MARAE PARTICIPATION AS A "SPRINGBOARD" FOR ORANGA; "IT'S GOOD FOR ME AND GOOD FOR THE WHĀNAU"

Authors:

(a) Kiri Frances Parata

BA – Massey University

Atiawa ki Whakarongotai, Ngāti Toa Rangatira, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Ruanui

kiri.parata@xtra.co.nz

(b) Dr Heather Gifford

MPH – Otago University PhD – Massey University

Senior Advisor Business and Research, Whakauae Research Services, Whanganui

Ngāti Hauiti, Te Atihaunui a Paparangi

MARAE PARTICIPATION AS A "SPRINGBOARD" FOR ORANGA; IT'S GOOD FOR ME AND GOOD FOR THE WHĀNAU

Abstract

Introduction

Atiawa ki Whakarongotai instigated qualitative research to better understand the notions of iwi connectedness and the link with oranga. The research examined how connectedness is understood by iwi members and defined implications of connectedness on oranga.

Methods

Thirty iwi members were interviewed during 2015 using a semi-structured interview guide to answer questions on participation in iwi development, barriers and enablers to participation, and advantages and disadvantages of participation. Thematic analysis was used to translate the key issues and themes from the research data.

Results

Research participants described ahi kā roles in three broad ways; intergenerational, assimilated and multifunctional. Passion and commitment to ahi kā roles was clearly demonstrated and resulted in enhanced wellbeing.

Conclusion

The study confirmed previous research findings demonstrating a positive association between cultural attachment and wellbeing and has also signalled priorities for future iwi based research; namely the further development and implementation of iwi based wellbeing indicators.

Key words

oranga, connectedness, wellbeing, participation, marae, iwi

Introduction

The iwi of Atiawa ki Whakarongotai, in this study represented by members of Atiawa ki Whakarongotai Charitable Trust (the Trust), define oranga as an individual or whānau experiencing full and complete wellness encompassing the physical, emotional and spiritual elements being in balance. The Māori perspective of health has been widely accepted and described as a four-sided concept. 'Te taha tinana' focuses on care and treatment of the body. 'Te taha hinengaro' encompasses styles of thinking and the way in which emotion is expressed. 'Te taha whānau' denotes an extended kinship system and 'Te taha wairua' includes spiritual beliefs and practices (Durie, 1985; Durie, 1998, Durie, 2001).

Within te ao Māori many believe that knowing your place in the world, being familiar with your whakapapa, participating in activities at an iwi or hapū level and being able to converse in te reo Māori are all advantageous to your overall oranga. A review of the literature confirms that terms like 'cultural identity' are critical to one's wellbeing (Durie 1998 & 2011; Jansen 2011; Kara, Gibbons, Kidd, Blundell, Turner & Johnstone 2011; Stevenson 2001). Cultural identity is often reinforced through participation in iwi affairs; Nikora and others discuss connectedness diminishing when being 'Māori' is not part of our everyday lives, (Nikora, Te Awekotuku, & Tamanui 2013).

While the literature describes connectedness or cultural identity as strengthening oranga, the Trust are also aware from their own anecdotal evidence that being connected with your marae and being strongly connected with iwi development may have negative impacts on oranga due to intensive time commitments, stress associated with high demands, and the resulting impacts on wider whānau members, especially for whānau with tamariki or

mokopuna. The Trust believes that as iwi leaders, they have a commitment to tautoko the wellbeing of iwi members who are participating in iwi development, at an individual and whānau level. Their role as iwi leaders includes supporting iwi members to be resilient, healthy, economically independent and actively engaged in life's opportunities including participating in marae and iwi activities. Atiawa ki Whakarongotai, based around the Waikanae rohe of the Kapiti Coast, rely heavily on their ahi kā. Ahi kā are present to awhi manuhiri, work the marae kitchen, grounds, urupā, as well as take up the important roles of kaikaranga, kaikōrero and kaiwaiata. Their role extends outside of marae grounds to act as kaitiaki to the whenua, awa and moana. With a registered iwi database of just over 620 members, of which approximately 460 are adults over 18 years of age, the various roles performed by their ahi kā are paramount to this iwi upholding its mana. At a strategic and governance level the iwi need to support their skilled whānau who lead their people. All these roles are important but sadly, as iwi, they sometimes witness their whānaunga being "burnt out" and needing to take temporary leave from marae and iwi activities.

With this challenge in mind they undertook research to better understand the notions of connectedness. The aims of the research were to a) examine how the notion of connectedness is understood by iwi members, b) define what the implications of connectedness or lack of connectedness are on oranga and c) define strategies that will enhance both connectedness and oranga simultaneously and into the future.

