

**He Mokopuna He Tupuna:
Investigating Māori Views of Childrearing Amongst Iwi
in Taranaki.**

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Ngā Mihi

Ko te tuatahi, he mihi aroha ki a koutou ngā kaikōrero, ngā kaitautoko i te kaupapa whakahirahira nei. Nā tō koutou tautoko mai, i rere pai tēnei mahi rangahau, nā reira tēna koutou.

Ki te roopu o Lottery Community Sector Research, nā koutou i homai te pūtea taunaki kia tūtuki pai ngā wawata o Tu Tama Wahine o Taranaki kia whakatū ai i tēnei mahi rangahau. Tēna koutou.

Ka huri ki ōu tātou mātua tupuna i manaaki, i tiaki i ngā whakatipuranga, i ngā mokopuna o te maunga tītohea. He mihi mutunga kore tēnei ki a koutou.

Nō reira, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā tātou katoa.

This research ‘He Mokopuna, he tupuna’ has been undertaken with the support of a range of people and whānau who have shared enthusiastically and freely of their time, knowledge and reflections on childrearing and related tikanga within Taranaki. It is grounded upon both the knowledge and inspiration of those that participated in the project, and to our tupuna who through their exceptional insight worked for generations to ensure that the tikanga and reo of Taranaki would remain on our whenua for those present and those yet to come. That deep love of future generations and the commitment to our tikanga as a means by which to ensure wellbeing has been heard through the kōrero. For that we are truly grateful.

To the Lottery board who supported our organisation, Tu Tama Wahine o Taranaki to explore these thoughts and understandings to enable us to strengthen not only our work but the knowledge of whānau, hapū and iwi more broadly, we give thanks.

Mauri ora!

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Introduction

The phrase ‘He Mokokuna He Tupuna¹’ is one that provides a cultural framework for understanding the positioning of tamariki within Te Ao Māori². It is drawn from the following whakataukī³

He Tupuna he mokopuna. Mā wai i whakakī i ngā whawharua o ngā mātua Tupuna? Mā ā tātou mokopuna.! He mokopuna he Tupuna.

This whakataukī draws us to the essence of the whakapapa relationship between generations. It asserts that we are all mokopuna and we are all tupuna. The mokopuna will in future generations take the place of the tupuna. All grandchildren in time become grandparents. Each generation links through whakapapa⁴ to each other and we are a reflection and continuance of our ancestral lines. The sacredness of those connections is expressed by Rangimarie Rose Pere as follows:

He taonga te mokopuna, ka noho mai hoki te mokopuna hei puna mo te tipuna ka whakaaro tātou tātou ka noho mai te mokopuna hei tā moko mo te tipuna anā he tino taonga rā tōna. He mokopuna rā tātou, he mokopuna anā hoki ngā tipuna. A grandchild is very precious, a fountain for ancestral knowledge and an everlasting reflection of those who have gone before. We are all grandchildren as are our ancestors. (Pere cited in Pihama & Daniels 2007)

What is also expressed in the conceptualisation of ‘He Mokokuna He Tupuna’ is the understanding that tamariki⁵ and mokopuna, like tupuna must be treated with respect and, many would say, reverence. In seeking to investigate more fully how such beliefs, values and practices were expressed within Taranaki, Tu Tama Wahine o Taranaki (Tu Tama Wahine) have undertaken this research project as a part of a process of reclaiming and revitalising traditional knowledge that expresses the position and status of tamariki within our whānau as defined within tikanga ā Taranaki⁶.

¹ Mokokuna = Grandchild , Tupuna = Ancestor He mokopuna he tupuna = A grandchild [is] an ancestor

² The Māori world

³ Proverbial Saying

⁴ Māori genealogical connections

⁵ Children

⁶ Protocols, practices, beliefs of the Taranaki region

The recent release of the UNICEF report ‘Kids Missing Out’⁷ and a range of reports over the past 5 years from the Child Poverty Action Group highlight that there are large, and growing numbers, of tamariki within Aotearoa that are living within poverty⁸. This situation is unacceptable.

What is also unacceptable is the large numbers of tamariki that experience neglect, abuse and/or live in a context of Family Violence. Both those reports related to poverty and those related to abuse and violence within whānau highlight a wider societal issue with how tamariki are positioned. That is also a focus of this research project. To remind ourselves that the lives of our future generations must be accorded more status within Aotearoa society, only then will we see true interventions happening at the levels of whānau, hapū, iwi, communities and government agencies.

The Research Team: Tu Tama Wahine o Taranaki

Tu Tama Wahine is a Family Therapy Centre based upon Kaupapa Māori philosophies and values. Tu Tama Wahine was established in 1989 and incorporated 1994. The name of the organisation dates back to 1881 and the plunder of Parihaka. At that time clear instructions were given to the remaining women to continue on with the work of their Tupuna and take on the roles and responsibilities of men in upholding tikanga Māori, maintaining the care and wellbeing of whānau.

The name Tu Tama Wahine o Taranaki was given to the organisation by Matarena Rau-Kupa (OBE) and Dr. Huirangi Waikerepuru in recognition of the work being undertaken by its members to support Taranaki whānau and to continue to challenge colonial practices.

