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Manaaki Tāngata

The Secret to Happiness: Narratives from Older Māori in the Bay of Plenty

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Abstract

In the next few decades, whilst Māori society will remain relatively youthful, there will also be a significant increase in the older age group, aligning with worldwide population ageing trends. In order to provide an environment that fosters wellbeing and happiness in this older age group, it is imperative to understand the factors and conditions that enable Māori to live well. A limitation of current wellbeing literature is the dominance of Western universal models and measures of wellbeing that do not reflect Māori perspectives, constructs and worldview.

This study investigates older Māori experiences of happiness over their lifetime to better understand the way in which happiness is conceptualised. Kaupapa Māori Theory (KMT) underpins all aspects of this research, framing the methodology and analysis through the lens of a Māori worldview and being cognisant of the effect of historical, social, environmental and political processes on Māori lives.

A qualitative approach was used and semi-structured interviews were conducted with 16 older Māori from the Bay of Plenty, aged between 80 and 90 years. This sample included those older Māori securely connected to their Māori identity and those with a dual cultural identity (Māori and NZ European).

A conceptual framework of happiness for older Māori was derived from Kaupapa Māori qualitative thematic analysis, where happiness is viewed in a holistic way that enhances 'mana' and promotes a meaningful existence through Mana Atua – A connection and commitment to the larger universe; Mana Tūpuna – Strengthened genealogical relationships; Mana Tangata – Realisation of human potential and Mana Whenua – Harmonious integration and unity with the environment.'

The conceptualisation of happiness in this study reflects experiences across the lifespan, rather than old age alone, which provides insights to happiness that may not only be of relevance to older Māori, but also to younger generations of Māori.

Dedication

About 4 months before I was due to submit my PhD, my eldest son Kereopa Te Wheturere Merritt-McDonald was diagnosed with an aggressive bone cancer, Osteosarcoma. He was 14 years old and a promising athlete and leader in his kura (school) and community. At that point I suspended my PhD and for 18 months devoted my life to helping my son endure one of the harshest regimes of chemotherapy there is, multiple surgeries and radiation. However, when conventional medicine failed him, as a whānau we were left bereft and alone. I remember my thoughts turning back to some of the conversations I had with the older people in my study, particularly those that had lost children. The last 10 months we had with our son were at times acutely painful, but also acutely profound because we were able to draw on many of the beliefs, values and practices spoken about in this study to find light, strength and happiness even through the darkest of times. Perhaps I foresaw when choosing this kaupapa (topic), that one day I would need to draw on that knowledge for the wellbeing and happiness of myself and my whānau. For that, I will be forever grateful to the kuia (older women) and koroua (older men) in this study. But it was my son that truly embraced those values – ā wairua (spiritually), ā tinana (physically), ā hinengaro (emotionally) and it was his courage, spirit and humility that has taught me the most about what truly matters. Perhaps it is the very old and the dying that have the most to teach us about living well. I did it my son, I promised you I would finish. I will conclude this dedication with part of his ōhākī, the last words he wrote two months before he passed:

"Listen and learn from the stories of our ancestors. I am an arms dealer fitting you with weapons in the form of words…

Listen up you young ones. Pull your chairs up and strap yourselves in, cos I'm gonna tell you a tale that'll make the hair stand up on the back of your neck. I am an arms dealer fitting you with weapons in the form of words.

Yup that's right. The perceptive, didactic, instructional, cultivations of our tīpuna. Weapons for your wellbeing…

I'm Kereopa McDonald, and I'm here to tell you to HEAR from our ancestors. Listen and learn from the stories of our ancestors.

So here I am, slicing a way forward into the future with my weapon. Listen and learn. You have a selection of weapons. In the form of words."

Kereopa Merritt-McDonald 26/08/1999 ~ 26/07/2015

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Ko Ruahine tōku maunga

Ko Tainui tōku waka

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Ko Ngāti Kauwhata me Rangitāne oku iwi

Ko Tahuriwakanui tōku hapū

Ko Aorangi tōku marae

consisted of strong women from different walks of life and areas of expertise, encouraging and developing my ability to expand my thinking in a more creative and critical way. Ngā mihi.

To the kaimahi, tauira and whānau at Te Kura o Matapihi and Te Wharekura o Mauao, many of whom are not aware that I have been working away at my PhD, I am eternally grateful for your support. I have always been able to focus on my mahi with the complete trust and confidence that the wellbeing of my tamariki is assured. I continue to learn and grow my knowledge of te reo me ngā tikanga through our involvement with kura Māori and did not realise the depth of aroha and manaaki that exists within kura Māori until we needed it the most. I am still astounded at the depth and breadth of support we received from the kura and our community. Without that tautoko and aroha, I would not have had the strength and courage to complete my PhD journey.

To Tapenakara – I never truly understood or felt the strength of wairua till I experienced the aroha, manaaki and healing practices of the Aunties at Tapenakara. You are all gifted beyond words and I would never have completed this mahi without the healing that took place within your protective embraces.

To my friends, who have always believed in my abilities and never wavered in your support. I'm sure you have wondered at times when this PhD journey would ever end. But you never let on and always had the right words of encouragement, lent an ear to my writing and always thought it sounded perfect. Just what I needed after getting critique from my supervisors.

Finally, to my whānau. Everything begins and ends for me with whānau. Without my whānau I am nothing, this work would not be what it is and I would be walking a different pathway without my whānau. It is within whānau that as a person I feel a sense of belonging and identity, where I am surrounded by te reo me ngā tikanga, where I get to live as Māori without judgement, fear, inadequacy but with the strength of aroha, manaaki and wairua of each and every member of my wider whānau. To my parents, who I partially blame for putting me on this pathway but who have always had an unwavering belief in my abilities and shown unconditional love to me, Stu and our tamariki. To my sister, who truly understands the pressures of academic life, you always said the right thing. To Matemoana, Blackie and Aunty Tan, it is through your examples that I have come to understand the power of the tūpuna/mokopuna relationship.

To Stu e tāku tau, and to my tamariki, we have lived, we have thrived, we have survived, we have been brought to our knees, and through the aroha of whānau, the power of the atua and

the wairua of Kereopa we are almost back to standing. The completion of this mahi is a testament to our love.

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Glossary

Aroha	love, empathy, compassion
Aruhe	fern root
Atua	help
Hapū	subtribe, pregnant
Hau	vitality
Haka	dance, perform
Ihi	personal magnetism, excitement
Ināianei	now
Io	Supreme Being
Kaimahi	workers
Kai moana	seafood
Kaitiaki	spiritual guardian
Kaitiakitanga	guardianship, protection
Kapahaka	Māori cultural group performance
Karakia	prayer
Kaumātua	elder, older person
Kereru	pigeon
Kina	sea urchin
Kōrero	speak, talk, narrative
Koroua	elderly man
Kuia	elderly woman
Mahi	work
Mahinga kai	food cultivation
Mana	power/spiritual power, authority, status
Manaakitanga	hospitality, generosity, reciprocity, support
Manawa pa	apprehension/anxiety
Manawa pouri	sadness
Mangere	lazy
Marae	social and ceremonial gathering place
Mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge
Mate Māori	spiritual malady
Maunga	mountain

Mauri	life essence
Moko	tattoo
Mokopuna	grandchild
Ngere	hideous/disagreeable cancer or corroding ulcer
Pai	good
Pākehā	European
Papatūānuku	Earth Mother
Para	king fern
Pāua	abalone
Poi	dance with ball on string
Punga	silver tree-fern
Rahui	prohibition
Ranginui	Sky Father
Rāranga	weaving
Tā moko	tattooing
Tangata	person
Tāngata	people
Tāngata whenua	people of the land, native
Tangi	cry, mourn, funeral
Tangihanga	funeral/death rites
Tapu	sacred
Te Ao Tawhito	the Ancient World
Tikanga	customs
Tohunga	spiritual expert
Tokotoko rangi	epidemics
Tuatara	native reptile
Tuku whenua	ceding land
Tūpuna	grandparent/s
Tīpuna	ancestors
Urupā	cemetery
Wana	thrill, inspire, excite
Wehi	fear, awe, respect
Whakapapa	genealogy
Whānau	family, extended family
Whanaungatanga	familial relationships and connections

Introduction

Kaupapa Māori research has played an important role in challenging a health system dominated by the Western medical model within Aotearoa/New Zealand. The failure of the health and social system to meet the needs and aspirations of Māori has instigated an approach which is based upon Māori worldviews and diverse realities. This research applies a Kaupapa Māori methodology to better understand how Māori conceptualise and experience happiness throughout their life and into advanced age.

In traditional Māori society (pre-colonisation), the ageing population was well cared for by Māori within standard social structures. The processes of colonisation and modern development have had a significant effect on Māori and those values, beliefs and practices that traditionally served to support whānau, and the place of the aged, within society. This thesis challenges the use of only Western models, frameworks and measures of happiness and wellbeing for Māori, arguing that the concept of 'happiness' is culturally embedded and should be understood within a cultural context.

Chapter One describes the theoretical orientation of the study. A Kaupapa Māori theoretical approach was used in this qualitative study and so this chapter provides a critical analysis of the development of Kaupapa Māori theory and research.

Chapter Two provides an analysis of Western scientific views of happiness and ageing. The multiple definitions, measurements and correlates of happiness in Western literature are explored and the inherent cultural bias exposed and contrasted with other cultural perspectives. The potential limitations of this approach for Māori are highlighted.

Chapter Three summarises traditional Māori concepts related to happiness and wellbeing, exploring the values, principles and beliefs that underpin those concepts. Pūrākau and whakataukī (myths, legends and proverbs) are explored as important sources of knowledge for Māori happiness and ageing.

Chapter Four examines Māori happiness and wellbeing in the context of colonisation. The effects of colonisation on the values, principles and beliefs that were related to happiness and wellbeing prior to colonisation are discussed. This chapter concludes by summarising the position of older Māori wellbeing today.

Chapter Five presents the methodology. In the first section, the Kaupapa Māori whānau based principles applied to the research process are presented. In the second section, the aims of the study are outlined in detail and the methods employed for participant recruitment, analysis, interpretation and presentation of data are described.

Chapter Six presents the results of the study under three broad sections covering the lifespan: Tamarikitanga (Childhood), Pākeketanga (Adulthood) and Kaumātuatanga (Older Age). Within each life stage the key themes relating to happiness and wellbeing for older Māori in this study are presented.

Chapter Seven discusses the interpretation of the findings as a Kaupapa Māori conceptual framework and relates the results to the national and international literature. The limitations and strengths of the research are highlighted and final conclusions presented.

Chapter One: Kaupapa Māori Theory

Introduction

Māori are the indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand. According to traditional stories, Māori arrived in Aotearoa/New Zealand from Hawaiki, and were well established by the fourteenth century. Māori adapted their east Polynesia cultural traditions to the land over at least 500 years before contact with European explorers (Mauri Ora Associates, 2008, p. 4). The philosophical basis of this work is situated within Kaupapa Māori theory and a Māori worldview. Kaupapa Māori Theory asserts, recognises and validates the use of Māori epistemology to research and understand Māori culture and the diverse realities of Māori people. In this thesis, culture is defined as 'the worldviews, knowledge, customs, beliefs, social behaviours and ways of life of a particular people or society'. Given that this study examines older Māori perspectives of happiness and ageing, a Kaupapa Māori approach makes sense because it seeks to understand human behaviour from within Māori culture, using Māori terms of reference, concepts and frameworks. Kaupapa Māori research is the ideal methodological approach because it endorses Māori philosophies and principles, recognises the diverse nature of Māori society and places importance on social, cultural and historical contexts to understand Māori epistemology and Māori cultural realities.

Locating Kaupapa Māori research

Kaupapa Māori as a theory for research is a relatively recent theoretical construct which asserts, values and legitimises Māori worldviews within a cultural and theoretical space dominated by Western knowledge and values, challenging those Western perspectives (Cram, 2001; Irwin, 1994; Nepe, 1991; Pihama, 2001; Smith, 1999). However, the concept of Kaupapa Māori is not new and originates from Māori epistemology (Mahuika, 2008).

To fully understand the term Kaupapa Māori, an analysis of the words kaupapa and Māori are helpful. Mereana Taki (1996, p. 17) provides a root analysis of the word kaupapa for a better conceptual understanding.

> *Kau* is often used to describe the process of 'coming into view or appearing for the first time, to disclose'. Taken further *ka ū* may be translated as: representing an inarticulate sound, breast of a female, bite, gnaw, reach, arrive, reach its limit, be firm, be fixed, strike home, place of arrival' (H.W. Williams; c1844 – 1985:464). Papa is used to mean ground, foundation base.

According to Taki (1996), the term kaupapa is reflective of "ground rules, customs and the right way of doing things" (p. 17). S. McDonald (Personal communication, December 3, 2011) gives further insight into the translation of kaupapa.

> The word *kau* acts as an intensifier in the Māori language. When cattle first began arriving in New Zealand, Māori would count them as they disembarked; once they reached the tenth cow rather than using the traditional word for ten, ngahuru and then returning to tahi (one), rua (2), toru (3)…they referred to the tenth cow as te *kau*, referring to the many or multitude of cows.

It is possible to surmise then that the addition of *kau* to *papa* intensifies and accounts for multiple foundations or levels.

The word 'Māori' is an ancient word that appeared in a new context due to the colonisation of Aotearoa as a way to define indigenous people in relation to Pākehā (European) settlers (Baker, 1945). Prior to colonisation it was a common term throughout Polynesia and within Aotearoa and was used to refer to 'ordinary', 'normal' and 'indigenous' (Wilson, 1963, p. 11). To locate this term conceptually within Te Ao Māori (The Māori World), Reid and Smith (2000) cite Walker's discussion of kaupapa, which refers to Kaupapa Māori as Kaupapa Tāngata.

> Kaupapa is the base on which the superstructures of Te Ao may be viewed. Māori are Tāngata, born into a geophysical cultural milieu. Kaupapa Māori becomes Kaupapa Tāngata. What evolves is this – He aha te mea nui o te Ao? (What is the most important thing in the world? it is people, it is people, it is people.) He tāngata, he tāngata, he tāngata. In essence, this whakatauākī explains Kaupapa Māori. (p. 3)

Based on these linguistic deconstructions and a historical-cultural understanding of the term, 'Kaupapa Māori' could be defined as 'the multiple realities and foundations of Māori people and their culture'. Therefore, a Kaupapa Māori approach to analysing how older Māori understand and experience happiness and wellbeing requires an acknowledgement that there may be multiple perspectives and interpretations. However, the context in research is more complex than any definition. In fact, a number of Māori writers argue that Kaupapa Māori as a methodology is concerned with not only Māori knowledge but also the way that knowledge is framed, structured and conceptualised (Nepe, 1991; Pihama, 2001). Lawson-Te Aho (2013) claims that Kaupapa Māori can be considered an epistemology, that is, a theory about the basis of Māori knowledge (p. 46).

The emergence of Kaupapa Māori research

Kaupapa Māori research emerged partially in response to the Eurocentric value laden system of Western science. Western science and research did not find external validity within other cultures and in particular with indigenous worldviews and often perpetuated the oppressive motives and processes of colonisation (Pihama, 2001; Reid & Smith, 2000; Smith, 1999). Pihama (2001) locates the origins of Kaupapa Māori theory with the initiatives that were driven by Māori people within their communities that focused on the revitalisation of Māori culture and language. These included, in particular, through Te Kōhanga Reo (Māori language nests), followed by Kura Kaupapa (Māori immersion schools), Wharekura (Māori immersion secondary schools) and Whare Wānanga (Māori immersion tertiary institutes).

Kaupapa Māori has been aligned with post-colonial theory, where Māori knowledge and experiences are understood within the context of colonisation. Indeed, Lawson-Te Aho (2013) argues that 'Kaupapa Māori' as a theory would not exist without colonisation and by nature is "both reactive and assertive in orientation" (p. 50). Post-colonial and critical theory is centred on the promotion of freedom and liberation from oppressive Western colonial hegemonic practices (Fanon, 1967; Said, 1994; Smith, 1999). A significant emphasis within this approach is placed on addressing power imbalances, discriminatory institutional structures and deficit theorising (Freire, 2000). Smith (2003) acknowledges that the development of Kaupapa Māori was a response to a hegemonic Pākehā educational system, but strongly emphasises the proactive focus of the Kaupapa Māori approach, one that incorporates simultaneously the notions of consciousness-raising, resistance and transformation.

This thesis explicitly acknowledges colonisation as an ongoing process which has impacted Māori and their happiness and wellbeing in all facets of life (Bell, 2006; Reid & Robson, 2007; Taitimu, 2007). It is also recognised that older Māori have particular and unique experiences of colonisation in comparison to younger generations. However, even within the older Māori cohort, it is expected there will be a diverse range of views, experiences and interpretations of how colonisation has impacted on happiness.

Similarities exist between Kaupapa Māori and Constructivism, where the focus is to challenge the positivistic trend in traditional Western modernist research that lays claim to the existence of universal truths, which are found through objective reason and rationality. Constructivists believe society, reality and meaning are constructed through our interactions with the world, primarily through language and practice (Eketone, 2008). A constructivist perspective also

rejects the positivist assumption that science and knowledge are value-free (Freire, 1989). Social constructivists argue that there are multiple ways of constructing or viewing reality, which are influenced by social, cultural and historical contexts (Eketone, 2008). Māori Marsden (2003, p. 2) fundamentally states that Kaupapa Māori research can only be conducted through the "passionate and subjective approach", where the researcher is constantly reflective of their reality and the values, beliefs and worldviews they bring to the research and their interpretation of knowledge (Milne, 2005). From a Kaupapa Māori perspective,

> Positivism is seen as fundamentally flawed and imperialist because it is used to deliberately disregard the social construction of reality and meaning by, for and with indigenous peoples (Lawson-Te Aho, 2013, p. 55).

This study analyses older Māori within their ecological, cultural, social, political and historical contexts, acknowledging the diversity of those contexts. The process also requires that there may be plural ways of categorising, interpreting and analysing the viewpoints and narratives.

Eketone (2008, p. 6) cautions the application of Western theories to justify Kaupapa Māori theory because it implies that Kaupapa Māori cannot exist outside of these frameworks and be considered valid. Mahuika (2008) acknowledges the limitations of aligning with 'post-colonial' theory and asserts that a more accurate term to describe the orientation of Kaupapa Māori research might be 'anti-colonial' as it confirms the effects of colonisation as ongoing processes and the proactive nature of Kaupapa Māori to prioritise Māori realities, experiences and issues (Hokowhitu, 2009; Mahuika, 2008; Reid & Robson, 2007). Complete dismissal of the relevance of Western theories to Kaupapa Māori is not helpful in understanding the social, historical, political and cultural context of Māori society nor reflective of the diversity of Māori realities. However, reliance on those theoretical positions to justify Kaupapa Māori research is not ideal either, instead Kaupapa Māori can and should be treated as:

> A platform to engage with other theories, 'a doorway' to reflect and draw from, 'a critical theoretical lens to examine the positions and views of others and ourselves. It is a space that allows the display of what we can't say through Western Theory. (Pohatu, 2003, p. 10)

Western theories of happiness and ageing are engaged with and critiqued in this study, highlighting the incongruity with Māori and indigenous views of happiness but also reflecting some similarities.