Research design and methods

The qualitative research, conducted over one year from 2014 - 2015, was initiated by the Trust and conducted by iwi members using independent expertise and academic support from an external Māori research group, Whakauae Research Services. The researchers

worked in close partnership with the Trustees consulting and gaining input on each stage of the research. The study adopted a kaupapa Māori approach, meaning the focus was Māori and the research methods and practices employed took full cognisance of local tikanga. Specific iwi knowledge was utilised to inform the research. Kaupapa tuku iho, the inherited values and principles for living as expressed by Te Wānanga o Raukawa, of which Atiawa ki Whakarongotai is closely affiliated, were used to guide the research. These principles are: Manaakitanga, Rangatiratanga, Whanaungatanga, Kotahitanga, Wairuatanga, Ūkaipōtanga, Pūkengatanga, Kaitiakitanga, Whakapapa and Te Reo (Winiata 2008).

We used a purposive sampling approach (Jupp 2006) to recruit to the study. An email was sent to all iwi members on the Trust data base advising of the project and seeking interest in the research and followed up by a kanohi ki te kanohi presentation at the marae. There was strong interest in the study with all those that were contacted agreeing to participate. As recruitment proceeded, we used purposive selection to promote diversity and ensure participants varied by age, gender, geographic location, and whakapapa lines. The majority of the study's participants were in paid employment including a large number of whānau working in management positions (8), a student, three whānau employed in the education sector, a caregiver, a research consultant, a policy analyst and a number of retired whānau (8). At least four participants worked in administration roles. Two participants were unemployed at the time. Twenty-five participants were living with whānau, one with friends and four lived independently. A table of participant characteristics is inserted below (Table One).

Participant	Gender	Age	Place of residence
01	Female	20 – 35 years	Australia or Regional NZ

5

02	Female	51+ years	Australia or Regional NZ
03	Male	51+ years	Australia or Regional NZ
04	Female	20 – 35 years	Australia or Regional NZ
05	Female	36 – 50 years	Wellington Region or within one hour of Waikanae
06	Female	51+ years	Kapiti Rohe
07	Male	51+ years	Kapiti Rohe
08	Male	51+ years	Kapiti Rohe
09	Male	51+ years	Kapiti Rohe
10	Female	20 – 35 years	Kapiti Rohe
11	Male	36 – 50 years	Wellington Region or within one hour of Waikanae
12	Male	36 – 50 years	Kapiti Rohe
13	Female	51+ years	Kapiti Rohe
14	Female	51+ years	Kapiti Rohe
15	Female	51+ years	Kapiti Rohe
16	Male	36 – 50 years	Australia or Regional NZ
17	Female	36 – 50 years	Kapiti Rohe
18	Male	36 – 50 years	Kapiti Rohe
19	Female	36 – 50 years	Wellington Region or within one hour of Waikanae
20	Male	51+ years	Kapiti Rohe
21	Female	20 – 35 years	Wellington Region or within one hour of Waikanae
22	Male	51+ years	Kapiti Rohe
23	Male	51+ years	Kapiti Rohe
24	Female	36 – 50 years	Kapiti Rohe
25	Male	36 – 50 years	Australia or Regional NZ
26	Male	36 – 50 years	Australia or Regional NZ

27	Female	51+ years	Australia or Regional NZ
28	Female	36 – 50 years	Kapiti Rohe
29	Female	36 – 50 years	Kapiti Rohe
30	Female	51+ years	Wellington Region or within one hour of Waikanae

Table One: Participant Characteristics

* where we have quoted different participants from the same age range they are referred to as M(a), 51+ years; M(b), 51+ years; M(c), 51+ years to differentiate them from each other.

Thirty participants were interviewed using a semi-structured interview guide to explore how iwi members were currently participating in iwi development, how participation had changed over time, barriers and enablers to participation, the advantages and disadvantages of participation, how participation impacted (both positively and negatively) on wider whānau, and strategies that could be put in place to ensure participation enhances oranga into the future. A copy of the interview guide is included as a supplementary file. Interviews were carried out by Māori interviewers between February and June 2015 and took between 30 and 90 minutes with the average length of interview being 55 minutes. With participants' permission, each interview was audio recorded and then transcribed verbatim. Ethics approval was obtained from the New Zealand Health and Disability Ethics Committee, Southern Committee, which undertook a full review of the proposed research (approval reference No 14/STH/163).

The research team used a thematic approach to translate the key issues and themes from the research data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Analysis of qualitative data involved searching for themes or patterns across all interviewees in relation to their perceived notions of iwi connectedness and its impact on one's oranga. The research team carried out the analysis in three stages; 1) initially the Principal Investigator undertook intensive review of each interview transcript and reviewed themes emerging from the data; 2) these initial themes were then discussed with other members of the research team and the external academic advisor (who had reviewed a selection of the transcripts independently); 3) finally the themes were discussed with the Trustees and an explanation was provided about how these themes were arrived at from the data using illustrative quotes. The themes reported below reflect a consensus reached by the authors. We make extensive use of participants' own comments, and signal each participant's gender (F-female, M-male), and age group.