⁷ Ludbrook, R. & Jamison, A., (2013) *Kids Missing Out: It's Time To Make Progress on Children's Rights*, Unicef New Zealand

⁸ Dale, M.C., O'Brien, M., St John, S., (2011) *Left Further Behind: How New Zealand Is Failing It's Children*, Auckland:Child Poverty Action Group Inc; Wynd, D., (2013) *Child Abuse: What Role Does Poverty Play*, Auckland:Child Poverty Action Group Inc

Tu Tama Wahine is committed to supporting the care and maintenance of whānau. We maintain a deep understanding and profound desire to transform the lives of whānau. The Vision is that

“Taranaki whānau have a secured sense of identity and connection to each other where all are able to contribute and participate in the maintenance of a peaceful, prosperous community”.

In order to achieve our vision we have also committed to the following goals.

- That Tu Tama Wahine continues to be a Kaupapa Māori values based organisation, with a commitment to achieve excellence in all areas of practice and service delivery
- To uphold Taranaki tikanga
- To positively transform the lives of those whānau who we come into contact with.
- To contribute towards hapū and iwi development and tangata whenua liberation through providing social service support and cultural education
- To inform practice through evidenced based research

Tu Tama Wahine has extensive networks in both Māori and mainstream systems that have been developed over the last 23 years with members having been involved in the development of a significant number of community projects over that time. These networks are maintained to this day, other networks are more informal in as much that the groups are approached when necessary in respect to information needs and needs of whānau. These extensive local and national networks are valued and nurtured; in particular all staff are encouraged and supported to be active members of their respective iwi within the region. Tu Tama Wahine also currently hold a number of cross sector contracts which involve partnership agreements and collaboration between various NGO's and government departments.

The constitution of Tu Tama Wahine fully outlines the aims and objectives of the organisation as follows:

- Ensure that the whakatauki ‘ma wai e whakaki i ngaa whawharua o ngaa Matua Tupuna is the guiding principle for the Society supported by Te Tiriti o Waitangi;
- Incorporate Kaupapa Māori into all facets of the services provided;
- Provide individual, adult and children, couple, family and group counselling and therapy;
- Provide clinical and cultural supervision; and cultural consultancy service for non-Maori organisations.
- Provide a healing service for survivors of sexual, physical, emotional and spiritual violence;

- Provide all clients with an analysis of the socio-cultural, economic and political factors that impinge upon their lives;
- Provide services which promote Whanau Ora/Taranaki Ora;
- Provide mirimiri, health information and access to midwifery and health promotion services that are culturally safe for Māori clients;
- Maintain and practice Manaaki and Whanaungatanga;
- Establish accountability systems which connect with Iwi.
- To maintain and promote; te wairua, te mana, te tapu, te ihi me ngaa moemoea o ngaa Matua Tupuna.

The organisation's constitution highlights a clear focus on Kaupapa Māori as both philosophy and practice.

Methodology

This research project was developed to provide insights into tikanga ā Taranaki and traditional childrearing beliefs and practices. The project was visioned, developed and undertaken by Iwi researchers and Providers of Taranaki. The project has been informed by Kaupapa Māori research methodology⁹ and this has been expressed more fully through whakapapa and whānaungatanga approaches to each aspect of the research. Key cultural concepts and practices within a Kaupapa Māori methodology provide us with strategies for our research practices.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith¹⁰ noted the following critical questions can provide guidelines in terms of developing Māori research projects.

- *What research do we want to carry out?*
- *Who is that research for?*
- *What difference will it make?*
- *Who will carry out this research?*
- *How do we want the research to be done?*
- *How will we know it is a worthwhile piece of research?*
- *Who will own the research?*
- *Who will benefit?*

⁹ Smith, L.T. (1999) *Decolonising Methodologies*, New York:Zed Books

¹⁰ (Mead 1996)

In developing this project the research team drew upon the underpinning philosophy and tikanga of Tu Tama Wahine as a Māori/Iwi Provider in Taranaki, as such engaging the questions posed by Linda Smith was grounded within those already established understandings and vision. It is worth highlighting how Tu Tama Wahine located the research intentions within this framework of critical questions.

What research do we want to carry out?

Tu Tama Wahine operates from a Kaupapa Māori base. It is noted that having a Kaupapa Māori base enables the organisation to provide distinctly Māori approaches and values to our work. In line with this philosophy all research under the auspices of Tu Tama Wahine will follow a Kaupapa Māori approach and will be transformative.

Who is that research for?

This research is being undertaken to provide knowledge related to tikanga, mātauranga Māori that informs childrearing philosophies and practices within the Taranaki region. As such the research is for whānau, hapū, iwi and all organisations that work in the interests of tamariki and mokopuna within Taranaki specifically and Aotearoa more broadly.

What difference will it make? Who will benefit?

This research contributes to a growing body of Māori knowledge that is being brought together to give insights into childrearing, the position and status of tamariki, mokopuna and the obligations and responsibilities of adults to our future generation. Research findings have already begun to make a difference in that they have provided knowledge to enhance and strengthen healing and programs within Taranaki. The sharing of this research will enable whānau, providers and agencies to look at how our tamariki and mokopuna are raised and cared for within our region.

Who will carry out this research?

This research has been carried out by Māori researchers who have affiliations to iwi within Taranaki.

How do we want the research to be done?

The research must adhere to processes that are tika, pono and which affirm and

respect mana, tapu, whānau, whakapapa and the wider tikanga of Taranaki iwi.

How will we know it is a worthwhile piece of research?

The value of this research was established prior to its commencement. Broad discussions with people working alongside tamariki, mokopuna and whānau highlighted a need to revitalize Māori knowledge and to reflect upon tikanga as a process by which to create interventions in areas of family violence and violence against children.

Who will own the research?