Māori Worldview and Knowledge

Kaupapa Māori research is underpinned by a worldview and epistemology that is disparate from Western models. A worldview is the way a person perceives and makes sense of the world and cosmology and their place within it. "Worldviews and knowledge systems are all-encompassing constructs that literally attempt to describe a particular group's perception of reality" (Edwards, 2010, p. 30).

Worldviews are often unconsciously taken for granted by people who hold that particular worldview as the way things are (Hart, 2010; Royal, 2002), even though they are developed and expressed through the lens of culture. Royal (2002) explains that a cultural worldview is not focused on the individual but on people. It is the way people as a group and as a culture perceive, understand and experience the world. But groups are made up of individuals that have individual experiences and perceptions of reality, therefore, "a cultural worldview is never a uniformly held set of perceptions and understandings, rather these perspectives are unevenly held throughout the culture" (Royal, 2002, p. 20).

As people experience and perceive their reality they process, structure and order this information. Conceptualisations are the constructs that communities of people create in order to explain and understand what they believe reality to be.

> Cultures pattern perceptions of reality into conceptualisations of what they perceive reality to be: of what is to be regarded as actual, probable, possible or impossible. These conceptualisations form what is termed the *'worldview'* of a culture. (Royal, 2002, p. 19)

Consequently, to understand how Māori might have conceptualised happiness in pre-colonial times and the values that were fostered to enhance happiness requires an examination of a traditional Māori worldview. Royal (1998) describes the traditional Māori worldview as one that is encapsulated in the philosophy of '*Te Ao Mārama':*

> Te Ao Mārama is a philosophy created by our ancestors, which provided for them a spiritual, intellectual and physical orientation to the world. It showed them how to live in the world, to fulfil their physical and intellectual promise but ultimately to explain

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their spiritual potential. Te Ao Mārama is a holistic philosophy, for it integrates all experience into the one view. (p. 5)

Throughout this thesis, particular reference will be made to the notions of 'traditional culture' and 'traditional knowledge'. The use of 'traditional culture' refers to 'ways of life' and 'ways of being' that have been passed down from generation to generation over a long period of time.

According to the United Nations (2009), traditional indigenous knowledge "refers to the complex bodies and systems of knowledge, know-how, practices and representations maintained and developed by indigenous peoples around the world, drawing on a wealth of experience and interaction with the natural environment and transmitted orally from one generation to the next" (p. 64). A unique relationship with and understanding of the environment is a key element of indigenous knowledge.

As Durie (2005) states:

> While there are significant differences in the circumstances of indigenous peoples in various parts of the world, there are also commonalities in experiences and worldviews…In modern times the common threads that bind indigenous communities are linked to their similar socio-economic positions, their rejection of assimilation, their comparable aspirations for greater defining element of indigeneity is not colonisation, socio-economic disadvantage or political ambitions. Instead, most indigenous peoples believe that the primary starting point is a strong sense of unity with the environment and a healthy environment. (p. 3)

Kaupapa Māori reflects fundamental philosophies and principles that are capable of explaining all experience as Māori and which are derived from a Māori worldview. A traditional Māori worldview incorporates mātauranga (knowledge) that links humans, plants, animals and gods together (Royal, 2002; Taitimu, 2007). These connections and relationships can be explained as whakapapa (genealogy*),* which help people to understand their place in the world and their relationships to all other things (Cheung, 2008; Haami, 2004; Roberts, 2012). In this sense whakapapa was crucial to identity and a sense of belonging for Māori (Mead, 2003; Te Rito, 2007). The Māori view of the world as interconnected and based on interrelationships underpins a holistic worldview that:

> Acknowledges the sacred relationship that humans have with nature, with each other and with themselves. Practicing these ways of being recognises a key principle of

holism, the interdependence of relationship to others. Intrinsic in this principle is how each little part affects the whole. (Cheung, 2008, p. 3)

Māori cultural concepts are distinctly different from the way knowledge has been constructed within the traditional positivistic scientific paradigm, which has oppressed and subjugated Māori knowledge (Lawson-Te Aho, 2013). Mātauranga Māori has spiritual origins and was passed down the generations through oral and artistic traditions such as whakairo (carving), moko (tattoo), pūrākau and whakataukī (Haami, 2004; Roberts, 2012). A Kaupapa Māori interpretation of myths, legends and stories from traditional Māori culture provides a counter-narrative in this thesis to Western narratives of happiness, validating Māori knowledge and worldviews. Happiness and wellbeing in traditional Māori society will be analysed through pūrākau, whakataukī in Chapter Three to illustrate a Māori worldview and how such a worldview shaped and framed Māori conceptualisations of happiness and ageing.

Telling the Story - Pūrākau, Whakataukī and Te Reo

This research examines mātauranga Māori examples of cultural narrative rather than relying completely on anthropological accounts (predominantly by Western researchers) in order to conceptualise happiness and wellbeing prior to colonisation. This analysis is crucial to understanding whether such conceptualisations have any relevance to happiness for Māori in post-colonial times. Māori language, proverbs, stories and legends are prioritised as appropriate and valid data to explore these concepts from a Kaupapa Māori approach. The vessels of traditional Māori culture are examples of the taonga (gifts) that have been handed down through the generations.

Myths and legends are important narratives which provide considerable insight into how people understand and make sense of the world and in the way personal and collective identities are shaped (Murray, 2003).

> The stories handed down from grandmother to granddaughter are rooted in a deep sense of kinship responsibility, a responsibility that relays a culture, an identity and a sense of belonging essential to my life. (Thomas, 2005, p. 238)

Lee (2005) promotes pūrākau as decolonising methodology that provides a Māori critical and cultural understanding of our worlds. Cherrington (2003) advocates pūrākau in psychology as a way to understand how we think, feel and behave within our worlds. Pūrākau include stories of our creation through to historical and social events and incidents that served to preserve ancestral knowledge, to enforce the importance of tikanga, the beauty, creativity and organic

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nature of our worldviews, intergenerational engagement and transmission of knowledge. According to Lee (2005) the process of storytelling is relevant to both traditional and contemporary contexts. As a research tool, pūrākau are a valid means of collecting, framing and analysing, that reflect true cultural integrity and in their fluidity are able to mediate the boundaries of time, space, age, gender, and tribal differences (Lee, 2005). Analysis of pūrākau as a methodological approach is effective because its central thesis is that Māori knowledge and worldviews provide valid and legitimate philosophical and ideological assumptions that can guide and frame the entire research process (Smith, 1999).

Storytelling, listening, observing, feeling and analysing the metaphorical depictions of pūrākau and their interpretations can enable a deeper understanding of a Māori worldview and of Māori culture. Through a historical and cultural lens and through my own lens as a modern Māori woman, I developed a greater understanding of the traditional Māori worldview of happiness and wellbeing. Working with mātauranga Māori also reinforced the difficulties inherent in validating a methodology that operates from a completely different way of looking at the world compared to Western methodological approaches.

Colonisation however has served to destroy, exclude and discredit the knowledge held within the myths and legends of native and indigenous people. Professor Mari Matsuda (1989) writes of critical race theory and methodology as one where:

> From the namelessness of the slave, from the broken treaties of the indigenous Americans, the desire to know history from the bottom has forced scholars to sources often ignored: poems, oral histories and stories from their own experiences. (p. 2324)

According to Fanon (2006), French Algerian post-colonial and critical theorist, the colonisers viewed the customs, traditions and myths of the colonised people as a reflection of their immoral nature and spirituality. Research that now seeks to reinstate power and credibility to the knowledge, values and beliefs evident within a culture's myths, legends and traditions is a pathway to validating the paradigms and epistemology of indigenous culture and providing a discourse of a culture that derives not from how outsiders have viewed the culture but from a truly 'indigenous' lens. Edward Said (2000), a founding father of post-colonialism, also advocates for developing alternative methods for understanding history and culture, especially when many colonised and indigenous people do not have a wealth of written historical and cultural documentation.

Why not look at the poetry of Mahmoud Taha, who writes about al-Nakba in a very interesting way? Why not look at oral history? Why not look at geographical evidence? Why not look at the landscape? Why not go through the process of trying to reconstruct out of the silence what was either destroyed or excluded? (p. 425)

Myths and proverbs not only provide an understanding of a culture's views on the nature of reality and being but can still provide living relevance in "the sense that it supplies models for human behaviour and, by that very fact, gives meaning and value to life" (Eliade, 1964, p. 2). Through Edward's (2010) careful analysis of Māori whakataukī, he was able to describe a Māori worldview of ageing rooted in kaupapa Māori knowledge and epistemology.

The discussion in this thesis focuses on features and characteristics of a traditional Māori worldview and culture, which are interpretations of how contemporary scholars believe that Māori experienced and saw the world based upon the available historical sources of literature and oral knowledge. However, within a particular worldview, there are individual differences and it is possible that even in traditional times, these perceptions and features were not held consistently throughout Māori society. Māori encounters with new cultures through colonisation, modernisation and globalisation means that today no single Māori worldview exists, rather multiple worldviews and perspectives.

Multiple Kaupapa Māori Perspectives

The last 50 years have seen an increase in the number of Māori researchers and the development of Kaupapa Māori specific research theories and methodologies. Glover (2002) stipulates that there is no one way or right way of conducting Kaupapa Māori research but that it involves a multitude of paradigms, theoretical models and analytical frameworks. Takino (1998) argues that there is no single privileged truth according to Māori-centred knowing and being; there exists no single form of Māori theorising. Kaupapa Māori Theory claims to reflect multiple realities, and cannot be separated from historical, political and cultural contexts. "Kaupapa Māori is evolving, multiple and organic" (Pihama, 2001, p. 13).

These multiple positions challenge the dominant Western cultural model of knowing. However, as stated earlier, they need not preclude the relevance of Western knowledge to research on Māori, given Māori lives are shaped by both Māori and Western worldviews (Durie, 2004). Edwards (2010) concludes that it is impossible and naïve to avoid the negotiation between Western and Māori knowledge systems when one is conducting research with Māori. Whilst these worldviews come from different ontological and epistemological perspectives, Māori

researchers have articulated ways in which the two perspectives can be integrated within the health research process and evidence that they are not always diametrically opposed (Durie, 2004; Edwards, 2010; Taitimu, 2007). For example, the narrative trend in Western psychological research and (Kaupapa Māori Theory) both acknowledge the significant role of oral traditions in the transmitting of culture and understanding the psychology of a culture (Bird, Wiles, Okalik, Kilabuk, & Egeland, 2009; Lee, 2005; Nepe, 1991).

A significant challenge to negotiate in this research as a Māori researcher, engaging Māori participants and drawing on mātauranga Māori, alongside Western scientific knowledge and methods, was an appropriate methodological framework. It was important that the framework used validated Māori knowledge, philosophy and methods but that it could operate within a staunchly Western academic institution rooted in a history of Western academic superiority. It is a challenge to integrate disparate cultural positions that in many ways are completely opposed—especially as the researcher positioned at the interface but not completely immersed in either worldview. Despite these challenges, Durie (2004) argues that the negotiation of these challenges and contradictions provides the opportunity to create new and inventive knowledge of health and illness. Such knowledge does not attempt to fuse the two together nor apply the logic of one worldview to understand the other, instead retaining the integrity of both systems and developing approaches to research that integrate both. Kaupapa Māori research does not preclude the use of Western scientific methods of research but it does refute the assumption that the Western scientific method is the only valid way to conduct research. Furthermore, Taki (1996) explains that "kaupapa Māori theorising has also provided an important bridge for drawing on and crafting in a range of Kaupapa Pākehā intellectual paradigms" (p. 16).

Within this thesis, Western perspectives on happiness and wellbeing are analysed with a critical gaze to ascertain their value and meaning in Māori society. Western research methods have been chosen which support a Kaupapa Māori methodology and will be described in the next chapter. Kaupapa Māori methods of data collection and analysis are applied alongside qualitative in-depth interviewing and thematic analysis, with the aim of providing a comprehensive and robust understanding of happiness and wellbeing for older Māori.

Transformative research

One criticism Māori have had of past research conducted on Māori issues is the 'deficit theorising approach', which focuses on negative issues and circumstances (Bishop, 1996; Smith, 1999). According to Teariki (1992, p. 4), such research is "seen to feed public suspicion and stereotypes about the unemployment of Māori or the number of Māori on particular

benefits". These issues illustrate that Māori research is always political, that inherent to Kaupapa Māori theory is an analysis of power structures and social inequalities (Pihama, 2001). There is a need for research that is transformative and empowering and that explores the positive aspects and strengths of Māori society. Indeed, 'transformation' has been identified by Kaupapa Māori theorists as being critical to advancing the aspirations of Māori and moving from "sites of struggle" to sites of harmony and empowerment (Pihama, 2010; Smith, 2003).

This thesis explores how Māori happiness has been shaped and influenced by colonisation and the various 'sites of struggle'. It seeks to move away from deficit theorising to looking at positive indicators of wellbeing for Māori. It also validates Māori knowledge by deconstructing traditional pūrākau and whakataukī for a more complete and authentic understanding of the concepts of Māori happiness and wellbeing.

Who Should Conduct Kaupapa Māori Research?

The debate over determining who is appropriately qualified to conduct Kaupapa Māori research is at times a contentious, problematic one with no concrete conclusion. The phrase 'by Māori for Māori' is a common response to the question and whilst this phrase is not untrue, it is not entirely accurate either. The notion that only Māori can conduct Kaupapa Māori research was partially a response to criticism about non-Māori conducting research on Māori without any consideration of their needs or to conducting research that would benefit Māori or even be understood by most Māori (Mahuika, 2008; Mikaere, 2011; Smith, 1999). People living 'outside of the culture' conducted research, which often led to gross misinterpretations of findings (Smith, 1999). So whilst the research may have been considered as reliable and valid within a Western context because of the objectivity of the researcher as an 'outsider', it retained little integrity or legitimacy within Māori society. The notion of insider/outsider emerges within this context. Kaupapa Māori research endorses the subjective approach to research where researchers situate themselves inside the research, reflecting on their commitment and accountability to Māori through their position within the group being researched. According to Cram (2001), it is essential for Māori researchers to ensure they are not writing about their communities as if they were outsiders, viewing the participants as 'other'. Smith (1999) states also that Māori researchers can be subjective and still conduct valid, reliable and rigorous research. Being a researcher and a member of the researched group is not always an easy job, especially when the researcher carries a variety of roles as 'insider' of the community, as well as 'outsider' because of Western academic training, gender, and age. It can result in a number of difficulties on a personal, cultural, ethical and political level.

Within this research there were a number of issues I had to consider as being both an insider and outsider. In particular, I was aware that while I could be considered as an insider because I am Māori, my participants were diverse with differing connections to their Māori identity and so it was important that those who were disconnected or alienated from their Māori identity were related to in supportive and non-judgmental ways. A further consideration was conducting research with older Māori, some of whom were considered to be kaumātua within their communities, given that I am a younger Māori person. In Māori society, it is expected that younger people show respect and deference to kaumātua and acknowledge their role as guardians of tradition and history. I have been raised to show respect towards older people and so I was conscious of ensuring that the older people felt confident and respected in their position as an older person. Some of my participants also had limited education and this required me to be sensitive to this, especially because of my association as a university researcher. A number of Kaupapa Māori values and principles were employed to mediate some of these challenges, which will be discussed in the methodology chapter.

The consensus by most Māori is that Māori should be the primary researchers but that non-Māori can support a Māori research kaupapa (Cram, 2001). However, the dangers are that being Māori does not guarantee that a person identifies as Māori and is supportive and knowledgeable of Māori ways of knowing and living. Smith (1999) makes it clear that being a Kaupapa Māori researcher is more than being a 'brown face' and that identifying as Māori is a critical element to being an appropriate researcher. Te Awekotuku (cited in Glover, 2002) suggests that researchers need to consider their tribal background, gender, language fluency, and age, and ask the question, "Are you the right person to be receiving such information?" Other factors that contribute to the appropriateness of a researcher are knowledge of Te Ao Māori (the Māori world), knowledge of Te Ao Hurihuri (the diverse realities of Māori today), and knowledge of the specific area (i.e., health, education).

The growth of Kaupapa Māori research within the university was important for the space it created to validate Māori ways of being and knowing but it can be argued it is still far removed from the grass roots of Māori society and that it also led to a sense of exclusivity. Mikaere (2011) cautions that:

> We should guard against producing a kaupapa Māori research elite, thereby simply proving that we can "do research" in the same rather smug, self-congratulatory way that Pākehā do it and in the process replicating their exclusionary practices. (p. 4)

Even though most scholars would argue that Kaupapa Māori should be conducted by Māori, on kaupapa that matter to Māori and that is of direct benefit to Māori communities, I object to the more radical approach that only Māori can be involved in such research. Kōhanga reo and Kura Kaupapa do not discriminate against the inclusion of non-Māori in their environments as long as they prescribe to the philosophy and principles of kaupapa Māori (Hopa, 2012). Non-Māori who are grounded within kaupapa Māori communities have been able to provide valuable and important contributions to Māori communities (Barnes, 2013; Woller, 2013).

So it is more than a question of ethnicity that determines who should conduct Kaupapa Māori research but whether the aims, intentions, beliefs, principles and values of the researcher can be considered Kaupapa Māori.

> It is often in a passion, in the selection of their topic and their research; it's in their belief that what they do will have a beneficial outcome for Māori that it will have something positive to say, that it's worth doing for Māori, that it's worth doing because potentially there's something in it for Māori. (Smith, 2011, p. 10)

Kaupapa Māori Principles and Values

Kaupapa Māori Research is concerned more with processes of enquiry that guide the research than a prescribed set of rules or methods (Jones, Crengle, & McCreanor, 2006).

> The methods of data collection in kaupapa Māori research are not particular to Māori. In other words, getting the process right is the first consideration, and then answering the research question is the next. Answering the question may well draw upon Westernised research designs, for example surveys and experiments. However, certain kinds of qualitative research, for example oral histories, narratives, and case studies, and methods like interviews and focus groups, fit more comfortably within a Māori way of doing. (Walker, Eketone, & Gibbs, 2006, p. 336)

The process of enquiry is framed by philosophies and principles located within traditional Māori epistemology but which are also interpreted and made relevant to contemporary Māori realities. A number of Kaupapa Māori principles and values have commonly been applied. Many of these principles were articulated first by Graham Hingangaroa Smith in relation to Kaupapa Māori education (1997) and have since been extended by others, as summarised below (Reid & Smith, 2000).

