sirling & Salmond, 1980).

As a child grew to adolescence they became more connected to their surroundings. Hiroa (1950) states that when a boy child entered his teens, he had passed through the stage of primary education and, so far as reo was concerned, he now came under the influence of the public speakers and orators of his tribe (pg.360).

McCarthy (1997) notes the importance of elders in the transmission of values and knowledge:

> *Elderly people, as repositories of cultural knowledge, play an integral part in ensuring and assisting in the development of a Māori child's knowing who he or she is. This is a form of understanding which extends beyond knowing your genealogy, to include knowing your history as told by your own people, being skilful in your language, recognising the nuances of your culture that make you different from another, and owning a world view that is distinctively Māori.*

Mikaere (2002) suggests there were many reasons why children were raised by adults other than their birth parents at different stages in their lives:

> *Tom Smiler suspects that one of the reasons why he was taken by his paternal grandmother at birth, aside from custom (which, in his whānau, was that the first-born would be taken by the paternal grandparents), was that he was extremely ill. Perhaps, like Tama-nui-ki-te-rangi, his grandmother had the special skills required to nurse the baby back to health.*

In parts of the country like Te Waipounamu, many Māori young people experienced a confusing mentorship from their elders in relation to their own cultural identity. Bernice Tainui in the study by O'Regan and Rangipuna (2009) recalls:

> *We grew up with a healthy respect for the word respect. We were surrounded by role models who taught us to respect those in authority, plus our elders. They never mentioned Māori to us in regards to anything (which for me, showed a lack of respect, but also a lack of knowledge of anything concerning Māori). The children at school were not backward in showing their disrespect toward Māori. Having a Pākehā name and being fairish let me off the hook, but my sister, Huia Wharenikau, was always teased, which was why she changed her name later to Joan Smith.*

Mikaere (2002) claims that just as children had the right to know their whakapapa, to be secure in their identity and to expect support from the adults within their whānau, the principle of reciprocity operated to ensure that they also carried responsibilities to the whole whānau.

> *When Tamati Cairns decided that he would like to raise his sister's child, he understood (by virtue of the way in which his own fate had been decided when a child) that he had to negotiate with his own parents in order to obtain the child. It could not be resolved simply between his sister and himself, as it was an issue that affected the wider whānau.*

Reciprocity of responsibility is particularly apparent for children who were chosen for the purpose of being schooled in tribal knowledge by the elders. As Pere cited by Mikaere (2002) noted such children:

> *would be expected to support and advise [their] generation and younger members during their adulthood, particularly those who were closely related*.

Sometimes young people would acquire not only skills and knowledge from their elders but also attitudes. Hohepa Kereopa cited in Moon (2008) describes how Rua Kenana challenged traditional systems but used the ways learnt from the 'old people' in the process of changing tradition:

> *Rua the prophet was a teacher for the people. He was able to be a teacher because he questioned things and tested things. When he tested tapu, he taught people that tapu didn't need to control*

them any more like it did in the old days. And when he questioned the spirit that told him to heal the people - and he answered it back and told it that he wanted to heal the land instead - well, they would probably run off as fast as they could. But he was a teacher, and he had learnt from the old people how to do all those things."

Moon suggests that rites of passage could start very young for tamariki set aside for special functions in society:

Hohepa is one of the very last of that most select groups in traditional Māori society: the tohunga. Tohunga are a class which defy easy description. Most books translate the term as natural or traditional healers, experts on traditional Māori religion, the holders of all the important and sacred knowledge of the community, and people who are revered and regarded as being almost sacrosanct. Yet, as he explained and revealed to me over the course of our discussions, there was much more to it than this. First, tohunga traditionally were selected at a very young age, as was the case with Hohepa.

By contrast, Stack (1898) reflects on the very democratic nature of some knowledge, particularly whakapapa:

A very accurate knowledge of tribal genealogies was therefore required….this knowledge was not confined to a class of learned genealogists, but was possessed by every rangatira or native gentleman….each one from childhood up was obliged to make this subject a constant study; and the public recitals which were held at frequent intervals kept the names and facts connected with them always fresh in their memories; for besides the names of their ancestors it was held to be equal importance to know the deeds for which they were distinguished.

Stack is clearly impressed by the knowledge transference system he identifies in Māori society:

To Europeans whose memories have not been exercised and trained to the same extent that the Māori memories were, it seems almost incredible that so large amount of knowledge on such a variety of subjects could have been preserved for any length of time by oral tradition". But research shows information has been handed down correctly "…identical in every particular point."

Even in the "absence of a written language, the Māoris were enabled to accurately preserve their history. Classes for instruction in the various subjects of knowledge cultivated by the people existed in every tribe. These classes, which were held in a building specially set apart for the purpose, called the Whare-pu-rākau, or Armoury, were open annually with great ceremony at the beginning of winter…the classes were kept open for about 3 months. Instruction was imparted by a band of "tohungas" or skilled persons. The subjects taught comprised the myths relating to the origin of all things, and to the gods and the demi-gods, the religious beliefs of the race, charms and incantations, the rules of "tapu", legends, fables, history (national and tribal), laws, genealogies, treatment of diseases, astronomy, agriculture, etc. The most proficient of the pupils trained in these schools formed the learned class, for which the "tohungas" were from time to time chosen

Recent studies on resiliency amongst young people show that processes that operate at family level are important in assisting families to cope with adversity (Mackay, 2003). Non-resident and other father figures have an important role to play in promoting development of children in single mother families and approaches require sensitivity to families cultures and values.

In a review of the role of identity in whānau development, Moeke-Pickering (1996) suggests that formation of a secure whānau identity is likely to contribute toward an overall stable Māori identity. The creation of an environment where a sense of secure well-being among members of a whānau is nurtured, leads to members constructing a whānau and Māori identity that is meaningful.

***Whare Wananga* – Formal Learning Institutions**

The Tapu School of Learning is described by some, as having a similar nature as of wānanga, where students came together in order to learn, talk, teach and adapt knowledge of mātauranga Māori within a culturally endorsed environment. Best (1924) mentions The Tapu school of learning within his writings with a focus on the role these facilities played in science education:

> *It was taught in the tapu school of learning that water is one of the chief constituents or necessities of life. It is moisture that causes growth in all things, other necessary agents being the sun, the moon, and the stars. Lacking moisture, all things would fail on earth, in the heavens, in the suns, the moons and the stars of all realms. Clouds are mist-like emanations originating in the warmth of the body of the Earth Mother. All things possess warmth and cold, all things contain the elements of life and of death, each after the manner of its kind. It was Tane (personified form of the sun) and Tawhirimatea (personified form of winds) who sent back the mists to earth in the form of rain, as a means of cherishing and benefiting all things, for all things absorb moisture, each after the manner of its kind. Air, moisture, warmth, with various forms of sustenance, were the origin of the different forms around us, of the differences in such forms, as in trees, in herbage, in insects, birds, fish, stones, and soils; these things control such forms, and their growth. Hence death assails all things on earth, in the waters, in the sun, the moon, and the stars, in the clouds, mists, rain, and winds; all things contain the elements of decay, each after the manner of its kind.*

Born around 1850, at an early age Hone Taare Tikao had been consigned by his father to the care of two noted tribal scholars of Kai Tahu, Koroko and Tuauau, for nearly 10 years. This laid the foundations of an encyclopaedic knowledge of Kai Tahu natural lore and history pertaining to the Canterbury area. Tikao (1990) provided some comparison between lessons from his time in the Wharekura and the teachings of western science:

> *The white man is taught that the world is round like an orange, but I was taught that it round like a plate. You learn that it is round like a ball, but I learned that it is flat like a plate, and I still believe this. The Māoris of old said the world is flat, not a globe, but they never said how thick it is. The white man is very wise in many ways, but he is wrong in saying the earth is not spread out flat. Ancient songs say the world is circular and that the sand lies round it like a rim, and that outside and beyond this is space.*

Tikao also provides some description on the origin and purpose of Wharekura:

> *The general name for our Māori schools was* Wharekura, *but there were different branches or colleges which had different names.... The first W*harekura *of all was held in the heavens and from there was brought down into the first great* Hawaiki*, from whence its course can be followed through all* Hawaikis *and then on to New Zealand. The teaching of all the lore gathered as the race migrated onward and this teaching was done in a building called the* Wharekura*.*
>
> *The* Wharekura *was an important thing in ancient days. Here the* tohukas*, or learned men of the tribe, taught the youths the different subjects of Māori education. It was a big building and was* tapu *(sacred). The teaching in it being done by night, the light necessary was supplied by torches. The* tohuka *who was going to impart instruction went to the* tuahu *(altar) first and there said* karakia*. From there he proceeded to the* wharekura *and taught the selected youths of the community while the rest of the inhabitants were asleep, the average length of the lessons being about four hours.*

Tikao suggests there were three divisions of learning or three colleges or schools that rangatahi progressively learnt through:

> Whare-pu-rākau *to teach the arts of war and the use of weapons, the* Whare-maire *to dispense general instruction along certain lines, and the* Whare-kura *to preserve the knowledge of creation, of the gods, of the origin of things, and of religion. A youth would first of all go to the* tuahu *(altar), then though the different colleges of Māori education, and then back to the* tuahu *to finish his course. By the time he had done all this fully, and if his mind was clear and alert, he knew as much as the olden Māoris could teach him.*

Mahi Toi: Youth, Art & Craft

A small number of youth became craftsman and artists. Whether it was interest or presumed birthright (tradition of a certain family), for a youth to specialise in craft such as whakairo and ta moko, Hiroa (1950) states that:

> *The adolescent had to be taught by a tohunga. His apprenticeship was commenced by an initiation ceremony in which the ritual brought him under the favour of the tutelary god of the particular craft. The students understanding was thereby quickened, his ears became more receptive to instruction, his memory retentive and his hand skilful. The arrangements were usually made by kaumātua but sometimes the keen desire of the boy was recognised by the craftsman.* (pg. 361)

Specific rituals were often performed at the start of an apprenticeship. Hiroa (1950) recalls Hori Pukehika a master builder and carver of Whanganui, whom told him his own story about becoming an apprentice in his youth when the wharepuni of the Takarangi family Te Paku was being built at Putiki. Because of Hori's eagerness to learn the craft of whakairo, the head carver said to him kindly "meet me over there on the bank of the river just before sunset". At the place and time appointed the old man told hori to remove his clothing, they waded out into the water to waist depth. Just as the sun was setting, the master carver recited a ritual chant, sprinkled the boy with water and Hori became an entered apprentice in the exclusive guild of builders and carvers.

Ta moko, accompanied by many rites and rituals, was seen as a rite of passage, a step from puberty into adulthood, for both men and women. Stowell (2009) reports an interview with Ricki Waitokia of Whanganui and his views on the long and complex processes of receiving ta moko. The process started with getting permission from elders: respected people who have information and knowledge that connects to the person. The designs showed the individual's geneology, status and position with the family, gender, iwi and hapū. Ta moko practitioners could bring into the designs an individual's attributes, past events or talents. The moko could give the receiver direction in life and provide the symbolic protection of the ancestor depicted. Ta moko was a source of pride, showing the wearer had great character, and it could also be a healing. Adolescents preparing to receive ta moko had to be mindful of all these things.

Gender & Initiation Processes

While most of the sparse literature available focuses on male rites of passage, in the 20th Century there were new traditions for women that celebrated their gendered role as home-maker and household cook:

Te Whea Phillips in Plumridge (2008) mentions the tradition of produce competitions amongst members of the local branch of the Māori Women's Welfare League:

> *…Te Whea Hutana, was a foundation member of the league, wasn't she? Yes, she used to talk about it all the time. Auntie Taura was the chairlady. That's Auntie Rima's mother. Mum was the secretary. They used to have flower show, you know – you'd take your best flowers down. And vegetables. They had all these competitions on the day. And Mum would be up there, digging up the vegetables, getting the flowers – whatever it was on the day. She made this saucer one day.*

In the same publication, Maureen Arthurs talks about the role of her caregivers in teaching basic hunting and food preparation skills:

> *My stepfather was keen to go back to the island, so he was responsible in a way for initiating us into the art and craft. We all learnt mutton birding together, though my stepfather. If my mother hadn't married him we would have lost that part. Now we go every year. I just love it – it's the life. You're back like the colonial days because it's pretty basic. When my mother and I went we had a little tin shed and an open fire. Mum cooked on the open fire – made the bread, made the doughnuts, cooked the mutton birds, cooked the potatoes and that's how we lived. Really basic. Kerosene lights, like the old-style camping.*

And Plumridge (2008) suggests that her interviews with Rapaki kuia revealed the serious limitations placed on young Māori women, but also their strategies to build mutual support for themselves:

Members spoke of how men controlled the purse-strings, and women learnt how to exert influence without incurring resistance. They remembered their families as often very private, living within a small community largely isolated from Māori elsewhere. For women there were few ways to meet, share and learn outside their immediate circle, and few means of gaining insight into the networks of the Pākeha women…But for the majority in Rapaki, and communities like it, it was not until women began to organise within the league that they started to meet regularly with women from other Māori communities and with Pākeha women in their own locality.

Rogoff (2003) discusses the *Kinaalda*, a four day rite of passage for Navajo girls when they get their first period. It is designed to impart the moral and intellectual strength the young woman will need as she herself can now create life and continue the Navajo culture. Navajo boys have no similar ceremony. In contrast, Beaglehole & Beaglehole (1945) identify different attitudes and practices by the 20th Century for Māori approaches at the onset of sexual activity amongst the whānau they studied:

In the Hilton family, as in others like them, the question of sex education of the young people assumes importance (whereas in the casual families, sex knowledge is taken for granted, as well it may be). Mata, the father, has sounded out his son and made sure he is aware of the facts of sex… He is determined that his son's chances of steady work will not be hampered by marriage (the casual families would either be indifferent to such consequences of early marriage or else think it a good thing because it would help the young people to settle down). Waka, the wife, would have liked to help her daughters acquire sex knowledge, but she felt embarrassed and so has been glad to leave the teaching to someone else. A younger aunt, finding that the younger daughter, now sixteen years old, was ignorant of most facts and what they meant, offered to tell the girl if her mother did not object. Waka did not object and so the aunt made all explanations.

Rogoff quotes one young woman's explanation of Kinaalda:

"My mom won't let anybody go out without one. My mom says if you get one you are an okay lady. On my aunt's side, they didn't do any of those. They're just running around out there somewhere." Her sister laughed, "White people try to hide it. We celebrate it. It is womanhood. And everything."

Navajo elders see a connection between the decreased use of Kinaalda and an increase in the number of Navajo young women who have difficulties staying on an appropriate cultural track.

Other Life Skills & Knowledge Acquisition

Many observers have made mention of the sophisticated system of human development that Māori society was based upon. Canon James Stack writing in the late 19th Century found specific comparisons between the cultural depth of Māori society and that of both modern and ancient Europe. Stack (1898) suggests that most Māori were (surprisingly?) well educated in botany, astronomy and artistic expression, in fact more so than most Europeans of the time:

In the poetry and proverbs of this long-isolated people we find the same ideas and the same similarities employed that the poets and sages of the Old World used to describe human passions and emotions… giving utterance in their public speeches to lofty ideas, in strange contrast with their sordid surroundings…so far from being ignorant savages, we find that a large proportion of the people possessed cultivated minds, and were well-instructed in subjects which only highly-educated Europeans think of acquiring any exact knowledge about. They were familiar with the flora and fauna of their country, to every object of which they gave distinctive names, precise enough to prove that they were keen and intelligent observers of all natural objects. They scanned the stars and named the various constellations, and took such note of their movements as to mark the seasons by them. Their sense of beauty was so correct that, simple as their clothing, and utensils, and weapons were, they designed the forms of them in such a way as to render them objects of beauty.

Stack admonished the truncated views of some of his contemporaries who did not seem to fully appreciate the strength of Māori culture and knowledge transference:

Those who only fix their eyes upon the defective side of the Māori's character and acquirements… will also learn how it is that most of those Europeans who have taken pains to acquire accurate knowledge of the first inhabitants of this country have formed such a high opinion of the Māori race.

King (1989) notes that manhood was recognised by Moriori, not through skill in warfare as it was in most other Polynesian communities, but through tests of skill in bird hunting, cliff climbing, adze making and in rough seas being able to dive for koura (crayfish) and surface holding one in each hand and one in the mouth.

Graduation & New Responsibilities

Best (1924) provided information on the place of graduation for students coming out of the Tapu school. The symbol of a student's graduation from The Tapu School of Whanganui was the receiving of three sacred stones. Best writes of Topia Turoa (he toa rangatira) of the Whanganui district whom in 1876 gave a brief description of what each stone represented to each scholar:

- *Whatu Puororangi* enables the scholar to retain acquired knowledge, it will also prevent disseminating such matter in an unwise manner;
- *Whatu kai Manawa* should always be carried with the scholar, especially when joining an assembly of strangers - evidently this stone possessed protective powers;
- *Whatu Whakatara* always place this beneath your pillow at night as it may beneficially affect your mauri.

In 1914 there remained four men who were holders of this stone 'certificate' still living in the Whanganui district. Knowledge was then as it is in many circles today, highly valued by both elders and young people. Particular knowledge can entitle a youth to new opportunities and to obtain knowledge is to have power, to accept growth and maturity and to give back to the whānau/hapū.

Hohepa Kereopa in Moon (2008) describes another way of understanding acquired knowledge, particularly for members of the community considered to have special gifts:

Prophecy is not really about saying what is going on to happen in the future. We can't do that anyway - only the Almighty can do that through us. What prophecy is, for Māori, is that thing of expanding your knowledge and testing it, and from that, receiving new things into your thinking. But even if that happens, well, a prophet has to use that knowledge for the benefit of the people. I see lots of people who come to me and want to know all sorts of stuff, and they think that by knowing things, they will be more powerful. But if you are doing these things to become powerful, well, you can know it all, but then, you will never have that understanding that goes with it. For a prophet, knowledge is not there for yourself, or because other people find it interesting. It is not a thing for fun, like watching TV. A prophet, a prophet in the Māori world, has to have the right ways of thinking to be a prophet.

When Eruera Stirling (Stirling & Salmond, 1980) from Te Whānau-a-Apanui completed his training at the hands of the elderly couple that cared for him from the ages of three to seven, the old man told him:

E tama, now the mana and the mauri rest upon you; I have given you the power of your ancestors, and it will lead you for the rest of your days. No one will ever come across your way. You have been through the faith and you go in light, with the knowledge I have passed on to you; one day you'll be helping your people.

When he finally left them to return to his birth parents, the elderly couple simply said:

Go, child, but we have given everything to you, and it will stay with you for the rest of your life.

Mikaere (2002) suggests that having the support of a wide whānau network as a child means that the child has life-long obligations to the entire whānau, and beyond that, to the hapū and iwi. This is the essence of whanaungatanga, and ensures the continued viability of the collective group.

Changing Rites and Rituals

Rimene (1998) suggests that a lack of appreciation for Tikanga Māori during important stages of life, led to a diminished confidence from whānau Māori in the value of mainstream support services:

> *The theme of traditional Māori beliefs, customs and practices regarding childbirth was highlighted through the stories in this text. These aspects of the lives of many Māori people are very real and very important; this is part of what it is "to be Māori". The stories also highlighted the ignorance of some mainstream health providers regarding their lack of knowledge, understanding and appreciation of a Māori world view. It is little wonder that some Māori people have been reticent to use mainstream services. However, the acknowledgement of Māori beliefs, customs and practices within the provision of health services is now an accepted part of health service delivery. The choice of service provider that is available today is appreciated by Māori*

Kereopa in Moon (2008) confirms what many of the interviewees in the Hei Tikitiki project revealed about the powerful role that Christian churches have had in overseeing the milestones of life within Māori communities:

> *…the presence of the Presbyterians gave the Iharaia movement a veneer of respectability in the eyes of some Europeans. If the Presbyterians were happy to be aligned with Rua's faith, then surely this Māori sect could not be that threatening. The Presbyterians also acted as a de facto administrative arm of Iharaia. Whenever there was a birth, death or marriage, it was [Reverend] Laughton and his associates who oversaw proceedings and issued the relevant certificates and other documentation. This is a practice that has survived to this day.*

Migration for employment and education has more recently contributed to a weakening connection between whānau identity and traditional systems of value transference. A study of Tuhoe living in the Waikato (Nikora, Guerin, Rua & Te Awekotuku, 2004) found that when participants were asked about returning to Tühoe lands, most were hoping to move back for employment but could see little chance of that happening given the poor employment prospects in rural areas of New Zealand but most still wanted to return to die, even if it meant leaving their Waikato-raised children.