Tu Tama Wahine will be the kaitiaki for this research. The knowledge shared by our people, our whānau remains their knowledge. We are honoured that whānau provided their knowledge and understandings for this project. The overarching intention is that the knowledge, the tikanga, the stories are to be shared with whānau, hapū, iwi and organisations within Taranaki as a part of a collective desire for wellbeing for our tamariki and mokopuna.

Methods

The original project proposal for 'He mokopuna, he tupuna' included a literature and archival review to be located alongside a series of qualitative interviews and workshops. The literature review was not funded by the Lottery Community Sector Research Fund and therefore the project has focused upon the facilitation of three workshops and the gathering of knowledge and data through qualitative interviews.

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The process for identifying participants and participant focus groups was through whānaungatanga. Information relating to the research topic processes and objectives were provided at various Taranaki community and iwi forum. Specific research

workshop and information sharing sessions were held across Taranaki; 1x North, 1x central, 1x South Taranaki in order to engage and inform Taranaki wide whānau, hapū and iwi. These included the Tu Tama Wahine o Taranaki Community Kōrero session (North Taranaki), joining with a pre-existing marae based rongoā Wānanga (Central Taranaki) and joining the whānau/hapū/iwi political and spiritual gatherings held at Parihaka on the 18th/19th of every month (South Taranaki).

The majority of research participants self-identified as a result of information provided in these community forum. The Kaupapa Māori qualitative methods utilised were kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face) interviews with Taranaki whānau, kaumātua and individuals with a knowledge of the tikanga (philosophy and practices) associated with the notion 'He Mokopuna He Tupuna' and Māori childrearing practices.

The qualitative interviews were undertaken by staff members within Tu Tama Wahine and included a combination of individual and focus group interviews. These are considered to be whakawhiti kōrero or engaged discussions with the researcher and the whānau involved. Tikanga provided the framework for these discussions and the focus groups were arranged both by kaupapa – by the topic being discussed and whakapapa – the relationships between whānau involved.

Ngā Kōrero o Ngā Whānau

In this section of the report we share the words and themes from the whānau qualitative interviews. Whānau were asked to comment in three key areas that included a range of questions that would help to facilitate general discussion however the approach was open-ended enabling those involved to share stories and reflections in a way that was most comfortable and appropriate to them. Those broad areas are:

- *Muru me te Raupatu: Events that interrupted or disrupted the intergenerational transmission of knowledge*
- *Te Whanaketanga: Knowledge and experiences growing up of tikanga and mātauranga Māori approaches*
- *Kōrero Whakatepe: Concluding thoughts – Drawing on traditional knowledge on childrearing in contemporary times.*

A key focus of the research is that of enabling conversations about traditional knowledge and how we can, in current and future generations, draw upon that knowledge for the enhancing of: whānau relationships; our approaches to childrearing; prevention and intervention in negative situations; and informing our healing practices for whānau.

Muru me te Raupatu

This project has been developed to provide insights into ways that Taranaki whānau, hapū and iwi can draw upon traditional knowledge to guide us in the area of tiaki tamariki, the care and raising of our tamariki and mokopuna. As a part of understanding some of the current issues for why such knowledge is not readily available or accessible to many whānau we asked participants to identify what they consider to be beliefs, values and practices that have disrupted or interrupted the transmission of tupuna, ancestral knowledge that is grounded within tikanga and te reo o Taranaki.

The term ‘muru me te raupatu’ refers to acts of colonisation, historically traumatic events that have impacted on the overall wellbeing of whānau, hapū and iwi around the maunga. There are multiple ways in which confiscations have impacted upon connectedness both to whenua and tikanga.

“If they want the work, they will take the work. But if they want land, they’ll take the land... So, these have gone, and so are the ways of living in the old times, that have slowly gone into the history books.”

“That was where we used to culture our kanga wai, put it in the bag, and then settle in to the spring,... Now, I look at the land now. Methanex has covered it now, we’re faced with the Oil Company there, and it wasn’t Methanex at the time, but when they were pushing us to sell, it was under the threat of the Public Works Act. There was no negotiation, no nothing. If you don’t sell, we will put the Public Works Act on, and you may get nothing. And that’s all we had. It was pretty bad. It was so rife... We thought we had turned the page, and that was in the 1970’s ... when that occurred. So you know, twenty years after that, and its still – they haven’t kept to their word.”

The process of disconnection was highlighted in many differing ways including; disconnection from marae; access to tikanga knowledge; transmission of knowledge interrupted between generations. Some participants spoke of smacking becoming a means by which whānau sought to ‘teach’ children. It was also deemed to be a means of delivering a ‘short sharp lesson’.

“You teach these kids properly because what I have seen that is not right, I have also seen them do it in front of other people and their other nana and koro. Oh well, it’s no use talking about them too but, it’s not right because that whole point of you doing this in your own house to your own kids, when you take them out you don’t want this kuia over here growling your kids, growling your mokopunas, no because when she does that, that is a bad thing for you. Our people were very strong on that sort of way of looking at things. When you bring your mokopunas to the pa and they run on the mattresses, no way, and yes you are the one that feels the shame, feels the pain. You should have taught your kids, you know they are not marae taught kids so you need to keep them, harness them to you...”

“Like I got a hiding for doing...recent years in getting older I realized that for my mum,... it was important that you didn’t take all day to learn this lesson so I’m not going to teach you this for the whole year, you are going to learn it quick because there is a whole heap of other lessons you have got to learn.”