Results

Significance of Whakarongotai

For most participants in the study (95 percent), Whakarongotai Marae in Waikanae was recognised as their marae matua, their main marae despite some of the people having a connection to many iwi and marae; "my tino marae, closest to my heart would have to be Whakarongotai, here in Waikanae." (F(a), 20-35 years). "Well I affiliate with others [iwi and marae] but I don't consider them mine in the same way that I consider Whakarongotai." (M(a), 51+ years).

Ahi kā

Levels of participation varied greatly, however for ahi kā participants in the research the majority are actively involved on a daily or weekly basis in some type of iwi or marae

activity. These roles included maintenance and upkeep of marae and two whānau urupā, the bookings for use of facilities, fundraising activities, maintenance of whānau taonga, communications with whānau and iwi about events, hui and tangihanga. Outside of the marae a large number of the iwi ahi kā are engaged in supporting wider community developments and ensuring mana whenua interests and whenua are protected. These roles include significant engagement with various transport and land agencies as a large motorway is being developed passing through the rohe and conservation matters relating to whenua, awa and marine and birdlife with Kapiti Island Nature Reserve lying just off of the Kapiti coastline.

Participants engaged in iwi and marae activities do so willingly and with passion and commitment. Apart from only one or two in paid administrative positions for the iwi, most other mahi is done on a voluntary capacity; "…we're all volunteers we're coming in the gate because we love this place." (F(a), 51+ years). Those involved also encouraged wider whānau members to contribute to ahi kā;

> …our whānau are heavily involved, very active, and that's the thing, when I was employed, I don't think it was just about employing me, they know I come with strings attached, which is parents and siblings and nieces and nephews who will all roll their sleeves up and help out when duty calls. (F(a), 20-35 years).

One participant spoke about the importance of the work from a collective perspective; "……and I think that the benefits for all of us as a collective is a really important thing because the opportunity for growth is significant." (M(a), 51+ years).

Maintaining ahi kā requires a significant range of skills and knowledge. Participants identified roles such as gathering kai, preparing the marae and wharenui for hui, maintaining grounds and urupā, and having a commitment to te reo Māori in order to maintain kaikaranga, kaikōrero and kaiwaiata roles within the iwi. Some also described governance roles including kaitiaki roles maintaining healthy waterways and acting as conservationists within the rohe;

> …the roles that our siblings and our parents take are varied….looking after the urupā, kai ringawera, gatherers of kai for particular hui as well as governance…there have been quite a few of us that have spent time in governance aspects of our iwi, whether it through fisheries or health or business opportunities. (F(a), 20-35 years).

Members of a whānau take on varied roles depending on skills and knowledge;

> I suppose Dad and I are kind of good administrators and we've stepped into governance roles and represented iwi on various boards, brother is great with te reo and whakapapa and holds the role within our whānau of maintaining and sharing those matters, Aunty is on the ground at Whakarongotai maintaining ahi kā for our whānau, doing the karanga... (F(a), 36-50 years).

This participant is describing utilising his specific business skills to support whānau to achieve best returns for leases on Māori freehold land;

Working out how to do that in a way which is meaningful, and what I mean by meaningful, cognisant of the people involved, the history that's gone before, the delicate nature of negotiation which is beneficial for us now so that we can be worthwhile in the future. (M(a), 51+ years) .

For some whānau the particular roles they play, associated with marae life and tikanga are inter-generational;

We had to work in the kitchen with Nan, but also I remember walking down to Waikanae River, with my cousins and whoever else was there, and if it was a tangihanga, the whānau that had come with the tūpāpaku and the kids we'd take the kids down with us, we'd always manaaki those kids ….(F(b), 36-50 years).

Another participant described being encouraged and groomed for the paepae by his Uncle when he was a teenager;

….. so Uncle (name) would, not always, but often say, "here boy it's your turn, you stand here and you mihi to the people", or, "you close us off", or "here do you want to stand up and say something?" …….certainly between the ages of fifteen and seventeen I was being tested, my confidence was being tested and starting to carry a particular role potentially. (M(a), 36-50 years).

Passing on the values associated with ahi kā was an important part of parenting and being parented;

I suppose Mum and Dad's involvement with the marae, they raised us that that's an important connection to have, that the marae is only as strong as the people who look after it…….. there is a sense of responsibility… part of it is also because of my interest in whānau, I suppose you could say, whānau, hapū, iwi development. Part of it is also to ensure that my kids have that connection, that their connection with Whakarongotai is strong. (M(b), 36-50 years).

For the majority of ahi kā that participated in the study, being actively engaged was described as part of their everyday life and something that cannot be separated from other things they do; "I think living nearby, it's there all the time you know. And I think we're more the richer for it." (M(b), 51+ years). "As a kid, marae life was intertwined with my childhood and our everyday life, even now really, still the same. Love it, love it!" (F(b), 36-50 years).