These principles centre on:

- *Tino rangātiratanga (the self-determination principle)* – associated with the concepts of sovereignty, autonomy, self-determination and independence.

- *Taonga tuku iho (the cultural aspirations principle)* – being Māori, Te Reo, Mātauranga Māori, Tikanga Māori & Ahuatanga Māori are legitimised and validated.

- *Ako Māori (the culturally preferred pedagogy principle)* – promotes teaching and learning practices that are unique to tikanga Māori.

- *Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga (the socio-economic mediation principle)* – acknowledges the issue of Māori socio-economic disadvantage and the effects in education and the use of Kaupapa Māori mediation practices and values to maintain whānau wellbeing.

- *Whānau (the extended family principle)* – whānau and whanaungatanga are vital to Māori identity and culture.

- *Kaupapa (collective philosophy principle)* – Kaupapa Māori initiatives in education are held together by a collective commitment and a vision.

Kaupapa Māori researchers have also identified different values, protocols and tikanga that can help guide ethically appropriate research that involve Māori communities in Māori kaupapa. Kennedy and Cram (2010) present some key values and guidelines (shown in Table 1), which ensure ethically appropriate Kaupapa Māori research. Mahuika (2008) argues that the reoccurrence of Kaupapa Māori principles within the literature is prevalent and that these principles can be seen as "the foundational aspects of Kaupapa Māori theory" (p. 7). However, she also notes that the different interpretations and the different approaches that are informed by them could be compromising the true cultural significance of those concepts and therefore caution should be applied when grounding one's work in Kaupapa Māori principles and concepts. Having a lived experience of those principles and values and being able to seek advice from experts in mātauranga Māori are methods to prevent these principles being applied in a clichéd or inappropriate way.

Table 1: Kaupapa Māori research values and guidelines

Cultural Values *(L.T. Smith, 1999)*	Researcher Guidelines *(F. Cram, 2001)*
•Aroha ki te tangata	•A respect for people; allow people to define their own space and meet on their own terms.
•He kanohi kitea	•It is important to meet people face-to-face and also to be a face that is known and seen within a community.
•Titiro, whakarongo…kōrero	•Looking and listening (and then maybe speaking); develop understanding in order to find a place from which to speak.
•Manaaki ki te tangata	•Sharing, hosting, being generous.
•Kia tūpato	•Be cautious, be politically astute, culturally safe and reflective about insider/outsider status.
•Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata	•Do not trample on the "mana" or dignity of a person.
•Kia māhaki	•Be humble; do not flaunt your knowledge; find ways of sharing it.

(Sourced from: Kennedy & Cram, 2010, p. 3)

In saying that, interpretations are based on worldviews, which are constantly evolving, for example how we interpret what manaakitanga meant traditionally may only partially capture the essence of that principle today. While the principles and values outlined by Smith (1997), Smith (1999) and Cram (2001) are all in some way reflected within this research, I have chosen to focus on the Kaupapa Māori principles that were relevant to my context and my lived experience of 'being Māori'. Penehira (2011) argues that Kaupapa Māori should come from a lived base of understanding. My lived understanding of Kaupapa Māori is within 'whānau'. The research is underpinned by values and principles drawn from Māori epistemology, but also shaped and formed in the genesis and development of my own whānau, our realities and our commitment to living and being Māori. Kaupapa Māori research is meaningless if Māori are unable to see the relevance of the theorising to the practices in their own lives (Pihama, 2010). This approach will be discussed in detail within the methodology chapter.

Summary

The use of Kaupapa Māori philosophy and theory in this study provides a framework to understand happiness, derived from a Māori worldview. Kaupapa Māori theory gives value to the narrative of the oppressed, the colonised and the indigenous, a narrative and way of thinking and being, that has constantly been undermined by the dominant societal narrative and structure, yet can provide insightful understandings and interpretations of diverse Māori psychologies, worlds and realities.

Despite the many challenges that are faced by researchers conducting Kaupapa Māori research, the use of Kaupapa Māori philosophies and principles to guide, inform and facilitate the quest for knowledge develops and advances, largely because such research is not just about obtaining knowledge but about using such knowledge to empower, protect and embrace all the diverse forms of what it means to be Māori in this modern world.

Chapter Two: Western Conceptualisations of Happiness

"Oh health is the main thing of course, after that financially I'm pretty well off…just being I think physically and mentally, reasonably fit and comfortable and a reasonable amount of resources, nothing out of mind but I own the house and have got the odd hundred or so thousand in the bank." (Pouako 16)

Introduction

This research provides an analysis of happiness in relation to wellbeing, culture and ageing. The central aim of the thesis is to develop a conceptualisation of happiness that reflects the values and principles of the Māori world. A review and critique of happiness as referenced within Western science is necessary as the influence of Western science, historically and currently, on Māori society cannot be ignored. This chapter will explore happiness and wellbeing through a Western lens canvassing the debate about theories of happiness, definitions and appropriate measures. The Western perspective that dominates the current understanding of happiness in society and aspects of Western science that convey, and potentially reinforce, a Western cultural bias are discussed and factors that could benefit from a Kaupapa Māori critique and explanation are highlighted. This thesis argues that the concept of 'happiness' is culturally embedded. Therefore, while it is acknowledged that many people strive to be happy, what constitutes happiness differs across cultures. Correlates that are associated with happiness, the relationship between positive and negative emotions and the way different people prioritise happiness are also culturally constructed. This chapter identifies how common Western conceptualisations of happiness are limited when applied to other cultural contexts. For the purpose of this study, 'Western' is used broadly to refer to the Western European and American cultures, histories and philosophies.

There are many terms which are often used interchangeably to define happiness in the literature including happiness, subjective wellbeing, psychological wellbeing, contentment, life satisfaction and quality of life. The subjective use of these terms leads to diverse interpretations and understandings of happiness. This diversity has led to different ways to measure different factors and both objective and subjective features are considered when happiness is assessed (Selin & Davey, 2012). The purpose of this chapter is therefore also to highlight the use of these 'happiness' terms and emphasise the different meanings. Given the diverse use of 'happiness' terms, it is necessary to acknowledge that happiness has multiple perspectives, across multiple disciplines. Consedine, Magai, and King (2004) assert that there is a failure by researchers to use consistent, precise or theoretically well-informed operational definitions of positive emotions such as happiness. In addition, positive emotions such as happiness are often subsumed under a global positive affect term and therefore the specificity of the emotion is

diluted. Western science often distinguishes between wellbeing and discrete emotions. Kaupapa Māori does not however separate emotions from the other facets of wellbeing. Happiness is inextricably related to emotional, physical and spiritual wellbeing as well as to the environment (Durie, 1994; Pere, 1991). The term happiness will therefore be used alongside and in relation to wellbeing in this thesis. The literature on happiness and ageing often uses the terms successful ageing and positive ageing interchangeably. In the context of happiness and ageing literature, those terms are related to the process of achieving and maintaining health and wellbeing as you age. There is much to be learnt about happiness and ageing from the unique perspectives that are embedded in rich cultural traditions, values and beliefs.

Cross-cultural Philosophical Traditions of Happiness

Whilst the idea of happiness as a psychological construct that can be studied is a relatively modern development, the concept of happiness has been the source of debate across cultures for centuries (Diener, Gohm, Suh, & Oishi, 2000). Drawing from Western history, in ancient times there was some consensus that 'happiness' centred around 'good fortune' and luck (Oishi, Graham, Kesebir, & Galinha, 2013) and this may have derived from the root word of happiness, 'hap' which in Middle English referred to "chance, fortune or luck" (Duncan, 2005). In the Bible, Psalm 1 indicates that happiness comes from knowing the divine and following the divine law (Oberle, 2008). Aristotle believed that there was a unique 'daimon' or spirit within each individual that guides us to pursue things that are right for us, and it is through this pursuit that happiness is achieved (Boniwell, 2006).

In ancient Chinese philosophy, happiness and wellbeing is seen as:

> A state of homeostasis in nature, human societies, and individual human beings, brought about by the harmonious relationships between Yin and Yang [opposing principles/natures]. The ancient Chinese thinking of Taoism echoed such a philosophy of submission to, rather than control over, over the environment. (p. 478)

Even the founding tenets of the American culture, a culture that has often been described as one of the most "depressed" (Morris, 2012; Schumaker, 2006) is founded on the idea that all citizens have the right to pursue happiness (Oberle, 2008).

So while it seems that many different cultural philosophies agree that 'happiness' is of value, they disagree about what constitutes happiness because cultural values and beliefs influence these different views of happiness—and yet, the science of happiness and wellbeing has been

developed primarily based on Western philosophical and scientific traditions (Selin & Davey, 2012).

Western Conceptualisations of Happiness

The scientific study of happiness has been firmly established with the development of modern Positive Psychology. The teaching within this branch of psychology drew on the work of previous humanistic psychologists such as Maslow and Fromm and their theories on happiness (Deci & Ryan, 2008; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). The focus of this field in psychology saw a move away from the predominant focus on pathology and mental illness to those strengths and factors that contribute to positive mental health.

Western conceptualisations of happiness are derived from two different philosophical traditions, hedonic enjoyment and eudaimonia. These two main approaches to conceptualising happiness have been adopted and translated within a contemporary context in psychology to help understand and inform the science of happiness and wellbeing (Henderson & Knight, 2012).

The Hedonic Approach

The hedonic perspective conceptualises happiness as maximising pleasurable moments and avoiding pain. Happiness can be attained by increasing the positive affect or emotions that accompany attaining material objects and experiencing opportunities of desire (Henderson & Knight, 2012; Waterman, Schwartz, & Conti, 2008). We are therefore happy when we have more positive than negative feelings in our life (Christopher, 1999).

The experience of pleasure and enjoyment are emphasised within this approach. Marsden (2003) believes that hedonism can only exist within a society that separates the spiritual and the secular. Therefore, hedonism does not fit with traditional Māori values because the Māori world made no such separation between the spiritual and natural worlds.

The hedonistic approach to happiness has been adopted and applied within psychology, and the term subjective wellbeing (SWB) is often used in a way that is synonymous with hedonic happiness (Conceição & Bandura, 2008; Ed Diener, Oishi, & Lucas, 2009; Ryan & Deci, 2001). In Conceicao & Banduras's (2008) analysis, the different ways in which SWB is defined within psychology is analysed. SWB is explained as a state of wellbeing that includes both affective and cognitive components. SWB includes pleasant and unpleasant emotions, global life judgment (life evaluation) and domain satisfaction (marriage, health, leisure etc.). SWB is based on a person's subjective evaluation of their lives (Diener & Ryan, 2009). According to

Veenhoven (2010), happiness appears to be largely universal in that all people seem to evaluate their lives based on two sources of information: how well they feel generally and how well life as it is meets up with their standards as to how life should be. And yet these definitions are largely about the individual, with limited applicability to 'collectivist' cultures in which people are more likely to evaluate their lives based upon both social elements and internal psychological processes (Suh, Diener, Oishi, & Triandis, 1998).

The cognitive component of SWB is normally defined as life satisfaction, which is a concept commonly used as a definition and a measurement of one's happiness in old age (Jopp & Rott, 2006; Mathieu, 2008; Steptoe, Deaton, & Stone, 2015). Whilst the cognitive component is often located under the hedonic approach to happiness, researchers note that life satisfaction is not entirely hedonic as it involves a cognitive evaluation of one's conditions of life (Deci & Ryan, 2008). Life satisfaction is a personal evaluative judgment of how one feels about the life one has lived, how satisfied a person feels with life as a whole and within specific life domains such as work and family (Diener & Ryan, 2009). In Deeg and Zoneveld (1989)'s study on longevity and happiness, they defined life satisfaction as being closely related to 'coping'; the ability to deal with problems presented by life. The emphasis on internal processes such as attitudes, motives, goals and emotions when making life satisfaction judgments is more characteristic of Western individualistic societies. In collectivist societies, such judgments are more likely to be influenced by external factors such as cultural norms (Suh et al., 1998). An analysis of indigenous components of life satisfaction is therefore warranted.

In advanced age, the ability to manage issues is important as there are many challenges that come about from the ageing process. The onset of disease and physical ailments, social changes like retirement, financial limitations, social prejudice and changes in social network are all happening at the same stage of life. There is also often a reduction in support due to the deaths of family and friends. All these factors have been shown to be associated with life satisfaction. Many studies have illustrated the relationship between life satisfaction, happiness and living longer (Deeg & Zoneveld, 1989; Diener & Ryan, 2009). Thus life satisfaction is related to happiness and appears to be robust in older ages. Life satisfaction usually increases with old age but declines closer to impending death (Diener & Ryan, 2009). However, Deaton (in Conceicao & Banduras, 2008) noted that life satisfaction declines more rapidly with age in poorer countries.

The extent to which these conclusions reflect the situation for people in advanced age in non-Western cultures could be questioned, given that these measurements of life satisfaction are

based upon Western ideas of the 'self' and 'psyche', where life satisfaction judgments are considered to be based upon internal psychological processes. Suh et al. (1998) argue that in Western cultures there is a preoccupation with internal features of self, such as emotions, preferences, attitudes and beliefs, however when making life satisfaction judgments, in non-Western, East-Asian cultures such judgements are primarily based upon situational factors such as norms, roles and obligations.

Theories of Subjective Wellbeing

There are a number of Western psychological theories outlined in Diener and Ryan's (2009) overview of SWB which all tend to associate SWB with internal psychological processes. The Telic theories argue that happiness is achieved when individuals are able to reach or meet their goals and needs. The top down and bottom up theories focus on positive experiences. The top down approach claims that the more positive one's attitude is, the more positively one will experience events, whereas the bottom up theory states that the more positive moments a person experiences in life, the higher the SWB will be. Cognitive theories view SWB as the outcome of individuals focusing attention on positive stimuli, interpreting events positively and recalling past events with positive memory bias. If recalling past events with positive memory bias is an indication of SWB and happiness, then those interviews where older people recall their lives with nostalgia and in a positive way could be viewed as an indication of a person's SWB. Evolutionary theories assert that positive emotions are the motivations for adaptive behaviour (Cosmides & Tooby, 2000; Diener & Ryan, 2009). Personality, in particular the presence of extraversion, has also been related to happiness and positive affect in people. Alternatively, people may experience wellbeing when they perceive that they are better off than others or if their current life is an improvement on their past life (Diener & Ryan, 2009). Adaption theory also postulates that people who experience an increase or decrease in their wellbeing after a very positive or negative life event will eventually return to their genetic set point of happiness (Diener, Lucas, & Scollon, 2006). This theoretical perspective emphasises temperament as the long-term indicator of happiness rather than life events and circumstances. However, human beings do not always adapt to everything they experience (Diener & Ryan, 2009).

While genetics may have a fundamental influence on a person's characteristic happiness levels, there is evidence to suggest that through intentional actions and activities people have an ability to significantly and sustainably increase their happiness (Lyubomirsky, Sheldon, & Schkade, 2005; Seligman, 2002; Seligman, Steen, Park, & Peterson, 2005). Lyubormisky et al. (2005) have translated these determinants of happiness into the formula: H = S + C + V where H is

happiness, S is the set range, C is your circumstances in life and V are factors that are under your voluntary control. Approximately 50% of happiness levels are determined by genes or set range; 10% is determined by environmental circumstances like income, social status and age; and 40% is left for intentional behaviour. Intentional behaviour includes three types of activities: behavioural (e.g., exercising, being kind to others), cognitive (e.g., seeing things in a positive light) and volitional (e.g., giving to meaningful causes) (Lyubomirsky et al., 2005).

Measurements of Subjective Wellbeing

Measurements of SWB rely on self-reported measures. Generally self-reported surveys that measure SWB ask questions which are centred on life satisfaction and happiness. An example of such questions are, "Taken all together, how would you say things are these days? Would you say that you are very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy?" (Kukutai, 2006), or "All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?" (Krueger & Schkade, 2008). Such questions provide a global evaluation of one's life. These data are then also used to examine correlates with domains considered to be important to wellbeing such as health, work and income. A concern with self-reporting methods is the validity of people reporting truthfully about their level of happiness (Morris, 2012). However, according to Diener et al. (2009), self-report tests have found convergence with other forms of assessments such as expert ratings based on interview respondents, the reports of family and friends and experience sampling measures (instruments that describe variations in self-reports of mental processes).

Cultural Critique of Subjective Wellbeing Theory and Hedonic Happiness

The Western theories on SWB have provided valuable insights into happiness levels and understandings of factors contributing to happiness. There are significant limitations, however, in applying current Western SWB measures to other cultural contexts. Consideration needs to be given to cultural variables that influence happiness. Indigenous cultures such as Māori may have different beliefs about the self, different understandings of identity formation and wellbeing and also may express and value different domains of life satisfaction and different emotions. Inglehart and Klingemann (2000) believe that:

> [a] full set of measures of SWB will include judgments of whether people are living the "good life" from the frame of reference of that society, and include evaluative judgments that go beyond hedonism. (p. 5)

The current definitions of happiness and SWB used within psychological research have been constructed from a system that is embedded in Western values, beliefs and behaviours. This thesis asserts that happiness is a culturally defined concept (Kitayama, Markus, & Kurokawa,

2000; Lu & Gilmour, 2004; Schumaker, 2006). The foundations of happiness for Maori requires an understanding of Maori worldviews, values and beliefs and those factors which give meaning to life within Maori society. However Maori are diverse and the extent and nature of the way Maori values and beliefs shape happiness is complex and heterogeneous. According to Schumaker (2006), the reason that happiness is more cultural than biological is that the values that underpin happiness are the result of one's cultural learning. Following this premise, for many people happiness is gained from living a life that reflects and is balanced with their cultural values. Schumaker provides the example that for the American culture that might value material assets and trends, obtaining the latest pair of Nike shoes may bring happiness; however, for the Buddhist lama who places no value on 'earthly possessions', those shoes would seem inconsequential to the happiness gained from enlightenment and wisdom. This argument also brings into question what happens to happiness when through the process of colonisation, people are forced to assimilate and adopt lifestyles that do not align with their cultural values. Lu & Gilmour (2004) found that if the larger cultural tradition within a society is individualistic then people with an independent self find it easier to achieve SWB whereas a collectivist cultural tradition makes it easier for a person with an interdependent self to achieve SWB.