The introduction of smacking in the past three generations within whānau, hapū and iwi aligns to the significant changes that occurred in the transmission of te reo and tikanga Māori. Further concerns in regards to the loss of kaumātua and the knowledge held in that generation was also seen as a critical issue, with some urgency noted in terms of listening to and receiving that knowledge for future generations. It also means having less exemplars and models. For some that means for their whānau

there is an interruption to process and continuity of tikanga and ways of doing things in a Māori way where the

“line of communication has been lost so I don’t know how to pick that back up.”

“We are slowly, slowly, losing a lot of our kuia and our elders, that lived at that period of time. I’m probably so blessed that I was, that I got the edge of it.”

“ because my Nana was dying so I started to listen to the kōrero.”

The increase in child abuse was seen as a significant interruption of traditional views and approaches to our tamariki and the depth of pain associated with that was summed up clearly in the statement from one whānau member who said,

“it is a sore point for me when I hear that our babies are dying I cry. I don’t even know who the whānau is but I cry because it is our babies.”

As has been noted previously there is ample historical evidence to indicate that tamariki were treated with respect and their mana was acknowledged in their own right. Tamariki were adored and treasured. Tamariki were indulged and supported as independent people. This section explores views from whānau and how those understandings and practices have changed for many of our people. The implications of such disruptions and interruptions in the transfer of tikanga and mātauranga Māori have had significant effects, none more so than the increase of whānau violence and child abuse.

Te Whanaketanga: Growing Up

Within the discussions about their experiences of traditional knowledge during their growing up, whānau were asked three key questions to help promote reflection and to support a process of focusing on the key areas of the project. The questions were broad and open-ended as follows:

1. Can you share with us some of your experiences growing up.
2. How do you think tikanga influenced you growing up?
3. How do those tikanga influence how you raised your tamariki/mokopuna?

Te Whanaketanga refers to the process of growing up and as such this section shares childhood reflections and the influence of tikanga that whānau experienced in their growing up.

Whānaungatanga

Whānaungatanga was talked about by participants and included a strong ethic of valuing whānau and looking after each other. Whānaungatanga enhances and affirms collective responsibility and obligations to each other that is reciprocal in nature. Working together as a whānau was a consistent theme. Working and supporting the wider whānau was essential to wellbeing. That necessitated everyone taking their role. It meant working for the collective good.

“It was about us working together as a whānau, not expecting someone else to do it.”

“I love... how we come together and how we do things together and how we support each other.”

Whānau is defined as comprising of at least three generations and therefore is inclusive of broader relationships than that present in terms of a nuclear family structure. A number of those interviews spoke of coming from families that included 13 or 14 tamariki and living in ways that enabled both extended relationships and communal living situations, and working collectively for the wellbeing of all.

Whānau also provided a structure by which protections and safety of tamariki can be ensured.

“..be there and support.i will help anybody with our tamariki.”

“ I saw this Dad and I turned to him and told him he only wants your attention. We are at a tangi ... you have to look after the children’s needs as well.”

“I am very direct....and if I see there is stress I just take the child away.”

Marae life and the experiences of being on the marae meant that tamariki learnt the values and importance of whānau.

“... my growing up in Parihaka as a child is that we had the best of everything. As far as being a young boy, everything was there laid out in front of us like how to catch eels in the river, we were well looked after, well fed,..”

“...we had a great gang of younger ones that knew how to cook, how to do a hangi, we used to split up into gangs. Righto what do you want to do today, we have got a tangi I'm going down, I said I'll do the cooking for you but I am going down to dig the hole”

“...my father and mother and my aunty and we all lived in a one room house at the Pa...”

“...eventually to go and live at other family members houses on the marae was a big thing for me, my time away from home,...”

“..it was time for the bell to be rung at ____ for all the kids to go there for kai. They had the tables set for the kaumatua and the manuhiri and we would go to ____ for our kai and when the bell rang they would let us have it, ..., they would all go to lunch at ____ and would teach us hygiene and all that, you must go have a moe and all that... you must go have a moe”

“we had a fireplace in there and our kai was cooked over this open fire...rest of us all slept together my aunty and my koro and my kuia and myself. That was in Parihaka.”

Ngā Hononga: Naming and Connections

Being named after tupuna was highlighted with a sense of pride. Within Te Ao Māori a process of honouring Tupuna is through naming a person with a feeling of pride associated with that.

“ [I am] named after my kuia... I think I have carried her name well... [I] feel quite proud of who I am.”

Maintaining intergenerational links is important with some participants noting that they have that role within their whānau to ensure that links both within and between generations are maintained.

“ I have become the link of the aunties and uncles.”

“...I enjoyed being brought up with all my cousins on the Pa we all slept together, we would all look after each other, we played marbles just to keep ourselves occupied, we played knucklebones and then the hula hoop came into play. Lots of other things, skipping. We had our moments on the marae when we fought each other but after that it was just something we did to see who the strongest ones were.”

Taurima

Taurima¹¹ is a tikanga that has continued to have been practiced within Taranaki and gave both tamariki and tupuna ways of sharing. In other iwi the term used is that of whāngai. The sharing from one whānau shows the depth of the relationship and the significance of whāngai and taurima for all.