Participation for those living outside the rohe

There was a sense that whānau are committed to the marae despite living afar. A number of participants spoke of feelings of warmth and connectedness and shared memories of growing up being closely engaged in marae life;

We were brought up in the Kāpiti area, and Whakarongotai was sort of like just part of who we were as a whānau, it was just there, any gathering we were there, and as a child you don't think anything other than it's there and you just go there. You don't think that it's a building, it's part of who you are. (F(b), 51+ years).

Another whānau member spoke of "being grounded" by early connection with the marae and the impact on her identity throughout her lifetime;

> …for that short time I had at home, the depth of those memories and the effect
> it has in life, you know it's forever, and yet you spend the majority of your time
> away but that grounding and that time and those memories and just everything
> that makes you who you are just stays with you. (F(c), 36-50 years).

Feelings of reconnection to the marae were expressed by many who live away from the rohe. Connectivity was maintained through technology advances whereby email pānui are shared regularly with people on the iwi database. Social media activity and sharing of photographs and events are more far reaching than ever before;

> Yeah, yeah that's been fantastic (social media). It sort of reconnected me in a
> lot of ways. And just knowing so many things, and you know you might think
> the house is just standing there all alone, and nothing's happening, and there's
> been a lot of stuff that's gone on. (F(b), 51+ years).

Connection through email is described by one participant as "really good" however she seemed to be unsure whether to describe this as participation;

> [it's good] just to know what's happening really with the distance thing with
> us now living in Australia I do get the email updates from the office which is
> really good because you know it keeps us updated and lets us know what's
> happening and actually I only read one this morning that come through so yeah

… if you call it participation. (F(b), 20-35 years).

Another participant talked about living away and therefore iwi issues are not forefront in her thinking, however the regular emails and whānau updates do help;

…. every time an email would come in I would go back there [in my mind] so I think that yes that's one way of staying connected is just by getting the emails because you're thinking about it…. and also I mean Mum quite often fills me in on different things that are happening down there... (F(c), 51+ years).

Changes in participation over time

Kaumātua and some whānau in governance roles described the changing pattern of participation as the iwi is called upon increasingly to be involved in matters relating to the management of waterways, land developments, rangatahi educational attainment, and wider health and social areas including Waikanae community development. The following participant outlines the challenges of iwi participation in matters of central or local government and broader community consultation;

…well increasingly our iwi is asked to comment or be involved in a range of activities from outside organisations. Some of the requests are relevant to our core business so where we can, we engage. Some of the requests from government and non-government agencies feel more like they are ticking a box regarding consultation with iwi. These might be pieces of work where we choose not to put our energies. We are small, our capacity is limited and while we love to help and support, it's challenging on our people, our Trustees and

kaumātua are all volunteers and if we call upon other iwi members, there's often a financial cost to participation… you know petrol to get to meetings, rescheduling other commitments to enable participation. I'm not sure if people in paid positions understand that we are not resourced to fully engage in the way they would like to see us doing. (F(a), 20-35 years).

While the above participant outlined the challenges of iwi consultation with communities the following participant cautioned that broader iwi involvement in decision making was critical to exercising kaitiakitanga;

We need to be involved, these guys [local and central government] are making decisions that directly impact our whānau. As custodians of the whenua and as we exercise our role of kaitiaki, we are willing to engage. We want councils to better understand our needs and our priorities and give us the space to self determine our own pathways. (M(a), 36-50 years).

One participant describes his role changing as he matured and graduated from kai ringawera to his involvement in governance positions;

Right from that age [teenage years] basically, all of us, we've all been drafted into that kind of role to either help out at the back, in the kitchen, at the sink or whatever, so I think that probably at that age I became involved, and then it's not until I got to my mid-twenties that I started to have a formal role in governance type or higher level engagement and representation on bodies until now, and I'm nearly forty. (M(a), 36-50 years).

Having the support and backing of the older generation was noted as the same participant went on to say; "… it was those guys [the supportive uncles] that recognised the need for succession and to build and support the young ones to kind of take a responsibility or just build their confidence in being able to speak on the marae". (M(a), 36-50 years).

Participation can change over time depending on where people are living and what other events and priorities are taking place in their lives. The following participant spoke about competing priorities (in this case tamariki) when it came to involvement at the marae;

> …we had three [children] under five and I think that's probably a really good point to make, cause I feel, we are blessed with an abundance of talent in terms of being able to assist [at the marae], but you only have so much time. And also, the kids are young for such a short amount of time and while you'd like to kind of be a bit more involved, sometimes it's not just, it's an hour up the road, it's not just next door, so you, you've got school sport, we're involved in the kura, quite heavily involved in the kura. (F(a), 36-50 years).

For one participant they chose to reorder priorities in their life to enable participation moving to part time work; "I started working part-time twenty hours a week so that freed up my time to be able to tautoko and support different events and hui and gatherings at the marae." (F(a), 20-35 years).