A similar study four years later (Nikora, Rua, Te Awekotuku,Guerin and McCaughey, 2008) amongst Tuhoe still living in their traditional homelands found most participants recognised and strongly supported 'movers' to better themselves and find successful futures but hoped that they would one day return. There is a significant age-distribution gap of people between about 20 and 50 years of age in the Tuhoe homelands. This is concerning for a number of reasons. The researchers and participants suggest that this 'age gap' may contribute to a) a lack of good role-models for younger children; b) a lack of people to help out with heavy work; c) a gap in people to sustain traditional teaching models for children, and d) a lack of qualified people in trades and professions.

Edwards et al. (2007) suggest the existence of rangatahi connection to whānau is integral for intergenerational transfer of knowledge, wealth and power in Māori society. If every opportunity is given to strengthen and build these structures Māori and the wider community will benefit.

Summary of Findings

Written material reviewed as part of this project was sourced from a wide range of databases, libraries, archives and networks including iwi and hapū organisations, kaumātua, academics and other experts. While very few references dealing explicitly with traditional Māori rites of passage rituals were identified, there is a significant body of knowledge documenting developmental processes for young Māori in the transition from childhood to adulthood from pre-contact through to the late 20th Century.

The study does not presume that rites of passage were universal for all Māori communities, nor that they were interpreted in the same way or were only practiced until European traditions became more widespread.

Anthropological enquiry has for at least the last 200 years sought to establish general theories about the purpose of rites of passage within cultures. Definitions and schema for determining what constitutes a rite of passage tend to suggest that they deal with entering a new stage of life (Moore & Habel, 1982), maturation in physical, social and sexual status (Rogoff, 2003) and membership of a new group (Pervos, 2001). Blumenkrantz & Goldstein (2010) have comprised a list of twenty elements of youth rites of passage that may be used to inform current efforts to re-establish healthy rites of passage in contemporary societies.

An important theme running through much of the literature is that rites of passage do not exist for the benefit of individual participating in the process but for the benefit of the community and culture to which s/he belongs (Pervos, 2001; Blumenkrantz & Goldstein, 2010; Rogoff, 2003).

Another important premise is that rites of passage for adolescents are the primary mechanism by which a community or culture ensures that its members have acquired the knowledge, skills and values necessary to be healthy, contributing adults in their society (Blumenkrantz & Goldstein, 2010; Rohr, 2004). Rites of passage may be the vehicle for teaching essential lessons (Rohr, 2004; Rogoff, 2003) that young people need to know or they may be graduation markers that the lessons have been learnt (Best, 1924; Stirling & Salmond, 1980).

Te Ora Hou Aotearoa (2007) have been developing a Māori model of practice that incorporates indigenous models of youth and whānau development. The Circle of Courage (Brendtro et al., 1990) and Professor Mason Durie's six primary capacities for whānau ora provide the core components of the Maia model emerging from Te Ora Hou centres around the country. Interestingly the interviewees undertaken as part of this project appear to endorse the components of the Maia model and may add another level of validity to its design.

While rites of passage pertaining to birth, betrothal and death are not the focus of this literature review, they are the universal milestones of cultures around the world and are likely to have the greatest body of research connected to any cultural traditions. *Tohi* rituals associated with birth are well documented and provide some detail on the elaborate symbolism that pervades this tikanga.

Urungatanga is a phrase termed by this review for the process by which young people achieve new levels of responsibility through their day to day exposure to particular practices and knowledge. Much of the literature surveyed documented the common expectations on young people to acquire the skills and information they needed through participation in adult activities (Makereti, 1986; Hiroa, 1950). Even as infants, Māori children contributed to adult conversations and decision-making processes (Elder, 1938) and joined their extended whānau in most aspects of village life (Moon, 2008).

Strong support and sanctions within Māori society ensured that moral and ethical codes were upheld by its members (Stack, 1898; Couch, 1987).

Mentoring by community elders or *Pukengatanga* is a common practice in Māori society. One of the most common and important strategies was for an elder to take a young person under their care and teach them directly as a mentor to feed them knowledge. The student would accompany the elder to hui and special occasions – the child functioning as a link between generations that ensured survival of critical knowledge about connections between people, places and the natural world.

Grandparents or other elderly members of the community would often take a first born child (Hiroa, 1950) or a child of special character (Walker, 2005). The age of elders usually means they have special access to memories and experiences that younger members of a tribe or community do not possess. The advent of the printing press, electronic recording media and photography may have reduced the centrality of elders as preservers of knowledge and memory for cultures that have primarily maintained inter-generational communication through oral traditions. McCarthy (1997) and others (Mikaere, 2002; O'Regan and Rangipuna, 2009; Moon, 2008) stress the importance of elders in the transmission of values and knowledge in Māori society and the role of young people in acquiring taonga to interpret for themselves and pass on to others.

Recent studies on resiliency amongst young people show that processes that operate at family level are important in assisting families to cope with adversity (Mackay, 2003) and Moeke-Pickering (1996) suggests that formation of a secure whānau is likely to contribute toward an overall stable Māori identity.

Whare Wananga were formal learning institutions – often specialising in particular areas of knowledge and practices (Tikao, 1990) but sometimes as in the case of Tapu schools were more generic in the range of lessons taught (Best, 1924).

Apprenticeships were commonly used in particular areas of pursuit including arts and crafts and there were rituals associated with the start and end of the apprenticeship (Hiroa, 1950; Stowell, 2009).

Most of the literature focuses on male rites of passage and some (Rohr) suggest that men need to learn lessons from rites of passage that women traditionally learn through menstruation and child-bearing. Plumridge (2008) however provides some insight into 20th Century markers of womanhood for young members of the Māori Womens Welfare League. Others argue that indigenous women did have their own rituals connected to milestones like their first period (Rogoff, 2003) that ensured the women understood the responsibilities to the tribe that come with the ability to have children of their own and continue the line of whakapapa of the whānau.

Graduation from learning contexts into new stages of life were marked in quite different ways depending on the location and situation. Best (1924) documented the story of Topia Turoa who provided information on a certification process for graduates of a particular traditional school of learning in Whanganui. Three different types of stone were presented to students upon leaving the school as symbols of their new status and as sources of energy and memory to help them in different situations through life. Eruera Stirling (1980) had to perform a physical and spiritual test prior to his graduating from years of tutelage under an elderly couple.

Active suppression, urbanisation and internal migration (Nikora et al., 2008), the increasing influence of Christianity and western culture (Moon, 2008), reduced access to natural resources and other social, political, economic, environmental and cultural factors have contributed to a trend away from traditional rites of passage for Māori over the last 100 years. New rites of passage were progressively adopted by whānau Māori so the 21st Birthday is often marked with a large party, the gift of a key and yard glass (ALAC, 2008).

Rangatahi connection to whānau is essential for intergenerational transmission of knowledge, wealth and power in Māori society (Edwards et al., 2007) and for the reestablishment of a healthy social order (Ministry of Justice, 2001).

The New Zealand literature reviewed suggests a range of principles and practices associated with traditional Māori rites of passage and these can be considered alongside international literature on rites of passage and indigenous youth development. Combined with findings from interviews with kaumātua there is a rich source of inspiration for contemporary rites of passage development through planning and implementation.

5. Interview Findings

30 interviews with pakeke/kaumātua/kuia were completed for this project. Interviewees were identified through local networks – some are well known national or local public figures, others are less well known. Many were raised with Te Reo as their first language at home and in the community, others had very little exposure to Te Reo.

The interviews followed a common set of questions and at times it was appropriate to ask supplementary questions.

While the purpose of the project and interviews was to focus on the interviewees experiences relating to rites of passage and markers for their community in the transition from childhood to adulthood, many more issues were touched on that needed to be discussed to put the kōrero into a cultural, historical and social context. Common themes emerged from the interviews with most including discussion on the following aspects of their early lives and reflection on life today:

- Pre-natal and birthing traditions and practices
- Naming rites
- Home and family Life
- Growing up with material deprivation
- Food production and chores around the home
- Adolescence, changes in roles, milestones and rites of passage
- Education and employment
- Mentors
- Words of wisdom
- Important Relationships
- Discrimination
- Church and marae experiences
- Te Reo
- Tikanga, wairuatanga and other traditions
- Te Ao Hou

Instead of paraphrasing the kōrero and providing running commentary on the themes, this section includes a series of direct extracts from most of the interviews that have been organised under the 15 themes listed above.

A number of interviews were conducted entirely i Te Reo Māori and many interviewees switched between English and Te Reo. Time has not permitted most of those interviews to be transcribed for inclusion in this report, but the intention is that this work will be completed and more of the Te Reo versions of the kōrero will be included in a subsequent report and resources produced as part of this project. Some of the quotations that were in Te Reo have been translated into English for the benefit of a wider audience, but obviously do not do justice to the communication of concepts that cannot be explained as well in a language other than Te Reo.

Rather than including their names, each interviewee has a unique identifying code and some of the details for people and place names have been left out to protect the identity of some whānau members and locations of special places. Each interview was recorded on digital video and copies have been provided to the interviewee and/or their whānau in cases where the interviewee has since passed away.

At the end of the section is an attempt to summarise some of the profound wisdom, knowledge and stories that the research teams were privileged to have access to.

Pre-natal and birthing traditions and practices

"Before I was born it was decided that I would be given to my father's teina and his wife. The reason why I was given to them was to help them have their own children. They had been married for some time and had not been successful with pregnancies. My father approached his uncle, a tohunga (healer) for advice to help them have children. He advised the couple to ask my birth mother whether they could have the baby. My whangai father approached the birth parents and relayed the tohunga's story to them. My birth mother had already had several children and did not know at the time that she was hapū. My whangai father was disappointed thinking that the tohunga must have been wrong. Not long afterward, my birth mother found out that she was hapū.

My birth parents were aware that being childless was a strain on my whangai parents and agreed to whangai their child. When I was born, my whangai parents were also present. My birth mother took three days to wean me. They then took me from there to my whangai mother's home at Poroti.

I see this as being the first rite of passage, the transfer to my whangai parents. The movement from my birth family environment at Pataua to that of my whangai mother's people, Te Uriroroi was another rite of passage. My whangai grandparents at Poroti were Roman Catholic. My grandmother was very spiritual and staunch. In those days they did not have easy access to the Priest who would only visit periodically. The custom was to baptise the children almost immediately at birth. To bless that child, should anything happen to the child, the process of baptism, blessing, receiving into the Church would have taken place. The Catholic teaching on this fitted in with traditional Māori birthing, the blessing of the child and mother. There was a connection with traditional practices." (WH6)

"I understands that my whenua was buried but this was not a common practice in those times unless you were born at home. If born at home, these things were controlled by Māori not the health or hospital system. (WH6)

"I had a home birth and was taken out of my mother's body and had nothing to do with my mother for at least a year. I was raised by a tohunga and was fed chewed food from the tohunga. I had lots of people around my home, all these people from around my takiwa, including some born from the century before, before aeroplanes and cars. My koro was born in 1850 something. I have a picture with the star patterns that were above my mother when I was born – the star patterns can influence the way your life is." (OT6)

My father delivered all the babies. The children knew to boil water when another baby was being born." (WH2)

"When my mother was carrying me, her grandmother approached my grandfather. My great-grandmother said, "When your daughter has her child it will be called George or Georgina." So, before he was born I was given away. I was born in a cowshed while my mother was milking cows. She leaned against a rail and had her baby. I was washed, taken away and my mother continued milking cows. Next to the cowshed was a river, they washed me there, a kaumātua said a karakia, then I was taken back to the house and life began. I didn't realise the significance of that procedure, the naming, my mother continuing on with her work after she gave birth to me, the significance of the washing.

Years later I questioned why my grandmother was my mother. My biological mother was my sister.

My great-grandmother had the ability to change roles, if she had an elder son, she could make him the teina and vice versa. They used to think she was senile but she had the power and the mana to change those roles." (WH7)

"There was a kuia in our community who when she heard of a birth would karakia for the pepi and whānau. She had a Paipera Tapu and would record each birth in that. Baptism was something that was done as babies. My kuia took us to the River as young teenagers and taught us to karakia at the River and I continue to do that and I take my kids there and teach them." (WP5)

"I was circumcised and injected just after I was born. Karakia was done by my grandfather before a baby was born and after washing the baby when it was born." (WP6)

Naming rites

"We were reminded as children that we did not sign the Treaty. Therefore we did not have the ambitions that some who signed do. The signatures on the Treaty we were told are the weak ones. In my whānau we are all born with full Māori names, none with English names, no surname and our whānau has never raised children in the Pākehā system. Today we bring up a ten year old as if they were 20 and in our family we raised children with responsibilities according to their age so they never wanted to be something they are not." (OT6)

"So there are these natural ones that happen anyway. A key event for me was to get my final name, at around 1,000 days old. This is something we still practice today. We do days old, not years." (OT6)

"The power of words can engender curses. They would call us Māori all the bad words. But I refused to react, retaliate to these bad words. When I began to understand the significance to my name, felt good about myself. Felt like I needed to change my surname because of those that brought reproach on our family name." (OT7)

Our life is walking through a plan that was laid for us by the generations before us, My name was sorted out by them even though they would never see my face. They can also tell us when we are going to die." (OT6)

"I reflect now and when you are younger you are just kind of living, but don't realise that it is the result of this prophetic. I would listen to some of the stories, all the dreams of Māori – they had dreams and aspirations then and they could only be fulfilled by Jesus. So they were on the right track, and I always loved the stories they told. I remember sitting on the pai, listening to a moteatea and I know really that they don't know what's it's about. They have been taught and learnt it but they don't know the kōrero behind the moteatea, but by revelation I know what it's about. All my brothers and sisters have names, but they were prophetic names. Their names impressed something of their character. All of my siblings were Christians, about the same age. The Māori name that was given to each of us 5, we have kind of lived it out. Tupuna gave us the names. The more I have gotten into our whakapapa from where we came from, a lot of this information is starting to come out. My parents never talked about the naming thing. But I knew that there was something about it. I'm glad because they would not have been able to pronounce my name at school." (OT7)

"My grandmother always called me Manu because as a child I would perch on chairs and peck food from the table. I haven't done that in a while." (WH1)

"Three months after I was born I was given away to my grandmother's tuakana George. Later I was taken away to live with Simon Brass. My role was to collect rongoa plants for this kaumātua from the bush. Two years later (by then I was nearly five years old), my mother (grandmother) came for me. She wanted me to be educated. So I went to a convent school at Pawarenga. On the first day a nun asked for my name. My mother wanted me to be called Hori but the nuns at the school named me Hohepa Nihita Rudolph. Wilhelm Rudolph came to New Zealand in the 1800s. His oldest son was called Hori and his son was also named George. It was common to use tupuna names that tied people to hapū and land. To bring a name back to the present in our tikanga it had to be seven generations old. The first and 7th generation are given the same name." (WH7)

"When old people hear that a child is given a name that is significant they pass on history and knowledge to that child. Matua Rudolph named his mokopuna, six months later the name Ritete was given to a pou at his marae. It was purely coincidental. With seven generations you can learn your whakapapa. Grandparents hold the mātauranga, especially the grandmother." (WH7)

Home and family life

"We had very basic conditions, living in tents for a few years, then dad built a caravan and then a bach after the authorities threatened to remove us children if they didn't provide a proper house." (WP1)

“Being brought up in such a strong whānau unit was important and always ensured that children had a place to go – if we had family fallouts we could go to one of our aunty or uncle’s homes.” (WP1)

“All my aunties were my mother. When we got hungry whoever the closer aunty was, was our mum. They feed us our uncles were the same. If we needed discipline they were all part of the whānau. So we had a big wide whānau. Everybody belonged.” (OT3)

“At Rapaki we had one set of rules for all. If people arrived at your house, you feed them. No one ever worried about each others kids; they were all taken care of be each whānau in the area.” (OT9)

“Our nan and koura came around a few years back and took away radios because people had stopped meeting together as they all had their own things. So then people started meeting together again.” (OT6)

“My father worked on the model that “a man should not go down the street without 5 pounds in his pocket.” ($10.99 NZD equivalent). I had to account for it, if ever I was in possession of any money. My dad made me go find a job, even though I didn’t need the money. I did a paper round and bought a second-hand 12ft centreboard. I raced it and developed some skills with. It cost 30 pounds and I earned 15 pounds, from the paper round. He helped me pound for pound. My mum patched things and darned clothes; she was a trained nurse though. But she was a “complete mistress of these domestic arts.” Nowadays you wouldn’t repair anything. My dad’s shoes got resoled and resoled. It’s not to say that you’re penurious or miserable, you just repair things. It’s a generation of culture that comes with a set of skills for maintaining yourself. This money thing also meant that you had a measure of autonomy and independence. The idea of the 5 pounds in your pocket was so that you would ‘always be covered’.” (OT5)

“My most positive memory growing up was just having fun. We played rounders, hide and seek and used to go up the hill. On wet days we’d get bark from the river wood trees, strip them off so our weavers could weave.”

“One of our babies died here, you never were stopped from going tangi, in fact you were encouraged to come. After the school bus got in we’d go down to the marae, go back from tea then go back for karakia that night. Everyone came out to karakia. On Saturdays (we had Sunday school) no matter where you were when you heard the bell ring, we all came together for karakia. There were no different types of religion; we all just came together to pray to God.” (OT9)

“Ia whānau ko tahi anake te whare, ka noho te nuinga o te whānau, i roto i tenei whare kotahi. Kaore hoki he moni he whakatu he whare ano, ana ko te māma, ko te paapa, ko te naani, koroua, ko nga mokopuna, ko nga tamariki i nohoana i roto te kāenga kotahi, te whare kotahi. No reira, i tipu mai au i roto nga ahuatnga o te aroha te wa e orange o taku nani, kaore aui tutaki au i taku koroua, te tau i whānau mai au kua mate taku koroua.” (OT5)

“My husband’s family took me in and we had so many relations. It was just wonderful because I had been on my own until that time [growing up in a girls’ home] and to suddenly have a family of about 50 was lovely. Just very different from what I knew. I really did enjoy getting to know the extended family and I was treated so well. John was a great guy, but his mum and dad were also lovely to me, knowing I was Māori (Pākehā Māori). I had never heard the word marae until I was married. Uenuku was their marae and his family were all connected with the marae, so I quickly joined that. They mixed so well together, they supported one another. If someone did something there was always support from other members of the family. And Pākehā are not like that. You didn’t have to prove yourself. If you were Māori you were part of the family.” (OT1)

“To have all men as your father and all women as your mother was OK. I think there were a couple of disadvantages, while you’re living in a world where everyone is treated equally as a human there were some times when I really wanted my mum to show me some concern.” (OT6)

“I wasn’t raised to think I was a ‘Māori’, I was just a normal person.” (OT6)

"Home was a 3 bedroom house with 18-20 people. It wasn't really a house, more like a village. I was the 9th child. As a teenager, I slept in a double bed with two other brothers otherwise they slept wherever they could. If you slept on a couch you were lucky." (WH1)

"My parents brewed their own alcohol and I drank a bit of wine when younger but never got in trouble." (WH2)

"Most of us kids knew how to catch eels, we knew how to survive. We had big gardens as well. Massive gardens. For everyone [not just our family]. It was share and share alike in those times. Everyone was involved in that area. The whole community did their share digging the kumara, we'd have a big party, a big do when they opened the garden. Nobody was left out. Someone would donate a beast. We were never without food. We worked hard as children, we knew what to do." (WH2)

"Both my parents wanted us to marry in the family to keep the land in the family. They weren't happy with me marrying into his family. There was Tomo is those days where you didn't choose your spouse, but the whānau chose them. [Her grandmother described by her husband as a 'battle axe' from Tangiteroria who was going to chop his head off]. My uncle was also against it. In the end they were all OK. They let it go. You can't help who you fall in love with but you realise afterwards. After marriage they were fine. It wasn't a problem." (WH2)

"There were houses at the flax mill located at Waihue. They were like army bachs, two bedrooms and made for the workers. All the workers had families. The Dallies didn't as their families were back in Yogoslavia. Raising children at the flax mill was quite good. There was nothing stressful about it. Not like today. [Jokes she has to keep dying her hair these days as she is going grey from all the stress]." (WH2)

"Us boys did all the farm work and the girls did all the housework. We might have helped bring the wood in and the girls could ride horses alright but that was about it. Men did outside work and women did inside work. Washing clothes was a big job. A handwringer was a luxury in those days. Porridge for breakfast, potatoes for tea, stale bread in milk or baked in the oven, ox tail, shins and offal in general. " (WH3)