“Not having had any children of my own, but living at the Pa now, and we’ve had a number of children living with us. And seven, nine, two children at a time. And so it’s been sort of a learning curve for me as well. Imparting what I know with them, and sometimes I get it wrong. But said, you know, so we don’t make that mistake again. It’s been, for me it’s been helping me as well, to be able to communicate with children on their level. Because I noticed when I first came back, and speaking to your children and after quite a while I thought oh, they probably don’t understand a word I’m saying. Cause I’m using words that they never heard of. To me it was just natural. And so I had changed my thinking and my language too, to use more simple words that they would understand. And then teaching, cause children are full of questions all the time. I had to dig deep for some of them. But when I was sharing with them what I know, and what I thought was right and wrong, and it’s been good and I thought, oh, will they ever come to me for advice or anything, or do they think I’m a silly old woman or whatever. But it’s quite a privilege you know, when they come to me and ask me for advice or different things”.

¹¹ Taurima is a word used in Taranaki for whāngai, which is to take care of, to feed, to nurture a child, that is not your birth child, as a part of whānau, hapū, iwi, Māori arrangements.

Taurima was referred to as both permanent and temporary care arrangements. What was important was the wellbeing of the tamariki.

“when their whānau was off working wherever they were and I used to have their baby and looked after that child and claiming ‘it’s mine’ it spends more time with me than with the parent.”

“ they look at me as their baby sister.”

“This kept up till I was about four, and they took me back to my real parents... But I wasn’t there long, and I went back to my kui, my mum’s mother came to pick me up and took me back, and I stayed there until I was about 17. So, she was the main, my grandmother was the main provider for me, if you like. My grandfather was a good man. He was quiet, but he was our chief of _____, but a very humble man.”

Tuakana-Teina

Caring for each other was also articulated in terms of tuakana-teina¹² relationships within the whānau.

“Everything was about the value of our whānau... and how we looked after each other.”

“My Mum and my Aunty were both sickly ...and there was nine in my family, I’m the eldest... I was a mother to my brothers and sisters when they were little.”

“...and brought up by older teenage cousins and they looked after me until mum came from the Pa or from the so I was farm. In time I did the same thing for one of my cousins...”

“Left the last three of us at home and being the eldest of the three I felt I needed to be responsible for them while our mother was doing mahi on the marae.”

“he looked after me and my brother...”

“My tamariki, that marae is where they would all grow up and if you stayed with the older girls or the older boys they would teach you your first job is wash the dinner plates that is your first job for the girls. For us boys we just followed the leader... If there was anyone going eeling they would get their gears on ... We watched the old boy’s eeling.”

¹² Older – younger sibling relationship

Tupuna/Grandparents

The place of grandparents in people's lives is a theme that was raised consistently by whānau. As tupuna had significant influence in the lives of tamariki and the relationship of the grandparent generation to mokopuna is considered critical in the wellbeing not only of tamariki but of the whānau as a whole. A number of people interviewed talked of being raised by their grandparents.

"...dad died three months before I was born she brought us up 13 up on her own with her father and her mother."

Grandparents and other kaumātua were always present and efforts were made by whānau to ensure that tamariki had time with their Grandparents if they did not live in close proximity.

" There was a kaumatua around us all the time"

" [they] would take me to visit my kuia and koro..."

Many reflected on how important values about behaviour and etiquette were for their grandparents and how they sought to model that to their mokopuna.

"I was brought up by my grandparents at Parihaka and their values were quite strong."

"kui, she didn't want us learning bad behaviour "

Mokopuna also supported tupuna and were encouraged to help care for elders and also for their teina.¹³ There was no difference made between caring for an elder or a baby.

"it was our job to go and get our kuia and our koro a plate of kai and take it to them rather than expect them to... Making sure the tamariki were fed at the same time."

Some whānau reflected on the fact that their Grandparents experiences of being hit at school influenced their decision not to teach their mokopuna to speak te reo Māori. It was their way of wanting to avoid their mokopuna from being hurt at school.

"they failed to teach us te reo... because of the hitting and stuff they weren't allowed to speak"

¹³ younger siblings

The need to maintain links between generations was seen as important as was developing ways to support your own tamariki and mokopuna in a context of work and living. One participant spoke of supporting her daughter by caring for her mokopuna stating

“ she was going to put him into day care so I said no, I’ll look after him.”

“I was so fortunate to have grandparents. And, when I was old enough to remember, to understand, they were my parents, and the kui.”

As a part of learning values and what constituted appropriate behaviour whānau talked of how when they were directed by elders and they did what was required, without question. It was a process of learning tikanga.

“It’s actually mentioned often now. The tikanga. It was just something we did... what we were told to do we just did it.”

Respect for each other was clearly a part of daily life, and a part of the relationship between tamariki, mātua and tupuna.

“I still uphold what I was taught with my tamariki from my elders... they were in a different era then my older ones were and today they’ve got respect.”

“I do believe we were all brought up in tikanga and the greatest thing is that looking after each other and looking after other people, that is the basis that we were brought up in.”

That respect also enabled tamariki to understand notions such as whakaiti, humility, and to appreciate what whānau had.

“there was a reason for everything, mum had to do her best... I wasn’t selfish for that because they needed... My mother brought us up to be grateful for whatever we received and not to be selfish.”

“It has taught you not to be selfish, taught you to manaaki at an early age, as soon as you may not know how to talk but you certainly knew some things, just taught not to be demanding.”

Tupuna were also seen as key to showing aroha to tamariki.

“...the kuia, during the time I had been at that marae that kuia used to give me cuddles just a little bit. I can remember about times when I was a little kid and that kuia I would do anything for her. That’s where you have aroha, if you have loved her, they give it back to you.”