Motivators and barriers for participation

16

As previously described, one of the key motivators for participation has been a sense of responsibility and a commitment to fulfil the wishes of their tīpuna;

> I felt like I was doing what my granduncles and aunts, grandmother and great grandmother and great-great grandmother might have done before, so a sense that I was building on that knowledge and I had my tamariki running around, so they were learning too. (F(a), 36-50 years).

Others talked about a responsibility to the collective of iwi members;

> I think we have a responsibility for our people, I think we've got a responsibility to make sure that they're looked after, you can talk about deed and constitution but actually when it comes to down to it, it's a passion for your whānau… (F(d), 36-50 years).

Living close to the marae is viewed as a great enabler for participation and a contributor to wellbeing;

> …so yes for me being involved, living locally does contribute to my wellbeing but also knowing that my whānau or my kids at least know that Whakarongotai is their marae. Te Ati Awa's their iwi, this also contributes to our whānau wellbeing. (M(d), 36-50 years).

Having a background in te reo and tikanga and working in Māori organisations assists with participation;

........growing up going through bilingual [education], working for iwi and Māori organisations and having that schooling and the education around tikanga and Raukawatanga at Ōtaki, but it's definitely been a strong flavour in my working life and so it was probably always going to happen, and I do feel a bit of responsibility to it as well. (F(a), 20-35 years).

Distance from marae was seen as the major barrier for participation and the loss was keenly felt by one participant;

On a personal level it's heart breaking because I can't be there when I want to be there, I can't feel or maintain the close connections that I know are really important for me personally but for my family as well. (M(a), 36-50 years).

Even those living within an hours drive felt distance was a barrier when combined with competing priorities;

It is a challenge, although I'm only a forty minute drive away from Waikanae, it's always been a challenge [not living locally], primarily because I'm juggling whānau commitments, my immediate whānau commitments, and work commitments. And there's other iwi commitments which I'm a part of, which are not necessarily directly related to Whakarongotai… (M(d), 36-50 years).

Having commitments to kura and communities outside of Kapiti meant that the connection to Whakarongotai was not as strong;

...at the moment my kids are entrenched in the community here, and that's

starting to form a part of their identity, and at some point in time, in the near future, I want my kids to be able to be immersed in that community at home, in Waikanae. Although the kind of intermittent visits back home to visit friends and family does reinforce that sense of identity back there, there's nothing like being immersed in that community to have influence by all of your uncles and aunties. (M(a), 36-50 years).

Participation on marae and its impact on oranga

Participating at Whakarongotai was described as a positive experience for all participants. Those with ahi kā roles and who are actively engaged in iwi and marae life said it supports their wellbeing. The terms oranga and hauora are used interchangeably in the following section; hauora being the term more commonly used by participants to refer to health and wellbeing. The following participant clearly links cultural connectedness with oranga;

> ... the key thing for me in terms of our hauora is that my kids understand their identity, their connection with people, their connection with place and their connection with the responsibility that will at some point will be passed on to them. (M(a), 36-50 years).

Many participants were able to explain what oranga means to them and their whānau and shared that participating in marae and iwi life has a positive impact on oranga;

> The positives are just knowing where you're from… I'll describe how I felt last weekend just being at Whakarongotai, at my marae, hosting people who had come from away but had a connection there. Honestly just feeling so at home, I remember hanging the tea towels out and thinking there is no place I need to be right now, except for right here! Which is sometimes a feeling you get at a tangi, you know when you're really, really busy in your life and you

go to a tangi and it's like the only place I need to be is right here right now. It's the same feeling you might get when you've got a new born baby, you know like, nothing else matters. (F(a), 36-50 years).

One participant spoke of spiritual and cultural competence gained from participation as complementing other knowledge;

As a Māori person your education and qualifications are only going to take you so far, there's a spiritual and cultural level of competence that you need to be able to participate fully, and I'm still acquiring that confidence and that knowledge. (F(a), 36-50 years).

Many are actively engaging to provide their tamariki with a sense of belonging, with a sense of whānau; "I want them [our children] to have memories like I did, I want them to have first cousins as their best friends like I did." (F(b), 36-50 years). This same participant identifies the importance of marae as a place of nurturing and being "at home"; "I make sure it's part of my children's life as well. I love seeing these kids in the kitchen, doing cups of teas, ringing the bell and setting the tables, you know, they're at home." (F(b), 36-50 years).

Wellbeing or oranga was clearly aligned with a sense of whānau or whanaungatanga; this was strengthened through marae participation;

Oh look the great side of being engaged is the whanaungatanga, makes you feel awesome, that self-identity, to be a part of something bigger than just me,

and being with your whānau, your beautiful whānau, and you know we're all different, and you really get the best taste of that at a tangihanga, as sad as it might be, the beautiful whanaungatanga and manaakitanga experiences that come out of that are often really filling. (F(a), 20-35 years).