"Growing up as a child we had a good life. Saturday was the only day we would wash. In summertime we would swim. Today people wash every day. In winter time we hung our clothes in front of the fire to dry. We ate fish and pipi, hardly any meat. We grew our own kumara, potatoes and pumpkin. We never ran out of food because we all worked. Now I have to buy everything, even manure. I never learnt to make takakau as a child. My mother preferred to make loaves or scones. My mother would make rewena out of hops and sugar. It was nice but heavy. I never made takakau until my daughter-in-law showed me how to do this." (WH5)

"With auahi kore, the only people who do well over this are the promoters of auahi kore. Māori say do not belittle the man who has a smoke. A kuia who is 91 was told she should give up smoking. The kuia said, "Will you be my friend at 2am when I am by myself? That is my only comfort."" (WH7)

Growing up with material deprivation

"Our house was made of corrugated iron. It had a dirt floor, with paper bags down to stay clean. The poor people lived by the river in caves. But they had more fun, so we spent time with down there diving in the river, getting eels." (OT3)

"No matter how pohara my family was, no matter what, we had a family love. I am in my on way very religious, especially over the last few months. I am Catholic, although in many ways I follow the Ratana faith, I believe in goodwill for others. Good clean living is my wisdom for others and that you attempt to be a part of the community and a worthy part of the community (runanga). My training in the army bought that out in me." (OT2)

"I come from a family of 19. I am the oldest girl. We had nothing in our house which was just one big room. Life was about survival. We lived on eels, watercress and cow's milk. We didn't know what presents were but I look back and realise we were happy. There was no power, no washing machine and only one bed in the entire house. Our blankets were overcoats. However we survived. Nothing was ever a bother. We were happy and despite having little probably did not have the stress of today's world. My parents were lovely." (WH2)

"There were hard times but I could cope with my 13 children as I had looked after my 18 siblings. There was no washing machine or TV at the flax mill. I would send the kids down to the river to wash themselves and their clothes. They each had responsibilities and enjoyed it because all the other kids would go to the creek too." (WH2)

"Our lifestyle was Māori. We had paringo and pipis with white sauce. Our parents were poor, but they were no poorer than anybody else. It was a lifestyle. We didn't know about rich things, rich food. Now by choice I'll still enjoy bacon bones and watercresss, it's good food. Most of our puddings were all milk puddings from the cows. We had 'junket' which is milk curd with a bit of sugar and nutmeg." (WH3)

"I remember not liking my presents one year. I went across the river and saw my school mates and asked what they got for Christmas. They said they didn't get any and I remember feeling quite ashamed of myself for being ungrateful for what I got." (WH3)

"I was born in a gum diggers shack. It was bare wood palings and iron roof with a big iron chimney and open fire and dirt floor – covered with women flax or flour sacks." (WH4)

"We got up at 4 or 5 oclock and we'd scare the cows so we could stand in a cow pat. I look at my kids and my moko, I wish I'd taken them back to grow up at home – even though we have elements of today like drugs and unemployment, we had huge gardens." (WH7)

Food production and chores around the home

"From the creek we got tuna, our kai, we got whitebait from creek and kahawai. We used to grow our own gardens. I look back and wonder how my mum used to cope. We all had to learn to do the washing. Because we lived in the tent our shower was four sheets of iron and it was cold. Mum felt sorry for us and got a baby bath for us to put hot water in." (WP1)

"I learnt traditional food preparation from my mother. Mum dug the garden. We did the fishing and smoke the eels. Mum taught us to rebury all the vegetables in the ground because that's your fridge, it keeps the vegetables cool." (WP1)

"We were taught responsibility, hard work and contribution through things like milking the cows at early age and I was taught to swim by being thrown in the river." (WP1)

"I whakatipuinga matou i runga i te whenua i kaha ana te whakatipu kai, mahinga kai - te nuinga o te wa koira nga kai e whangaitia mai ki a matou ko nga kai o te whenua, nga kai o te moana, te awa. Ae, whakatipu perangia mai matou. Te taha o ta matou kuia, matou koroua pera ano te whenua te wahi e whangaitia matou, i ora matou i te wa i tipu ana matou i tamariki ana." (OT4)

"We were born and bred on kaimoana. We always had to go down to the beach to get crabs and paua and cockles, getting floundering with out boats and nets. Our kai was pretty healthy and our dad used to do the shearing of the sheep. He wouldn't take payment other than some sheep, but only one at a time because we had no sheep. They went over to Quail Island and Kaimatarua (the reef in Lyttleton Harbour) and fill up the bag with mussels and paua and make the taiake at the bottom of the wharf (putting the paua into a tin water tank then cover it with rocks and then put the mussels on the ground and cover it with rocks)…it was our fridge." (OT9)

"We grew up living off the land. I enjoyed growing up around the sea, it was different to the upbringing of my children. Everyone knew their jobs that had to be done each day. I have no bad

memories, everyone supported each other. If we went fishing then we shared the fish out to the community." (OT4)

"We got water from the creek for a bath. Had an open toilet outside just newspaper. We would drag the horse over to dig up a new hole." (OT3)

"Everyone took part in the mara. The mara belonged to the Māori community, so everybody took part it in." (OT3)

"Everybody owned things, but everything belonged to everybody. So if a horse went missing, it wasn't stolen, it was just uncle had borrowed it. Everybody just shared stuff. No one locked things up. When I look back it's quite strange now that we lock everything up." (OT3)

"I look back at the kids at Tuahiwi and Port Levy – all the kids go out to the paddocks, they get up to mischief that doesn't get you into trouble. What are the advantages of being in the country as a young boy? You found something to do, the community knew each other. We had 15 whales beached at Port Levy, the whole community turned out for those whales, every home was represented. Seeing a community come together like that, you wouldn't see that in inner city Christchurch." (OT2)

"When my dad got sick we had to get off the farm. We lost everything. Not nice when you lose everything and you were just a kid. Sometimes I feel like I was born old, never had time to be a kid. Here we were working for my uncle (scrub cutting). Here we were doing a man's job and my uncle was paying us boy's wages. Hardly any money, but just enough to pay bills. Remember thinking hope he goes broke. I didn't mean it in a nasty, but he could have helped us. We became men very quickly, had to be. All the dirty stuff that ever happened, strapped for speaking Māori and for not being able to speak Pākehā, I never had any bitterness and that has got to be a gift from God." (OT7)

"There are many positive things in the [natural] environment. I always told people that at no time did I ever feel deprived. I could always leave our contemporary style stuff and go back to the marae. We always had kai, we had good gardens. My grandfathers grew a lot of vegetables on a couple of acres. I know all the rongoa in the bush, what to do, how to cook different things, go eeling, fresh water muscles. You know I'd never be hungry. We still have a farm house at Waikaremoana. So my older sister has gone back to Waikaremoana to live up there. I can never think of a time that we were hungry. But there are some numerous aspects in there too. I go back to that old house now, two rooms and wonder where we all slept! Wasn't a bad life at all. At four you could go and jump on a horse. We used to eat weka. We always used to get kai if we went to the beach, dive for stuff. Wouldn't go anywhere on a holiday if you didn't go hunting." (OT7)

"We used to go to hui. We had a sledge and my mother would take us around after we milked the cows and she would kill a cow and take it with kumara to the hui. This was our tikanga but a lot of it has been lost so I try to impart this to our community." (WH5)

"One of the good things about going home was the different kind of diet including, kuku, rito, tawhara. Tawhara was as sweet as honey. Eels were also eaten. The tuna whakaheke (eel migration) would take place near my own kāinga. I was sent to the river to check the conditions. Such signs would reveal whether there were eels or not. Mangakahia had rivers with tuna, kewai, and in some places water cress. In those days the river was very clean. Now it is quite changed. I have heard that there are no more eels there anymore. However, that's another story." (WH8)

"We were taught about the land and how to respect it. We all went out to the māra (vegetable garden). Everyone helped with it every weekend, that's the reason why we never went hungry." (WP6)

Adolescence, changes in roles, milestones and rites of passage

"All rites of passage are public events. These days we rob people of the journey – we give it to them too easily. There are Māori rites of passage and events and then there are human events. I see a lot of Māori clapping hands when they achieve a European thing like achieving School Certificate.

One rite of passage is going from crawling to walking, From moving ourselves like an animal to that of a human being. We had to wait until our daughter had stood up before we were allowed to touch her.

Reaching a certain age is not a real milestone or rite of passage. Leaving childhood to begin the bottom of adulthood is the next rite of passage. If we throw away 21st birthdays and first days of school and focus on ours, what are we left with?

An example is our daughter is around 16 years – we require them to do something like write a waiata about the weather. We need to put something on them to slow them down around that age.

Another one was around mid-teenage years - whakaaturia ki te iwi tou tane hihiko. Other boys and then the girls are checking out your manhood. I think it's called aroaro, waist-down stuff. The old ones say 'ah-ha', come here and give you a little bit of this and a little bit of that."

The next rite of pssage is based on your biological compatibility which is based on your fingers, because I roto i tou matou nei ao, because if you put a man and a woman together it may equal zero." (OT6)

"The there are things that were not for others to ever see. Personal stuff [connected to puberty]."

"My family recognised I was a young woman when I moved away from my parents. had to become an individual person straight away and take responsibility for myself. " (WP4)

"The teenager is a 20th century invention. You went from being a child to being an adult, you didn't have this adolescence thing. You left school and went to work, some went of to University, but this was regarded as adult activity. I don't think I made a transition of that (formal) kind where [youth] is a social classification that you have to survive from adolescence to adulthood. But the rites of passage were things like the first time you crossed Cook Strait in a boat, the first time you went to a dance, the first time you went to a ball, when you finally made the first xv… when you were allowed to ride your bike to school, when you were allowed to drive a car. My father said to me "you're 12 now its time to learn to drive a car." He put me in a paddock and made me drive a '37 Chev' around and around. He made me drive from Featherston across to Rumataka's to Wellington, while he slept – that was a rite of passage!"

"When I became a woman. It was my dad who taught me and showed me what to do. Wrapped up an old sheet to make a pad and dad made me a belt to hold it up with. My mother wasn't part of it. It happened at school and I freaked out and told dad who showed me what to do. My mother had no part of it. So when my other sisters grew up it was my job to tell them. We were living in the bush so it wasn't like I could run down the shop and get what I needed. I told dad and he took me aside. There was no wider family recognition of what had happened, it was just within our home. (WP4)

"I didn't come into adulthood until I was married at 18. I had to suddenly grow up." (OT2)

"I passed from childhood to adulthood, when I left home, when I was 17. Life after moving away from home (on the East Coast into the city) was so different, so free, and sometimes you lose those values and you don't realise until you become a parent yourself." (OT4)

"My moment as a debutant with our beautiful white ball gowns was a huge event. Each pa was given so many to go. We were all the same age and we were presented to Jim Turikatene. It was the big event for my teenage life and then my sisters got married. We were grown up after the Beatles concert. We missed our train after the concert and planned to stay in Cathedral Square. But the Police came and we told them what had happened and they said, "Well, you better start walking up the hill [to Lyttleton]. We said it was too far. The police took our names and told us all off. The Police dropped us off on Sumner Hill and told us if we didn't make it to the other Police Station in 30 minutes we'd be

arrested for being vagabonds. I had some alcohol to keep me warm and get me home, I had me first incident with the law and it was my coming of age moment. After that brush with the law we learnt to take responsibility for ourselves." (OT9)

"I had TB when I was young. That was two years out of my life. I went up to Hastings for a break after that and that's when I meet my husband. I went out on a date with him and I was the laugh of Kahungunu, because I had told him that we don't chase eels, we just dig a ditch and they swim into it. He never believed me until he saw it with his own eyes, then he said he wanted to stay down south and marry me." (OT9)

"I te kite au atu i tu ana. Te pai hoki o taku haapi, pai hoki taku panikoti, he pango, he mā, he puipui ki runga au. Ko ahau ki te karanga. You know mai rānō i taku mita ki taku māma i te wa e ora nei:

'Mum, did I do that?' She said 'Yes, you did, what's the difference?'

'Well, aua' me te ki 'You know, kua mōhio au tenei mea te ahua o te tikanga o te karanga – he aha i koutou I tukungia ahau ka haere ki te karanga? Whānoiho oku tau!'

I ki taku māma 'Oh, mōhio koe!'

'Engari i hea, mōhio tonu te nui o koina ne, engari kore au e tuku rākau te haere ki te karanga – me he kuia ki reira.'

'Kei te pai, na tātou te marae'. (OT4)

"When we got older, my older brother used to whaikōrero. Always honoured and respected them. When he passed away, something happened. It was like there was a transference, mantle. Not just in a ministry capacity, but also tikanga capacity. I was now the kaikōrero for the whānau." (OT7)

"Mum's mother told dad to avoid all that old [traditional rites of passage] 'stuff'. She said it was old, she didn't want the mokos to go through it and that they needed to make their own choices." (WH1)

"In the end I got bored with all the manuhiri who kept coming to house to find out about whakapapa, so I started listening to all that goo-goo-ga-ga stuff. It's not till you go out and you say stuff and people ask how come you know all that?" (WH1)

"I teach five whare (levels) involving different techniques. I adjusted these to meet the needs of the students. There are several stages to pass before you become an expert. The end result is to become an akonga but everyone starts at taura status. To do it properly you have to be taught everything but I was reluctant to teach students about how to kill, why would you want to learn how to kill someone? Just for the sake of knowing? All I know is my old man said don't be selfish with the knowledge. Share it those who are willing. I've been lucky to come across people who are willing to learn." (OT10)

"There wasn't really any transition from boyhood to manhood celebrated. As an 11 year old I could lift a calf up onto a horse and take it down again. Life as a 17 year old wasn't really enjoyable because I worked like a man from 5am to 7pm doing all sorts of work for no money. I was peeved that it was my lot in life, it fell on me to do that work. However, the rewards have been 100-fold. My father always used to boast that he had taught me to be a good worker and I would be OK. There was no 21st birthday, some people had them but not us." (WH3)

"By the time the family left Whananaki, I was at boarding school, Queen Victoria. It took me two years to get over my homesickness. The principal at Whananaki School had suggested to my parents that I sit an exam to get a scholarship. My mother took me on a train to Auckland. I was homesick during the first holidays but stuck with it because I felt I owed it to my parents and teachers to stay. I enjoyed being with other girls, the routine, but was very homesick. I would have been between 12 and 13 years old at the time. Living away from home was a big transition. I had a good education. We were also taught to do our own housework. We took turns cleaning upstairs, polishing floors, and other groups worked in the kitchen and laundry. Big coppers were used to boil clothes and for washing in wooden tubs. I found the housework including polishing floors and cleaning great, big windows a good experience." (WH4)

"Dresses were always worn. The best dresses would be white with a hat or bows. Teenagers never wore trousers. After my marriage the 'New Look' was in. I bought two dresses that were very short. Ted was embarrassed to be seen with me at parties. I had a pair of brown suede boots and a divided skirt the colour of ginger. I had a cream jersey with sparklies. When my youngest daughter was at primary I made her a pair of trousers. Witches britches were short leggings, or bloomers with elastic around the legs. I had fun shocking the locals. The first changes in fashion came after the war. No one went to town without a hat. I had a long mid-calf skirt that was box pleated. Everyone thought I looked gorgeous. I made mine and my daughters clothes. I bought a knitting machine and made their jerseys. It was only later that clothes were bought. Today, anyone can wear anything and no one criticises them at all." (WH4)

"The whole farm was on one block and there were no roads. My uncle, my mother's half-brother, gave the land to her. This is because my mother was raised at Te Kaha for three years when her aunty took her at the age of 12. My mother cried so much when her brother visited that he brought her back and gave her the land here." (WH5)

"I was 17 when became a woman. [I got my period] later than other girls because I was sick as a child." (WH5)

"The death of my grandmother was a clear rite of passage. I was about 7 or 8 and understood the meaning of death for the first time. I observed the things that were happening on the marae, the whaikōrero, the tangi and so on." (WH6)

"There are things that the old people attempted to make happen, an attempted tomo. I am of the generation when such marriages were still being made, although in fewer numbers. There was always a desire for tomo as the old people disapproved of you living alone, without a husband or wife. They felt that I should have a partner. While they wanted me to have a wife I didn't want that. I just wanted to carry on doing what I was doing. So that's one rite of passage that I missed out on, being part of the continuation of my whakapapa because that is what it was about. However, the value and significance of continuing the heke was not apparent until later.

In terms of realising or understanding sexuality this came about more as a result of interacting with peers." (WH6)

"Not many people believed in 21st celebrations. It was a real Pākehā concept. If you had a child and you were only 14 years old they celebrated it. You were an adult by your mahi." (WH7)

"In those days, there was a distinction between being a child and becoming a man. Pākehā culture had a strong influence on the way things were done. I remember a kaumātua who came to our home to instruct us on te ao Māori. My father was sent to a nearby mountain to fetch human bones where ancestors were buried in caves. Several karakia were made. The cave was full of cobwebs. The tohunga performed a karakia to clear the way so that they could enter and fetch the bones. They put them into a bag and took them to a wahi tapu where the bones remain to this day. I remember my father asking the tohunga about the bones. Some came from Hokianga. The people from there had brought them to our mountain. I was only told about these things when I was old enough to understand and grasp their significance." (W8)

"In those times, it was evident when you were ready to move into another role such as speaking on the marae. You were told go to the front. You didn't really have a traditional karakia because of the Pākehā influence. But those karakia were still there. The people of Tuhoe still practice them." (WH8)

"E haramai I te kawa te pia nei. The pia is sort like a chosen one from the hapū, chosen from the time they were born and sent to the whare wananga - the isoteric house of learning. One of the other things they had to do was go to a certain pool in the River and put their whole face into the pool and if the koura wai, the freshwater crayfish, grabbed their nose then they were selected to enter the whare Wananga." (WP2)

"There is nothing that happened in my old community that I don't agree with now. That was the way things were then (discipline, gendered nature of work, hard work by men rather than play outside, etc.) and that was the right thing to do then." (WP2)

"I remember my first beer. My uncles were having a party and they let me have a beer. After three or four beers I was running around like a nut. Christmas was such a neat time. In our family there was always a lot of drink whenever we came together. It was one of those social things to sit around and be happy. Though I remember my own son asking me why we always had to have drink when we got together." (WP2)

"At what point do you call yourself a man. I think it is when you can support yourself, when you are paying your own way that is the first indication that you are a man – when you can stand on your own two feet." (WP2)

"Everything has moved back a bit now. I think that's happened because you need to be sure you can be trained and maintain certain things. We were about 19 when we had a taiaha Wananga at Maungarongo. The kaumātua took us to the River and we stripped down. That was very important because we were taking the taonga (taiaha) back to the whānau. It was interesting to me that our uncles and aunties were all there, they didn't come to the river but the night before they were all there. They said this kind of thing used to happen earlier in life, but we were 19. You were consecrated for a certain purpose to give a service in a certain way [to the community] so you couldn't do what others kids were doing because you were set aside." (WP5)

"Very young girls got ta moko. They got them very young. Us men didn't get them. It was just something they had to do." (WP5)

"To a certain degree it is still done, that a kuia will say 'you are going to do this to that with your life.' Nanny knows who will be a priest or whatever, sometimes I didn't understand, but you make up your own mind. So I still think it goes on but it's not as strictly adhered to now as it was" (WP5)

Education and employment

"All the males in our community had employment" (WP1)

"Being given responsibilities. We had different tasks we had to do. When I went to High School one of the key events was to get employment, worked in a wool store. Those steps of becoming employed, becoming an adult, becoming responsible."