Holism is central to an indigenous understanding of happiness and wellbeing (Durie, 2001; Kral & Idlout, 2012; Pere, 1991; Willeto, 2012). It has been argued that Western based theories and methods of understanding happiness as 'SWB' do not reflect a holistic description of happiness (Tassell, 2009). Christopher (1999) claims that while the notion of SWB might appear to be devoid of cultural influences, it is in fact based on Western individualistic assumptions, values and moral visions. SWB places responsibility on the individual to determine the standards and criteria by which they evaluate their life, which is consistent with the political ideology of liberalism central to Western societies (Christopher, 1999). An individualistic approach to happiness is in contrast to many non-Western cultures where there are clear standards of conduct and behaviour that centre on the collective wellbeing.

Conclusions drawn from cross-cultural research on happiness are limited because different cultures conceptualise happiness in different ways (Wierzbicka, 2004). Morris (2012) asserts that the notion of happiness should be relevant to the common sense usage of the term in the culture being studied. However, he then describes the common sense view of 'happiness' as pleasurable emotions and feelings. Pleasurable emotions and feelings might be common sense within Western culture but may not be the central view of happiness in other cultures (Ng, Ho, Wong, & Smith, 2003). Not all cultures value SWB in the same way and this can affect how

global reports of SWB are interpreted. People in cultures where SWB is valued are more likely to weight positive domains and people from cultures where SWB is less important tend to weight their most negative domains when considering their life satisfaction overall (Diener, Lucas, & Oishi, 2002). Defining happiness as a subjective emotional state and the yardstick of a good life can be contrasted within traditional Chinese society where the good life was not measured by happiness but by filial piety and living in harmony with others (Christopher, 1999, p. 145).

As noted earlier, life satisfaction judgments are often considered to be one component of the SWB measure used to determine happiness in individuals. Caution needs to be applied when examining the relationship between life satisfaction and specific domains as, according to Diener et al. (2009), the relationship is likely to be dependent on people's beliefs about what types of information should be considered when examining their entire life. The measurement of life satisfaction requires a person to score themselves highly if they are satisfied or fulfilled. This reflects the Western attitude of self-promotion which is in direct contrast to many cultures, for example in Asia; such proclamations are considered immature and inviting of bad luck (Christopher, 1999, p. 144). It is more common and acceptable in collectivist, sociocentric cultures, for friends and family to provide an 'objective' evaluation of a person's life than the person themselves. According to Christopher (1999):

> A psychological measure that implicitly draws on the "self-serving bias" or "tendency to false uniqueness" that accompanies Western individualism is of questionable value for use in cultures that exhibit a "modesty bias" or "other-enhancement" bias. (p. 144)

Furthermore, there are profound cultural differences in what makes people happy. For example, esteem needs were less strongly associated with life satisfaction in collectivist cultures than in individualistic cultures (Oishi, Diener, Lucas, & Suh, 1999). A life satisfaction judgment is based on combining assessments of positive and negative affect with an assessment of how life measures up to one's goals and aspirations. However, (Suh et al., 1998) found that:

> Individuals' emotional experiences have a much more profound influence on the judgment of life satisfaction in individualist cultures than in collectivist cultures. On the other hand, cultural norms regarding the normative desirability of life satisfaction were as important as emotions when collectivists made life satisfaction judgments. (p. 489)

They further posit the need for more research on indigenous components of life satisfaction that focus on such aspects as harmonious relationships. SWB and the hedonic approach to happiness

dominate Western psychological research on happiness. While SWB is based on an individual's subjective perception of how happy they are, it is limited as a measure of happiness across different nations and cultures. SWB has largely been associated with the hedonic approach but the involvement of a cognitive evaluation also tends toward an integration of SWB with eudaimonic approaches to happiness.

Eudaimonic Approach to Happiness

The eudaimonic approach to happiness is derived from the virtue theory of Aristotle (Robbins, 2008) who theorised that happiness was the result of living a life of virtue and contemplation in accordance with one's unique potential (Henderson & Knight, 2012). While hedonic and eudaimonic happiness are viewed as being correlated, they are still considered independent constructs (Robbins, 2008). Positive emotions alone are not equated to happiness in a eudaimonic context. Aristotle's philosophy of Eudaimonia has been labelled as elitist because:

> The model of the good life within classical Greek philosophy was based on an exclusive concept of life: only some had the life that enabled them to achieve the good life. (Ahmed, 2010, pp. 12-13)

The concept of Eudaimonia has been translated into psychology albeit with less clarity than 'SWB' and has resulted in a variety of approaches and theories of happiness, which have largely centred on personal growth and finding meaning and fulfilment in life (Henderson & Knight, 2012).

The eudaimonic approach to happiness has more commonly been related to the notion of 'psychological wellbeing'. The psychological aspect of wellbeing is based on a Western approach to health that makes a division between the psychological, physical and other dimensions; however, there is no such mind-body dichotomy in East Asia medicine (Christopher, 1999, p. 143); and other indigenous perspectives concur, including Māori perspectives (Durie, 2001).

The eudaimonic approach to happiness has often been presented as a more enduring and meaningful form of happiness than the hedonic approach of SWB. According to Robbins (2008):

> To be subjectively well does not necessarily mean one has cultivated those characteristics and qualities that enable a person to live an authentically good life. If one

is living an authentically good life, however, one enhances the capacity for deep, enduring and mature expressions of happiness and joy. (p. 101)

Positive psychology promotes the notion of nurturing certain character strengths and virtues as a method to achieve happiness and wellbeing (Seligman, 2002). Specific traits, strengths and virtues are found to be ubiquitously recognised worldwide as conducive to happiness (Seligman & Peterson, 2004). It is acknowledged that these virtues might however mean slightly different things and be valued differently across different cultures. Alongside virtues and strengths, Seligman (2002) outlines three dimensions to happiness: 'pleasant life', 'the good life' and the 'meaningful life'. The pleasant life occurs when we can appreciate basic pleasures such as companionship, the natural environment and bodily pleasures. The good life involves discovering your unique virtues or strengths such as kindness, humour, optimism and generosity and employing them creatively to enhance your life. The third stage is the meaningful life, which involves employing your unique strengths for a purpose greater than yourself. If we are able to experience either of these lives then we can experience happiness but the highest level and fulfilment occurs if we can have a more meaningful life, which combines both eudaimonic and hedonic components (Huta & Ryan, 2010). This is consistent with the approach in positive psychology that is described as 'flourishing' whereby wellbeing includes both hedonic and eudaimonic components (Seligman, 2011). Furthermore, it is argued that a life rich in both types of pursuits correlates to the highest level of wellbeing (Henderson & Knight, 2012). However, Seligman's approach to happiness has been criticised for its focus on personal autonomy and individually defined fulfilment (Christopher, Richardson, & Slife, 2008), as well as its ethnocentrism (Christopher & Hickinbottom, 2008; Kubokawa & Ottoway, 2009) in failing to account for cultural context.

The concept of 'flow' has been described as containing both eudaimonic and hedonic components of happiness:

> Consistent with the hedonic perspective, flow theory states that flow has a direct impact on subjective well-being by fostering the experience of happiness in the here and now. Consistent with the eudaimonic perspective, flow theory states that flow has an equally important indirect effect on subjective well-being by fostering the motivation to face and master increasingly difficult tasks, thus promoting lifelong organismic growth. (Moneta, 2004, p. 116)

Flow can occur when playing a musical instrument, reading a good book, being 'in the zone' during a sports game, achieving a goal at work or simply being engaged in a good conversation

with a friend (Csikszentmihalyi, 1997). Flow occurs when people are fully immersed in an activity. These moments involve intense concentration, time distortion, increased confidence and a loss of self-awareness. "The metaphor of flow is one that many people have used to describe the sense of effortless action they feel in moments that stand out as the best in their lives" (p. 29). Furthermore, flow tends to occur when a person faces a clear set of goals that require appropriate responses and where the goals are challenging but still compatible with their own skill level. While aspects of flow have been influenced by Eastern cultural and religious beliefs, it has been criticised for its Western bias, specifically the universality of flow as an active and goal-directed process (Moneta, 2004).

Ryff and Singer (2008) discuss how Ryff's (1989) multidimensional model of Psychological Wellbeing has also been closely aligned with eudaimonic happiness. The model asserts that there are six universal needs that people strive for and the more one is able to fulfil those needs, the happier and more satisfied they are. These needs are: autonomy, personal growth, relationships, purpose in life, environmental mastery and self-acceptance. However, other researchers suggest that these needs are based on predominantly Western values and beliefs and so may be limited when applied to non-Western cultures (Ingersoll-Dayton, Sarengtienchai, Kespichayawattana, & Aungsuroch, 2001; Mehrotra, Tripathi, & Banu, 2013). Notions such as autonomy which are central to Ryff's (1989) model of psychological wellbeing are again based on the Western idea of the "autonomous, bounded, abstract individual" (Christopher, 1999, p. 145), which contrasts with other cultures where the perception of self is associated with relationships with others (Uchida, Norasakkunkit, & Kitayama, 2004). Furthermore, the idea of environmental mastery contrasts with many indigenous concepts of wellbeing that promote living in harmony with the environment (Christopher, 1999). For example, in a study on Indian youth, environmental mastery did not feature as a clear factor of psychological wellbeing (Mehrotra et al., 2013). The researchers concluded that environmental mastery might have different meanings in non-Western cultures where there is a higher emphasis on adapting to one's environment rather than shaping it.

One limitation of the current cultural critique of Western psychological theories of happiness is that it has largely focused on a comparison between Western American and Asian cultures, and has thus primarily focused on the distinction between individualist and collectivist cultures (Oishi et al., 2013). While this distinction might also be relevant when analysing happiness in other indigenous cultures, such an analysis is required to capture a full understanding of the different ways happiness is understood and conceptualised in cultures other than American and Asian. An analysis of happiness in Māori culture is required to uncover other distinctions when

comparing cultural concepts of happiness, beside the commonly discussed individualist/collectivist dichotomy. In modern Māori society, Māori do not uniformly associate or connect with traditional collectivist social structures such as hapū and iwi (Durie, 1995). The relationship between a traditional, collectivist approach and today's constructs of happiness will be explored with older Māori. Aspirations and assessments are influenced by cultural context, it should be questioned whether the domains of satisfaction associated with SWB and valued in Western cultures, are in fact valued by older Māori (Kukutai, 2006). Therefore, other methods of understanding and measuring happiness should be explored in order to get a full understanding of how people construct happiness and those factors that contribute to life satisfaction and happiness for older Māori. The next section will explore some of these domains and correlates of happiness and consider how relevant they are within non-Western cultural contexts.

Correlates of, and Influences on, Happiness in the Context of Ageing

The correlates of happiness are important to understand because of their contribution to health, wellbeing and longevity (Diener & Ryan, 2009). The happiness of our elderly population not only has benefits for the individual but also our entire society. A consideration of subjective evaluations alongside these correlates gives a broader picture of happiness and wellbeing. Research is however still unable to clearly differentiate between correlates and causes of happiness. For example, happiness is associated with having strong social relationships, but people with high SWB are generally better at making friends (Diener & Ryan, 2009, p. 396). This section will briefly summarise some of those key correlates with reference to findings in different cultures. It must be noted however that these correlates have been identified within research that has adopted primarily Western psychological conceptualisations of happiness, such as SWB, psychological wellbeing and life satisfaction. There is a need for the development of culturally specific measures of happiness and a critical examination of the influence of cultural context on understandings and experiences of happiness (Kitayama & Markus, 2000; Lu & Gilmour, 2004; Uchida et al., 2004).

> Any adequate understanding of seemingly universal factors can never be complete without taking into account culture-dependent ways in which such factors are realized and allowed to shape happiness and well-being. (Uchida et al., 2005, p. 235)

Modernisation and the influence of Western values and beliefs on many contemporary Chinese, their constructions of 'self' and wellbeing, are influenced by both traditional Chinese cultural values and modern Westernised cultural values (Lu, 2008). While there are universal indicators

that can be applied to measure aspects of Māori wellbeing, there is also the need to develop measures that capture the unique characteristics of Māori wellbeing (Durie, 2004).

Age

The process of ageing is characterised by extensive perceived negative changes in multiple domains of functioning such as cognition, health and social network (Stuart-Hamilton, 2012). Dementia rates increase exponentially with age (Jorm & Jolley, 1998) and the oldest old, over 85 years, are more likely to have lost a partner and/or child (Rott, Jopp, D'Heureuse, & Becker, 2006). Generally, this age related change is accompanied by similar ideological patterns within Western societies, where old age is synonymous with dependency on others and retirement, which are both viewed negatively (Karasawa et al., 2011). Despite negative perceptions, evidence shows that SWB seems to remain relatively stable in old age (Jopp & Rott, 2006; Lawton, 2001); life satisfaction actually increases with old age (Diener & Ryan, 2009); and older age and positive mental health are associated (Franco et al., 2012). Psychologist Laura Cartensen reports that people experience more positive emotion as they age. Her research found that as your future contracts and becomes more finite your focus changes and you seek out pleasure in everyday experiences and meaningful experiences with those closest to you (Carstensen, Pasupathi, Mayr & Nesselroade, 2000). Other evidence suggests that SWB is less stable in very advanced age (Hansen & Slagsvold, 2012; Smith, Borchelt, Maier, & Jopp, 2002), whereas Cartensen proposes this may be more related to closeness to death, than age (Carstensen et al., 2011).

Much of the cross-cultural research on culture and happiness has focused on younger populations and less attention has been given to ageing populations (Karasawa et al., 2011). It would be logical to assume that there may be differences in happiness based on a culture's perception of ageing. Generally in Māori society ageing is seen in a positive light with more mana being bestowed on Māori as they get older (Kukutai, 2006). For many older Māori, there is an increase in their role and participation in the community as they age. This perspective differs greatly from the more mainstream deficit approach that focuses on negative stereotypes about older adults and associates ageing with frailty, illness, dependency, inability to cope and depression (Sneed & Whitbourne, 2005).

There is, however, a need for more research to understand the meaning of happiness for today's ageing Māori population. An analysis of the strategies and adaptive mechanisms employed by Māori to maintain happiness and wellbeing throughout life and into old age is warranted.

Income

The extent to which income and wealth correspond to happiness is a constant debate. A study in the United Sates found that individual self-reported happiness increased with individual income, but that the aggregate national happiness was not affected by sustained increases of gross domestic product (GDP) per capital (Easterlin paradox) (Conceição & Bandura, 2008). Whilst Japan's GDP increased fivefold during 1958 to 1995, there were no reported changes in happiness levels (Conceicao & Bandura, 2008). Furthermore, Japan's improvement in economic development and prosperity has had a critical impact on Japanese mental wellbeing. The overemphasis on working long hours and production had caused so much stress that it has led to the development of a new cultural phenomena in Japan called 'karoshi', which is a term used to indicate "death or permanent disability from cerebrovascular diseases and ischemic heart diseases caused by overwork" (Iwasaki, Takahashi, & Nakata, 2006, p. 539).

However, research in other parts of Asia has supported the argument that income influences happiness in the elderly population. Low income amongst Thai elderly was a contributing factor to isolation and a poor life (Sumngern, Azeredo, Subgranon, Sungvorawongphana, & Matos, 2010). In particular, a low income prevented the elderly from travelling and from buying nutritional food. An adequate income was deemed as required for happiness.

Another theory that is widely accepted in the wellbeing literature is that income is related to wellbeing but the effect on subjective wellbeing is only small (Diener et al., 2009; Norrish & Vella-Brodick, 2008). Money only significantly matters to happiness when it moves people above a certain threshold such as the poverty line (Duncan, 2005; Samman, 2007). This is pertinent to older Māori who are materially disadvantaged and face greater economic hardship than older non-Māori (Kukutai, 2006). However, evidence also shows that wealth and development seem to have little impact on happiness and life satisfaction even in the face of poverty. Countries within the former Soviet Union report lower levels of happiness and life satisfaction than poorer countries (India and Nigeria), despite improved economic conditions and the dissolution of communist regimes (Conceicao & Bandura, 2008). Research on slum-dwellers in Calcutta showed that despite extreme poverty they report that they have satisfactory lives, rewarding family lives and moral lives (Biwas-Diener cited in Camfield, Choudhury, & Devine, 2006). Diener and Ryan (2009) conclude that, while income does have an effect on wellbeing, social and psychological factors are better predictors of the emotional wellbeing of nations. The social factors include whether citizens can count on others, how frequently they have experienced violence, the level of government corruption, and societal trust. The

psychological factors include whether people feel free, learn new things, and are able to do what they enjoy on a daily basis.

The results of the three study samples of the Harvard Ageing study (Vaillant, 2002) show that 'emotional riches' were stronger correlates of successful ageing than income. Whilst income did not necessarily predict happiness in old age, good mental health, good coping skills and loving relationships predicted high income. Furthermore, the ability to try new things, to learn how to play again and the acquisition of new and younger friends were far more closely linked to enjoyment in old age than retirement income. A study of happiness in Bangladesh found that while income and socio-economic status were seen as contributing to happiness, the development and maintenance of family and community relationships were of equal significance to income (Camfield et al., 2006). Income was viewed as important as it provided the means to enable people to pursue those activities that promote happiness such as strengthening relationships.

The New Zealand General Social Survey assesses overall SWB in New Zealanders and considers material living standards to be a critical measure (Statistics New Zealand, 2015a). However, material wellbeing is only one component alongside other social and psychological dimensions. Māori have often been viewed as having a culture that values people over possessions and the collective over the individual (Kukutai, 2006, p. 6). The reality of that view for older Māori today and the importance of income and material wellbeing to the happiness of older Māori requires further research.

Health

Whilst some studies have found that people adapt to changes in income relatively well, happiness can be permanently affected by other factors such as severe injury, death and divorce. Adverse health changes have been found to have enduring negative effects on happiness and those that experienced a terrible accident or illness have been found to have lower levels of happiness and to adapt less well to declining health (Conceicao & Bandura, 2008). Easterlin's research (in Conceicao & Bandura, 2008) supports the notion that self-reported health declines throughout life and happiness is related to perception of health. The Harvard Ageing Study (Valliant, 2002) found that people's SWB had a greater influence on successful ageing and happiness than objective health. If the older person perceived their health status to be good then they were happier, regardless of their actual health status. In fact, it is not uncommon to find that older people report higher levels of subjective health than would be expected from their observed indicators of health. One interpretation is that satisfaction with life is associated with

a lower level of health because there is an acceptance of increased physical problems and discomfort with old age (Kukutai, 2006, p. 6). The Oranga Kaumātua study found that older Māori gave an optimistic assessment of their health status which was in contrast to their self-assessed account of morbidity, and national data on actual morbidity and premature mortality rates (Waldon, 2004). It was also noted by Waldon, however, that Māori held different understandings of health than those which underpin the 36-item Short Form Health Survey (SF36), used to assess health status in this study.