Roles and responsibilities assigned to a person as part of their ahi kā duties clearly aligns to a sense of wellbeing;

I feel really good after that (doing karanga) and I actually sort of, usually if I know I've got it coming up I'll put myself into a kind of um a space where I haven't got, I don't eat, and I focus, and I do my karakia, and I'm in that zone for the morning beforehand, and then when I do my karanga I feel really, really connected to my Nana, yeah to the tīpuna to the marae, to our culture and to the kaupapa,…… that brings a great feeling for my hauora. I feel a real privilege to be able to do that. (F(a), 20-35 years).

Many of the participants spent significant amounts of time at the marae and duties were often very tiring however for this participant the feelings of connectedness far outweigh any immediate physical side effects of participation; "In terms of hauora I came away from last weekend tired, absolutely exhausted, very long days, but feeling that I reaffirmed my place within our family". (F(a), 36-50 years).

Participants were aware of tensions and negativity associated with being at the marae or participating in iwi events however any negative impacts were again outweighed by feelings

of personal satisfaction and achievement; "when I was going to hui I was feeling good even if negative things were said…walking away I felt like I'd achieved something …so involvement yes was definitely positive." (F(c), 51+ years).

One participant utilised the marae and the connection with tīpuna as part of healing and maintain oranga; "If there's a dark side coming towards me, you'll see me on that mahau really early one morning and that's when I'll be talking to aunt... I can see them [tīpuna] coming in the gate… I go there [to Whakarongotai] to keep myself safe." (M(d), 51+ years).

This participant defines the marae as a pivotal part of oranga and a critical component in collective identity and wellbeing;

> …..the marae has to be and should be a critical part to our hauora, it becomes a rallying point for various kaupapa – good and bad, well you know, preferably good, but there are always challenging kaupapa that become part of the marae, and it becomes a shared place where we can all be a part of. There are so many things that the marae can be used for…. a foundation for or a platform for us to be able to come together in a positive way to start to bridge and reconcile and springboard from, for us into the future. (M(a), 36-50 years).

Impact of participation on whānau

Surprisingly when asked about the impact of participation on wider whānau the majority felt that participation had very little negative impact; "It's good for me and my whānau,

what little I can give back to the marae is always important. I primarily focus on cultural and education initiatives, social initiatives, where I think whatever it is that I have to offer is of a positive benefit." (M(d), 36-50 years). However one participant did describe the loss of time away from his whānau;

> The negative impact on a father or a mother involved heavily in iwi life is loss of time with your own kids. I look at my son and I think where the hell have I been for the last five years of his life? Because it's taken me away from being an active father. (M(a), 36-50 years).

Having whānau support was important for this participant especially when participation can be challenging; "It can be very challenging at times and there are particular people within our iwi that make our jobs challenging.… So having that whānau support is important". (F(a), 20-35 years).

Most participants who live away from the Kapiti rohe acknowledged the importance of looking after those doing the mahi, the ahi kā. They recognised that there are time commitments associated with supporting iwi development; "ahi kā, keeping the home fires burning, it's quite relevant for me living away from home and having that disconnection from the marae, it's important to acknowledge our whānau who are at home [doing the mahi]." (F(b), 20-35 years).

Discussion

Research participants described ahi kā roles in three broad ways; intergenerational, assimilated and multifunctional. Ahi kā roles were clearly passed on from one generation to the next through role modelling and active parenting with roles being learnt from parents, grandparents, aunties and uncles. Obligations and expectations were passed down through whānau with evidence of the intergenerational transmission of values and a heightened sense of responsibility and commitment was evident in the participants. For participants in this study the roles associated with ahi kā were clearly assimilated or incorporated into everyday life becoming part of normal behaviours. Ahi kā roles can also be complex and multi-functional with one person potentially taking on multiple tasks and roles on behalf of the collective; including governance or leadership, support with operational functions associated with the marae and broader community engagement. However this is not the case for all participants; some limited their involvement to speciality areas taking on particular roles such as the maintenance of an urupā, or being a key holder for the marae, or helping out in the kitchen. Some whānau considered that as long as one or two members are able to participate they are maintaining ahi kā for the wider whānau, however utilising the support of wider whānau when required is guaranteed through the principle of whanaungatanga.