"I had to grow up real quick when my dad died. My uncle (Peta Aotere) came to the funeral and took me to Auckland. He was working for Māori Affairs Trade Training. He asked me what I wanted to become, I said a chippy (carpenter). He said that was filled up. So I thought I would be a mechanic. But that was full. So he said you become an electrician. I didn't want to be one, but he said "actually it doesn't matter what you want to be" and he signed me up. He dropped me off at a boys' hostel and said "no one owes you a thing, put your head down and bum up and go get you a future". But when I think about it now, especially when things haven't worked out the way I wanted I reckon those were the words I needed, to hear. Words that allowed me to forge a future for myself. I don't feel sorry for myself. 'If things don't happen, make it happen'." (OT3)

"Traditional practices are still happening: Even now my family still have that respect thing, hard working ethic thing, you get a job. None of my whānau are on the benefit. We were brought up like that. Respect for elders is part of our lives." (OT3)

"When kids have created something, done something with their hands, applying their mind, and have done something collectively and cooperatively they feel a sense of achievement, they know they can do something. And it's the knowing you can do things as a person that gives you the confidence to approach things- it does something psychologically and culturally and its actually right at the root of my Māori experience- that sort of innovation. We invented systems of food storage- Poha, Rua Kumara- no one else ever did that. These are the evolutions of the uses of harakeke. This is a part of the magic of our culture, it's not just Te Reo and kapahaka, it's this whole galaxy of skill, that's an inheritance for us. Including artisan skills - to rebuild the marae fence, insulate the mattress room." (OT8)

"People, once they believe they can do something feel better about themselves. Once they feel better about themselves, they feel confident about taking on new challenges. The key to that is having adult input. I think for men (and perhaps for women too) they need the ability to learn how to take and manage risks (physical and otherwise)..." (OT8)

"I think we are definitely a creative people. Some are so natural we don't know sometimes that we have these talents. Sometimes talents are developed enough under the guidance of their kuia, to guide them through within a whānau concept. But now the children have to go to courses. We think technology is important; it does all of what we want for us. We used the natural environment a lot more when I was growing up. But sometimes technology takes over, but hopefully to extend our whakaaro." (OT4)

"I knew I had become an adult when I stared working. I knew the responsibilities for myself were different. It wasn't something I was used to, making my own decisions and being cut off from my whānau. I missed them and I knew they missed me. To let me go must have been hard for them to do. They hoped I would do well and be happy in my life, you don't realise those things then but as the years go by I am so thankful to them and appreciate them so much now and the things they taught me. Be good to yourself, try hard, do you best." (OT4)

"Māori are so gifted. When Monte [Ohia] was still alive, he and I said 'we have got to change our education model'. There are probably exceptions to the rule but Māori will learn in a particular way. They will learn by being mentored. That is inherent in us. I do, you watch, I do, you help. That model of learning, that's a Hebrew model. But instead 'you do, I'll help'. Learning the theology comes as an applied learning. I never learnt it from my dad (whaikōrero/kōrero)." (OT7)

"Our reo coming through is something to be proud of. If you disestablish the reo you disestablish the people. That's why we say 'Te Reo me nga Tikanga', Its in the reo that our tikanga comes through- that makes us Māori. Our diversity of our young Māori people, the strengths that are coming through our people, they're not afraid to challenge, to challenge what affects us in our lives. We are also becoming educated in Te Ao Pākehā, there are more and more people in our institutions now. These things give me hope for our people. These are fruits, legacies left by our Tipuna laying the foundation. My Gran, Whina Cooper, Joe Hawk, Sid Jackson. If it wasn't for those people, the Harawira's of the world, those people, we would be 20 years behind. They labelled us as gorillas, protestors, but there was a huge machine coming against us as Māori. These people have to be acknowledged." (OT10)

"One of the mountains at Pawarenga was named after an incident where people went to collect seafood. They recently reviewed this kōrero. The chief of Pawarenga was Moetaraiti. His people said, "Let us go collect kaimoana." He told them to go but said that when they returned he would be dead. When they came back 2 days later his head was found lying on the ground. So many things are there (Pawarenga). It's a shame because the kids from Pawarenga are missing out on it. Education now is different to former days. There is a focus on economics but what about the economics of growing a garden? It was done at a Māori pace, when it suited people." (WH7)

Mentors

"I had the great luxury of having a father who was my primary teacher, engaged at the dinner table every evening in debate- as if I was an adult. He'd take that time every night (after grace was said) to talk about certain things. He was a very articulate, something of a polymath, a very widely read and hugely informed man, a man of vigorous opinions- he made that investment in me. Not that often but they were important times, we'd go for hikes and walk the cook straight coast, he'd carry the lunch and I'd carry a pack with 3x waterproof covered books in it: Cotton's Geomorphology of New Zealand, Langham Blackwell's Native Plants and Reed's dictionary of Māori Place Names. We'd climb to a top of a hill and he'd ask me…what made that land like that? What made that hill like that? And he'd say look it up. He'd talk about it with me. I've still got the books. He'd tell me the name of plants and show me things and make me look up the Māori name for things. I can't see a seagull going past now without

thinking of him. Reciting to me a poem he wrote to my mother after the war- describing himself coming home using 'kararo' (Dominican gull) as a metaphor. He'd recite that poem everytime he'd see a seagull. In the bush he'd be striding through the bush (when it rained) and he'd be singing Irish revolutionary songs or singing Latin hymns. With a father like that, I had a number of formative experiences." (OT8)

"I was about four years old my Koro took me to a rural road to teach me some lessons about Pākehā people. Watch the cars as they go past – 'who was in that car' I didn't see one of our people in those cars, He got me to put my hand on the road and a car went passed three inches away. I jumped back and he said 'yes, very dangerous'. He said 'do you know where it starts? 'no' "Do you know where is goes?' 'no'. 'Do you want to know?' 'no, but they're going somewhere really really fast.'. Then he picked up a stone and said 'watch this', he threw it just in front of a car, it hit the car and the car swerved and stopped. The driver got out of the car and rubbed where the stone hit with his arm. He yelled at his wife to shut the kids up. They were crying and all over the place because they didn't have seatbelts and car had swerved suddenly. But the man was not worried about his family, he was worried about his car. Since that time I'm yet to find a western man who says he cares about his family and means it. So it was a long time before I went out and saw another road or Pākehā person. I asked my koro later if it was OK to find the end of that road – he said no, not yet. There's a whole lot of lessons in that. They wanted us to grow up like that. It wasn't special, or privileged or traditional – it wasn't the old way." (OT6)

"My uncles from bluff would come to my boatshed and watch me fixing dinghies and doing stuff before visiting our family home. I had men who were watching, talking, showing me how to do things, older men. I am still finding men that I knew then still down south today with young people showing them how to make things, fix things, how to be safe, how to work boats, fix engines and all sorts of things of that kind. I found that quite heartening (seeing this) it gives me a number of insights into what holds people together and gives them confidence." (OT8)

> "When I wanted a workshop of my own, I was able to have it. Various uncles would give me tools and I'd go make stuff-boy stuff. Making model boats etc. It was all pretty corny and pretty small but I was in command of my own space. It was an important factor. I had Ngai Tahu uncles like this, I learnt from them. We had a piece of kelp nailed on the toilet door- uncles were able to read the weather with it. They'd make things and fix things- so I was never short f male role-models." (OT8)

"The first time my dad told me he was proud of me was when he was dying and I was 54 years old, I had just finished fisheries negotiations and he told me "I'm proud of you boy". I always knew he was proud of me, but that was the first time he had ever told me so. I got quite emotional" (OT8)

"There's a kind of order that you maintain. Our old people would never go onto a marae without a tie and formally dressed. One of the first things I remember saying to Mark Solomon when he became Chairman of the runanga was "You're representing your people, get yourself a tie and stand up straight." It's always articulated as paying respect to the people you are going to be dealing with." (OT8)

"The thing that boys need is men. Who are going to be able to assist them to expose themselves to risk, without burning their wheels on Harper Ave at night. They need to be able to show them how to do things, give them interesting challenges, it's hugely important, the thing that seems to be missing, other than single family situations. Other adults that are able to take a youngster and show him how to use a chisel, how to use a hand rip-saw, how to do things in general. An old man took the trouble to show me things and so you do need people to be able to take the trouble to show kids- who have the knowledge themselves to be able to give it to others. If I could, I'd create some spaces where people who care can talk to young people and say "what do you wanna make today? Let's create something." Just doing projects together. There's loads of things you can do, that's creative." (OT8)

"I enjoyed various aspects of Catholicism- I had an amazing Priest in my 6th form year – he came to the conclusion that RE should be a choice, he devoted the year therefore in teaching us about philosophy

"I think therefore I am". He taught me history as well, a superb teacher, a remarkable human being. I was greatly honoured that he came to our marae for my investiture when I was knighted. He was the star of the show; he attracted people like a magnet. He had a profound impact on me. I was reading material well beyond my abilities because of his stimulus." (OT8)

"I know now what education is - we had that [growing up on the East Coast] - nga rongoa, tikanga. Today we have 'do not' rules; I never heard those words when I was growing up. We learnt by example." (OT4)

"Aroha te tahi ki te tahi". (OT4)

"I wasn't sure about some parts of whaikōrero. I wasn't sure about my dad's tauparapara because you know the kōrero in a whaikōrero or tauparapara and patere could have patu tangata, kohuru side you know what I mean. They were kōrero you would say to an enemy. A lot of it was "I'm going to take you down", you know, it was a challenge." So we wrote our own tauparapara." (OT7)

"My dad was given three months to live. I took him to a house meeting and prayed for him. We had my dad for another 23 years. And then his kōrero was powerful and we always used him for whaikōrero, but it hadn't occurred to me to learn, but I was obviously influenced. It was when he went to be with the Lord, I thought, how dumb was that, I should have been learning from him. I could communicate in Māori, but I couldn't whaikōrero. It was unintentional mentoring. I think mentoring should be deliberate, it should be intentional. Oliver Wendal-Holmes says the unfortunate things are that many songs have gone to the grave that many people have not heard sung. We need to be engaged in mentoring. The older I get, the more I think we have to be in a place really for this to happen." (OT7)

"Up front I want to say, at the end of the day what our tipuna left us, is the best they could. It's better than what we've got in this modern day and there are gaps and things missing. It's all the dynamics of the modern family now, the things that go on, that happen. I have it in my own whānau." (OT10)

"In Te Ao Māori you have various mentors in different areas of your life. A mentor is someone who has inspired but also someone who is real. Because sometimes a mentor can become unapproachable and that's the last thing they want. With a mentor you mimic some of their behaviour, some of their wisdom. So it's important how mentors conduct themselves." (OT10)

"It's important that each whānau has a 'disseminator', a person who has knowledge to be able to hand down" (OT10)

"My mother set a great example. She was a lovely, beautiful woman, always there for her children. She had to go out and work hard to put food on the table. She would work for farmers in exchange for free meat to feed us children. She worked in shearing sheds and would receive a sheep. In terms of clothing people were very generous. They would give away clothes and other things and mum would accept these offerings. She worked hard to keep her family. I followed my mother's example and thought if mum could do it I could do it." (WH2)

"Our parents and grandparents, we are scripted on their behaviour. My parents, my Koro did it, so we did it. Somewhere along the way we can make a decision to do it a certain way. Whenever there was a knock at the door I put the jug on straight after I answered the door. You don't ask if they want a cup of tea you just give them a cup of tea. Giving up your seat for the elders, these were some good things, values passed on." (WP2)

"Children living in urban environment usually have a weak connection to their marae. They need help to find a key connection back to marae. When we find a way that kids can contribute to something then that really helps them." (WP5)

Maramatanga: words of wisdom

“My mum in her education somehow acquired an absolutely encyclopaedia of proverbial sayings. She had a saying for every possible situation. These sayings carry glimpses of gold nuggets. “After wisdom, comes age”, “Some people are old and wise and some people are just old”. That whole generation had an enormous collection of these sorts of statements and in them is the collective wisdom of generations that’s been accumulated over time. Sayings/ rhymes contain the wisdom.” (OT8)

“Then there is wisdom about human behaviour and how to manage yourself. The first thing I’ve always observed when in danger is to ‘go cold’, cool/ calm. How do you stop people reacting? Give them advice- stay calm. You accumulate certain principals (tikanga of taha pākehā) ways of controlling your response. You learn techniques, tricks of the trade. Instead of saying “that’s a crock of shit.” But the people who can sit back and say “That’s stercoraceous nonsense.” It puts the other side of, they don’t know what it means and you’re maintaining your language in a particular way and that’s something you learn. But as for wisdom, it is accumulated by experience and if you have enough experiences and can rationalise it well enough you’ll eventually end up in the position of being wise, which is usually not long before you die. I hope that I will still have the capacity to make mistakes for some time yet.” (OT8)

“I appreciate knowing my whakapapa and never realised how important it is. They say if you know your whakapapa, then you know who you are and you know where you are in life. Wairuatanga talks about the inside of us. All things work together. Our Hinengaro, our Tinana, our Wairua. If it’s not working together- there is an unbalance. If our health can be out of balance, then the environment can be out of balance also. Back home (on the East Coast) if birds were building nests in July - it tells us about the unbalance in the environment. It’s important to have balance in all that we do.” (OT4)

“We were bought up with aroha and manaaki, awhi and atawhai- all these words fit in with what is being done. We see it in the animal world, when they reproduce we learn about those things basically, some children aren’t bought up with that stuff.” (OT4)

“I say to my moko to be good to themselves, to do well in what they do, but to be good to themselves. Just like harakeke, they say if you tiaki the harakeke it will look after you. In those days harakeke was one of the most valuable resources for our people. Its value was so important for whariki, rongoa. I’ve learnt so much about the harakeke, which has taught me about myself. From the tipu, to the rito, to the whānau I learnt to appreciate the plant as a harakeke and learnt to appreciate anything I come in contact with. I tell me moko, but they don’t understand.” (OT4)

“I learned to appreciate the harakeke, I fell in love with it. Every harakeke bush I find, I tidy it up. I even did this in front of the supermarket in Timaru. A councilman came and asked me what I was doing, so I took time to show him how to tidy it up properly. You learn to be good to yourself, when you can appreciate harakeke.” (OT4)

“I can’t think of anywhere nicer to go than up the hill, when the time is right.” (OT9)

“Tika and pono is what life is all about. When making decisions al people and especially our youth need to learn about tika and pono what is god and bad, but is right and what is wrong.” (OT9)

“You must be truthful, always tell the truth. It may be difficult at times, but that is just what you should do. Be mindful of how you treat your elders. Be good role models for your children.” (OT1)

“You cannot live my life and I can’t live yours, you come into this world and leave this world alone, your decisions are yours and yours alone, listen to your head and your heart”. (OT6)

“Wairuatanga is always with us. When we talk about Wairua we talk about the spiritual aspects but it’s not just put into some little ball, but it does form our beliefs. It’s a bonding thing that you don’t know sometimes is there. It’s a strong foundation. It’s always with us, it’s not the mystique of what we think of, its not always religion, it’s a part of us. We all view Wairuatanga differently. Our old people used to talk about it a lot, especially in hahi Ratana.” (OT10)

“Everyone has their ups and downs but love does not fail.” (WH2)

"Family is a must. As long as we don't lose that communication with one another – it doesn't matter where we are. A letter, a visit, a cup of tea is all it takes. Communication with one another is lacking. It is hard to say whether you would have done anything different in your life. The world now is different to what it was before." (WH2)

"The greatest thing we can do in Māoridom is have respect and care for our families. This notion that it is part of the warrior gene to be bashers is not correct. You should be able to be violent but not violent. If you can get that under control you will never be a violent person. There is no strength in being violent. We need to reinterpret some of the things we are saying. A man has a right to change his attitude. You sow a thought, you reap an act, you sow a character you reap a destiny. What you think is what you are." (WH3)

"My mother was a loving person who dearly missed her husband when he died. I will always be grateful to my mother for leaving us children land at Oakura. I used to be scared of death but will be happy to go. I think about my brothers and sisters and parents who have all gone. And it's lovely to think about them. I will be 80 next year. My mother was 81 when she died. All my sisters were young when they died. My older sister was only 28 years old. Another was 52 years old. You don't feel old at all. I had a stroke about 11 years ago and my legs started to go funny, so I started to exercise by walking. I don't want to be a burden on my family." (WH5)

"The kikokiko (physical) side has gone down and the wairua must catch up. Both have to be kept in balance. Everything that has mana must have a kaumātua involved. Children will change their minds but kaumātua can whakamana the kōrero. The children must be told pepeha or whakatauki, short and sharp." (WH7)

"Kia kaha, kia maia, kia manawanui. Kaua e noho ngoikore. Whaia te aroha me te mātauranga o te Māori me te Pākehā. Our young people must follow the pathway to find knowledge not only in the Māori world. Walk the world with both mātauranga." (WH7)

"Look around you, take stock, be the best you can. Do things without hesitation. Love your parents. Respect yourself and others. Be of service to others without reward. Pay a compliment every day." (WP2)

"I would hope my tipuna would say 'ka pai boy, you did well' when I cross over. I remember my uncle saying, 'I don't want to get to the other side and the tipuna say, 'gee you messed up' I want them to say 'well done'." (WP2)

"Ko nga mokopuna ko au. Ko au ko nga mokopuna." (WP2)

Important Relationships

'We learnt whakapapa by sitting in town with mum and she would introduce us to whānau. Anyone who lived in Ruatoria were whānau. I ki ia "Haramai e tama. Anei, e tahi ou whānau…"' (OT3)

"We were around adults and people who knew who we were, they corrected us if necessary. Wherever you were you were a part of a community. My Taua lived on the same street of our Marae. The Marae where it is today is on confiscated land (exchange/compensation land). Most of the community life took place at the local hall (which has since burnt down)." (OT8)

"To strengthen relationships we slept at aunties, uncle's places. All our cousins would come and live with us. Stay with us. All that sort of stuff, playing together, going to school together, marae, borrowing sugar etc it was like that." (OT3)

"Also you never ever speak back to an older person. If they say something it wasn't your right to disagree. You always respected older people, you manaaki them. Make cup of tea, especially woman. We were brought up that woman were special. You had to care for them. Like if I said something to mum, straight away I would be disciplined. We were brought up strict to respect older people. Especially women." (OT3)

"Love was the part of the way we were brought up. Aroha ki te tangata, ki te whānau. We were cared for as tamariki, right up to rangatahi. If uncle said a harsh word to us, we knew we deserved it. Mentoring. I have always known that I was loved. Especially now, since my experience in 1964 from Ihu Karaiti."

"My practice has always been like this I used to take everybody home. I got that from how we were brought up. The home belonged to everybody. Everybody has potential and everybody is divinely important and they need to know that. Many of our Māori folk has been disengaged, many reasons, tikanga, way they been brought up, whānau. Being a person that can facilitate and help someone realise they are important."

"Our Taua, Hira Pohio Trail (Taua Benu) wrote our whakapapa up. Our Taua had a long wooden table with five lists of whakapapa and five of us had to learn, each time we visited we had to move up a table, she made us learn the five lists and she would ask us question about Tipuna and we had to know how we were related and who they were. It was just part of our life and we didn't really understand how special what we were doing was. Later, when we had to go to the Land Court, all of the whakapapa information came out and we could recite it all." (OT9)

"As parents we had many hard times. Some children were involved with Police but they were just minor things. Today it is different. Before families kept quiet, and dealt with issues internally. It never went outside. They solved problems amongst themselves. Now everyone knows about your business. But it wasn't like that back then. Families got together and talked things through. They settled it according to their own law. Going to the Police only makes things worse." (WH2)

"Mum and dad had a lovely relationship and I said if any of us boys ever hit a woman it would an absolute tragedy because we never saw that at home." (WH3)

"Mum was pretty strict, you couldn't bring someone home and stay with them unless you were married. It was her house and her rules." (WH3)

"In earlier times, young people were more mature than today. My grandfather had several wives. His last wife was 14 years old." (WH5)

"Christianity came along and brought rules . At one time sleeping together was done for particular reasons. It was for mana (mana whenua, mana tangata, mana whenua). Love had a different meaning ." (WH7)

Discrimination

"There was social stigma with being Māori – it was racism. I remember going into the Clarendon Hotel and was refused a beer because I was Māori. When I got married we moved north to Wellington. Māori were working in public jobs like conductors, tram/ bus drivers…you saw that. We'd go for a flat, on the phone I'd be speaking (previously as a "hey boy") then you'd arrive around there and the flat would be gone. You knew damn well that the reason was that they saw a brown face going through the gate." (OT2)

"I came through the 'Teddy Boy & Bodgy Days'. Tuahiwi & Kaiapoi used to mix together (Māori & Pākehā) we got around with black jackets with yellow and red on the back…"Māori's were Spooky" that's what the Pākehā's used to talk about – "those Spooks from the reservations." There was another group, the "debos" they were a pākehā gang. We used to mix in with the hostels (Rehua and Te Kaihanga). I always identified myself as Māori even though I didn't know Te Reo." (OT2)

"The health nurse at school gathered up all the Māori students, we had to strip off our gym skirts and she poked a stick into our hair, shoved a stick down our throat and even looked down our pants. We came home, told our parents and they all went down (by my Taua's horse and cart) and had this big argument with the school and they told the school staff they were not to touch us. So from then on I knew I was different, I was Māori." (OT9)

"There was stigmatism around being Māori. We used to get one parcel of kai to have to share at school and the big sister had to feed all the little one, but at school we had to sit with our classes, so we'd all cry when we couldn't eat together. We'd be eating our mutton-bird feet and eels and we'd get a lot of stick. People scoffing at us and saying we eat snakes." (OT9)

"I love the fact that I took my fathers words and married a Māori. We didn't really mix with Pākehā growing up." (OT9)

"My sister had Māori features. I looked far more like my mother, than father. But my sister was teased. She had a hard upbringing because of it. It was put on her that she was lazy and dirty and it affected her life and her death. She hated that she was Māori because of it. She decided to give her corpse to science and her body would be taken down to Dunedin and they do unmentionable things to it. She chose that, rather than staying with us and having a Māori tangi. She hated being Māori because of the teasing she got." (OT1)

"We were put in a Methodist home for girls and I didn't know what the word marae meant. We were treated like Pākehā. They wouldn't have known how to treat you as Māori. We were the only Māori in 80 kids. No recognition of Māori. We never learned anything. I still didn't know any Māori when I left there. Then I went nursing in Timaru and a girl (Rei) was in my class and she was the first Māori I met and she was a wonderful role model. She made me proud to be Māori, where as I wasn't before. I thank my friend Rei for making me feel like it was Ok for being a Māori, when I was about 24." (OT1)

"Some Māori told my mother that she would never be buried in the cemetery because she was a Pākehā. She was buried at Kauri where her aunty was buried. Although I wanted her to be buried at Whananaki, the general consensus was that Kauri was OK. In any case you can't override a will." (WH3)

"I recall encountering racial prejudice although I didn't identify it as such at the time. I had a relative from Hokianga who was a nun. She had been in the convent for 7 or 8 years before they posted her to Whangarei. Her name was Terahia and the Pākehā nuns would refer to her as 'the little native sister'.