As noted earlier, quality of life (QOL) is a concept associated with happiness and wellbeing in old age. There has been little research in older adults to analyse which of the quality of life factors are most important and whether factors differ across cultures. One study found that it was the physical facets of QOL (energy, freedom from pain, ability to do activities of daily living and to move around) that were of most significance for quality of life in a sample of older adults (60+) across 22 countries (Molzahn, Skevington, Kalfoss, & Makaroff, 2010). In particular, 'energy' was noted as a crucial element of quality of life. This is significant given that ageing research shows that lack of energy is associated with chronic conditions, masked depression, reduced QOL, greater health problems, sleeping disorders, and decreased social participation (Cheng, Gurland, & Maurer, 2008). According to Deepak Chopra (1994b), energy is vital to a person's wellbeing and is a quality that does not age. He posits that the ability of Indian's spiritual 'yogi' to have an internal perception of their body as an energy field has allowed them to live long and healthy lives into the tenth decade. Happiness is indicated as a significant facet of QOL. This facet has not been explored in detail with respect to enhancing the QOL of the oldest people.

Jopp and Rott (2006)'s research examined how centenarians adapt to challenges and whether resources, self-referent beliefs and attitudes toward life relate to positive adaptation, providing an analysis of the findings from a number of prominent ageing studies throughout the world. Two of those studies indicated that health status seemed to have little influence on a person's happiness in advanced age. The Berlin Ageing study found that extraversion predicted positive affect, and aspects of social network and cognition were also significant predictors of positive affect, whereas health indicators had no predictive value at all (Jopp & Rott, 2006). The Georgia Ageing Study found that personality, not health, predicted morale in old age (Jopp & Rott, 2006). However, an Uruguay ageing study found that although older people were happier when they were married, higher levels of income and higher standards of health also predicted happiness (Cid, Ferres, & Rossi, 2008). Additionally, Hedrick's (2007) study of physical health

and psychological wellbeing in elderly women found that poor health was associated with more depression and anxiety and lower levels of personal growth and autonomy.

Older Māori have poorer health and more disability compared to the majority Pākehā population (Ministry of Health, 2011) and therefore an assessment of whether health is correlated with happiness for older Māori is warranted.

Attitude

People's perception of ageing has an effect on their happiness and longevity, with positive beliefs about ageing predicting greater happiness in older age (Holahan, Holahan, Velasquez, & North, 2008). Successful ageing commentaries therefore may have positive benefits for people as they age. A person's cultural context may also have an influence on their experience of happiness in old age. For example, Chopra (1994a) suggests that cultures which revere their elders, according them positions of responsibility and respect, create a positive ageing belief that affects wellbeing.

> In Japanese culture, conceptions of aging are rooted in Buddhist, Confucian, and Taoist philosophical traditions that characterize aging as maturity. Old age is thus understood as a socially valuable part of life, even a time of "spring" or "rebirth" after a busy period of working and raising children. (Karasawa et al., 2011, pp. 70-71)

Similarly, Kukutai (2006, p. 3) claims that the 'modal or ideal' view of ageing in Māori culture is one which affords respect and value to the position and roles of older Māori and the process of ageing. However, Kukutai also cautions against accepting this view as standard, implying that the Western societal dominance may have diversified attitudes towards ageing for Māori. The same could also be said of the Japanese cultural perception of ageing, where traditional beliefs and views of ageing are being influenced by a growing trend in Asian countries to adopt more egalitarian perspectives towards the position and function of elders (Karasawa et al., 2011). This research will explore how culture influences experiences and perceptions of happiness and wellbeing for older Māori. It will also consider whether living within a Māori worldview, which places great value on the role of being an elder, has a positive impact on happiness.

Jopp and Rott's (2006) research on centenarians found that extraversion played a positive role across the whole lifespan, right up until the oldest age. Furthermore, self-referent beliefs and attitudes had a more significant influence on happiness than resources. Jopp and Rott attest that

this may support the notion that people's perceptions and internal worldview become more important in advanced age.

Mathieu's (2008) study examined the use of humour and happiness centred therapy for older adults, which showed an increase in life satisfaction after older people had participated in this therapy. The Harvard Ageing Study also identified humour as an adaptive coping mechanism in old age (Vaillant, 2002). In essence, humour allows people to express emotion without hurting themselves or others. The use of humour as a defence mechanism was also found to significantly increase in old age amongst the Harvard cohort.

Very little research has been done which describes how positive attitudes and perceptions of ageing affect happiness in older Māori today nor the role of cultural context in shaping such attitudes and influencing happiness for the very old.

Family, community and social networks

Family and social supports have been identified as having a significant impact on happiness of the elderly. Marriage has generally been shown to influence happiness and SWB is higher in married people than singles, divorced, separated and widowed individuals (Conceicao & Bandura, 2002). According to Valliant (2002), marriage is integral to healthy ageing and is a foundation for adult resilience and good for both physical and psychosocial health. A good marriage at 50 years of age predicted positive ageing at 80 years (p. 13). Blanchflower and Oswald (2000) examined data from 100,000 randomly sampled Americans and Britons and found that a lasting marriage was worth $100,000 per annum when compared to being widowed and separated. Diener et al. (2000) completed a study across 42 nations and found a positive association between marital status and SWB, taking cultural aspects into account.

Similarly, an active social network of family and friends has also been linked to positive ageing and identified as a buffer against mental illness. For example, older people with restricted social networks are more likely to have symptoms of depression and social support has been identified as an important aspect of the happiness of older people (Katona, 1991; Singh & Misra, 2009). Positive family relationships are associated with happiness (Jeon et al., 2016; Uusitalo-Malmivaara & Lehto, 2013). Leaders in a Hong Kong Chinese community believe that interacting and building connections with family members contributes to family happiness. In turn, family happiness and wellbeing is viewed as an indicator of a harmonious society (Chan et al., 2011).

As a country, Denmark consistently rates as one of the happiest (Helliwell, Layard, & Sachs, 2012) and is known for social equality and a high standard of living. Danes have free education, healthcare for life and, although this is facilitated by very high taxes, the rate of taxation does not have a significant effect on overall levels of happiness (Mangels, 2009). Happiness and wellbeing for the Danes is linked to their strong systems for facilitating social cohesion (The Happiness Research Institute, 2014). Denmark has more of its population in co-housing communities than has any other modern industrialised nation. Multiple families live on a plot of land, sometimes within the same building, with an aim to increase the quality of social life and decrease the burden of everyday life (Lietaert, 2010). All activities are shared and the older people in the community act as grandparents to all the children. Lietart (2010) explains that co-housing also provides a way to integrate the elderly with multiple generations instead of segregating them.

Co-housing is a powerful example of how intergenerational and communal living has the potential to increase the happiness of people whilst also meeting the goals of positive sustainable development. The foundation of Māori society is whānau, the family unit, and therefore it makes sense to hypothesise that family and maintenance of family connectedness into old age is important for happiness amongst Māori.

Democracy and political freedom

Democracy and political freedom are linked to happiness and SWB. In Switzerland, people are happier living in places where democratic institutions are more developed and where the government is decentralised (Conceicao & Bandura, 2002). However, this is not always the case, for example China, ranked as one of the most authoritarian countries, shows higher SWB than some democratic nations. Frustration or unhappiness with the rigid political system in China is believed to be mediated by high economic growth (Inglehart & Klingemann, 2000).

Freedom of choice in how to live one's life was correlated with happiness but more so for nations that have a high level of economic security (Inglehart, Foa, Peterson, & Welzel, 2008). These researchers emphasise the influence of historical, cultural and institutional factors on SWB. The impact of political freedom and democracy on the lives of older people has not been extensively examined. This thesis will explore the impact of political and historical processes such as colonisation on the happiness of older Māori.

Religion and spirituality

Religion and spirituality also contribute to happiness in old age. People who hold religious beliefs tend to have high wellbeing, high life satisfaction and low suicide levels (Udhayakumar

& Ilango, 2012). These positive findings are attributed to having a sense of meaning and purpose and the presence of strong social networks from being part of a religious or faith group (Diener & Ryan. 2009). Moreira-Almeida, Neto and Koenig (2006) cite studies that show that the positive impact of religious involvement is more robust in people who are older, have disabilities and/or medical illnesses. Joy has also been positively linked to religion in a sample of older American adults (Consedine et al., 2004). Schumaker (2006) believes that religion is beneficial to psychological wellbeing because it provides cognitive structures that help to order a chaotic world and provides meaning, purpose and hope in people's lives. Overall, religion has a positive impact on older people's happiness but lack of religion does not necessarily equate to unhappiness. Non-religious nations report high levels of wellbeing, potentially linked to spiritual beliefs as opposed to structured religion (Diener & Ryan, 2009).

Spirituality can be defined as a transcendent relationship with a higher being or with the universe and is positively associated with the wellbeing of the elderly (Idhayakumar & Ilango, 2012). In India, spiritual beliefs become more salient as one ages and have a positive association with health and stress reduction (Idhayakumar & Ilango, 2012). Spirituality is frequently cited as a critical aspect of wellbeing in indigenous cultures, including Māori culture (Durie, 1994; Lewis, 2011; McNeill, 2005; Taitimu, 2007). The extent to which spirituality supports wellbeing for Māori throughout life and into old age will be explored in this study. Māori conceptualisations of spiritual wellbeing traditionally and in modern society will be presented to extend our understanding of how spirituality is related to wellbeing from an indigenous worldview.

Summary

The significant contributors to happiness and wellbeing, based on scientific investigations, have been described in this chapter. These understandings of happiness are embedded in Western cultural values and beliefs. In general, while Western conceptualisations of happiness within psychological research are characterised by differing terms, definitions and measurements, acknowledgement of distinct, culture-laden aspects still permeates research on happiness. Happiness is viewed as positive, has both subjective and objective components, involves emotions alongside cognitive judgments and promotes the individual, personal pursuit of a good and meaningful life. These conceptualisations of happiness have a Western bias and their transferability to understanding happiness within other cultural contexts is here questioned. As Diener, Scollon, and Lucas (2003, p. 214) clearly state when conducting happiness research:

We must consider what is functional and that includes some negative feelings from time to time. Although pleasant emotions may be desirable, happiness is not the ultimate goal at all times. Rather individual and cultural differences in the valuing of enjoyment suggest that people are willing to sacrifice feeling happy for other goals. And even when people do seek enjoyment, they want to feel good for the right reasons. Thus we need to understand people's goals and consider their feelings within the context of their values.

The correlates of happiness span social, health, economic, political and spiritual issues. To move forward with our understandings of happiness we must return to our histories (Ahmed, 2010) and therefore the following chapters will provide an understanding of happiness from a traditional and historical Māori perspective.

Chapter Three: Māori Perspectives on Happiness and Wellbeing

"The three main things that were important to our old people, tumanako (faith), whakapono (belief) me te aroha (and love). And the greatest one of all of course is te aroha, love is the greatest. If one can achieve love with the greater community, you can achieve anything." (Pouako 4)

Introduction

This chapter will provide an understanding of happiness and wellbeing from a traditional Māori worldview. A strong emphasis is placed on Mātauranga Māori to analyse happiness and ageing here with alternative explanations to the Western view, grounded in Kaupapa Māori. Māori beliefs about the world, reality and human nature are holistic, as is common with other indigenous worldviews (Cheung, 2008; Durie, 2004). While it is not within the scope of this thesis to explore, in-depth, indigenous perspectives on happiness, other indigenous views of happiness will be referred to in this chapter where essential elements such as unity with the environment and spiritual wellbeing align with Māori views. Cheung (2008) defines the Māori worldview as one which:

> Acknowledges the sacred relationship that humans have with nature, with each other and with themselves. Practicing these ways of being recognises a key principle of holism, the interdependence of relationship to others. Intrinsic in this principle is how each little part affects the whole. (p. 3).

Within an indigenous Māori worldview, the physical, psychological, environmental, social and spiritual dimensions of wellbeing are all interconnected, in contrast to the more separated Western model of wellbeing. Happiness is often defined as a psychological construct that is separated from physical, spiritual and emotional wellbeing in Western literature. A traditional Māori conceptualisation of happiness is therefore understood as an interrelated phenomenon, which takes into account all dimensions. Traditional Māori perspectives of happiness are presented in six main sections: positive views of ageing; relational approach to happiness; the natural environment and happiness; spiritual wellbeing; physical wellbeing and psychological wellbeing.

Pūrākau and Whakataukī

In this section, whakataukī (proverbs) and pūrākau (myths and legends) are used to present a traditional Māori understanding of happiness and ageing. Whakataukī is referred to in the generic sense as meaning 'proverb' (Edwards, 2010, p. 105). The whakataukī and pūrākau represent Mātauranga Māori, where views of reality and being are entrenched in a Māori worldview, providing a Māori interpretation of happiness and wellbeing prior to colonisation. The whakataukī and their translations and interpretations used within this discussion have been taken primarily from Mead and Grove's (2001) 'Ngā Pēpeha a ngā Tīpuna' and it is acknowledged that other iwi and hapū may have differing interpretations or wording of these same whakataukī. The pūrākau presented in this discussion are primarily from Tauranga Moana and have been translated and interpreted by a cultural expert, Stu McDonald, who is from Tauranga Moana and affiliates to Ngāi te Rangi, Ngāti Ranginui and Ngāti Pukenga, the tribes of Tauranga.

Positive Views of Ageing

Generally in traditional Māori society, ageing was seen in a positive light with more respect being bestowed on Māori as they got older (Kukutai, 2006). In this discussion, older Māori will be used interchangeably with kaumātua (elder), the common term of reference in literature on traditional Māori society. As with other indigenous societies (Warburton & Chambers, 2007; Welsh & Turner, 2003), in old age, Māori were regarded as having an important role within the whānau and hapū (subtribe), as guardians of tradition and bastions of culture and teaching children (Durie, 1999). Their happiness was sustained by these roles, which ensured that the central values and beliefs of the Māori culture were transferred to future generations, an important consideration for indigenous peoples.

The role of older Māori in traditional society is referred to in the following whakataukī:

 'Rākau papa pangā ka hei ki te marae' (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 348).

 'A weapon discarded can be an ornament on the marae'

According to Mead and Grove, in a metaphorical sense this whakataukī can be used to portray the older person who once was agile and strong but can now use that experience to teach younger people, transferring skills and knowledge. In traditional Māori society, the marae (social and ceremonial gathering place) was a central point for cultural celebrations, funerals and meetings. It was a place where older Māori were respected and valued for their leadership

skills which governed the practice of rituals, customs, protocols and maintained hospitality (Durie, 1999).

Positive ageing attitudes in Māori society are reflected in the kinship terms used to denote seniority and explain relationships, and the way people connected and related to each other. Happiness and wellbeing were contingent on these relationships being adhered to and respected. The strength of these relationships through bloodline connections reinforced unity and commitment to family. Life's challenges could therefore be faced as a collective. Buck (1950) described kinship terms in relation to happiness for Māori.

> When I was told that an aged visitor whom I had never seen before was a *tīpuna (grandparent or great grandparent)* to me, my heart warmed towards him. I placed him in the same category as my other *tīpuna* who resided in the same village and had lavished affection on me. He was a member of the family. I believe that the kinship terms meant more to the Māori than such terms meant to Europeans. The use of the Māori kinship terms helped to keep alive the fact that all members of the tribe belonged to the same family, and the stressing of the blood tie made them stick together through fair and foul weather. (p. 343)

This description emphasises the affection and endearment Māori had for their older people. Whilst older Māori performed roles and functions within the community it was also recognised that in old age, especially in the latter years, people could take a step back from active work (Durie, 1999), leaving the more physically demanding work for the younger generations. These concepts are reflected in these following whakataukī.

> *'Ka hia ngā kuikui i hoki ki Toito?'* (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 153)

> 'How many old women return to active life?'

> *'Ka pai anō au ki te tihotiho, ki te makihoi; ka te pakitua i aku ringa, ka whakaihi ki te hihi o te rā.'* (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 178)

> 'I indeed enjoy wandering and meandering about with hands clasped behind my back, basking in the sunshine.'

There was also an acceptance within Māori society of physical afflictions that accompany old age as a natural and normal part of life (Mead & Grove, 2001).

> *'Heoi anō, tā te tangata e haere ake ana, he harahara wai ngā kanohi.'* (p. 103)

'Never mind, when one is ageing the eyes water.'

However, while it was acknowledged that physically people might decline in old age, it was still recognised that a weakened physical state did not preclude having a strong and positive spirit.

'He rākau tawhito, e mau ana te taitea i waho rā, e tū te kōhiwi.' (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 114)

'An ancient tree with sapwood just adhering on the outside and only the heartwood standing strong.'

According to Mead & Grove (2001), this whakataukī is a reference to an old person whose body is infirm but has an unconquerable spirit. Old age was perceived as a positive process where, despite physical decline, the older person retained their dignity and self-worth.

Within traditional Māori society, older Māori were generally accorded important positions and roles of respect as they aged, and were allowed to find fulfilment and self-worth in old age. This view reflects the philosophy of many indigenous cultures and contrasts with the modern pervasive Western view of ageing and of the elderly as facing decline and loss (Izquierdo, 2009).

Relational Approach to Happiness and Wellbeing

Whānau, hapū and community

Like many indigenous societies, happiness and wellbeing of the individual for Māori was determined by the happiness and wellbeing of the collective. The most important collectives were the whānau (extended family) and the hapū (subtribe). As whānau numbers increased over time, the term whānau became too restrictive a description of families and so the word hapū was used to refer to the grouping of connected whānau. Both words denoted the connections through blood ties, which united families for the purpose of cooperation and wellbeing (Buck, 1950, p. 333). Nicholas (1817) remarks on the happiness derived from Māori relationships with each other. "The New Zealand Māori loves his connections in the genuine warmth of his heart and is never more happy than when he can enjoy their society" (p. 180). It was common for three or four generations of whānau to live closely together (Buck, 1950, p. 331). Intergenerational living enabled people to share the responsibility of upholding the wellbeing of the entire whānau (Morehu, 2005).

Traditionally, children were regarded as important and integral to many facets of Māori society, including the wellbeing of the entire community:

> *"He kai poutaka me kinikini atu, he kai poutaka me horehore atu, mā te tamaiti te iho."*
> (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 81)

> 'Pinch off a bit of the potted bird, peel off a bit of the potted bird, but have the inside for the child.'

This proverb speaks of leaving the most nutritious part of the bird to feed the child to ensure the welfare and future strength of the people. The indigenous Matsigenka of Peru also cherish their children and believe the child's fate is determined in the womb (Izquierdo, 2009). The mother is given a special diet and is involved in certain activities to ensure the protection of the child whose fate is intertwined with the wellbeing of the family.