As a small iwi, participants identified a number of challenges to participation in iwi and marae activities. Currently Atiawa ki Whakarongotai are choosing to not only respond to their own developmental needs but also contribute more broadly to community development needs by working closely with local and central government and other community agencies. Decisions regarding wider participation are assessed on relevance to iwi goals and strategies and balanced with the need to participate as kaitiaki. Community wide participation places a significant demand on iwi leaders and governors both in terms of time and sundry costs associated with participation; demand is only able to be met by iwi members who have the

time, skills and resource required for participation. This is most challenging for small iwi when there is a limited pool of people to call on that have both the prerequisites for participation and are willing to undertake the variety of ahi kā roles. However the challenges of community mobilisation and participation are not limited to small iwi; keeping everyone informed, developing an agreed strategic vision and pathway, contributing to both iwi and community development, working across sectors, and undertaking the variety of ahi kā roles required to operate effectively as a contemporary collective remains problematic for many iwi. Solutions and models are constantly reviewed and debated in multiple fora around the motu; for example the Iwi Leaders Forum is currently reviewing a KPMG report Māui Rau; Adapting in a Changing World (2016); the report presents a number of issues and strategies relevant to this paper including growing whānau cultural capability and strength, leadership styles that encourage innovation and empowerment, generating energy through a shared kaupapa, maintaining an intergenerational focus and planning for wellbeing in all things. Atiawa ki Whakarongotai are clearly focused on a shared kaupapa, are planning for succession, cultural competence and wellbeing in their whānau.

Passion and commitment to ahi kā roles was clearly demonstrated by all participants involved in the study with a strong sense of responsibility to not only the iwi as a collective but also to the marae as the personification of what it means to be Atiawa ki Whakarongotai. This finding is not surprising considering the sample was focused on those who already clearly identify as Atiawa ki Whakarongotai however the strength of passion and commitment and the overwhelming positive contribution participation and connectedness to iwi plays in the lives of participants and their respective oranga was surprising. We expected to unearth some sense of negative impact due to stress associated with multiple roles and time commitments that excluded a focus on personal wellbeing. However in most

cases we found the opposite with participants not only prioritising commitment to iwi and marae activities but also gaining a significant sense of oranga or wellbeing from this involvement. Oranga was enhanced through a range of mechanisms including; whanaungatanga or connection with wider whānau members and the support and friendship associated with this connection; wairuatanga experienced through enacting roles such as kaikaranga and the sense of connection with tīpuna gained from being present at the marae; through strengthened identity as Atiawa ki Whakarongotai and the sense of belonging or "being at home" at the marae. Even those living afar are maintaining a connection and participating through social media.

Our research has confirmed previous research findings demonstrating a positive association between cultural attachment and wellbeing (Ratima, Durie & Hond, 2015, Durie, 2001, Kingi, Durie, Durie, Cunningham, Borman & Loschman, 2014). While previous research has identified *that interconnected cognitive, behavioural, social and spiritual elements are important for Māori identity* (Houkamau & Sibley, pg 10, 2010) this research has confirmed that the ability to implement these elements through the role of ahi kā further enhances oranga.

We have also confirmed that iwi outcome frameworks such as those outlined in the He Oranga Hāpori Study (Māori Economic Development Taskforce, 2010) can and should be used as a measure of community and whānau wellbeing. The He Oranga Hāpori Study, a wellbeing indicators project that was developed by a number of communities including Kapiti, defined Māori wellbeing as a state of being that is characterised by an abundant expression of kaupapa tuku iho. The values inherent in kaupapa tuku iho were used to guide the implementation of the study however more importantly participants themselves

discussed (without prompting) values behaviours and states of being that aligned closely to the values and wellbeing indicators previously developed in the He Oranga Hāpori Study. For example whakapapa was indicated by attendance at the research dissemination hui and hui a tau, the high level of volunteerism demonstrated strong manaakitanga, the ability to undertake whaikōrero, kaikaranga and waiata demonstrates preservation of te reo, communication with whānau living abroad or away from the rohe demonstrated whanaungatanga, the desire for and engagement in an ongoing oranga strategy demonstrated kotahitanga and participation in community decision making demonstrated rangatiratanga.

Wellbeing indicators are a growing area of interest for iwi research with some iwi exploring iwi specific information frameworks and wellbeing indicators (Porter & Ratima, 2014; Tiakiwai, 2016; Gifford, Mikaere, & Huwyler, 2014). In addition there is strong national interest in how as Māori we maintain control over data with the establishment in 2016 of Te Mana Raraunga, the Māori Data Sovereignty Network http://www.tmr.maori.nz/.

Conclusion

This study is an example of robust iwi based research, achieving three key outcomes; enhanced research capacity for Atiawa ki Whakarongotai; provision of research based information on which to carry out future iwi planning and has enabled iwi members to experience research positively and as active partners. The study has confirmed previous research findings demonstrating a positive association between cultural attachment and wellbeing and has also signalled priorities for future iwi based research; namely the development and implementation of iwi based wellbeing indicators and information frameworks.