My father would prepare tuna specially for Sister Terahia. As the other nuns didn't like the smell of eel it would be fed to the convent cat. He knows his father would have been offended with their treatment of his aroha.

The nuns would talk about the persecution of the Jews and how sad it was that the Nazi regime had put all those people to death. At the same time, they explained, this had happened because the Jews had killed Jesus, so this was their destiny, it was meant to happen. They would go through this dreadful experience because of what they did.

Looking back, such views were a reflection of the times. I interpret such experiences as a rite of passage into an understanding of racial prejudice and bias. It took me a long time to realise that they were prejudiced because they were religious people. Furthermore, I had been taught by my parents and grandparents that I had to show great respect to the religious people." (WH6)

Church and marae experiences

"At the marae you start off in the kitchen, as a young person you have your duties in the kitchen, we had to clean up the urupa as well – everybody did their part because you had to – the kaumātua and kuia pointed their stick and you knew that was what you had to do – but their were no complaints because you just knew that was what you had to do." (WP1)

"My confidence came from growing up on the marae, it didn't come from home, it came from the marae and living in everyone elses homes." (WP1)

"Whānau traditions included going to church whether you liked it or not. God was real and he needed to be honoured and worshipped. When we went to Anglican Church you sat still and you kept quiet. I appreciate that upbringing now, recognition of a higher power, honouring the creator." (OT3)

“We have 14 fully carved in a five mile radius from our home. Our family marae is one my father and grandfather built. So when I say ‘come to my house’, we go to our marae because our whare is where we live, it’s our home we use everyday. It’s also my spiritual home.” (OT6)

“My first recollection of Christianity was when I was three. Missionaries came to Waikaremoana. They were taking Sunday school under the tree. That has been seared in my memory. Those missionaries telling us Bible stories.” (OT3)

“A noho marae should be a noho marae. If you want to go to a place like that and pull out your charts and power points, you can do that in any room elsewhere, get the kids in the kitchen. When you do the menial tasks on the marae- peeling potatoes, what do you do? You talk to each other. That’s what our marae was built around. Sharing knowledge.” (OT10)

“Life was about work and enduring. The Bible is an important thing to guide us. If you set a good example your kids will hopefully follow. But the temptation out there is too great, it pulls them away from making a better life for themselves. They want to change their life but it is hard for them because they have to want it for themselves. The purpose of my work is to show those kids something better. Even though they agree, the temptation is too great. It is one thing to know God, a different thing to do his will. It is only through a study of the Bible that people really can change but they have to believe in the Bible. It is not easy.” (WH2)

“My mother would not allow the children to go to the marae. She was concerned about the possibility of catching diseases. My father was upset about this. However, the end result is that the family all have good health. We don’t suffer from the kinds of illnesses that all other local Māori families suffered and most of them have died. If it rained we were not allowed to go to school in case they caught the flu from kids from other areas. At my mother’s funeral, Ranginui Walker came up to me afterwards and said it was unbelievable, that it would have safeguarded many Māori families if they had not spent so much time at marae, we did not go until we were teenagers.” (WH3)

“My mother didn’t like Catholics. Once I took a Catholic girl to a dance and my mother was so upset. She wasn’t perfect in the Christian sense and didn’t always show mercy to everything. She was also anti-Communist.” (WH3)

“We weren’t allowed to run around or talk on the marae. Our job was peeling the vegetables. Food was always ongoing at hui, it wasn’t because visitors were hungry but it was used to take away the tapu. We also learnt the songs by sitting and listening to our elders.” (WH5)

“I went to Horahora Primary before being sent to St Joseph’s Convent on Banks Street, Whangarei. It was at this stage that I became aware of unusual people who were the nuns and priests. In those days, a nun was very mysterious woman being fully clothed from head to foot with only their hands visible. But there was a sense of the familiar as the old people also had an appearance of coming from another time in the way they talked and dressed.

The nuns and priests were interesting people. Some were wonderful people. I found it difficult to come to terms with how the priests could instruct my parents in their house. No one else could do this and it amazed me to watch them.

The priests were totally immersed in Māori language and culture. They were very proficient and capable orators. Some even had permission to speak on King Koroki’s marae because of their skill. The nun’s belonged to the Order of the Sister’s of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart. Mary McKillen the Australian founder of that order is about to be canonised. Some nuns were wonderful. Sister Eillen who had a strong Irish accent, taught Māori children to dance the Irish jig. I have fond memories of people like her.” (WH6)

“Hone Tamati Waipouri from Pawarenga claimed that Māori invented the Bible. Māori say when you die you leave this world of agony and move into the world of light. He believed Māori was the language known to God. So many things in the Bible are very close to what Māori said. Growing up in Pawarenga those things didn’t mean much at the time.” (WH7)

“As a child, I didn’t understand much of what went on at the marae. My parents went there often. There were many tasks associated with the marae. Collecting firewood, preparing hangi, in the wharekai to preparing other food. There is a relationship between working in the background, in the kitchen and taking on the role of a speaker. You begin by learning about whanaungatanga and the work at the back. When you learn to do all those, jobs peeling potatoes and kumara, then a kaumātua will ask you to take on a speaking role. When this happened to me I was very worried. It was customary that when a kaumātua died someone would take their place. One of my concerns was that my father was still alive. Although I knew how to speak Māori, when I stood up to speak, I needed to think of something to say. I asked the kaumātua for advice. Many speakers would cough to cover nervousness or to give themselves more time. When they were finally ready they would stand up to speak. Because I was so nervous, I still don’t remember what I spoke about when I first spoke on my marae.” (WH8)

Leadership

“My hikoi is unusual because I knew that God had his hand on his life. I didn’t know Jesus but knew there was a supreme being. Understanding of Io was rooted right back then. I knew I had a destiny. Knew I was going to be a leader. Knew I was destined for great things but didn’t understand the pathway that I would need to take. But I can still remember incidences that happened when I was 18 months old. Vivid recollections of my upbringing. Every weekend they had karakia, from Saturday right through the night. Ringatu and Christianity. Obviously there was that foundation there. Like any Māori really there were fears, fears of the urupa, fear of the dark.” (OT7)

“If I look back to my childhood, I grew up too quick. There were 14 of us, the oldest seemed years older, but was 0nly about four years older than me. I was the leader that used to look after everyone. I am really the tuakana of our whānau. When I was about 8 or 9 I was already assuming the tuakana responsibilities. Did the cooking, changed the nappies. It’s all leadership training.” (OT7)

“I don’t necessarily agree with the whakatauki of the kumara. Sometimes our lack of wanting to talk about ourselves can be hindered in terms of getting jobs or successfully articulating themselves in an interview process. Or they bring a Kaumātua with them to interviews and the Kaumātua doesn’t know anything about them.

In leadership, Māori come through the ranks sometimes when they go into Te Ao Pākehā and prove themselves there, then they are ‘someone’ when they come home. It’s very hard to see someone coming through back home, if they haven’t been out home. In the old days, they would, If they showed glimpses of leadership they would be taken out to be educated.

The opportunities when one would have stood aren’t as many as now. But traditionally that’s how it was done, if a person showed the skills of a warrior he would be taken away for that purpose and trained in wananga in that area. That’s like our chief, Hone Heke, he wasn’t the eldest out of his siblings, but her certainly became the Ariki of that rohe.

When Hohua Tutengahe was down here he used to get driven around in limo’s twice a week by chauffer. When he died down her and we took him back to Matakana, we got off the bardge and out came a car with a trailer and bounced him back to the Marae. See, that’s what I mean about when you’re at home you’re just the same as everyone else. They were proud of him, but that’s that example of coming through the ranks. That’s the humbleness of home. I know for certain if I was at home, I’d be peeling potatoes.” (OT10)

“Left home when I was 16. Kaumātua trained others who stayed home into those different leadership roles, that probably would have been part of our training our mentoring, our development.” (OT3)

In 1949 we moved from Waikaremoana to Turanga. It was a mainstream Pākehā school. Most of the farmers were first or second generation English. I never heard Pākehā like that before. It was a country school. We made visits back to Waikare for holidays and tangihanga. My dad was a kaikōrero. He went

to Te Aute College. He was quite an academic person, well read. Some of you may have heard of John Rangihau was my uncle. He was brought up with my father. Timoti Karetu is from Waikare. They are celebrity people now. The Gilbert brothers had an all brass band. One of them married a French actress (from a humble place of Waikaremoana). A lot of people that came out of that place made a huge difference with their lives. A lot of them would not believe that I was going to be a minister. After a service had a kōrero with one of the uncles, saying all our tipuna saw this vision of this little spark that got bigger and bigger, brighter and brighter 'somebody in the family is going to be a significant leader and you're it'. (OT7)

"More recently a rite of passage has been assuming the role of rangatira among the Ririroroi people. In my late thirties, the chief at the time who was dying called me and my cousin to his bed to hear his ohaki or farewell message. We were both asked to assume the mantle of leadership.

Because it was a responsibility that I knew was coming, when it came I was prepared for it and I accepted that role. But it wasn't easy as I had cousins who were older in years and they felt that they had been overlooked.

In some ways I was treated like the new boy on the block, who didn't know much and I had some hard learning to undertake. But I am unable to detail in this interview what it involved.

Today, I am grateful to my whangai father for making me tough enough to take on the weight of leadership, to take care of my people without treating them in a dictatorial way, to work alongside them, to develop my own cousins, those who are younger to prepare for leadership.

It was not a job that I applied for but part of my heritage. It is a role that is full of ups and downs. Sometimes you don't want the job anymore but you have no choice as it is inherited." (WH6)

Te Reo

"I didn't know my dad, he died when I was 3. He wanted me and my elder brother to have an education. He wanted one to become a doctor and one a lawyer, we both went for the freezing works. In reality, within the family Māori wasn't going to be very useful to us, the emphasis was on English. In the schools at that time Māori wasn't allowed to be spoken. You had to live it to know, I lived it mildly. Our people were going for education." (OT2)

"The Ngai Tahu claim was about the loss of opportunity, what the claim fulfilment did, was to give Ngai Tahu the advance, its not happening fast enough, but it will happen. The ultimate fulfilment of the claim will be the renaissance of Te Reo." (OT2)

"Some of my most positive memories are speaking our Reo. I didn't realise it was anything special until I grew up and was called a Māori." (OT6)

"I was born in Wairoa and brought up in Waikaremoana. Of course Waikaremoana is tuturu in the reo and tikanga. I couldn't speak any Pākehā until I was about 8. I didn't learn Pākehā in Waikare, just Māori. If you spoke in Māori [at school] you were strapped. If you couldn't speak Pākehā you were strapped as well. My aunty was my first teacher, she was 88 years old and just passed away." (OT7)

"I don't think I was made to go to kapahaka, or made to go to te reo classes (we didn't need them) we needed Pākehā classes! So our English was pretty substandard. We used to laugh at ourselves after, because it sounded funny. I would go with my parents haka inter iwi things in Rotorua. I was doing haka when I was 3 and 4, knew all the songs, stick games. We did that, but somehow I used to like going with my dad to these hui. I really admired my dad because he was an orator and could really speak. He was also an electrician." (OT7)

"My aunty (mother's first cousin) knew that she was going to die. One time manuhiri arrived. She asked me (I was 49 years old at the time) "Panekoti tau? Haere ki te karanga." I was reluctant to do so but had to because there was no one else. My aunt's goal was to find someone to replace her. She said to me, "E ora ana ahau i a koe." I decided after that to teach the younger generation to call and not to be like me. Just as well I knew how to speak Māori.

Despite my reluctance, I had a strong voice and was able to call. The tears were falling and I knew I had to keep doing it. After that my aunty started to sicken. She told me this was my work now. I don't like to see the young ones doing karanga. In the old days that was an insult. Some people don't realise it. What does that show the old woman up as, koretake. I said to my daughter you call even if you say 'haere mai ra'. When we are calling the tune we do it to the best of our ability and we do it because we know it is tikanga. Kaua e roa nga kōrero." (WH5)

"When a toddler I remember being fed korori and boil-up of meat and puha. At all times, only Māori was spoken. I heard my parents and older siblings talking in Māori. I was the youngest in the family. As a child my parents worked hard to support their family. There have been changes to the bush. Now the pigeon have gone. When the miro berry disappeared the birds disappeared. My parents used to go to the bush to collect food.

Now, in contrast, you can go to Big Fresh and buy chicken. When collecting food in the bush it is important to know the right time to go, and when not to go. When I was growing up, most of the food that we ate was from the land. The food of my childhood was things like corn, kumara, riwai. We collected the food from inland and it was taken to our relatives who lived by the sea. This was whanaungatanga, exchanging food with coastal relatives and vice versa. That is lost today. But my parents held on to that traditional practice.

As I grew older I proceeded to talk more. My dad decided to send me to school. At 5 years of age I couldn't speak English. I went to school and encountered many different people. But English was completely alien to me.

I was puzzled by the two different worlds, the school and home. I went home and questioned my dad about having to go to school. Dad said that was the law, and if I didn't go he would be sent to jail. I kept attending school and gradually learnt English. I was punished for speaking Māori at school.

Some children were nervous about asking to about using the toilet. On one occasion, we discussed whether to wait for the bell to ring or ask the teacher. I asked the teacher and was ordered to stand in the corner of the classroom. I felt sad about that time and never forgot it.

Ironically, if I went home and used words learnt at school I would be punished by my parents. I felt it was very unfair, no matter which language you spoke someone had a problem with it." (WH8)

Tikanga, wairuatanga and other traditions

"There were traditional healing practices for club foot." (WP1)

"Koha at tangi were traditionally kai as opposed to money." (WP1)

"I know there were old people in the village who used to drink quite heavily. One of our kaumātua said that's the best time to get them to remember the old waiata, the old pou – the children would be sleeping around the old people when they were partying and my sister for example picked it up from them, she was dreaming it when they were singing." (WP4)

"There was a lot of Māori tikanga and taonga put into me, even though I didn't realise it at the time. E haramai koe ki konei – whakarongo, titiro. Spent a lot of time on the marae, sometimes it was spooky, at tangihanga, other time it was birthdays and dances. The marae was the centre of life for Māori in Ruatoria." (OT3)

"The oldest was the one who received the knowledge. You weren't told; you just go along and do it. In the back of your mind you wondered why. The other whānau also usually picked the oldest boy to have this training in the old stories and Te Reo." (OT3)

"I come from a line on my father's side, tohunga. They can predict or see into the future. Some of the stuff is negative, in terms of outcomes so it's better not to know. I also had that as a kid, could see stuff. For instance; when I was 7 years old one day when I was walking up the drive I looked by the hedge and some goblins came out. I went "hey there are some goblins" I told my mum and father. My father took down a poumimi, (piss in an old milk container) went down and did a karakia and

something like a thunderbolt hit our house. Our father said “kei reira” “‘it was there alright’”. It was another Tohunga – you know how you have Pa Wars these days, there were Tohunga wars. Another Tohunga had planted money that we would go and buy kai and get sick from it. (OT3)

“One time when I was eight I saw a kid I didn’t know and I looked again and he had disappeared, I went over to where he was and no one was there but I saw a pile of children’s clothes and it turned out they had belonged to a child that had died a while ago.” (OT3)

“Family traditions included children up to between 12-16 years eating on the floor. We didn’t celebrate Christmas, 21st birthdays or Labour Day. Everyone in our iwi did the same, until others from other iwi came into our area. Kaitahi tātou, na nga wahine katoa e kai – waimarie nga tane. The whānau always ate together.” (OT6)

“Kotahi anake te mea, ko matou ke tera. Te aro o mangai. E mahaake nga reo, i putamai i te waha kotahi. All those voices speak with one voice. It’s not about being big or important. Think with one mind. We will not moved.” (OT6)

“We were told of three places around Rapaki that were “Jimmy” spots – the places of ghosts. We had a black pine tree known as a “Jimmy tree” the tapu places we weren’t allowed to go. That was the place where the powhiri would start for the marae. The old ladies would call them down from the marae, they weren’t long karanga. At tangi there was just one bus each day and didn’t go back for the tangi day. Sometimes I think that we should go back to that, just leave the last day for the whānau. There were some lovely times for the whānau, quality time on the last day. That’s all gone now”. (OT9)

“There are some cuts, sort of moko, on the back of my head that were done when I was very young by my tohunga. There were many tests that were conducted when we very babies, as young as three days old - we were put in water at a very young age, turned upside down, watched how we moved to see how we reacted and how we responded to different elements.” (OT6)

“We have wharetapu in Waikari, a holy house. They also used to tithe and put it in there. I remember when we were younger 3 and 4 had long hair. At a certain age they cut my hair and put it in the wharetapu. This guy Ruapane was one of the first kings in Māoridom, but he was a Christian before the missionaries came. He actually came as a Christian from Hawaiki. The wharetapu was right beside my house. He had a amorangi (crown). Cutting hair was dedicating me to the service of God. They did that in Waikaremoana. My tuakana, me, younger brother who were Christians, dedication to Io. My dad was allowed to go into the wharetapu. A lot of people had respect for him.” (OT7)

“Moving from Waikare to Turanga was like a protection from the dark side of our culture, the patu tangata, curses. We were shielded from that kind of stuff.” (OT7)

“Birthdays were not really celebrated. Maybe a short celebrated then return to work.” (WH2)

“My dad insisted that tea towels and table cloths had to be washed separately because he was raised in the Māori way.” (WH4)

“The reason women sit behind men in the hui was because in the old days some visitors would curse the women so they didn’t produce offspring and have a whānau. So men protected us as women as the whare tangata and that’s why women don’t sit on the front seats. So it’s not about men suppressing us. It is us that calls the tune. If our men talk too long we start to cough or sing and they know to close the talking off. So when we get into the marae it is the women that controls the whare with the peaceful harmony that goes on.” (WH5)

“In terms of marrying within your whānau, some people find that disturbing with the connotations of incest. But it was a way of holding on to land. If your parents told you to do something, you agreed. Now it is not like that with younger people.