Manaaki Tangata

A key element of tikanga is that of manaakitanga. Manaaki is a value and practice of showing hospitality and taking caring for others, and as a part of the process manaaki enhances relationships. Caring for others is an essential part of tikanga Māori and tikanga Taranaki, and it was a part of learning from a very young age.

“...taught you to manaaki at an early age.”

“... being brought up in this kaupapa it was our lifestyle... You did the gardens, you cleaned up. So, I did stay home, so I learned to cook a kai, when I was six I could light the coal range and peel the spuds, put it on, cook the meat, cook sausages... We never had any trouble like any disaster thing. I never got burned, I never burnt any of the kids, never burnt our kai... They are very strong and we believe in what we are doing and we are confident in what we are doing.

“So she said to the doctor, you look after my tamariki first. And that’s what I loved about her. There was no me first, there was always the person you care for.”

Another aspect of manaakitanga shared is that of respect towards all and ensuring people are well cared for and fed.

“..to eat what was on their plate and when we sat down if there was a bowl of kai in front of you, you would pick it up and pass it to the right, to the left, to the one across from you and put it back down and then you would serve yourself. That is what Granddad did and nobody left the table until he left the table. He would go first.”

“... the way our kids were brought up and how they treated the visitors who came into the marae.... but my biggest thing is how to manaaki the old ... We were the main cooks in _____ and cook for the manuhiri ... the group that I was working with we were all cooks, we get up at 4.00am and get breakfast ready.... Breakfast was always on time.”

“I think I started school when I was 7 years of age I went to primary school _____. I really enjoyed school. I was good at sports, I was good at rugby.... We used to interchange our lunch. I used to take Māori bread (paraua) sometimes the loaf itself but paraua the pakeha used to love it and I used to put butter and blackberry jam on it and two of the boys traded their lunch with me.”

“We always said that if a child cries, it is either hungry or it has a wet nappy so fix it... My Nana always said if kids are hanging around the house, they are hungry so feed them.”

Whānau spoke of learning to live both in line with the environment in sustainable ways.

“I got to say that we were the low-socio economic whānau but we managed. My mother tried her best I guess to give us the best that she could at the time given the situation we were in.”

“No matter how poor you were we found happiness in what we had.”

Knowing the seasons and what kai is available and remembering that there is a need to ensure that kai and the natural resources were available for future generations.

“Talking about titi, you know, the mutton bird, and how used to get it a certain time of the year. Those seasons were special, the old whitebait and our tuna, our piharau, you know when they came, we knew where... We learned to respect the environment so much. [to] find guavas and all that, that would grow wild, and crab-apples, and wild apple that we used to enjoy getting, and every year it came up... You know. I think of our moana, our pantry. I think of even the land, that ngahere. That is our cupboards of food.”

And before I went to school, I was going down to the beach myself, but it was constant learning from Mum. I said ‘Mum, we just passed a reef over there, and there is plenty of kai there, mataitai tera. And we’ll go to the next one. And the next one... And we’d walk all over there to go and get our kai, and then come back, we had to carry a food bags for miles. I learned over the years that what she was teaching me was to, rotational grazing... She said you’ll get it sooner or later.”

Manaakitanga was expressed in many ways, including a non-violent philosophy which promoted a need to support and not impose hurt on others. It also promotes a notion of inclusiveness of all tamariki, thus ensuing all children were treated with respect.

“she never laid a hand on her children, none of us got a smack...she always said ... don’t hurt one another, don’t yell at one another just talk nicely to each other and just support each other.”

“and we cause there was special needs child in those days, and no one was ever terrible to him, and in fact they looked after _____. As we all did.”

Wairuatanga

Spiritual knowledge and connections was discussed by a number of whānau interviewed. Karakia as process of acknowledgement and giving thanks was a part of understanding our deeper connections within Te Ao Māori.

“We would go to a river to bless yourself with the water....to bless yourself with water and at the end of the day and everywhere you go the water is there to cleanse you.”

“And we, right from the beginning learned karakia. And she would karakia, and even if it was only a couple of lines, she would thank someone for this kai. And then we would go back, thank you again, when we would leave. And I thought... as I got older, and I think as you get older, you cherish those moments. And you repeat them yourself. When you are on your own, you do the same. It just comes naturally.”

“when there was a funeral at Parihaka all the Parihaka children used to stay home, I don't think we used to go to school. The whole Pa used to stay home.”

Ako

The concept of ‘ako’ relates to the principles and practices of learning and teaching within Te Ao Māori. In traditional contexts the role of whānau and the place of intergenerational transmission of tikanga was central to how te reo, tikanga and mātauranga was passed through the generations. The ways in which tamariki developed understandings both of their place and role in the whānau, and their roles and behaviours within the wider hapū and iwi was shared in the discussions.

The process of learning and teaching by example and through following elders and siblings was highlighted throughout the interviews.

“I don't remember being told that's what we had to do. We just followed. ... Copying my sisters.”

Tamariki were corrected when things happened or their actions were deemed inappropriate and those corrections were rarely questioned.

“I don't remember hearing the word tikanga when I was at home. It probably was mentioned, but I just didn't really, but reflecting on it now, there were some things that Mum and Dad said, you know not to do, or what, and that would have been tikanga, but it never entered my mind ‘why, why do you have to do this’ or ‘why can't we do this’ or anything... I never said why? Just did or didn't do it... Mum and Dad used to you know, teachings. Which I realise

now they were teaching us right from wrong, tikanga. A lot of it was common sense stuff.”

Tamariki were also provided with clear guides by which to make decisions in regards to their own wellbeing.