The wellbeing and socialisation of children was seen as the responsibility of the entire whānau and hapū (Jenkins & Harte, 2011). All adults, not only the biological parents, played a role in parenting the children within their community and kaumātua generally were responsible for their education. The wellbeing of children was considered a special priority and traditional accounts remark on the affection and aroha (love) demonstrated towards children and the condemnation of any violence towards children (Makareti, 1938). These accounts support the perspective that happiness for Māori was contingent on the happiness of all members of their community, including children.

Interpersonal relationships, for example the joining of people in marriage, were vital to happiness and wellbeing in traditional Māori society. According to Makareti (1938), marriage was an ancient tradition and such unions were predominantly based upon love; however, arranged marriages between high-ranking individuals were also common. Evident in many waiata (songs), pūrākau and whakataukī are the effects of unrequited love, infidelity and loving unions on the happiness of not only individuals but also of the wider whānau and hapū.

The pūrākau of the mountain, Mauao (in Tauranga Moana), is a poignant example of the impact of unrequited love on wellbeing.

> This story tells of a humble hill within the forests of Hautere. The hill is referred to as a slave with no name, who served the chiefly, forested peak, Otānewainuku. The nameless one was desperately in love with the beautiful Puwhenua, a hill clothed in the luscious greenery from the forest of Tāne. However her heart belonged to the majestic

Otānewainuku. In his sorrow and despair, the lowly slave decided to end his life in the ocean of Te Moananui a Kiwa. He called on the patupaiarehe (people of magical powers dwelling in forests of Hautere) to help him. They plaited ropes and used their magic to haul him to the ocean. They followed a path, which gouged out the valley where the river Waimapu now flows until they reached the edge of the great ocean. But it was close to daybreak when they reached the edge of the ocean and as the sun rose the rays lit up the summit of the nameless hill transfixing him in that place. The patupaiarehe were people of the night and returned to the shady depths of the forests and ravines of Hautere. The patupaiarehe (fairy folk) named the mountain Mauao meaning caught by the dawn or lit up by the first rays of sunshine. In time he assumed greater mana than his rival Otānewainuku.

Happiness and wellbeing, for Māori, went hand-in-hand with love, and the unity of a couple. Whakataukī reinforce the importance of relationships to happiness even into advanced age.

'Kua pai nei hoki te kōpotunga ngaru ki te one' (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 273)

'Masses of sea foam have been cast up to lie on the sand.'

The imagery of the sea foam depicts the grey hair of the wife who is caused despair by the actions of her husband seeking relationships with younger women.

'Kei hea aku hoa i mua rā, i te tōnuitanga?' (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 200)

'Where are my friends of bygone days when we were vigorous and productive?'

This is described as a lament portraying the sadness of losing friends in old age and emphasises the importance of positive social networks to happiness in old age (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 200).

For Māori, positive relationships were a clear marker of happiness and collective wellbeing. Unhappiness and anguish was viewed as the result of ruptured relationships. One of the most endearing and enduring aspects of happiness in old age for Māori was the relationship between tūpuna (grandparents) and mokopuna (grandchildren). A spiritual and intrinsic link connected the young with the old and this is reflected in the translation of the two terms.

Mokopuna can be translated as (S. McDonald, personal communication, August 15, 2012)*:*

moko – tattoo, a metaphor for genetic blueprint,

puna – spring, a metaphor for reflection and for gene pool

When older Māori used to bathe in the puna it would be the only time they would see a reflection of their faces, their moko, and their genetic blueprint. The rippling of the waters would remove their wrinkles and they would experience joy, revitalisation and pride as they were reminded of their grandchildren. Hence the word mokopuna means that children are the reflected blueprint of those gone before them. Tūpuna can be translated as*:*

> **Tu** – to stand tall, proud, erect because they are an embodiment of all those that have gone before and those yet to come,

> **puna** – an age where they emulate everything that the gene pool/spring reflects

Tūpuna are given a sense of happiness and wellbeing from the knowledge that their genetic blueprints are reflected in their mokopuna and the important role and responsibility they have to develop and support their mokopuna is reinforced. Tūpuna link up mokopuna with the past, and mokopuna link up tīpuna with the present and future (Morehu, 2005).

The intrinsic link between tūpuna and mokopuna is expressed in the emotive narrative about Taurikura, a puhi (princess) of the Tauranga Moana region. Her very old koroua (elderly man) asked her to fetch him some water but she refused. So out of desperation he made his way to collect some water and when he returned Taurikura asked for a drink. This impertinent behaviour outraged her koroua. He raged on and on 'as only an old man could' towards his granddaughter. In time this caused Taurikura to feel huge shame and humiliation for her behaviour towards her koroua and she fled to Karewa Island transforming into a tuatara (native reptile) so she would never be recognised again. This story portrays the important relationship between tūpuna and mokopuna and is indicative of how their happiness and wellbeing are intertwined and interdependent.

Strong, positive relationships in Māori society fulfilled two major functions in relation to wellbeing. Firstly, interacting and sharing with others induced feeling of joy, pleasure and contentment. Alternatively, when those relationships were threatened, feeling of unhappiness and despair were experienced. The other main function was survival of the whānau and hapū but also of the culture and the ways of living, those factors that brought meaning to Māori.

The Natural Environment and Happiness
A consistent theme in indigenous health and wellbeing is the importance of living in harmony and in balance with the environment. The environment is crucial to the wellbeing and cultural identity of indigenous peoples (Cheung, 2008; Durie, 1994; Willeto, 2012; Yotti Kingsley, Townsend, Phillips, & Aldous, 2009). A sense of belonging and connection to traditional land

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and cultural landmarks is considered a cornerstone of a strong cultural identity and a strong cultural identity has been related to enhanced wellbeing (Adelson, 2009; Durie, 1994; Waugh & Mackenzie, 2011). Durie (2004, p. 13) states that the principle of indigeneity reflects an ecological orientation, a relationship that emphasises unity with the environment—the land, forests, waterways, ocean and air, reflected in cultural traditions such as song, custom, subsistence living and rituals for birth, death and healing.

In Māori society, 'whenua' means the natural earth and it also means the placenta. Māori believe that they have the strongest spiritual connection to Io (Supreme Being) when they are in the womb connected to the placenta (S. McDonald, personal communication, June 11, 2011). The word whenua therefore emphasises a connection between the spiritual realm, the person and the land. Cultural practices which reinforce the connections between people, land and the spiritual realm include the burying of the placenta at a site of whānau significance, and the traditional view of Māori that the physical body must be returned to the earth at death. As with many indigenous people, the ability to carry out these cultural practices is integral to happiness and wellbeing.

There are many whakataukī that illustrate the spiritual relationship between land and wellbeing. The significance of the whenua to Māori identity and wellbeing is reflected in many whakataukī.

> *'Mā te whenua, mā te wahine, ka mate te tangata'* (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 288)

> 'Men die for land and for women.'

This whakataukī speaks of the sacredness and importance of land and women. Māori were willing to die in order to protect this resource for future generations. Without land and women, the survival and wellbeing of future generations was at risk.

Within the Māori worldview, land and the natural environment are believed to be one's living ancestors (Keenan, 2012). Māori did not see their ancestors (the gods) as located in an abstract, far distant time, but instead they were manifested into the present and engaged with in a personal manner (Tau, 2012, p. 27). Rangi (heaven), the father, and Papa (earth), the mother, represented mythological forebears, and people loved their land in the same way that they felt love for their own mothers. This is expressed in the following whakataukī:

> *'Ko Papatūānuku te matua o te tangata.'* (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 240)

> 'Papatūānuku is the parent of the human race.'

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Māori relate to land through whakapapa (genealogy) to all life forms and natural resources (Durie, 2012). A secure cultural identity traditionally was, in part, related to people being able to identify and connect with landmarks of cultural significance. The term 'tūrangawaewae' means a place for one to stand, where a person can feel secure and at home (Mead, 2003). Forging a relationship with ancestral land was not based on any sense of ownership but rather bonding with the land so that one could have a place to stand where they felt confident and connected (Hudson, Ahuriri-Driscoll, Lea, & Lea, 2007; Mead, 2003). The importance of land was reflected through whakapapa, ancestral place names and tribal histories which link past, present and future together (Durie, 2012; Mead, 2003). The recital of whakapapa through pēpeha (tribal sayings) invokes a sense of belonging and connection by linking the speaker to a place, region and ancestor, reinforcing the relationship between the person, land and their ancestors. These feelings of security, connection, belonging and identity all contributed to wellbeing and happiness.

An important traditional concept in the Māori world is 'kaitiakitanga' which can be defined as "guardianship, protections, preservation of sheltering of the natural world" (Royal, 2012, p. 1). The concept is derived from the term 'kaitiaki', which referred to the spiritual assistants directed by the gods to care for and protect the physical elements of the natural world, including members of whānau and hapū (Marsden, 2003). Customary practices of Māori were aimed at maintaining the holistic balance between people and nature (Durie, 1998). Damage to natural and physical resources was viewed as having a physical and spiritual impact on the mauri (life essence) of all living things. Kaitiakitanga was imperative in order for Māori to maintain a positive relationship with the natural resources, tūpuna and atua (Forster, 2011).

The whakataukī described in this section inform a Māori conceptualisation of happiness and wellbeing. Firstly, they paint a clear picture of how Māori viewed the natural world as an extension of their physical, spiritual and emotional existence. The Māori relationship to the natural environment epitomises values of aroha (love), manaakitanga (reciprocity) and kaitiakitanga (guardianship), emphasising an enduring bond that is ever present throughout the entire life cycle, from birth through to death. Happiness therefore is understood within a worldview that acknowledges the strong connection between Māori and the natural world.

Spiritual Wellbeing

Spirituality was viewed as a source of strength and happiness for Māori because it affirmed the relationship Māori had with the creator and all living things. Spiritual wellbeing was upheld

through the cultivation of certain values and practices and was strongly interrelated with physical, emotional and whānau wellbeing.

Te oro kōhanga

According to Love (2004), the origin of wairua is best depicted in te oro kōhanga (the creation story), which illustrates the link between Māori people and the wider spiritual system through their descent from the atua (gods). Although there are differing tribal versions of the creation, shared threads are discernible (Royal, 2012). The creation of the world began with the movement from Te Kore (the nothingness), into Te Po (the dark) and finally the emergence of Te Ao (the light). The environment came into existence through the union of Ranginui (Sky Father) and Papatūānuku (Earth Mother), and the roles and actions of their children, the atua (gods), who controlled all natural resources and life forms (Durie, 2012). All Māori descend from these atua (gods). The creation story illustrates the powerful spiritual potential that emerged from the creation of this world and was given existence through the whakapapa between atua, tāngata (people) and the natural environment. These ontologies are grounded in Māori theories and knowledge that ascribed earthly phenomena to the children of Ranginui (Sky Father) and Papatūānuku (Roberts, 2012). These stories give people a way of looking at the world and act as a model of individual and collective behaviour (Royal, 2012). The spiritual world was also very much related to the physical world for Māori. The ability of spiritual phenomena to assist, guide and protect Māori in the physical world sustained Māori happiness and wellbeing. One primary method for maintaining those links was through the practice of whakapapa (genealogy).

Whakapapa

> Whakapapa is the web of heredity that contains all Māori. It's the living net of relationships between all of us – whether we are dead or alive. It is the account of our bloodlines. It is the history of our families, a celebration of our ancestry and a record of how we all connect. (Huata, 1998, p. 148).

Spiritually, whakapapa identifies the relationship of Māori right back to Papatūānuku, and the infinite cosmological expanse (Love, 2004). It defines the very nature of spiritual existence and connection to the spiritual realm. Whakapapa is the "foundation of mana wahine and mana tāne and it enables us to establish spiritual, as well as cognitive, emotional and physical connection with others who emanate from Papatūānuku" (Love, 2004, p. 11).

Whakapapa is also the social aspect of one's genetic blueprint (Mead, 2003). At birth a child is located within a kinship system established over generations which defines who you are and

where you come from. Essentially, whakapapa is the fundamental core of Māori identity. Traditionally, kaumātua were considered to be the vessels and custodians of whakapapa. Kaumātua have observed the birth and the death of generations and are able to link new generations with past generations and to give Māori a strong sense of identity through their knowledge of the complex relationships within whakapapa. Without whakapapa an individual will be without a sense of belonging and place within the tribal structure. This research argues that it is this sense of belonging, of having an important and prescribed place in the world, which strongly contributed to happiness for Māori in the period prior to colonial contact. In order to maintain this sense of belonging to the spiritual world, concepts such as tapu (sacred), mana (spiritual power) and mauri (life essence) were employed to govern this relationship in a way that established and maintained the happiness and wellbeing of Māori people.

Tapu

Māori saw tapu (sacred/be sacred) as all-important. It was the first of all things and without it the powers of the gods were not available, and without the gods' guidance, all things were without authority and therefore useless (Whatahoro, Smith, Matorohanga, & Pohuhu, 2011, p. 104). Without tapu, the sense of organisation of the Māori world is put into a state of confusion—described as literally like a whirlpool for human beings and for the land (Whatahoro, Smith, Matorohanga, & Pohuhu, 2011, p. 104). Marsden (2003) elaborates on the spiritual significance of tapu to the Māori order. Tapu involved a person, place or object being dedicated to a god/deity and through this process becoming sacred and removed from 'common' use. This relationship could enable a person as tapu to be protected from evil forces and given the power to manipulate their environment to meet certain needs and demands and ensure the wellbeing of individuals, whānau and hapū (p. 5). Durie (2003) gives a more practical view of tapu developed from the connection made by Te Rangi Hiroa between the use of tapu and the prevention of accidents or calamities:

> Tapu was a type of public health regulation, basically concerned with the avoidance of risk, protection of the environment and its resources, and the promotion of good health. Noa, on the other hand was a term used to denote safety; harm was less likely to befall anyone who entered a noa location, ate food rendered noa by cooking, or touched a noa object (Durie, 2003, p.233).

Tapu was integral to wellbeing for Māori people. *Mate Māori* (Māori sickness) was a specific illness brought about by transgressions of tapu by an individual. The negative effects of these transgressions might be felt by that individual, their whānau or future generations, resulting in

mental afflictions or even death (McNeill, 2005, p. 154). The practices of tapu and noa guided social norms which protected people's health and wellbeing.

Mana

Mana also has a strong spiritual foundation and was particularly imbued with spiritual authority and power. Mana can translate as power, prestige or esteem. According to Marsden (2003), humans are the medium through which mana is enacted from the gods; mana is never born of a human. This spiritual force, gifted from the gods, translates into a power to perform and act in a dynamic way through action, work and the spoken word. To use such power outside the boundaries authorised was a transgression that could result in harm to oneself and others. According to Henare (as cited in Love, 2004, p. 26), 'mana' is the critical foundation to an understanding of a Māori worldview and the 'self':

> Without an understanding of mana and its related concepts there is no pathway into the Māori worldview. In the Māori worldview, virtually every activity…. has a link with the maintenance of and enhancement of mana. It is central to the integrity of the person and the group.

There are a number of key areas through which mana can be conceived, acquired and maintained, the four listed below are considered the main areas (Love, 2004; Eketone, 2013a):

- Mana Atua: power derived from the gods
- Mana Tūpuna: power and prestige passed down through ancestors
- Mana Tangata: recognition we gain for ourselves through qualities and skills, the focus being on how the achievements of the individual contribute to the mana of the group
- Mana Whenua: power associated with ancestral connection to land and its ability to sustain the people

Kaumātua were considered guardians of tikanga, and through this role of protecting and preserving traditions and cultural practices they were endowed with great mana. The authority, leadership and presence of kaumātua, their role in transmitting knowledge to future generations, ensured the maintenance of tribal mana and therefore whānau and hapū, and iwi wellbeing (Durie, 1999).

Mauri

Mauri is the life force which generates, regenerates and upholds creation (Marsden, 2003, p. 44). Mead (2003) describes 'mauri' as "the spark of life, the active component that indicates the person is alive" (p. 53). Everything has a mauri—people, rivers, lakes, trees, animals. Mauri was responsible for binding together the physical and spiritual parts of being together (Love, 2004). Mauri is directly linked to a conceptualisation of happiness, because as Durie (2001) explains, the concept of mauri incorporates the health and wellbeing dimensions of energy and vitality.

Mauri can also become weakened; in people a loss of mana may disrupt their mauri; the mauri of elements from the natural world can also become depleted through such processes as pollution. However, mauri can also be revitalised, through people surrounding themselves with other people and places with a strong mauri, and through this association are provided with strength and nourishment (Love, 2004).

The whakataukī, '*Mauri oho, mauri ora'* (a productive life is a healthy life), implies that a person's mauri is enhanced when they are able to contribute and participate fully in whānau, hapū and iwi/community affairs (McNeill, 2005, p. 145). Traditionally, kaumātua possessed the most knowledge of tribal values and beliefs enabling their full participation in their community, enhancing their mauri in old age.

A concept closely related to mauri is hau. Hau encompasses the notions of vitality and aura. Hau-ora, which is normally used to denote health and wellbeing, literally means "the breath of life" and is the source by which mauri is transferred to both animate and inanimate objects (Marsden, 2003, p. 44).

Aroha

As has been previously noted, many of the values and principles inherent within Māori society were typically derived from spiritual foundations. Aroha is a fundamental value and virtue in Māori society. It is viewed as a requisite for the survival and wellbeing of the world and all that inhabit it (Pere, 1991). It cannot be translated only as 'love', as is often the case when translated into English, for there are many layers of meaning (Harawira, 2012). Aroha is an emotional state and one way of understanding emotional states through a cultural lens is to analyse the metaphorical associations.

> While the general conceptualisation of such concepts is grounded in universal human experiences, different cultures attach different cultural salience, specific realisations,

elaborations or construals to these near universal conceptual metaphors. (Ansah, 2010, p. 5)

Ruth Makuini Tai, a Māori scholar, describes 'aroha' as the 'glue of life' (2009) and relates the concept specifically to wellbeing:

> "For me the glue of life, or the glue of wellness is in the term aroha, that's usually translated as love and so it is but if we are to look at the root word:
>
> **Aro** – is to pay attention, to focus, and to look intently at
>
> **Ha** – is life force"

Therefore, aroha is an emotional state whereby a person is intently focused on life and the energy of that life. 'Love' does fall under this description of aroha, but the emotional state is certainly greater than just love. Aroha only becomes meaningful though when it is fully realised and actioned through sharing and caring with others (Barlow, 2001; Pere, 1991).

When elders spoke of aroha in traditional times they referred to the following saying, "Love is not skin deep like the tattooed face of a chieftain, but swells up continually from the depths of one's heart." (Barlow, 2001, p. 8). Aroha was not superficial, but deep and profound, bestowed on any person regardless of their status, health or material wellbeing.