Before, if a kaumātua was standing and you were sitting, you gave up your chair to that person. Now things are different. Who is the kaumātua? Those things are lost on children. The Māori thinking was

to help others, regardless of who they were, Pākehā etc. This has been lost as well. It is not being instilled in our mokopuna." (WH8)

"When I was growing up I had 15 siblings in my family. Some families had 17 children, others had 24 children. Families were huge then. Everyone knew what to do, there were so many people to support you. When you grew up as a child, you heard your parents talking, the discussion on marae. You knew who your whanaunga were. All those things were taught to you. That is the importance of turangawaewae. It is at home, not in town." (WH8)

"There was information handed down to me from an uncle – those selected (PIA) had to spend countless hours rote-learning karakia, different tikanga Māori processes e.g. Takahi Whare, types of tapu, mataku, and so on. There was a time when an uncle at Puwaiwaha who recalled a time at a powhiri when a koro was holding up the rain physically – a big crowd was coming onto the marae and Koro Tihi was saying "get everyone inside" he was literally holding up the rain and as soon as everyone was inside, he let his hands down and the rain gushed down for hours. So that was a story about the power around at that time." (WP2)

"There were selected whānau within every hapū and marae who had certain tasks for things like karakia, or kai and looking after the people. Within the whare Wananga there were certain people who had responsibilities to learn those certain things." (WP2)

"Every Tuesday night we met and talked about tikanga and did haka poi. That was our night for learning." (WP6)

"Women used to hongi first, now that has changed." (WP6)

Te Ao Hou

"I think there are some good things. Rangatahi out going, speak their mind but there is an element of respect that they have lost which is tragic. And we had boundaries, but almost seems like anything goes now. The way they speak to their parents, early age of sex, early they have kids, drugs and alcohol. How do I turn that around?" (OT3)

"Our kaumātua discussed differences in technology (like the claw hammer vs the ball-headed hammer) by highlighting the differences and acknowledging that both have their place, rather the older version being superior or inferior or vice versa." (OT6)

"Putting on shoes was to become a Pākehā. 'No I don't want to koro!'." (OT6)

"I know you can't make somebody belong. But everybody has a heart cry of wanting to belong. Sticking behind my high fence and thinking this is it, but it is a lie, not true. How do we pull down the fence in our minds to allow people to know that they are important and that they belong? How do we get people of like mind to nurture and foster that whakaaro. We lost it though because we were colonised. That individual stuff. It created a pyramid. Top dog stuff. How do we grow together, share." (OT3)

"Nurture iwi stuff, propagate it. Pepeha. Helping them to believe the truth and let the lie go." (OT3)

"Wisdom: I have beliefs. My beliefs become my values. My values help to form my practice. So wisdom is about those three things for me. Head, heart, hand. What I believe and what my heart says influence how I behave. Wisdom is about those things." (OT3)

"Legacy:I want my mokopuna to know that their popa, their grandfather loved them and their grandfather wanted the best for them. For them to fulfil the God given potential that they each have." OT3)

"I think of mokopuna, I think of moko (identity) puna (clear waters). Our tipuna didn't have mirrors, but they used to go to the puna and see their image. My hope and my dream is that whatever I put into my moko that I will proudly be able to see that's my image, that's my moko, and when they are not so good, I will be able to say that's their grandmothers. When I think of rangatahi; raranga (weaving) tahi I think of one strand of that whariki. Our mahi as pakeke is to help that simple strand to

find their proper place is the whariki of life. Rangatahi trying to find where they fit, with all the pains that come with being rangatahi, which is part of their journey of finding where they fit. And the dream is that they will be rangatira. Ranga (arrived) and it's being able to have that mantle that can facilitate the group that allows them through experience, moko, rangatahi, rangatira, whakaaro and mahi that allows our people to find their place in the tira, in the group or the completed whariki of life." (OT3)

"I was strict with my children, they were physically punished. We have 13 mokopuna who have been raised without violence and their parents have done a better job than us. They have shown great restraint with some of the kids behaviour. Though sometimes I think we've gone a little overboard with that [not smacking]. Being more concerned with process rather than result." (OT8)

"The best thing about being Māori (or mixed race as I am) is that my cultural, intellectual and emotional options are doubled. I can be what I want to be as a New Zealander more fully than you've been able to be with ease, probably ever before. I think of Pei Te Hurunui, Jim Henare, Turi Carrol, men like that- even men like Timoti Karetu and Wharehuia, there has to be woman too, Te Aue Davis, people who are intensely Māori but also have a huge breadth of interest, Te Rangia Pokeha (from Whanganui River) intensely Māori people but completely at home in non-Māori world, very comfortable in it. Absolutely bi-lingual, their interests were wide. A lot of kaumātua were like this. (OT8)

The first mihi I can remember was at our home- I remember hearing for the first time "Piki mai, kake mai". I also heard that day Ari Tawa Pitama the most beautiful English I had ever heard. Instead of Bi-lingualism used to be a division sum, now it's a multiplication sum with a vengeance - your potential as a human being to read and explore. Te Mare Tau in reading the contemporary philosophers and mixing those with perceptions of myth and fondle ideas like that is accepted and regarded with admiration. When I was younger that would be considered madness. Yes, being Māori today is wonderfully liberating and expanding potential for a human being, with that comes an obligation to maximise, taking that obligation (instead of spitting at the world or hiding in your little ethnic ghetto and claiming your rights instead of working) then you're even more diminished because you aren't realising a potential that is available to you. It is a source of huge pride to me that I have some fluently bi-lingual mokopuna. It would be a huge sadness to me if both cultures would not explore the literary potential of both cultures, not to get locked on one track. That's a great challenge of educationalists and parents." (OT8)

"Our young people have no connection to their culture, they are a lost generation and don't know who they are anymore because they weren't brought up like we were. We're missing a whole generation of productive people who are missing that solid connectedness that we had to our Māori world with the honour and respect we had with our old people. They affiliate gang, not to Māori. Many have been brought up in Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa but aren't connected to the marae – they only get to go when there is a tangihanga." (WP1)

"Moving off the farms, into the city, changing your food – in our day it was healthy now our diet is killing our people. No one grows a garden anymore." (WP1)

"Some things have changed quite a bit and we're not coping very well. Some of the things we've lost are the ingredients in a whānau. Kuia, koroua, dad, mum. We're trying to address this loss. We rely a lot on medication, Pākehā medication- nothing wrong with that, but it can be used along with our rongoa - especially for nga pakeke simple rongoa - for cleansing, allergies for the blood. We have simple plants around which can do that. There is a lot about hauora/mental health that needs to be addressed for the next generation. We won't give up; we will make it better for our mokopuna." (OT4)

"This new generation has their own way of doing things. I don't know how to deliver my own experiences for them to receive; they just think they're stories – "Hone heke days" my children say. Even little things like basic technology is so different today so it's very hard to explain even the way we used to do things and why. You've got to just find a way to get the 'talk' to them. In sharing about my upbringing it's hard to cross 'that gap' [generational]. With my mokopuna they don't doubt it at all. It's

harder to share life experience to the first generation, then it gets harder for second and then for the third generation [it is even harder]." (OT4)

"A lot of our rangatahi don't have a lot of the values we had in our day. Grandparents played a big role in our kid's lives. A lot of the kids now don't know where they are from and who they are. I'm happy I am Māori; I enjoy being who I am. There is no way I'd give up living here. I don't like seeing our children incarnated and our kaumātua treated the way they are in homes, as if they are incarcerated. It's shocking." (OT9)

"Today they are more selfish. I don't mean that nastily. But they think of themselves a lot more than we were used to. But perhaps that was my upbringing. But when you are brought up with 8o people you have not got time to think of yourself." (OT1)

"Whatever you do there are consequences and if you don't like it, tough, because that's the way things are. If they could have the pledge [of abstinence] given to them to look at and think about, would have to be their own decision of course. You haven' t got them going to church or Sunday School like we used to, so they are not signing the pledge." (OT1)

"Rangatahi today have no freedom. None. They are missing out on the journey. Freedom of thought, freedom to make mistakes. Freedom of speech is there but the speech is so limited now. There is a fear of trying, not liking something before they even try it. In my community we said "Say things once to a human, twice to a dog. No trust. We have isolated units and they are missing out on the collective. One thing gets on my nerve is to see everyone under 30 at tangi out the back listening to rap, wearing their cap backwards and pants too low. Everything is focused on cure instead of prevention." (OT6)

"We say our children are our future leaders of tomorrow, but how can they be if they are behind bars? We have to take responsibility. Its not going to be fixed by throwing money at it we could do a lot for our people with $600 million, instead of building more prisons. I raise it amongst corrections, judiciary, the probation, police. One Judge (An Auckland female judge) out there told me about sentencing a father on the Tuesday and his son on the Thursday- the judge said all she wanted to do was take him home. S we do have some good judges.

It comes back to the support of the whānau. That's where the strength for our children is going to come from. Its hard for Nga Puhi to support our kids down here. Some NGO's do better than our Iwi in looking after their people." (OT10)

"Back in the day you could move mountains, but now, oh hell, the mountains getting a bit big to move! Nowadays everyone is getting demanding about what they want to be happening. Too many people have kaumātua and kuia around them but don't know how to use that knowledge or ask them for the knowledge or ask for their stories or to come in and teach something." (OT10)

"I look at kids today. Communication is lacking. Only some will come and see us. Others want to do their own thing. They feel that they are old enough and don't need advice [from the older generations]. The attitude of younger people these days is terrible. In my work, I try to help but they have to make a decision to change. They like and respect me and I love them too but not what they are doing. I try to teach my mokopuna to improve their communication skills. But it's up to them. They have a choice because everyone has freewill. One of the moko has often been in jail and one of the causes is the lack of [good quality] communication." (WH2)

"Family values that aren't so evident these days because you have the Xbox and Wii – there's no way I'd be sitting inside if my Koro was mowing the lawn, no way you'd do that. You helped around the house, cut the wood up, if you didn't get up and cut the wood then you didn't eat." (WP2)

Lessons on Rites of Passage

While the breadth of topics covered in the interviews was very broad, some initial lessons from the interviews in relation to the role, nature and value of what might be considered rites of passage could include:

- Whakapapa, whānau and cycle of life:
    - The connection between learning and sharing whakapapa as a rite of passage. Learning whakapapa requires maturity, understanding of the past and of past connections. Connection between tomo, whakapapa and continuing the heke.
    - Rites of passage exist not only during adolescence but within the context of procreation, conception, pregnancy and birth as well as childhood, adulthood, old age and death:
    - Rites of passage can occur before birth, they can have wide-ranging implications not only on the individual but on the community that that they are a part of.
    - Conceiving and giving birth is a rite of passage.
    - Assisting in childbirth was not restricted to women, it was seen as a basic function of life and sometimes involved a tohunga or knowledgeable adult male as the midwife.
    - Burial of the whenua as a rite of passage was also about maintaining connection to ancestral land and acknowledging the place of the child in the wider community.
    - Marriage and getting a mortgage a modern rite of passage. Wedding photos as visible evidence of a rite of passage. Tomo betrothals and arranged marriages were used to keep land within the whānau. The wedding day itself was not so important. Possibly because of the financial cost, many people could not afford a wedding.
    - Supporting one's parents to raise other siblings was a necessary step to becoming an adult and raising your own children.
    - The function of death and tangihanga was a life experience to lean from, the process of gaining understanding and maturity. Death of a close relative can be interpreted as a rite of passage. Death is a rite of passage also signified by tuku wairua where the spirit is symbolically released from the world of the living to the spiritual world. Acknowledging the dead, the transition from living to death is a fundamental rite of passage.
    - Whangai or informal adoption was a distinctly Māori process. Was this a rite of passage? Another form of gifting? Maintaining connections between family members and different generations.
- Tikanga – cultural rights and responsibilities:
    - Taking on new roles on the marae such as whaikōrero, karanga, waiata tawhito, responsibility for food preparation, preparing the wharemoe and so on are recognised rites of passage.
    - Rites of passage include children learning basic tasks and knowledge during their time on the marae, participating in hui and tangihanga. Children slowly graduate to more complex roles and responsibilities – though sometimes it can also be thrust upon a child or young person that may not feel ready but rises to the occasion.
    - Māori rites of passage assume some meaningful connection exists between the participant and their kāinga, whenua and hapū.
    - The karanga as a rite of passage. These stories stress the importance of replacing the older generation with the younger generation at an appropriate time. A preference for the right person once they have reached a particular age or stage in their life. Otherwise it can be an insult to older people to be called onto a marae by someone who is young and immature. There is a time for learning and for taking on certain

roles. Some start to karanga very young (one four year old), others were not young, had raised a family and lived a full life by the time they were ready to karanga.

- Learning to become a kaikōrero was a rite of passage, particularly as it was usually connected to the initiate's relationship to living relatives who had that responsibility and needed to have collective endorsement before proceeding.
- A rite of passage into becoming an expert in tribal history, is developing an understanding of karakia, waiata tawhito and tauparapara.
- Marae play an important role in facilitating rites of passage for all age groups, from working in the kitchen to sitting on the taumata. Learning how one was connected to the wider group, seeing the practical application of whakapapa.
- Being gifted of land or tuku whenua is a rite of passage, requiring new responsibilities for resources handed down through generations to care, nurture and grow.

- Work and service as a rite of passage, even for children:
  - The passage from childhood to adulthood was marked by work – not only paid employment but responsibilities for making a contribution around the home, on the farm, at the marae and in the wider community. Hard work demonstrated maturity and responsibility.
  - Gendered nature of work and associated rites and responsibilities: Focus on housework for young girl, training for married life. Focus on becoming bread winners and outdoor work for young men.
  - Food preparation could be said to involve many rites of passage. Developing an individual's knowledge on food collection so that by the time a child had become an adult they knew how to take care of themselves.
  - Historically, trade training schemes were a rite of passage for a whole generation of young Māori.
  - For young Māori men, the Māori Battalion was a rite of passage. Only those who participated in it would fully understand the experience. Service in WWII was associated with proof of citizenship and male rite of passage into adulthood, some who did not serve felt inferior.
  - The first day of school as well as completing tests/exams and leaving school can be considered a rite of passage – though some see this as a milestone of Pākehā culture.
  - Leaving home a rite of passage. Urban migration a common experience for 20th Century Māori of the period. Based on an economic need but also a social adventure.
- For some women, wearing more daring or adventurous clothes may have signified a rite of passage denoting independence.
- Social occasions such as community dances - an adaptation of both western and Māori courting rites of passage. A connection is made between biological development (menstruation, puberty) and maturity with associated rituals or sometimes no special marker. The time span from girlhood to womanhood was often very short. In many cases there was no sense of 'adolescence' you were a child and then, often around 14 years of age, you became an adult expected to work, take a partner, etc. There was importance placed on having role models in order to make the transition from girl to woman.
- The 21st birthday was only a rite of passage if the individual was unmarried and childless. Many whānau did not celebrate birthdays, not even the 21st. Wedding anniversaries were considered a rite of passage- graduating to koroheketanga.
- Rites of passage can be religious in origin. The influence of the Catholic faith is widespread partly because of this. Religious rites of passage can cross geographical boundaries, time, and culture. Māori and some Christian rites of passage can overlap.
- Acquiring some types of knowledge was a rite of passage.

- Learning about prejudice, being able to give it a label, understanding the motivation behind it was part of growing up and maturing.
- A personal rite of passage can involve rejecting the 'rites' that others want you to follow and adopting your own.
- Leadership can be a rite of passage, but is not an easy path to follow.
- The special roles of children based on their place in the order of siblings. Often the oldest child, and youngest children had quite different responsibilities and markers of maturity.
- Rites of passage as described in Māori are quite different.
- The role of a mentor in developing skills is part of the process.
- Rites of passage are not only restricted to humans. Everything in nature has a part to play in developing into something else.
- A part of understanding what a rite of passage is, is to have the comprehension and maturity to grasp the significance and meaning behind it. Connects with the idea that with maturity comes fuller understanding of why things were done in a certain way. Rites of passage should help you to understand how you are connected to the wider world.
- Something that may be a rite of passage to one group of people may not be accepted by another group i.e. marriage within families.
- Birthday celebrations and presents were sometimes considered superficial to the daily demands of survival and getting along with each other.

Contemporary contexts:

- Reliance on the older generation for advice to transition into adulthood seems to no longer considered necessary by the current generations.
- Perhaps the expression 'rite of passage' is not appropriate in all contexts, he aha te kupu mo tenei?
- Underlying youth development is the environment that they are living in. This can undermine their ability to live full lives. In this contemporary context very few healthy rites of passage are celebrated today.
- Some suggest there is difficulty in assessing the past, in being able to reflect upon one's actions and decisions. Rites of passage are meant to provide a road map on living.

All of the interviewees were able to provide examples of what they considered rites of passage. These were all personal experiences from their childhood and adolescence, in some cases pre-birth and for a few there were experiences they had in late adulthood – a few spoke of practices common in their community that they were aware of in their lifetime or their parents life.

Only a few interviewees were able to share stories of how they participated in particular rituals, institutions or events that would adhere to the three stage (separation, transition, and reincorporation) rites of passage that the author of the term 'rites of passage' Arnold van Gennep suggests in his book Les Rites de Passage (1909). Nearly all of the hundreds of examples provided by the interviewees would be consistent with one or more of Simon Ottenberg's list of reasons for initiation processes:

> *Status change in adulthood, recognition of sexual maturity, incorporation into the larger society, creating a sense of ethnic identity and/or social solidarity, a working through of Oedipal or of early childhood experience, preparing for adult gender roles and identifying with the proper gender, channelling assertive aggressive or sexual tendencies of the young into socially acceptable adult roles, maintaining gerontocratic control of the younger generation, inculcating basic cultural values of the society into the maturing individuals, and teaching new skills and attitudes.*

And each interviewee shared experiences that resonate with the 10 components of the Maia model being developed by Te Ora Hou Aotearoa based on the Circle of Courage and Whānau Ora imperatives

for healthy whānau and healthy communities: *whānau, pukengatanga, mana motuhake, ohaoha, manaakitanga, pupuri taonga, whakamana, whakatakato tikanga, whakapümau tikanga, whakawhanaungatanga.*

So the stories told are of practices that were community-created and community-directed experiences to transmit cultural values and knowledge to an individual or group.

The interviewees stories validate the claim of Blumenkrantz and Goldstein (2010) that the rite of passage process "not only guides the individual's transition to a new status, but, equally important, it created public events that celebrated the transition and reaffirmed these community values, which inform and guide expectations for behaviours essential for the group's survival."

And in this context the rites of passage described by interviewees can also be considered primarily for the health and wellbeing of the community rather than for the benefit of the individual participating in the developmental process.

6. Conclusions

Learnings from the interviews in relation to the role, nature and value of rites of passage in traditional and contemporary Māori communities include rituals, processes and events connected to whakapapa, whānau and cycle of life.

- Rites of passage can occur before birth, they can have wide-ranging implications not only on the individual but on the community that that they are a part of. Family responsibilities and events including birth, tangihanga and marriage are important milestones in shifting attitudes and roles within families.
- Cultural rights and responsibilities are core rites of passage and for Māori include things like taking on new roles on the marae such as whaikōrero, karanga, and responsibility for hosting others. Being gifted of land or tuku whenua is a rite of passage, requiring new responsibilities for resources handed down through generations to care, nurture and grow.
- Māori rites of passage assume some meaningful connection exists between the participant and their kāinga, whenua and hapū. A rite of passage determines a growing expertise in tribal history and skills in karakia, waiata tawhito and tauparapara.
- Marae as physical and spiritual places play an important role in facilitating rites of passage for all age groups, from working in the kitchen to sitting on the taumata.
- Work and service is a rite of passage, even for children. The passage from childhood to adulthood was marked by work – not only paid employment but responsibilities for making a contribution around the home, on the farm, at the marae and in the wider community.
- Food production and preparation involved many rites of passage, particularly in communities with little reliance on monetary trading systems. Developing an individual's knowledge on food collection so that by the time a child had become an adult they knew how to take care of themselves.
- Going to paid work, going to war, leaving home were all important rites of passage.
- Dances, fashion and biological changes around puberty were opportunities to transition from a state of child to maturity.
- Birthdays had little importance as rites of passage for most interviewees. Many rites of passage can be religious in origin and the churches provided some formal examples through confirmation, first communion and baptism.
- Learning about racial prejudice, being able to give it a label and understanding the motivation behind it was part of growing up and maturing.
- Mentors within the immediate family and community life were very important facilitators of developmental opportunities for most interviewees.
- Rites of passage are not only restricted to humans. Everything in nature has a part to play in developing into something else.
- Something that may be a rite of passage to one group of people may not be accepted by another group i.e. marriage within families.
- Reliance on the older generation for advice to transition into adulthood seems to no longer considered necessary by the current generations. In this contemporary context very few healthy rites of passage are celebrated today. Rites of passage are meant to provide a road map on living.

All of the interviewees were able to provide examples of what they considered rites of passage. These were all personal experiences from their childhood and adolescence, in some cases pre-birth and for a few there were experiences they had in late adulthood – a few spoke of practices common in their community that they were aware of in their lifetime or their parents life.

Only a few interviewees were able to share stories of how they participated in particular rituals, institutions or events that would adhere to the famous three stage (separation, transition, and reincorporation) rites of passage. However nearly all of the experiences shared were consistent with the idea of rites of passages being markers of transition from one state of being to another, of being directed by and for the benefit of the wider community and of being essential for the intergenerational transmission of cultural values and community knowledge.

Each interviewee shared experiences that resonate with the 10 components of the Maia model being developed by Te Ora Hou Aotearoa based on the Circle of Courage and Whānau Ora imperatives for healthy whānau and healthy communities: *whānau, pukengatanga, mana motuhake, ohaoha, manaakitanga, pupuri taonga, whakamana, whakatakato tikanga, whakapümau tikanga, whakawhanaungatanga.*

The interviewees stories validate the claim of Blumenkrantz and Goldstein (2010) that the rite of passage process "not only guides the individual's transition to a new status, but, equally important, it created public events that celebrated the transition and reaffirmed these community values, which inform and guide expectations for behaviours essential for the group's survival."

This initial survey of traditional Māori rites of passage has identified a significant gap in literature and popular knowledge about this subject. The topics canvassed would benefit from further research on what contemporary rites of passage are most common in Māori communities today and how useful traditional values and practices are in a community where the social order is plurastic, multi-cultural, market-driven and consistently changing at an accelerating pace.