“We weren’t to venture out into the water above our knees. So, we knew that as we grew, the knees were the spot. If you went out that far, you were to come back in. So yes, that was so crucial to our existence. So crucial to our survival. So crucial for us to respect.”

The transmission of tikanga, reo and mātauranga to each generation is fundamental to the survival of cultural understandings and worldviews. Whānau gave a range of reflections on the processes of sharing what they had learnt from their whānau, and in particular from their tupuna.

Sharing knowledge with the next generation was also seen as a way of both remembering and honouring what they had been taught and the knowledge passed to them from their kaumātua. It was highlighted that reclaiming tradition and tupuna knowledge needed to be done for tamariki from a young age so it was embedded in their understandings.

“...how I was brought up with the old people, to bring up my tamariki and reflect it down to the mokopuna today.”

“From the time you were seven, you were quite equipped. You could go hither, and slither, and be safe”

“Just respect the past, but look towards the future... [remembering] advice I got from one of my kaumatua at the time when I had my kids”

“Different things kept popping up... I heard that when I was growing up, so things started to come back.”

“Using tikanga to bring up the children. But we do that, it’s just automatic. Now we use tikanga all the time with the children. And it’s noticeably when we go anywhere, their behaviour with visitors. And these visitors would be other Māori children, its most noticeable what our kids do. To them its just automatic, that’s the way they’ve been brought up, on the Pa. And it, to us it stands out. And they just do things automatically and tikanga basis. And you hear comments from parents, you know visitors, ‘oh, where did you teach them this - did you ask them to do this?’ no, they just do it. They just do it. That’s the way they’ve been brought up.”

A key process of learning and teaching identified is that of observation. That tamariki were encouraged to listen, observe and participate in activities that supported the development of particular knowledge and skills.

“They listen, even the young tamariki we would teach them the proper way, the safe way and you know just take your time. So, every time we had a tangi we would take our children down to the river. I would be cooking at the back at Parihaka at night we used to gather all the mataitai down _____ and go along the bridge.”

“all I did was observe what was going on... in my observation of my growing up years when I look back to how things were done....I am able to do because I watched them...Drawing water from the well, going down the river for a wash.”

“and we took note of what they were doing and we used to have a lot of people coming to Parihaka.”

Learning by observation and through adults modelling practices were done under the guidance of whānau.

“From 10 years on we were taught by our kaumatua up above us, how to do hangi and all that, cook for a group of people that come into the marae and how to cook paua’s, how to the eat the kina,... We were taught how to eat piharau, you started by eating the head”

“I always worked at the back during the winter/being a waiter. I'm not bad at cooking, I love cooking and I cooked a lot of cakes and made Māori bread, scones but I learned from aunties - it was around me, we learned by our own mistakes but it was no trouble cooking for a crowd of around about 100-130 but it all depended on what they came for.”

“mum used to take us along to dig a hole and figure it out how to dig the hole and after that we used to sit there with the older guys”

Purposeful activity was seen as a part of that process of learning. That tamariki were encouraged to participate in outcome oriented, purposeful activities.

“..if we went to the park it was for a reason, had to go do some work, help weed the gardens or rake up the rubbish, it was for something, it was never just to play or just to go and see my friend... So all your waking time was put to work, it was for a purpose it wasn't just to sit there day dreaming...”

Pūrākau, traditional forms of storytelling, was identified as a means by which tikanga and mātauranga were transmitted both intergenerationally and within whānau, hapū and iwi. It is also a process by which whānau interviewed sought to pass on their experiences to their tamariki and mokopuna.

“often I’m telling them stories about when I was growing up....what I heard when I was growing up.”

Te reo Māori is also viewed as a mechanism by which whānau can bring back traditional knowledge to enhance wellbeing

“Tikanga today for me is, I am abiding by it because being brought up in Te Reo Māori. The thing is mum, she spoke to us in Te Reo Māori, you understood, she directed it at us, everything was directed in Māori, that was the number one language.”

“Get our kids back to Māori, te reo Māori. And then they will understand. They will understand. Te mana, te ihi, te wehi o te tangata. They will understand you don’t do those things to your sister, your brother, or to your whānau, or to your friends. Te mana. I think it needs to get them back to communicating.”

Within te ao Māori words are seen to have their own inherent mana. Saying such as ‘he mana tō te kupu’ highlight that we must be aware of the words that we use, their strength and their sacredness. The power of words to do harm is noted in the following whakatukī :

*He tao rakau ka taea te karo, He tao kupu kore rawa
A spear may be parried but a word cannot.*

As such how we speak to tamariki and what we say is critical. This is seen as an essential understanding that needs to be reinforced.

“There is better ways of speaking to children then trying to raise your voice at them.”

“I think in all honesty, it’s a matter of being able to talk.”

Ngā Kupu Whakatepe

This project has been undertaken with the specific intention of bringing together knowledge from within Taranaki about traditional childrearing. It is to provide us as whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori Providers with insights into key principles of caring for our tamariki and mokopuna. Participants shared their reflections on ways in which to support whānau to utilise tikanga as a guide for wellbeing and in raising our tamariki. The following key tikanga elements and practices were highlighted as fundamental to supporting the caring and raising of tamariki and mokopuna within Taranaki.