Acknowledgements

Glossary

ahi kā	burning fires, home people
awa	river
awhi	embrace
Atiawa ki Whakarongotai	tribal group in Kapiti
hapū	subtribe
hauora	wellness, health
hui	gathering
iwi	tribal group
kaikaranga	female caller
kaikōrero	speaker
kai	food, meal
kai ringawera	kitchen worker
kaitiaki/kaitiakitanga	custodian, caregiver
kaiwaiata	singer/s
kanohi ki te kanohi	face to face
karakia	incantation
karanga	to call
kaumātua	elder
kaupapa	topic, issue
kaupapa Māori	Māori ideology
kaupapa tuku iho	inherited values
kotahitanga	unity
kura	school
mahau	porch, verandah
mahi	to work at
mana	prestige
manaakitanga	care and respect for others
mana whenua	jurisdiction over land
manuhiri	guest, visitor
marae	gathering place
marae matua	primary or chief meeting place
mihi	greet, thank

moana	sea, ocean
mokopuna	grandchild/ren
motu	island, country
oranga	health, wellbeing
paepae	orator's bench
pūkengatanga	knowledge
rangatahi	youth
rangatiratanga	chieftainship
raru	problem
Raukawatanga	Ngāti Raukawa ideology
rohe	region, area
tamariki	children
tangi/tangihanga	weeping, rites for the dead
taonga	treasure
tautoko	to support
te ao Māori	the Māori world
te reo Māori	the Māori language
te taha hinengaro	mental side
te taha tinana	physical side
te taha wairua	spiritual side
te taha whānau	family side
tikanga	custom, lore
tino	main
tīpuna	ancestors
tūpāpaku	deceased
ūkaipōtanga	behaviours of home and community
urupa	burial ground
wairuatanga	spirituality
whaikōrero	formal speech
whakaaro	thought, opinion
whakapapa	genealogy
Whakarongotai	principal Marae of tribal group Atiawa ki Whakarongotai
whakataukī	proverb
whānau	family

whanaunga/whanaungatanga   relative, interconnectedness

wharenui   meeting house

whenua   land

References

Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2006). *Using thematic analysis in psychology.* Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3 (2). pp. 77-101.

Durie, M. H. (1985). *A Māori perspective of health.* Social Science & Medicine, 20, 5, 483-486.

Durie, M. (2011). *Indigenous mental health 2035: future takers, future makers and transformational potential.* Australasian Psychiatry, 02/06/2011, Vol. 19, pS8-S11, 1p.

Durie, M. (2001). *Mauri Ora: The Dynamics of Māori Health*. Auckland: Oxford University Press.

Durie, M. (1998). *Whaiora: Māori health development*. Auckland: Oxford University Press. pp. 68-74.

Gifford, H., Mikaere, K., & Huwyler, G. (2014). *Te Kete Tū Ātea; An Iwi Information Framework*. Māori Association of Social Science (MASS) Conference, Massey University, Palmerston North.

Houkamau, C. Sibley, C. (2010). *The Multi-Dimensional Model of Māori Identity and Cultural Engagement.* New Zealand Journal of Psychology, Vol 39, No 1,

Jansen, P., Jansen, D. (2011). *The impact of culture on health.* Cole's Medical Practice in New Zealand. website: mcnz.org.nz.

Jupp, V. (2006). *Dictionary of Social Research Methods.* London. Sage Publications Limited.

Kara, E., Gibbons, V., Kidd, J., Blundell, R., Turner, K. & Johnstone, W. (2011). *Developing a Kaupapa Māori Framework for Whānau Ora.* AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples, 01/07/2011, Vol. 7 Issue 2, p100-110, 11p.

KPMG, (2016). *Māui Rau; Adapting in a Changing World.*
https://assets.kpmg.com/content/dam/kpmg/pdf/2016/05/KPMG-Maui-Rau-nz-v4.pdf

Kingi, TK., Durie, M., Durie, M., Cunningham, CW., Borman, B., & Ellison-Loschmann, E. (2014). *Te Puawaitanga o ngā Whānau – Six Markers of Flourishing Whānau (A Discussion Document).* Wellington: Office of the AVC Maori, Massey University.

āori Economic Development Taskforce. (2010). *He ōranga hāpori: A model for raising Māori community wellbeing.* Wellington, New Zealand.

Nikora, L., Te Awekotuku, N., & Tamanui, V. (2013). *Home and the Spirit in the Māori World.* Paper presented at the He Manawa Whenua Conference, University of Waikato, Hamilton.

Porter, J., Ratima, M. (2014) *Ngāi Tai Vitality*, MAI Journal Vol 3, Issue 3.

Ratima, M., Durie, M., & Hond, R. (2015) Maori Health Promotion. In L Signal, & M Ratima, (Eds.) Promoting Health in Aotearoa New Zealand, (42-63). Otago University Press. Dunedin, New Zealand.

Stevenson, B. (2001). *The relationship between Māori cultural identity and health.* Website: http://hdl.handle.net/10179/967.

Tiakiwai, S. (2016). *Whakatupuranga 2050 and the challenge in evaluating tribal aspirations*. Keynote Address ANZEA Conference, July 2016, Wellington. http://www.anzea.org.nz/anzea-conferences/anzea-conference-2016/conference-2016-keynotes/

Winiata, W. (2008). *Guiding Kaupapa of Te Wānanga o Raukawa*. Otaki. Te Wānanga o Raukawa.