Hopefully the value of this study will be instructive to those practitioners of youth work with young Māori and other cultural groups, but more importantly should be a timely reminder to whānau Māori and iwi/hapū leaders that the social order in which traditional rites of passage made sense has almost disappeared, particularly in metropolitan contexts. Whānau ora and healthy communities require a degree of consensus around the values, collective identity and moral obligations on their members, perhaps facilitating processes to reach agreement on these matters could be a helpful starting place?

APPENDIX A.

Publications List

ALAC	(2008)	**Anamata: Face the Future. National Youth Forum, Tapu Te Ranga Marae, Wellington, 7-9 October 2008, Final Report**. Wellington, ALAC, 2008
Amokura Family Violence Prevention Consortium	(2008)	Literature Review and Annotated Bibliography, Whangarei, Amokura Family Violence Prevention Consortium
Andersen, J.C.	(1907)	**Māori Life in Aotearoa**. Christchurch, Whitcombe and Tombs
Beaglehole, E. & P. Beaglehole	(1945)	**Some Modern Māoris**. Wellington, NZ Council for Educational Research
Best, E.	(2005)	**The Whare Kohanga and its Lore**. Wellington, Te Papa Press, (first published 1929)
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James Henare Research Centre		**Nga Taonga O Te Tai Tokerau**
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	(1991)	**Waiata: Māori Songs in History**. Auckland, Reed Books
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Taylor, Richard. *Te Ika-ā-Māui.* 1974: Taylor was a missionary stationed at Wanganui. His book includes notes on cosmology, mythology, atua, matakite, patupaiarehe, tapu, karakia, tangaihanga and whakataukï.

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Te Taurawhiri: Retrieved from www.tetaurawhiri.govt.nz

Time Frames: www.timeframes.co.nz

APPENDIX B. Project Terms of Reference (incl. Interview Questions)

Hei Tikitiki Project Terms of Reference

Project Scope:

- it was agreed that 'rites of passage' rather than the broader 'youth development' would be the focus of the research
- there was discussion about how aware/intentional/explicit the experiences of our pakeke would be – will they identify particular experiences/traditions as a rite of passage
- we need to wananga the concept of 'rite of passage' so we can decide whether or not a story or experience fits the criteria we agree on – and this definition will be based on the original question/problem that the research project has emerged from (e.g. the need for young people to learn particular lessons before they become adult/mature members of society)
- there was discussion on whether we interested in contemporary (urban/current) or just traditional (often unseen/private) rites of passage – there are also examples of early identification (tohu – environmental signs), rituals and taonga used in the process of graduating through stages, etc. and gender specific rituals (e.g. puhi, ruahine, nudity, cleansing, etc.); there are also examples of rites of rites of passage that do not involve rituals but rather being given symbolic/practical objects (knife, gun, etc.)
- we are interested in both the personal experiences of pakeke and stories they heard growing up about traditional rites of passage from their whānau/hapū/iwi

Flow Chart of process:

1. select local research team members (meet to explain kaupapa, time requirements, etc.)
2. start identifying potential interviewees and meet with them to explain kaupapa
3. local team leaders attend national training in Wellington
4. finalise interviewees, meet to explain project, complete consent process and arrange dates/times/places to conduct interview/s
5. interviews completed
6. abstracting training attend by team leaders
7. interviews abstracted by local team leaders
8. teams summarise key findings and write-up 4-5 significant stories of interest
9. present summary back to interviewee to check accuracy and hand over copy of interview recording
10. with consent of interviewees organise local presentation of findings to a hui of interviewees and their whānau, researchers and their whānau, Te Ora Hou whānau and other stakeholders (marae/hapū/iwi reps, youth workers, media, etc.)
11. research team leaders all meet again to share findings and compare stories
12. national project coordinator collates findings into national report, website content, etc.

Timeframes:

- July: select local team members
- 17-18 August: training in Wellington
- September-December: interviews
- January/February: collation and summary of findings
- February/March: report findings back locally to participants
- March: team leaders meet to compare findings
- April-May: write-up national report
- June: launch/celebration of project/findings

Draft Interview Questions:

The following will be used as the base set of questions to guide interviews:

1. TE AO TAMARIKI: EARLY CHILDHOOD

- Where did you grow up? Who did you live with? Who was most around at your home?
- When and where were you born? Do you know if anything special happened when you were born?
- What attitudes did your whānau have toward childrearing? Were these specific to your whānau or common within the wider hapū/community? Why do you think these attitudes were held by the whānau/hapū?
- What practices did your whānau have toward childrearing? Were these specific to your whānau or common within the wider hapū/community? What do think were the underlying principles/tikanga for these practices?
- What are your most positive childhood memories?
- What are some of your most unhappy childhood memories?
- Growing up, what involvement did you have with local marae?
- What faith, if any, did your whānau follow? (Anglican/Pihopatanga, Ringatu, Ratana, etc.)

2. TE AO O TE WHĀNAU WHANUI: IDENTITY & BELONGING

- What group or groups (whānau/marae, hapū/iwi, neighbourhood, community, church) did you feel (at the time) that you belonged to as a child/adolescent?
- What group did you feel most strongly connected to?
- What things did that group do/think/know that was different to others?
- How did you know who was in or out of the group? (whakapapa, location, language, etc.)
- What things did the group do to strengthen relationships and reinforce group identity?
- Were there some things that the group did that you disagree with now?
- Was there a time or experience after which you identified yourself as Māori?
- Was there any negative stigma attached to being Māori in your early life?

3. TE AO MARAMA: KEY EVENTS DURING CHILDHOOD & ADOLESCENCE:

- What were some key events in your childhood and teenage years?
- What whānau traditions did you grow up with?
- Can you remember any special events or experiences when members of your whānau or the local community did something with you and/or other children/young people to prepare you for the future or mark a milestone in your life?
- What traditional practices did you experience as a child/young person? Who was involved? Why those people? Where and when did this happen? What was the meaning of it?
- When did you pass from childhood into adulthood in your own opinion? How did that happen?
- What stories/experiences did you hear about your peers/whānau/tupuna, when they were young - in terms of 'growing up'?
- What are some of the traditional practices that your whānau/hapū/iwi practiced that are still practiced to this day?

4. TE AO HOU – TE AO HURIHURI: WAYS OF SEEING THE WORLD TODAY & INTO THE FUTURE

- What do you appreciate most about being Māori and/or a member of your whānau/marae/hapū/iwi?
- What does Wairuatanga mean to you? How has Wairuatanga been outworked in your life?
- When did you first learn about love?
- What wisdom have you gathered in your life which you think could be important to pass on to the next generation?
- What have been some of the greatest moments of your life?
- What difference do you see in the lives of today's young people, that was different to when you were younger?

- What life lessons, values and/or maramatanga/mātauranga are rangatahi missing out on now that you learnt early in life?
- How has the world changed for better or worse from how it was when you were growing up? What are the most important things to be done now?
- What do you think has sustained our people? What will sustain us in the future?
- What makes our iwi/Māori unique from any other group of people on the face of the planet?
- What is wisdom? How is it learnt? How is it shared?
- What the best things about being Māori and living in Aotearoa today?
- What are the hardest things about being Māori and living in Aotearoa today?
- What legacy do you want to leave your mokopuna? Is there a group or an individual in your life who you can pass on your whakaaro on to?
- What do your mokopuna mean to you? If you had one desire for their lives- what would it be?

Budget

- Payments to members of research team: rangatahi and whānau that have a lot of involvement in the project it may be appropriate to remunerate but sometimes payments may compromise the relationships and it will be up to each team leader in consultation with the TOH centre manager to decide what is appropriate. Payment could be made on a per interview basis.
- Koha for kaumātua: good to ask them… but what will make it work generally is that our life is the koha to them. Alternatives to cash koha are encouraged so that participants don't always expect payments to be made for participating in community projects. One idea is to give each of them a piece of pounamu cut from the same stone. Some of the kōrero that will be given will have obligations and responsibilities attached to it.
- Anything done as part of this project should be mana-enhancing. The research that is important to people is research that provides benefits back to the people.

Literature Review:

Define the topic - In order to begin our literature review we must first define our research question. What is the purpose? What does it mean? What are the key words? Are there other words which could be used, such as synonyms, variations in spelling? What do we already know about the topic? What is the scope? Do we need everything ever written in English/Māori on this topic, or just the last ten years?

Compile a list of keywords - Before beginning a search for information, it is important to develop a search strategy that will most effectively locate useful, relevant information. This may involve breaking down our research question into: *keywords or phrases; entering our search; and evaluating results to determine whether we need to employ various strategies to broaden, narrow or otherwise modify our research.*

Analysing the topic of a research topic usually involves making a list of *keywords* or phrases. We will need to include all the key concepts or ideas contained within the research question. It might be useful to include alternative ways of phrasing and expressing concepts and ideas. Think about both general terms and very specific terms for broadening and narrowing the search. The keyword or phrase is the basic unit of any search.

Literature Repositories:

- local libraries (local research reports, local history books, etc.)
- biographies, general anthropology, history and sociology books
- Waitangi Tribunal research reports (often held by claimant groups) and casebooks (available on Tribunal website)
- Māori Land Court records
- church archives
- university libraries (copies of dissertations, conference papers and theses)

- government agency libraries (Te Puni Kokiri, Families Commission, MSD, etc.)
- iwi authorities, iwi/hapū/whānau researchers, etc.
- online international/national research/publications databases (via public libraries and internet)
- online searches

Online Resources:

- http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rites_of_passage
- http://theritejourney.com.au/program.html
- www.tracks.net.nz (rites of passage programme in Golden Bay that Tere from TOH Whangarei attended but website is currently blocked)

APPENDIX C. Ethics Committee Application including Interviewee Information & Permission Forms

TE ORA HOU AOTEAROA RESEARCH PROJECT ETHICS COMMITTEE

Application for Approval of Research Project

1 NATURE OF PROPOSED RESEARCH:

(a) Project Title: Hei Tikitiki – Traditional Rites of Passage for Young Māori

(b) Project Type: Literature reviews and key informant interviews between kaumātua/kuia and local research teams comprising rangatahi/whānau and youth workers.

2 RESEARCHERS:

Name	Role	Contact
Manu Caddie	National Research Project Coordinator	manu@ahi.co.nz
Judy Kumeroa	Whanganui Research Team Leader	jkumeroa@teorahou.org.nz
Jayde Hohaia	Otautahi Research Team Leader	jhohaia@teorahou.org.nz
Briarley Yates	Whangarei Research Team Leader	byates@teorahou.org.nz
Chuck Ngaira	Tairawhiti Research Team Leader	cngaira@teorahou.org.nz
Jay Rerekura	Whanganui Research Team Member	jay@ntota.co.nz
Marcus Akuhata-Brown	Tairawhiti Research Team Member	marcus@tukaha.com
Stirling Halbert	Tairawhiti Research Team Member	shalbert@teorahou.org.nz
Tarsh Koia	Tairawhiti Research Team Member	tarsh@punareo.Māori.nz
Michael Ross	National Research Project Advisor	michael.ross@twor-otaki.ac.nz
Tui Warmenhoven	National Research Project Advisor	tui@uritukuiho.org.nz

This is a preliminary list, others will be added as they are confirmed for local research teams.

3 DURATION OF RESEARCH

(a) Proposed starting date for data collection (after ethics approval has been granted): **May 2009**

(b) Proposed date of completion of project as a whole: **June 2010**

4 SOURCE/S OF FUNDING AND OTHER ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

(a) Lottery Community Research Committee is the source of funding for this project and there are no known conflicts of interest or restrictions on publication relating to the funder.

(b) The National Oral History Association of New Zealand (NOHANZ) Code of Ethics & Technical Practice will be adhered to by the researchers throughout the project.

(c) Ethical approval is note required from any other body.

5 DETAILS OF PROJECT

Briefly Outline:

(a) The objectives of the project

The purpose of this project is for rangatahi, whānau members and Māori youth workers to explore traditional youth development practices within their rohe and then share their learning between rohe and with others outside the research group.

The aim of this project is to identify significant youth development practices and principles that were common in Māori communities prior to the rapid urbanisation of Māori in the second half of the twentieth century that saw the proportion of Māori living in urban centres rise from 20% in 1945 to 83% by 1986. (Statistics NZ, 2008)

(b) Method of data collection

Research groups in each of four rohe (Whangarei, Tairawhiti, Whanganui, Otautahi) comprised of rangatahi, whānau and Māori youth workers, will explore traditional youth development practices within their rohe through literature reviews and interviews, then share their learning between rohe and with others outside the research group. Using rangatahi, whānau members and youth workers as the researchers will allow the knowledge gained to be retained within the intended beneficiary groups.

The project will involve establishing research teams within participating Te Ora Hou centres (at least three centres will be involved). Each team will comprise of at least two young people, two whānau members and two youth workers.

Initial training for the local research teams will be provided by experts in oral history and social research. We plan to use the National Library Oral History Unit and other experienced oral history practitioners to provide this training and advice to the research teams. Most members of the governance group and the National Project Coordinator also have experience in oral history research in Māori communities and will provide ongoing support to each of the four local teams.

The teams will have four main tasks:

1. Undertaking a review of written/recorded evidence of traditional youth development and child-rearing practices with a focus on rites of passage and transition processes from child to adult rights and responsibilities from within their whānau, hapū, iwi and/or rohe.
2. Planning and facilitating a series of wananga/hui with pakeke/kaumātua/kuia from whānau, hapū and iwi that research team members whakapapa to. These hui will provide time and space for the kaumātua to share their experiences as children and young people in terms of how essential knowledge, values and practices were passed on from one generation to the next. Common areas of enquiry will be agreed upon by the project leaders prior to the teams conducting the field work and will be revised after the first 2-3 interviews if the project leaders decide this is appropriate.
3. Each interview will be recorded but not transcribed. As a team each group will document the most significant points of learning from both sources and share these with local interviewees as a focus group to affirm the kōrero before it leaves the rohe. Teams will then compare their findings with the groups from other rohe. Similarities and differences will be compared between rohe and comparisons agreed upon for a summary of findings.
4. Subject to the consent of interviewees, each local research team will present their findings to an open hui in their rohe and highlight the commonalities and differences between stories from their rohe and others. Findings will also be published on the Te Ora Hou website and as a summary report.

A summary of the process and findings will be compiled for interested stakeholders and may be used as the basis for further work such as comparing the principles identified with existing youth and whānau development models.

(c) The benefits and scientific value of the project

Māori youth workers have not had access to a large amount of research on indigenous youth development to help inform their practice. Most research used by Māori youth workers has been undertaken with a focus on other disciplines including health, education and social work. Teorongonui Keelan has done some important work over the past ten years in conceptualising an

indigenous framework for youth development. This project is designed to test some of the concepts[2] she proposes through both primary and secondary sources.

Having youth workers and whānau undertaking the research will ensure the knowledge is developed and retained within the communities it is design to be of benefit to. This project will build the research skills of youth workers, rangatahi and whānau affiliated to Te Ora Hou and learnings from the process will be able to be applied in other rohe who want to undertake similar processes.

The project is based on a number of premises:

1. That within traditional Māori societies there were child-rearing and youth development practices based on a number of common principles.
2. That some of these practices and the underlying principles may be unfamiliar to Māori youth workers and people responsible for supporting Māori youth development today.
3. That some of these principles and practices may be useful to inform contemporary youth development practice within Māori communities.
4. That kaumātua and other sources of knowledge may be willing and able to provide some of their experiences and understanding of traditional practices and principles that will be of use to current and future generations of rangatahi Māori, their whānau and others.
5. That the knowledge this project focuses on is collective and as such is owned by the whānau and hapū of participants.

Te Ora Hou Aotearoa has been interested in these questions for many years and have actively involved kaumātua in activities of the organisation to share their knowledge and pass on lessons learnt from their experiences and stories from older generations to rangatahi, whānau and youth workers involved with Te Ora Hou. Te Ora Hou has facilitated a number of wananga and visits to marae over the past few years that have focused on local stories and lessons learnt from the experiences of tupuna connected to those marae and rohe.

Some of this kōrero has been at national events, some at the regional/local level and not a lot of it shared with people who were not present at the event. Barely any of this learning has been formally documented and now seems an appropriate time to undertake a more methodical process to capture some of the kōrero we have access to before it passes on.

A brief literature review has been undertaken to identify some of the existing documentation on traditional models of Māori youth development.

(d) Characteristics of the participants

Participants will be pakeke (kaumātua/kuia). Most will be related to members of the local research teams and/or be well known local pakeke with some pre-existing relationship to one or more of the local research team members. They will be selected because they have either shared an experience related to rites of passage from their youth with a local research team member and/or be likely to have such stories based on their knowledge and experience in related aspects of life.

(e) Method of recruitment

Four local interview teams (Whangarei, Tairawhiti, Whanganui, Otautahi) will each identify pakeke from their own whānau who may be suitable and interested in being interviewed. Members of the team will approach their pakeke and discuss the project goals and plan with them. If the pakeke are interested the local research team leader will provide a letter for the pakeke to read and a consent form to sign if they are willing to proceed and participate in the project.

(f) Payments that are to be made/expenses to be reimbursed to participants:

Any costs incurred by pakeke participation will be fully reimbursed.

(g) Other assistance:

A koha of kai may be taken to interviews and/or transport and a meal provided if their interview takes place at somewhere other than the residence of the pakeke.

(h) No special hazards and/or inconvenience is expected for participants.

[2] *Whakapapa* (genealogy) and *whanaungatanga* (relationships), with their *hoa-haere* (companions), *awhi* (foster), *manaaki* (show respect to) and *tiaki* (guard) are the basis of Keelan's framework articulated in her 2001 resource 'E Tipu E Rea' for the Ministry of Youth Affairs.

(i) Consent is required in this project for:

(i) the collection of data

(ii) attribution of opinions or information

(iii) release of data to others (including hapū representatives)

(iv) use for public presentation, report or other publication

Attached is a copy of the draft interview schedule.

(j) How informed consent to be obtained**:**

The research is not anonymous but is confidential – particular information provided by participants will not attributed to any identified individual and informed consent will be obtained through a signed consent form.

Attached is a copy of the consent form and information sheet) following a verbal explanation and the information sheet.

(k) Issues of confidentiality of participants are to be ensured as follows:

(i) access to the research data will be restricted to the local research team and the national project coordinator;

(ii) all opinions and data will be reported in aggregated form in such a way that individual persons or organisations are not identifiable.

(l) Procedure for the storage of, access to and disposal of data, both during and at the conclusion of the research:

(i) all written material (questionnaires, interview notes, etc) will be kept in a locked file and access is restricted to the local research team leader;

(ii) all electronic information will be kept in a password-protected file and access will be restricted to the local research team leader;

(iii) all questionnaires, interview notes and similar materials not returned to participants will be destroyed three months after the conclusion of the research;

(iv) any audio or video recordings will be returned to participants;

(v) any other raw data from the interviews will not be released and will be given back to the participants.

(m) Feedback procedures:

Participants of the survey will be given the results of the questionnaire in an aggregated form and a letter offering a copy of the final draft on completion of the project.

(n) Reporting and publication of results. The proposed form of publications will be indicated on the information sheet and/or consent form including:

(i) publication in academic journals, newsletters and websites

(ii) dissemination at conferences and events

(iii) deposit of the research paper or thesis in the National Library

(iv) a copy of the final report will be provided to the identified hapū of participants;

Participants will be informed prior to publishing of the findings from the research.

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

HEI TIKITIKI - TRADITIONAL RITES OF PASSAGE FOR YOUNG MĀORI RESEARCH PROJECT

20 April 2009

I am undertaking this research project on traditional rites of passage for Māori youth as a part of a research project being coordinated by Te Ora Hou Aotearoa (www.teorahou.org.nz), a national network of kaupapa Māori youth and community development organisations that was established in 1970s.

Interviews are to be conducted by local research teams comprised of rangatahi, whānau members and youth workers with kaumātua and kuia in four rohe around the country: Whangarei, Te Tairawhiti, Whanganui and Otautahi.

The objective of the research is to identify some of the traditional rites of passage and youth development practices from our tupuna. This information will be of benefit to future generations as whānau and hapū re-establish some traditions that may not currently be practiced and/or develop new traditions based on the principles and lessons learnt from the 'old' ways.

The interview has been designed to create an opportunity for you to share your memories and knowledge about rites of passage and stories about how young people were taught important life lessons by their elders, parents and whānau. It is hoped that this will allow members of the project research teams to identify practices from their rohe and also to compare them with stories from other rohe to find common principles and practices.

The project is being supported by the Lottery Community Research Fund and has oversight from a group of experienced researchers and respected advisors.