- Maintain whānau links that enable support, reciprocity, accountability to each other
- Whānaungatanga provides collective responsibility to each other
- Working together enriches whānau
- Create opportunities for collective support for whānau that enhances wellbeing
- Fulfilling roles in supporting collective wellbeing is important for all whānau members
- Whānau support can intervene in issues that arise through isolation that may be caused through a nuclear family construct
- Reconnecting tamariki and whānau to their reo, tikanga and marae is critical to understanding Māori ways of being and wellbeing
- Maintaining intergenerational links is important
- Raising tamariki needs to be a collective responsibility held by the whānau, hapū, iwi, marae
- Maintain connections and the links between whānau, hapū and iwi is essential for healthy identity
- Naming tamariki after tupuna provides a means by which to pass on the knowledge and respect of that ancestor through their mokopuna
- Tikanga provides tamariki and mokopuna with clear values upon which to base their practices
- Tikanga highlights that tamariki must be valued and treated with respect
- Taurima and whāngai are cultural practices that provide support and care for tamariki

- The relationships between tuakana and teina need to be supported as reciprocal relationships
- Tuakana – teina enables learning and teaching practices to be supported within whānau
- Tuakana – teina provides tamariki with processes to support and care for each other as they grow together
- Tuakana – teina is a practice through which tamariki learn to express manaakitanga within whānau
- Affirming the place of grandparents/tupuna within whānau is essential
- The relationship of grandparent generations to mokopuna is considered critical in the wellbeing
- Tupuna modelled tikanga, values, practices. behaviour and etiquette their mokopuna.
- Having grandparents/tupuna present that give positive models of tikanga provides another generation of adults to advocate and support tamariki and mokopuna
- Being raised by grandparents in a supportive and caring environment has a significant influence on security felt by tamariki and mokopuna
- If grandparents/tupuna do not live near their mokopuna it is important to find ways for the relationship to be maintained
- The Grandparent – mokopuna bond is reciprocal with tamariki learning to care for their elders through the relationship
- Grandparents/tupuna provide many opportunities for tamariki to learn tikanga, values and behaviours
- Respect for the mana of each person needs to be affirmed and upheld
- Respect for others enables people to understand notions of whakaiti (humility) and to appreciate whānau
- Tamariki are able to learn how to care for others from a very young age and can be supported to do so
- Showing aroha through actions is important so tamariki see that through your actions and practices you can show caring
- Manaaki is a value and practice that is central to enhancing relationships and wellbeing

- Caring for others is an essential part of tikanga Māori
- Providing opportunities for tamariki and other whānau members to care for others is a way that they learn how to practice manaakitanga in a daily way
- Feeding tamariki and others physically, emotionally and spiritually is essential to strong whānau relationships
- Enabling tamariki and whānau to connect strongly with te taiao, the moana, ngahere, for rongoā and kai is important to wellbeing
- Economic poverty can be intervened in through strong whānau, hapū, iwi, Māori relationships and support of each other
- Making opportunities for whānau to understand our environment, to hunt and gather will intervene in issues of access to kai
- Collective sharing of kai and resources as has been the historical tikanga within Taranaki will help intervene in the increasing poverty being faced by many
- A zero tolerance position against smacking and any form of violence against tamariki and within whānau needs to continue to be asserted within Taranaki
- Whānau and those close to whānau need to intervene in any situations where tamariki may be unsafe
- Moving tamariki to safe spaces and enabling adult to have time out is important
- Manaakitanga highlights that within tikanga all tamariki and mokopuna must be cared for with respect and their mana affirmed
- Spiritual knowledge and access to tikanga to enhance provides for deeper understandings and connection within Te Ao Māori
- Whānau and intergenerational transmission of tikanga is central to the passing of te reo, tikanga and mātauranga to tamariki
- A range of traditional pedagogical practices are evident including:
 - Learning and teaching by example, through observation and modelling by whānau
 - Tuakana – teina relationships
- Grandparents/tupuna are key teachers of tamariki and mokopuna
- Tamariki were given knowledge to understand appropriate behaviour

- Tamariki when respected also give the same respect to kaumātua and other whānau
- Tamariki were provided with clear guides by which to make decisions
- The transmission of tikanga, reo and mātauranga to each generation is fundamental to the survival of cultural understandings and worldviews
- Sharing knowledge with the next generation is essential
- Revitalising tradition and tupuna knowledge is critical for tamariki
- Tamariki encouraged to listen, observe and participate in activities enable the development of knowledge and skills
- Purposeful activity is a part of the process of learning for tamariki
- Pūrākau, traditional forms of storytelling, was identified as a means by which tikanga and mātauranga are transmitted
- Whānau can utilise pūrākau as a process of sharing tikanga
- Te reo Māori is a mechanism by which whānau can bring back traditional knowledge
- Speaking to tamariki in respectful and affirming ways is important to their sense of worth

These key elements and practice indicate is that there are deep traditional understandings and tikanga that can be drawn from the knowledge of our tupuna and expressed within contemporary Taranaki society.

“I think it’s always good to go back to talk to tupuna, to our kuia... I think it gives you a good balance of thoughts, and you’re asking, what should I do? It comes to you eventually.”

“It is up to us old people to have a good go and talk about it and put it into respect, put it into action. It is the older people...we talk about the best way we show tikanga for our tamariki.”

The place of our mokopuna is a reflection of the being and aspirations of our tupuna. The mana of our mokopuna is a reflection of the mana of our tupuna. If we live with these fundamentals as the underpinning ways in which we understand our place in this world and the centrality of the place of tamariki and mokopuna within whānau we can and will achieve whānau ora for those generations yet to come.

He mokopuna, he tupuna.

Tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēna tātou katoa

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