Manaakitanga

'Manaaki' by definition in the Māori dictionary (Moorfield, 2003–2012) is a verb, a behaviour, a way of acting in the world meaning to support, to take care of, give hospitality to, protect and look out for and 'manaakitanga' is a noun encompassing love, hospitality and support. Manaaki is derived from the word 'mana' and involves acting in a way that upholds your own mana while at the same time enhancing the mana of others.

> To not treat a visitor well is to show that you lack mana because you have not recognised the mana of your visitor. To send your visitors home hungry can be shameful and reflects on the mana of the marae, and therefore, the people. (Eketone, 2013a, p.37)

At the marae the most important reflections of manaaki were in the ability of the hosts to provide an abundance of kai, a safe place to rest and to speak positively towards the guests (Barlow, 2001, p. 63). In traditional times, failure to show manaaki to visitors could result in disastrous ramifications, as indicated by the following pēpeha:

> *'Kai ana mai koe he atua, noho atu ana ahau he tangata'* (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 157)

'You are eating like a god; I am sitting here as a man.'

This whakataukī advises against being inhospitable. The failure to share your meal with a visitor, who may in fact be a tohunga (spiritual expert), is treacherous given their power to cause death for such an offence (Martin, 2010).

In traditional Māori society, Wairuatanga was closely associated with Māori happiness and wellbeing. Spiritual concepts such as mana, tapu, mauri, aroha and manaakitanga acted as moral compasses and the adherence to these values through cultural practices helped to maintain and protect happiness and wellbeing. Happiness was contingent on the enhancement, balance and harmony of spiritual wellbeing with physical, emotional and social dimensions.

Physical Wellbeing

The early writings of European colonists suggest that Māori were physically capable, productive and lived healthy existences, sustained by vigorous exercise and a healthy diet (Timu-Parata, 2009). Physical health and wellbeing was strongly interconnected with all aspects of the self and particularly with spiritual wellbeing. Illness existed in Māori society and was primarily attributed as being *mate atua* (sickness of gods) and a result of a breach of tapu; or *mate tangata* (known physical cause) and a result of an accident or injury (Taitimu, 2007, p. 92).

Savage's (1807) accounts of Māori provide a clear description of their healthy and strong physical appearance prior to the full impact of colonial settlement, prophesying the probable effects of colonisation on their physical health.

> A race of people hitherto enjoying a constitution of body remarkably sound and healthy. In a few generations in all probability, how great will be the change – children of diseased parents, they will grow up a puny race; and in many instances both miserable and disgusting in no respect resembling the hardy inhabitants of the island, previously to their unhappy communications with civilized man. (p. 90)

Mahinga Kai

Lifestyle factors associated with the physical self were important for health in pre-colonial Māori society. Diet and an active lifestyle were important to Māori and physical components were intimately connected to spiritual and mental wellbeing. *Mahinga Kai* (food collection and cultivation) was central to hapū and iwi identity as it involved not only physical survival but fostered collectivism and a reciprocal relationship with the environment, which were the direct

domains of the atua (Panelli & Tipa, 2009). Mahinga kai referred not only to land cultivation but to the places where foods and resources were caught or collected in their natural state, without being cultivated by man (Williams, 2010). Life revolved around food gathering and cultivation for Māori. Mahinga kai enabled the continuity of cultural identity and the transmission of mātauranga, as whānau members, through their participation in mahinga kai related activities, were exposed to kawa (protocols), tikanga, pūrākau, waiata and pēpeha (Panelli & Tipa, 2009). The practices of kaitiakitanga, manaakitanga, whanaungatanga and wairuatanga were intimately linked to the process of mahinga kai (Panelli & Tipa, 2009; Williams, 2010). These processes were often carried out as a collective and the practice of conservation was integral to the wellbeing of plants, animals and people. When certain foods became scarce or were not seasonal then Māori applied rāhui (prohibition) to ensure that those foods could replenish (King, 1983).

Food was respected for its spiritual origin. The aruhe or fern root was viewed as being the personified form of the God Haumia (Best, 1976). The aruhe is acclaimed as the "last and always dependable barrier between the Māori and starvation" (Fuller, 1978, p. 3). Special care and attention was also paid to the humble kumara (sweet potato). The Rev. F. Dunnage (in Best, 1976) remarked on the patient industry of Māori in cultivating kumara (sweet potato). Growing crops in general, like all aspects of traditional Māori life, was governed by the laws of tapu, and food cultivating and harvesting required appropriate ceremonies in order for those crops to flourish. Special rituals were applied to the preparation of food, which was not to be associated with any aspects of bodily care; for example, a kitchen tub was not to be used for washing any part of the body or personal garments (Durie, 1985). These practices were essential for health and wellbeing. The whole Māori community were involved in cultivating their kai and the process enabled happiness and wellbeing through a collective effort for the greater good. The following whakataukī recognises the health benefits of cultivating kai and ascribes long life to the productive and energetic lifestyle required for the cultivation process.

'*He toa taua, mate taua; he toa piki pari, mate pari; he toa ngaki kai, ma te huhu tena*'

'An energetic warrior dies in battle; an able cragsman perishes among his crags; but an energetic cultivator dies of old age.' (Best, 1976)

The enduring association of kai with happiness gives further insight into the holistic nature of a Māori conceptualisation of happiness. Kai was viewed as contributing to not only physical health but to spiritual, emotional and whānau wellbeing.

Whakapetongoi

Whakapetongoi refers to being physically active and exerting energy. Māori of all ages were involved in physical and recreational activities which included music, haka (dance), swimming, jumping, running, hand games, storytelling, poi (dance with a ball on a string), kite flying, top spinning, stone bowls and many others. Physical, industrious activity was viewed as a normal and integral part of life, essential to maintaining wellbeing, as reflected in the following whakataukī:

'*Tama tu, tama ora, tama noho, tama matekai'* (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 358)

'The working person flourishes; the idle one suffers hunger pangs'

One written account of early Māori life asserts that Māori children were rarely inflicted with states of melancholy because of their robust and active lifestyle (Nicholas, 1817). The writer also reflects on the constant cheerful nature of Māori regardless of their occupations: "his body [Māori] is constantly prepared to act in cooperation with his mind; for his food being light, and his exercises manly, he is always intrepid and vigorous…" (p. 55).

Māori pūrākau provide valuable insights into the human qualities that were valued and considered important to wellbeing. The heroic acts of the Māori demigod Maui are testament to the inherently active nature of Māori life. A well-known story is about Maui catching and binding the sun to prevent it travelling so fast across the sky. Maui's actions were motivated by a desire to have longer days by which to work and toil (Colenso, 2001). Maui was an athletic and healthy demigod, a role model for Māori. In addition, the Māori word for lazy illustrates how Māori valued industrious pursuits and were very disparaging of lazy characters. The word for lazy is 'mangere' and an analysis of the root words finds 'ngere' to translate as 'any hideous or disagreeable cancer or corroding ulcer" (Colenso, 2001, p. 7).

Psychological Wellbeing

The absence of mental illness such as depression appears to be feature of traditional Māori society (Durie, 2001). Māori did not view mental afflictions as abnormal, or as the illnesses or diseases they were seen as in the Western world. The collectivistic nature of Māori society and their holistic approach to wellbeing meant that mental afflictions were not separated from the other components of wellbeing. The full expression of both positive and negative emotions was considered normal and beneficial for happiness and wellbeing.

The language used for illness reflects the continuity and connection between physical, mental and spiritual realms. For example, manawa pa (meaning apprehension) and manawa pouri (meaning sadness) locate anxiety and depression not in the mind but with the manawa (heart), rather than the Western view of these as conditions of the mind. (Durie, 2001, p. 115). The term 'mate Māori' was used to refer to physical and mental illnesses that were related to spiritual causes.

> The term refers essentially to a cause of ill health or uncharacteristic behaviour which stems from an infringement of tapu (a tribal law) or the infliction of an indirect punishment by an outsider (a makutu). (Durie, 2001, p. 24)

In non-Western cultures, illnesses such as depression are not necessarily viewed as mental disorders but a disorder of energy or of a physical nature (Durie, 2001). Durie argues that a diagnosis of depression based solely on emotional symptoms as per Western medical assessment could be less reliable for Māori, who may be more likely to present with physical symptoms than feelings of sadness, hopelessness, or unhappiness. According to Durie, lack of appetite, reduced energy and vitality, loss of weight, musculo-skeletal pain, reduced libido and feelings of coldness may be much more debilitating for Māori than the emotions of hopelessness and sadness. Māori may also conceptualise depression as a "spiritual malady", where they find more meaning "in the notion of loss of spirit, or estrangement from the legacies of ancestors, long since deceased", in explaining depression, than a Western medical assessment, diagnosis and label (Durie, 2001, pp. 116–117).

The preoccupation with the emotional and cognitive manifestations of mental illness in Western society is possibly due to an aversion to unpleasant emotions and a belief "that individuals have a right (perhaps an expectation) to pursue happiness" (Durie, 2001, pp. 114–115). Negative emotions are not always associated with depression or viewed in a negative light in many non-Western collectivistic cultures (Kubokawa & Ottoway, 2009). Māori are more likely to perceive and understand happiness as being inclusive of the full range of human emotions and as the product of an interrelated system of spiritual, emotional, physical and social components.

The spiritual concepts of mana, mauri, tapu described earlier can also be viewed as "characteristics of Māori psychological processes" (Durie, 2001, p. 69). There were a number of practices and customs which encompassed these spiritual concepts in traditional Māori society that contributed to the psychological wellbeing of Māori. A description of some of these

practices will illustrate how they provided mechanisms for the positive expression and experiences of emotions.

Mahi-a-Rehia

In Māori cosmology, Rehia was the name designated to the God responsible for recreation, pleasure and enjoyment. McNeill (2012) explains further how mahi a rehia such as performing arts were associated with Māori holistic notions of wellness. In addition, such mediums as waiata and haka provided the mechanism for Māori to express powerful emotions in healthy ways, to fulfil societal and political functions and to assert a sense of identity.

Waiata and haka were prevalent in all aspects of Māori society and included welcoming guests (*haka pōwhiri* – *haka* of welcome), farewelling and mourning the deceased (*waiata tangi* laments), attracting a mate (*waiata whaiāipo* – sweetheart songs), giving advice or instructions (*waiata tohutohu* – message bearing songs), restoring self-respect (*pātere* – fast chants), intimidating an adversary (*peruperu* – war dance) and the transmission and making public of social and political messages (*haka taparahi*, *ngeri* – ceremonial *haka*) (Matthews, 2004).

Haka was a positive psychological, emotional and spiritual process for both performers and observers. The concepts of ihi, wehi and wana associated with haka are particularly important and integral to a person's sense of wellbeing in the Māori world because traditionally, the feeling of ihi was essential for men before they went into battle. A person with a highly developed sense of 'ihi' could provoke awe and respect from those around them, as their 'ihi' would be emulated as powerful personal magnetism (Marsden, 2003). 'Wehi' refers to the reaction of fear, awe and respect by the audience to the power of the haka, and 'wana' refers to the atmosphere that is created from the haka of thrill, excitement and awe-inspiring (Marsden, 2003; Matthews, 2004).

> It [haka] is disciplined, yet emotional. More than any other aspect of the Māori culture, this complex dance is an expression of the passion, vigor and identity of the race. It is, at its best, truly a message of the soul expressed by words and posture. (Armstrong, as cited in Matthews, 2004, p. 12)

From an older person's point of view, the haka was a positive influence on wellbeing and happiness even though they may not have been active participants. The emotional and spiritual environment created by a haka was enough to enhance the wellbeing of all present.

Waiata provided a dual function, inducing feelings of comfort and pleasure, while instilling important lessons and disseminating knowledge.

The oriori or lullaby was sung to children. As well as comforting the children, the song was intended to instill important ideas and messages about the lives of their ancestors. (Matthews, 2004, p. 151)

In Māori society there were a number of artistic pursuits such as whakairo (carving), tā moko (tattooing) and rāranga (weaving), in addition to haka and waiata. According to Csikszentmihalyi (1997), these sorts of activities (active leisure) are the most likely to induce the state of 'flow', a positive state of being (see Chapter Two). It can be surmised from this premise that, given the amount of time Māori spent engaged in such activities, it is highly likely that Māori often experienced the positive psychological state of flow. These activities induced hedonic feelings of joy, fun and pleasure alongside eudaimonic features such as the learning of whakapapa, tikanga (customs) and history and the experience of whanaungatanga (family connections and relationships).

Tangihanga

Happiness and wellbeing for an individual or collective is often influenced by the death of loved ones. It is a time when people experience a significant amount of pain, loss and despair. In traditional times some of the rituals and practices associated with death helped to ease this pain and also reflected a healthy way of dealing with grief and loss. Traditionally, Māori believed that death by illness was the result of spiritual causes. Spiritual practices, such as the use of tohunga to clear and cleanse any negative spiritual energy and an acceptance of the spiritual cause of death, could bring comfort and answers to the whānau (Dansey, 1992). In traditional Māori society, the tangihanga (funeral rites) ceremony and rituals also helped to maintain whānau wellbeing. The tangihanga allowed people the fullest expression of their grief and emotions, supported psychologically, physically, socially and spiritually by many friends and family. The tangihanga process is a further example of how emotions were experienced as a collective rather than as individuals.

Death is a historical incident and the burden of sorrow is lifted from the shoulders of the few and is spread over the broad backs of many. The Māori allows the frank acceptance of death and suffering to become one of the bases of group solidarity. (Phillips, 1954, p. 197)

When a death occurs the elder women express their grief by moaning and keening (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 185). The moaning, keening, tears and hupe (mucus) displayed by women during the tangi is a powerful representation of the extent of emotion experienced and expressed by Māori during the tangi process. "Death cannot be avenged but the physiological secretions

stimulated by deep emotion give physical relief to the pain that gnaws within" (Hiroa, 1966, p. 418).

Stu McDonald (Personal communication, 1 August, 2011) also refers to the spiritual significance of this process, the vigorous display of emotion and the length of the tangi (normally three days) being required in order for the spirits of the deceased to feel satisfied that those left behind had mourned properly and would then be able to move on with their lives. During tangihanga, spiritual rituals such as karakia and whaikōrero were engaged to safely guide the spirit of the deceased on their pathway to the afterlife where they would reconnect with their ancestors. Some comfort and peace is provided for the whānau, and death anxieties "are mediated by an assurance of afterlife togetherness, spiritual continuity and lingering pathways left by recently departed spirits" (Nikora, Te Awekotuku, & Tamanui, 2013, p. 3).

Summary

A culture's view and understanding of the 'self' has direct implications for the way happiness is conceptualised. In traditional times a Māori understanding of the 'self' was socially orientated in that it considers the self in relation to the group, spiritually orientated in that the 'self' was understood as an intermediary of the spiritual world and environmentally orientated through a reciprocal, loving relationship with the natural world. Older Māori were particularly valued for their roles in transmitting knowledge of tribal traditions and customs and nurturing younger generations. These roles and relationships reflect significant cultural values such as aroha and manaakitanga, which were key contributors to wellbeing.

Mātauranga Māori provides great insight into the way Māori lived, saw the world and therefore how they experienced and conceptualised happiness, prior to the arrival of Europeans. From a scientific perspective, in reality we are now far removed from those times and places and so it is only possible to gain an understanding from the interpretations of others, even when analysing whakataukī, pūrākau and te reo. And yet from a Māori worldview, the past, present and future are all connected, as is this physical world and reality with the metaphysical cosmos. So what does that mean for myself as a Māori researcher? It means that even today in my life and in my work researching this kaupapa, when I experience the wairua standing on the top of Mauao (cultural landmark), when I feel the wehi (sense of awe) watching my son perform kapahaka (Māori cultural group performance), when I take refuge in the support and security of a whānau and a community that fosters the importance of collective wellbeing, and when I take comfort in the understanding that my eldest child is now at peace in the many embraces of his tūpuna, I realise we are also a living interpretation of those values, beliefs, and customs that our tīpuna lived by those many years ago, and the way we understand happiness is shaped by

these diverse interpretations. These interpretations have been influenced and shaped significantly by colonisation and the modern world, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter Four: The Effects of Colonisation on Māori Happiness

"Of course to go to school we weren't allowed to speak Māori and we found it difficult to understand...in fact it sort of made children rather than ask questions retreat into themselves." (Pouako 4)

Introduction

Māori of advanced age in today's world have had their lives shaped by a history of colonisation. The relationship of culture to happiness and wellbeing must therefore also be understood within a colonial context. Prior to European contact, a Māori conceptualisation of happiness was hugely influenced by a way of life and a way of seeing the world (see Chapter Three). Colonisation changed and diversified a Māori understanding and experience of happiness. In the words of Ann Salmond, "In the Bay of Islands by 1815, the ancient world (Te Ao Tawhito) was spinning into a new configuration … and as time spins the world continues to evolve, bringing new kinds of being together. New experience is grasped, but at the same time, people try to control it in the interests of their kinfolk. This leads to entanglement and struggle, often across cultural boundaries" (Salmond, 1997, p. 512). The impact of colonisation on Māori society was turbulent as in other parts of the world that faced the force of imperialism.

It is not within the scope of this study to provide an in-depth analysis of all the events that occurred within Māori society after colonisation. Instead, key processes and events that occurred in New Zealand in the 19th and 20th centuries are discussed. The impact on the Māori way of life and the serious consequences for the way in which Māori understood and experienced happiness and wellbeing are highlighted. There are four areas that are characteristic of a Māori way of life which have been significantly impacted by colonisation which will be discussed: harmonious relationships with the land, language and cultural identity, holistic wellbeing and the relational, sociocentric structure of Māori society.

Reid and Robson (2007, p. 5) define colonisation as "the (mis) appropriation and transfer of power and resources from indigenous peoples to the newcomers. This system is built upon new values that determines what is right and good, what knowledge is important and what is considered to be civilized society." Within this system, "Māori move from being normal to being 'different' from Pākehā, non-Māori, non-indigenous norms. Māori rights as tangata whenua are appropriated as we become marginalised, reclassified and scrutinised as 'outsiders'" (p. 5).

In Aotearoa, colonisation was critical in disempowering Māori physically, emotionally and spiritually—thereby jeopardising Māori happiness. Colonisation systematically dislocated Māori from their social structures, values and beliefs and land confiscations were responsible

for much disconnection (Durie, 1994). According to Durie (1994), during the period of colonisation, Māori were biologically and socially unable to acculturate to the Western way of living. Death, by war and disease, combined with the disruption of the Māori traditional code of morality and values and the severing of links to land, meant that Māori were facing either extinction or the social equivalent, assimilation. Colonisation resulted in social, economic and political disadvantages for Māori (Durie, 1998; Walker, 1990). The deficits and losses bought about by colonisation are many but the strengths and resilience of Māori have enabled survival despite significant challenges. Māori therefore flourished beyond any colonial expectations. Walker (1990) and Salmond (1997) provide descriptions of the positive ways in which Māori society developed in the face of colonisation, learning new skills, languages, utilising new resources and negotiating with political acumen in order to challenge an unjust social order. However, it cannot be denied that the process of colonisation was overwhelmingly detrimental to Māori, impacting on the very aspects of life that contributed to traditional happiness and wellbeing.