Please note the following:

- In order for this research project to proceed, the funders have required that ethical approval to be obtained for the research.
- It is anticipated the interview should take participants approximately one hour to complete.
- All documentation will be coded according to subject number and names. The original information collected will not be disclosed to anyone outside of the project team in a way that could identify the source. Subject confidentiality will be considered at all times. Some interview content such as direct quotes, whakatauki, stories, anecdotes may be used as examples of points made but they will not be attributed in a way that would identify the source unless the interviewee specifically requests and gives permission to be identified.
- The interview data will be held securely and will be retained by the project team leader until the research has been completed at which time the interview recordings will be given back to the interviewee and/or their whānau/hapū depending on their preference.
- The aggregated data from the interviews will be compiled into a public report and presentation.
- It is anticipated that the results of the interviews will be available in an aggregated form for the information of the participants at the conclusion of the research. Participants will be informed of findings prior to publishing of the results of the research.
- If appropriate, research may be (i) published in academic journals, newsletters and websites; (ii) disseminated at conferences and events; and (iii) deposited as a research paper at the National Library and other repositories requested by participants (e.g. the library of an iwi authority).
- Your participation is completely voluntary and you can withdraw your involvement and consent at any time without having to provide a reason and without fear of any disadvantage to yourself or your whānau.

Contact details for the Research Project Coordinator are provided below. You may contact this person if you have any questions or concerns about any aspects of the project that you do not think I can help with:

Manu Caddie

Research Project Coordinator

PO Box 3072, Kaiti, Gisborne.

Tel. 0274 202 957

Email: mcaddie@teorahou.org.nz

Please feel free to contact me by email or phone if you have any queries about this project and/or the interview. I will be in touch again within the next two weeks.

Interviewer Name:

Address:

Phone:

Email:

PARENTAL CONSENT FORM TEMPLATE FOR THE PARTICIPATION OF MINORS

The following template is to be used in conjunction with the consent form template when parental consent is required for the participation of rangatahi aged under 18 years of age.

Consent Form

Hei Tikitiki: Māori Youth Development Traditions Research Project

Parent/Caregiver Name

Address

Tena koe/korua,

Your rangatahi _____ is invited to participate in a national research project about traditional processes in Māori society that mark the transition from childhood to adulthood. The project has research teams in Whangarei, Tairawhiti, Whanganui and Otautahi and runs from June 2009 to June 2010.

My name is _____ and I am the research project Team Leader for the rohe of: _____. I am asking for permission to include your rangatahi _____ in this study as a member of the local research project team. We would also be interested in whether you or another member of your whānau were interested in being part of the research team as well.

The project involves a review of all relevant books and written records that may include references to traditions of the transition from child to adult in our rohe, it also involves conducting interviews with local pakeke/kaumātua/kuia to record their stories about their experiences and stories they have heard as children and young people about the Tikanga of these traditions.

We expect to interview at least 10 local pakeke/kaumātua/kuia and will encourage research team members to approach pakeke/kaumātua/kuia within their own whānau who may have their own stories and be willing to share them as part of the research. We have more information if you are interested on the process we plan to use that is designed to protect the mana of all participants and the integrity and value of the kōrero shared with the research teams.

Participation in the project is on a voluntary basis, there is no payment for rangatahi or whānau members as part of the research team, but any pre-approved expenses incurred by team members and interviewees will be reimbursed. The opportunity to participate in intended to be an invaluable learning experience for everyone involved.

Your decision to allow your rangatahi to participate will not adversely affect your or his or her present or future relationship with Te Ora Hou or any other organisation connected with this project.

If you have any questions about the project now or later, or wish to participate yourself, please phone/text me on: (027) _____. You can also contact the project coordinator, Manu Caddie on (027) 420 2957 if you have any questions, concerns or comments about any aspect of the project.

You may keep a copy of this consent form. If you agree for your rangatahi to participate please sign below.

You are making a decision about allowing your rangatahi to participate in this research project. Your signature below indicates that you have read the information provided above and have decided to allow him or her to participate in the study. If you later decide that you wish to withdraw your permission for your rangatahi to participate in the study, simply tell us and you may discontinue his or her participation at any time without any disadvantage.

_____	_____
Name of Rangatahi	Date of Birth
_____	_____
Signature of Parent(s) or Legal Guardian	Date of signing
_____	_____
Signature of Local Research Project Team Leader	Date of signing

Consent Form for Participants in the interviews for the Hei Tikitiki Project of Te Ora Hou Aotearoa

Please tick the confirmation box at the end of each statement and sign below.

I have been provided with adequate information relating to the nature and objectives of this research project, I have understood that information and have been given the opportunity to seek further clarification or explanations.	
I understand my participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw from this project at any time before the final analysis of data without providing reasons and without any disadvantage. If I withdraw I understand that the data that I have provided will be destroyed and/or returned to me if I request it at the time of withdrawal.	
I understand that any information or opinions I provide may be used and reported in an aggregated form that will not attribute any particular information directly to me.	
I understand that the information I have provided will be used only for this research project and related reports, and that any further use will require my written consent.	
I understand and consent to the audio and/or video recording of this interview. I understand that when this research is completed any original recordings will be returned to me and/or provided to my whānau/hapū listed below.	

I, _____, consent to the use of the information provided in the interview for the Hei Tikitiki Project of Te Ora Hou Aotearoa.

I request a copy of the final report be held by my whānau/hapū: _____ through a copy being provided to: _____ for retention/archiving by the whānau/hapū.

Signed: _____

Dated: _____

SUMMARY OF ISSUES RAISED BY ETHICS COMMITTEE & RESPONSES

Ethical Issues/Questions Raised	**Our Response**
The only question I can think of is whether there is space within your guidelines for confidentiality for an informant to attribute a custom to a particular hapū or iwi? And whether this would then create an issue around being able to identify a source?	It would be great to identify whānau/hapū/iwi responses. We hope to see patterns emerge in this area as work is collated and discussed. Pakeke can decide on when permission may be required from people other than themselves, and this will depend on the interviewee pursuing that line of questioning with them.
a wider (non ethical) question is whether it would be helpful to know if some customs arose in response to particular issues of the time –I guess trying to identify context may be helpful.	Agreed.
1) if organisations are to be interviewed then ethical consent is required from the CEO or if governed by a board the chairperson.	The plan is only to interview individuals/couples rather than organisations. Access to research held by organisations like iwi authorities may be an issue and in that case yes, permission would need to be gained form the CEO and/or governance group of that organisation.
2) if tradition refers to specific practices of iwi/hapū/whaanau - then these need to be identified and ethical consent obtained from them. It depends on the knowledge of the Pakeke in terms of research. My experience is either they are knowledgeable about research methodologies and can contribute or know little. Therefore guidelines are required for both in terms of what the research wants from them and future implications.	As above, we would we leave it to the pakeke to suggest how that consent would be best obtained and take pakeke responses/ideas/feelings and interpretations of those practices. It would seem impractical to have a hapū/marae/iwi agree on specific practices, but we can take a lead from the pakeke on this. Information on what the research is trying to achieve, that it will become public knowledge and examples of how the information may be used in the future will be provided to pakeke by interviewers – and we will let them know that it is fine to keep some things to themselves to share with their own whānau – and if they want that recorded but not published we can assist with that process.
3) in terms of a kaupapa Māori process perhaps an advisory group should be established to oversee consultations with groups and organisations.	Yes this is part of the plan. Members of the Ethics Committee who are available plus Michael Ross (TOH Chair & PhD candidate) and Tracey Whare (Aotearoa Indigenous Rights Trust and human rights lawyer) are also on the Advisory Group. Terms of Reference for this group still be finalised once membership is confirmed.
4) ensure that the employment of a Māori youth worker is not compromised by the research. This refers to employment contracts and awareness that information produced is for public scrutiny. I see this all the time as a supervisor of researchers in social service areas employed by an organisation where the research implications/methods can compromise the participants place of work. Perhaps a clear distinction at the beginning needs to be made between the roles of each and monitoring. Scenario: if the research is not the full time employer of the Youth Worker then their loyalty must be to the employer, however, constantly participants and researchers get caught up in the quest to find information and solve social problems that they step over the line and then use the research to validate their position or in worst cases threaten employers or employers see the research as having a potential to negatively impact on the organisation and cause the working environment of the participant to be uncomfortable and the researcher(s) assume they can fix the problem by getting involved with employment issues. These are some things to consider.	Youth workers involved in this project will sign a written agreement with their employer that clarifies the purpose of the project, their role in the research process, the hours and type of work that is expected of them and processes that both will use to manage any potential conflict of interest or issues arising from the research that may affect their regular work.
5) it is assumed that the young people involved are over 18 and do not need consent from their parents to participate in this research.	Some may be under 18 but will have whānau consent and hopefully whānau participation – the project should be about whānau researching whānau as much as possible. Attached is a suggested Consent Form for whānau agreeing to let their rangatahi participate.
6) ensure that the ethical processes regarding the interviewing,	Yes, this will be covered in detail during the initial

collecting, and storage of data is consistent.	training and monitored through regular contact for reflection between teams and visits from the project coordinator.
5.b.3 - Why are transcripts not given back to the participants to ensure the accuracy, not so much of what they said, but what they meant. Sometimes what you say sounds different once you see it written and can change the meaning. I think it would be good to give it back to them so that they can ensure their views and memories are correct, particularly as later they may have remembered something they feel is important to be included. Also they may regret having said something that they would like to remove.	Mike suggested that making transcripts of every interview may not be necessary – that we focus on general themes and avoid getting bogged down in hundreds of pages of transcripts. So there wouldn't be transcripts to provide. There would be audio/video recordings for them to review – see point (b)3 – and we will be looking for general themes rather than transcribing verbatim. Where a story is attributed to a particular interviewee this will be checked with them.
Also, should there be two hui? The first to present local findings, perhaps as a focus group before being compared nationally.	This is a good suggestion. Will add a second hui into the process so there is local feedback of initial findings as a group to check/affirm the local stories before taking them out of the rohe.
5.j. This is not an ethical issue, but would it not be better to attribute comments and stories to give a better context. I really like Rachael Selby's book "Still being punished". It identifies the respondents, makes it more personal, gives greater mana to the participants and provides the reader with the opportunity to give weight to what they read. Or, are you expecting negative comments to come out that would be embarrassing. It may be something you want to do at a later date. Ie. Take specific stories and publish them with the participants as authors.	We will ask participants if they are willing to be identified and/or have their names attributed to their stories in published material. This would add a lot of life to the research findings but needs to be done with care and sensitivity.
Participant information sheet. There should be an explicit statement there that they can withdraw at anytime without any disadvantage to themselves.	Done.
Consent form Add to second box I understand my participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw from this project at any time before the final analysis of data without providing reasons, without any disadvantage. If I withdraw I understand that the data that I have provided will be destroyed and/or returned to me if I request it at the time of withdrawal.	Done.

APPENDIX D. Ethics Committee Members

KIM WORKMAN

Of Ngati Kahungunu ki Wairarapa, and Rangitaane descent, Kim started his public service career as a police officer in 1959. Eight of those years were spent in the Youth Aid Section, working with young offenders. In 1974 he received a Churchill Fellowship to study at the Delinquency Control Institute, University of Southern California. He rose to the rank of Senior Sergeant, and in 1976 left the Police to take a position as senior investigating officer in the Office of the Ombudsman.

For the next seven years he was responsible for investigating complaints from prisoners and psychiatric patients and complaints against the Police. In 1983, Kim was appointed as a Manager in the State Services Commission, and in 1986 became the District Manager, Department of Mäori Affairs, Rotorua.

In 1989, after a short stint as Deputy Secretary, Māori Affairs , Auckland Region, Kim was appointed as an Assistant Secretary (Penal Institutions) Department of Justice. He oversaw a major reform of the prison service, and in 1992 received a Senior Executive Scholarship from the State Services Commission to attend the Graduate Business School, Stanford University.

Kim was appointed as Deputy Secretary (Māori Health), Ministry of Health in 1993. He retired in 1996, to establish his own consultancy business, specialising in public policy advice, Mäori and indigenous development, and organisational development and change. He has a BA (Sociology) degree from Massey University.

In 1995, Kim joined the Board of Prison Fellowship New Zealand. And in 2000, was appointed to the position of National Director, Prison Fellowship. Prison Fellowship New Zealand has become a significant provider in the criminal justice sector/social services sectors, providing services at the faith-based unit, Rimutaka Prison, in after-care prisoner services (Operation Jericho), and in the delivery of in-prison victim-offender reconciliation services.

In 2003, Kim was awarded a second Churchill Fellowship, to study offender re-integration in Detroit, USA. In 2005, Kim was the joint recipient (with Jackie Katounas) of the International Prize for Restorative Justice. The award was created to honour a person or organisation responsible for significantly advancing restorative justice around the world. In 2006 Kim joined with Major Campbell Roberts of the Salvation Army, to launch the "Rethinking Crime and Punishment" Strategy. In 2007, Kim was made a Companion of the Queens Service Order

Kim is a Board member at Taita College, and a member of the Families Commission Whānau Reference Group.

SHANE WALKER

Position: Coordinator BSCW Programme, Social Work & Community Development, University of Otago

Teaching Areas: Fields of Practice (SOWK114, SOWX114); The Treaty and Social Services (SOWK236, SOWX236); Iwi and Social Service Practice (SOWK319, SOWX319)

Research Interests: Māori social services development; alternative care; social service agencies. Care and protection.

Select Publications:

Refereed Journal Articles (in date order preferably with the most recent first)
Walker, S., Eketone, A., Gibbs, A., (2006) An exploration of kaupapa Māori research, its principles, processes and applications *Int. J. Social Research Methodology Vol. 9, No. 4, October 2006, pp. 331–344*

Walker S (2002) *Mātua Whangai O Otepoti*. In ***Te Komako*** New Zealand Association of SocialWorkers Social Work Review.

Book Chapters
Goodyear C and **Walker S** (2000). 'Reflections on working on developing cross-cultural networks'. In Mandell, M (ed) *Getting results though collaboration: Networks and network structures for public policy and management*: Quorum Books, Westport, Connecticut,pp.249-255

Refereed Conference Proceedings
Walker, S., Walker, P., Eketone, A. (2006) *We can be equal as long as you'll be like me: Theory into Practice: biculturalism and social work practice (in a multicultural context)?* Conference proceedings, 33rd World Congress of the International Association of Schools of Social Work (IASSW)

Shannon P and **Walker S**, (1996). 'The New Zealand Children Young Persons and their Families Act, 1989; The need for structural change' in Taylor N and Smith A (eds), *Investing in Children.* Dunedin: Children's Issues Centre. pp.183-209

ANARU EKETONE

Position: Senior Lecturer, Social Work and Community Development, University of Otago

Teaching Areas: Fields of Practice (SOWK114, SOWX114); The Treaty and Social Services (SOWK236, SOWX236); Iwi and Social Service Practice (SOWK319, SOWX319)

Research Interests: Māori social services development

Select Publications:

Refereed Journal Articles

Walker, S., **Eketone, A**., Gibbs, A., (2006) An exploration of kaupapa Māori research, its principles, processes and applications *Int. J. Social Research Methodology Vol. 9, No. 4, October 2006, pp 331–344*

Eketone A. (2006) *Tapuwae: a vehicle for community change* Community Development Journal 2006; Oxford University Press, doi: 10.1093/cdj/bsl028

Eketone, A. (2002) Te Waka Tangata: Using Waka as a Model for the Structures of Māori Organisations. *Te Komako Social Work Review,* Vol. XIV No. 2, Winter 2002, pp 14-16.

Book Chapters

Eketone, A. & Shannon, P.T. (2006) Community Development: strategies for inclusion in a sustainable Aotearoa, in *Living Together: Towards planning for better communities in New Zealand*, Freeman, C & Thompson-Fawcett M.(eds), University of Otago Press.

Eketone, A., Rutledge, R., Shannon, P., (2006) Community Development in Aotearoa/ New Zealand, *New Community Quarterly NCQ vol 4 no 1 – Autumn 2006 pp 43-46*

Significant Conference Involvement

Eketone, A. (2002) Strengthening community action in Māori communities. Public Health Association conference 2002

Walker, S., Walker, P., **Eketone, A.** (2006) We can be equal as long as you'll be like me: Theory into Practice: biculturalism and social work practice (in a multicultural context)? Conference proceedings, 33rd World Congress of the International Association of Schools of Social Work (IASSW)

Walker, S., **Eketone, A**. (2004) E raka te maui, e raka te katau (he tangata ano ma te maui, he tangata ano ma te katau): 'The right hand is adept, the left hand is skilful (some people attend to the left some people attend to the right).' He Tirohanga Karearea: Māori Research Conference, Eastern Institute of Technology, Napier. 2004.

DR FIONA TE MOMO

Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Konohi, Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Kahungunu

DPhil, MMPD (Hons), BA, Certificate in Māori

Position: Lecturer, School of Social and Cultural Studies, Massey University

Dr Fiona Te Momo lectures in Massey University Albany Campus, Auckland. An expert in Māori Volunteerism, Community Development, and Development Studies she previously served on local and national boards representing social, political, and economic interest that support the development of Māori communities.

Her past research experience covered a range of areas such as Māori approaches to marine management systems, Māori student retention and recruitment at university, Mäori Marine Management Systems, Mäori Voluntary Organisations, Sustainable Development, Mäori Economic Development, Capacity Building on marae, Mäori Land Incorporated Blocks, State Owned Enterprises and Hydro Dams, Mäori Research and Development, Critical Theory and Mäori, and the Māori Third Way.

Currently she contributes to a project team researching the social, cultural and religious/spiritual dimensions of biotechnology for Mäori.

Research Bibliography (Major Publications)

Te Momo, F. (2002). Empowerment: Finding voices and strategies to combat globalization. *An International Forum, CDJ/International Association for Community Development: Special Issue,37*(4), 361-374.

Te Momo, F. (2002). Stories from the field: Developing practical research methods in Māori communities. In Institute of Development Studies (Ed.), *DevNet Conference 2002, Contesting Development: Pathways to better practise*. Palmerston North: Massey University.

Te Momo, F. (2001). Māori voluntary work in a development of Māori community. *Te Taarere o Tawhaki: Journal of the WaikatoUniversityCollege,* 1, 157-160.

Te Momo, F. (1998).Tairawhiti community and volunteers. In Ministry of Social Policy (Ed.), *Report of the community and voluntary sector working party* (pp. 343-353). Wellington: Ministry of Social Policy.

TUI WARMENHOVEN

Ngati Rangi, Ngati Horowai, Te Whānau a Ruataupare ki Tokomaru

Tui is manager and co-researcher of He Oranga Trust. Tui is a trained lawyer with an employment background in government, educational and tribal organisations. She has practised as a Solicitor and worked as a Policy Analyst, Researcher, Tutor and Bi-Cultural Advisor. Her field of interest or expertise is models for sustainability in land use and community development with particular interest in waterways, fisheries, environmental restoration and Māori knowledge (customary and contemporary).

From 1997-1999, Tui was appointed the Secretary of the Māori Purposes Fund Board where she worked briefly with the five Māori electorate Members of Parliament. She is presently on the national Māori advisory board to the CEO of the Department of Corrections, and is a trustee of Porou Ariki Trust, Ngati Porou's Fisheries Board.

Tui has participated in multiple international forums and conferences on *Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (2006 Porto Alegre, Brazil)*, the *Global Consultation for Indigenous Peoples on the Right to Food, Food Security and Food Sovereignty (2006 Porto Cabezas Nicaragua)* and the *International Experts Seminar on Indicators Relevant to Indigenous Peoples, the Convention on Biological Diversity and the Millennium Development Goals (2007 Banaue Philippines).* Her tasks involved panel presentation; co-moderating, co-drafting and submitting statements and recommendations from working groups on Women, Gender and Youth; press statements and delivery of the political statement of the forum to ICARRD, working groups on Traditional Knowledge Innovations and Practices and the Pacific Regional Group. She was also selected to co-draft the final report for the Food Sovereignty meeting and is now a member of the "Indigenous Peoples' Alliance for Food Sovereignty". Tui was sponsored by the UN FAO the IITC, IIFB, Tebtebba and FAIRA Foundations to participate at these forums.

Tui is mother to three: Te Rangimarie, Tia Aroha and Manaaki.

LLOYD MARTIN

Lloyd and Anthea live in Porirua, where they have worked alongside young people for 25 years.

Lloyd currently works as the coordinator of Praxis, a network of practitioners in youth and community work who provide training and support for the sector.

Lloyd writes on youth work and provides training and support to a wide range of organisations in New Zealand, Australia and the Pacific Islands. He is the author of 'Real Work' a two year national study completed in 2006 on the state of youth work in Aotearoa.