Following Abel Tasman's visit to New Zealand in 1642, Captain James Cook circumnavigated both islands from 1769 to 1770. The first meetings between Māori and Europeans were short and often violent (Salmond, 1997). At that time the size of the Māori population was not known, but by 1840, the time of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, a formal agreement for British Settlement, about 80,000 Māori and 2,000 Europeans lived in New Zealand. Life expectancy was estimated to be similar for all at that time: 28 to 30 years (Pool, 1991).

In 1840, The Treaty of Waitangi was founded, an agreement signed by Māori and the British Crown. While the first article of the English version stated that Māori were to cede complete sovereignty, the Māori version implied a sharing of power (Mauri Ora Associates, 2008). At the heart of the Treaty is the notion of partnership between Māori and Pākehā. While Pākehā would be responsible for governance, Māori would still retain their tino rangatiratanga (absolute authority over their own world). There was foresight that such a treaty might offer Māori protection from Pākehā lawlessness (Mutu, 2012) and ensure authority over their own world. The signing of the Treaty reflects the strength, vision and mana of Māori to engage with colonisation in a way that no other indigenous peoples managed. The Treaty also promised Māori the full rights of participation and citizenship as other New Zealanders. However, a written document to engage and represent the position of an orally strong society and the translation from Māori into English meant that much of what was agreed to in the Māori version of the Treaty was lost when the English translation was written (Rewi, 2012). The Treaty of Waitangi has not always been adhered to or upheld by the Crown but it remains a 'living

document' that guides the relationships between Māori and the Crown in modern times. In 1975, the newly established Waitangi Tribunal found that the Crown has an obligation under the Treaty to ensure Māori wellbeing, to enable Māori to live as Māori if they wish and to provide an environment that provides health equity for Māori (Durie, 1998).

Disharmony and Imbalance with the Whenua

Harmony and balance with the land is a significant theme which characterised a Māori way of being within a traditional conceptualisation of happiness. Colonisation was a mechanism which produced disharmony and imbalance for Māori and their relationship with the land and natural environment.

The effects of land wars between Māori and the colonial troops and the consequential confiscation of land, along with unfair land purchases by the Crown under the auspices of the Māori land court, caused alienation of Māori from their land bases (Durie, 1998). Māori moved from having access to and kaitiakitanga of 66 million acres of land to a mere 11 million acres in 1896, and a century later this had been reduced even further to 3.7 million (Durie, 1998). Understanding that the land is an ancestor to Māori, as well as a foundation for economic and social strength, loss of lands and the destructive processes associated with that loss was devastating for Māori. According to Durie (1998), in the 19th century the central government was engaged in processes to systematically alienate and separate Māori from their land. The Native Lands Act 1862 and 1865 removed tribal and customary ownership of land. The New Zealand Settlements Act and The Suppression of Rebellion Act of 1863 imposed penalties of imprisonment and land confiscation if Māori presented opposition to land purchases. Pākehā were often involved in 'tuku whenua' (ceding land) arrangements with Māori, where they could access resources associated with land but Māori still retained tāngata whenua rights to the land. However, the tuku whenua understanding was often deliberately and grossly misinterpreted by Pākehā who equated the agreement to be an English custom land sale, forfeiting all Māori customary rights to the resources and the land.

Māori resistance to land confiscation was widespread. In the Taranaki region of New Zealand, the chief Tītokowaru responded to the continued surveying and confiscation of land with well-planned attacks on settlers and colonial troops. However, in the late 1800s, the militia under the command of Major Noake and the premier William Fox adopted a policy of 'ethnic cleansing'. In Fox's own language they were "clearing to scouring…to keep the territory 'clean' of the enemy" (Walker, 2001, p. 163). This strategy was engaged in the Taranaki settlements of Waitotara and Patea where after the battles between colonial forces and Tītokowaru, Māori

originating from these places were prevented from moving back to their land (Walker, 2001). One journalist wrote of the emotional effects of this process for Māori: "…how desperate had been the groans of the Māoris where in a once populous district, larger than some English counties, not one living soul remained" (Walker, 2001, p. 155).

When Māori were forced to leave their homes and land at the settlement of Parihaka, with families separated and homes destroyed, one elder who remained behind remarked, "it would have been better not to have been born" (Walker, 2001, p. 289).

Colonial structures systematically weakened the Māori connection to the land, which left many Māori spiritually depleted and less able to contribute positively to society (Durie, 1998; Mutu, 2012). In the 1870s, it was common practice for Pākehā to search for the biggest Rata or Totara trees they could find and burn them down (Walker, 2001). Given the Māori spiritual relationship to the natural environment, the burning of these trees, whose spirit was connected to the spirit of Māori, was perceived as a direct attack on the Māori race. In 1881, police labelled native plants as an 'obstruction'—possibly a metaphor for how they also viewed the Māori nation—and banned their presence in commercial spaces like shops, where nikau palms, native ferns and punga (silver tree-fern) were often displayed at Christmas time (Walker, 2001, p. 30). Nature and all its flora and fauna had become an enemy, an ally of the Māori, and "the fate of the forest and state of relations were tied together" (p. 30).

Despite efforts by Māori to be compensated for land confiscations and illegal land purchases, many Māori remain alienated from their customary land base. Alienation from land limits Māori ability to be economically, spiritually and socially sustainable and has a negative impact on identity (Durie, 1998). The land and natural environment was so intertwined with the way Māori understood the world and their way of being that the impact of colonisation on land was clearly detrimental to happiness and wellbeing. Colonisation served to sever many Māori peoples' relationships with land so that today not all Māori relate to the land in customary ways. Even those who still maintain connections to their cultural landmarks have had those relationships severely impacted by modern development.

The contamination, pollution and destruction of the environment caused by colonisation and subsequent Western development have often been in direct contradiction to Māori practices of conservation (Durie, 1998). While development in horticulture and farming have brought a level of prosperity to New Zealand, it has also resulted in the pollution of the land and waterways (Selby, Moore, & Mulholland, 2010). In the Wairoa region, agricultural development has destroyed many of the natural waterways and resources that once sustained a

Māori way of life, spiritually, culturally and physically (Forster, 2011). Drainage of the wetlands compromised the water, plants and fish, removing a significant source of food and resources. Culturally, the Whakakai Lake in this area was central to the identity of the Māori people, with many of their ancestors buried around the lake (Forster, 2011). Intensification of land use in the lake catchment area had an impact on the ecology of this critical resource and, in the 1950s, the lake was actually drained by local authorities. Similar accounts can be told from throughout New Zealand. For example, in Tauranga Moana it is a personal and local example that best illustrates this predicament. In 2013, a great leader of Ngāi te Ahi and of our whānau was laid to rest. In her childhood, she could walk to the urupā (cemetery) which was surrounded by native bush, with a view of the harbour. The urupā has suffered greatly from urban development and when she was laid to rest, in order to reach the urupā safely, police intervention was required. Traffic had to be controlled as the coffin was carried by her mokopuna from the marae along the congested highway and through a roundabout to the urupā. Standing inside the small fenced area, the mourning cries and the wailing laments were at times drowned by the traffic racing by from all sides. It also became apparent that there was no room left in the urupā and so it would be very unlikely that the descendants of this great kuia would be buried close to her. The customary practice of returning, at death, to the land from which you were born, is today compromised. Some Māori have no access to their tribal lands, some Māori no longer believe or participate in traditional customs such as the tangi and, for those who still remain connected to such customary practices and institutions, challenges are significant, from environmental impact on urupā to whānau living away from their papa kainga (homelands). Nikora, Masters-Awatere & Te Awekotuku's (2012) study on one Māori whānau's experience of death, showed that some of the younger generations in the whānau were opting for burial in an urban area, cremation and donation of body parts to science, in contrast to the traditional tangi process.

Colonial beliefs and subsequent government policies failed to acknowledge the Māori view of the world. In pre-colonial times, health, wellbeing and happiness were connected to all aspects of the Māori world; spiritually, physically and through communities. With colonisation therefore came dissociation of Māori from their belief systems—and diminishing health, wellbeing and happiness ensued.

Spirituality and Religion

Chapter Three described the spiritual world of the Māori which linked the gods, people, animals, plants and the land and was governed by spiritual laws such as tapu, noa and mauri. Happiness was conceptualised within a spiritual, cosmological frame. Rev. Samuel Marsden

remarked that Māori spiritual beliefs acted as a buffer against actions that could compromise the happiness and welfare of the society (Salmond, 1997). The arrival of European missionaries provided alternative explanations of the spiritual world and in many cases, rather than accept the new and relinquish the old, the two were amalgamated to suit the Māori worldview (Salmond, 1997).

Christianity was adopted by many Māori during the period of colonisation, albeit with reservations (Te Rire, 2009), and was moulded by Māori so "they interpreted the Christian message through Māori eyes" (Te Rire, 2009, p. 34). For example, the missionaries noted that one of the reasons it was difficult to convert Māori to Christianity was because Māori did not believe the concepts of heaven and hell (Elsmore, 2011). In the Māori world, wrongs were addressed at the time, or near thereafter of their happening. The idea that one waited to be 'judged', for all the wrongs they had committed in their life, at the time of their death was inconceivable. The land wars served to disillusion many Māori about Christianity, as the loss of land impacted so severely on Māori wellbeing (Te Rire, 2009). Māori prophets arose largely as a response to the land wars, with a strong focus on resisting the loss of land and the obvious diminishing of Māori world values (Stenhouse, 2011). The emergence of the Māori religions, including Papahuria (Te Atua Wera), Pai Marire (Hau-hauism), Ringatu, Tohuism and Ratana, were responses that provided a spiritual vehicle, which allowed Māori to exist culturally as Māori in the face of colonialism (Belich, 1996). Karakia (prayer) is an example of one such ritual that integrates both tikanga and Christian protocols and still has a significant role in contemporary times. Accounts from kaumātua recall childhood upbringings where it was common place to wake in the early hours of the morning and recite karakia or listen to the elders reciting karakia. This act was often viewed as a way of learning discipline and focus, important to overall wellbeing (Binney & Chaplin, 1996; Ihimaera, 1998). However, legislation would prove too powerful to allow the full expression of traditional Māori spiritual beliefs and practices.

Tohunga Suppression Act

The Tohunga Suppression Act 1907 marked a critical turning point in Māori history. The Act was introduced by James Carroll who expressed "impatience" with what he considered "regressive Māori attitudes" (Ward, 1993, para. 24). The Act declared that, "Every person who gathers Māoris around him by practising on their superstition or credulity, or who misleads or attempts to mislead any Māori by professing or pretending to possess supernatural powers in the treatment or cure of any disease, or in the foretelling of future events, or otherwise" was liable for prosecution (Voyce, 1989, p. 106). Up until this time, tohunga had played a pivotal

role in the organisation of Māori society. A tohunga guided the protection and upholding of mātauranga Māori and provided guidance and knowledge to maintain the constancy of Māori society and therefore happiness and wellbeing. Whilst some Māori had begun to lose faith in tohunga, especially in their ability to heal the new diseases which had emerged with the arrival of Europeans, tohunga still retained their mana that derived directly from within the Māori world (Lange, 1999). One rationale for the Act was that it protected the health of Māori by preventing tohunga using their practices to heal Western diseases. Māori practices had proved to be ineffective (Taitimu, 2007). However, the practice of destroying indigenous spiritual belief systems and practices was also a reflection of the Western beliefs of indigenous inferiority and the association of indigenous belief systems with evil and wrongdoing (Fanon, 1967; Said, 1994; Smith, 1999). Taitimu (2007, p. 89) describes how tohunga treatments were described by Western health professionals as 'dangerous', 'debased', 'untenable' and 'naive'. In other indigenous societies there are similar accounts that reflect the process of forcing Western views onto indigenous communities with the debunking of traditional shaman in favour of Western ways of managing health and wellbeing (Izquierdo, 2009). In Peru, the missionaries tried to stamp out the cultural healing practices of the Matsigenka people, demonising the practices of shaman. With accusations of sorcery from those dominant in society, the Matsigenka have tried to respond with the emergence of 'social spiritual experts'; however, their happiness and wellbeing continues to be compromised today (Izquierdo, 2009).

No tohunga were ever convicted under the Act in New Zealand which was likely the combined result of many tohunga foregoing their practice and also some tohunga carefully practising underground, which was especially the case in rural communities (Taitimu, 2007). An account from one kuia talks about her upbringing as being instilled with the "tapu – real sacredness" (Binney & Chaplin, 1996, p. 41). She did not believe in Western medicine and saw tohunga for healing and health. She witnessed many spiritual prophecies and spiritual miracles and her belief in the guidance from her tohunga was so staunch that she accounted for the death of one of her babies as being the result of not following the advice she was given. "So you see these Māori things to me are real. If you disobey what they tell you, it happens" (p. 42). The extent to which these beliefs are held by Māori today is unknown, but what is clear is that the Tohunga Suppression Act met its objectives as the demise of Māori tohunga was widespread.

Physical Wellbeing

Disease

The introduction of disease as a consequence of colonisation had serious impacts on Māori health and wellbeing. Māori labelled the epidemics of the 19th century as diseases from the gods because they could not see any physical evidence of cause (Lange, 1999). Epidemics were translated as *tokotoko rangi* and believed to be something completely out of their realm of control (Durie, 1994). From 1810 to 1840 there were around 120,000 deaths from illness and other 'normal' causes. Introduced diseases were the major cause of the dramatic population decrease. The diseases that came with the arrival of the Pākehā were deemed as originating from the Pākehā Gods (Durie, 1994). Missionaries were quick to use this as a way to engage Māori into Christianity and Māori began to look for the answers from the missionaries and Christian religion (Durie, 1994).

Both viral and bacterial infectious diseases had devastating effects on Māori lives. In some areas, whole communities were wiped out from measles, influenza, whooping cough, scarlet fever and mumps (Durie, 1994).

> The flu was one of the worst times. Oh we had it badly. Yes we were all sick with that flu…but I tell you I had a trying and a hard time looking after my parents and looking after my family when we had that flu. That was the hardest time. (Binney & Chaplin, 2011, p. 71)

The flu had such a significant impact on the lives of Māori that the event acts as a temporal locator when looking back on the past, "for the very old people of the Tauranga valley it is the 'flu', which divides the recent past: events either occur before or after it" (Binney & Chaplin, 2011, p. 143). The effect of colonisation has continued to have negative impacts on Māori health today and Reid and Robson (2007) discuss how colonisation is an ongoing process, which contributes to the current health inequalities between Māori and non-Māori. There is differential access to the determinants of health leading to differences in disease incidence. Differential access to health care is another key discriminant in a modern system. Examples include Māori experiencing longer and slower pathways through health care (Sadler et al., 2004); hospitalisation rates that are disproportionately low in disease categories where Māori have high death rates; and a health service configuration where people without access to transport or resources have more difficulty attending health services for both treatment and prevention (Ministry of Health, 2006a). Differences between Māori and non-Māori, in quality of care, also exists in a modern New Zealand context. Māori are less likely to receive appropriate levels of

care in screening for and treatment of ischemic heart disease (Bramley et al., 2004), the diagnosis and treatment of depression (Arroll et al., 2002), diabetes screening and management (Ministry of Health, 2005), and higher levels of adverse events in hospital (Davis et al., 2006).

Reid and Robson (2007) identify poor nutrition as one of the major health inequalities experienced by Māori and this is particularly serious given the relationship between kai and happiness in Māori society (described in Chapter Three). Today, older Māori, in comparison to other New Zealanders, are more likely to eat less fruit and vegetables, be more overweight and underweight, and rely more heavily on others for food or money for food (Wham, Maxted, Dyall, Teh, & Kerse, 2012). According to the Life and Living in Advanced Age Cohort feasibility study on successful ageing in NZ, over two thirds of older Māori were assessed as being high nutrition risk and 88% indicated that indigenous Māori foods were important to them (Wham et al., 2012). A significant finding in this analysis was that those older Māori who could access 'Māori' foods more frequently had a better nutritional status. Unfortunately, many Māori do not have access to traditional foods or have lost the knowledge required to regain access. The consequent change in diet has contributed to negative health outcomes for Māori.

Food

Food and its use, not only in every day requirements but also in the practices that bridge the spiritual and physical worlds, is as important today as it was in pre-colonial times. Despite the influence of European culture, kai has continued to play an essential role in the happiness and wellbeing of Māori. In the early 1900s, access to traditional food sources was still common and many whānau were engaged in growing and harvesting their own kai (Salmond, 1997). Food was essential to the survival of whānau and so particular care was taken in preparation and in harvesting. The communal approach to harvesting and sharing of food was common practice as it was viewed as necessary if every family was to survive through the seasons (Smiler Jr, 1998; Wham et al., 2012). However, the influx of European settlers brought new foods and cooking methods and many Māori exchanged or supplemented a diet of roots, fish, birds and berries with flour, sugar, potatoes and bread (Salmond, 1997). At the same time, tobacco and alcohol were introduced which, in combination with the low nutrient food options, was a cause of an increased susceptibility to disease (Durie, 1998).

The holistic benefits to wellbeing from mahinga kai in pre-colonisation is well documented (Best, 1976; Durie, 1985; Panelli & Tipa, 2009; Williams, 2010). There is a lack of research however on the extent to which these benefits are experienced by older Māori today. Wham and colleagues' (2012) study of dietary practices of older Māori today found that older Māori

with access to traditional foods had better nutrition status. However, access to traditional food sources remains an issue for many iwi, with water pollution from sewage and urbanisation and use of pesticides affecting traditional crop lands. Dredging of harbour and seabed for shipping laneways has impacted sea and bird life and farming effluent has disrupted the ecology of inland resources (Durie, 2005; Forster, 2011). Through the depletion in natural resources due to colonisation, Māori have been severely limited in their ability to access traditional foods and food practices, leading to negative cultural and environmental consequences, compromising Māori wellbeing and endurance (Durie, 2005).

Disrupting Customary Markers of Happiness—Language and Identity

Prior to colonisation, te reo Māori, the language of the Māori people, was an oral language with dialectical differences between regions. With colonisation came a new culture and a new language and subsequent new ideologies where European culture and the English language were seen as superior to Māori culture and language (O'Regan, 2012). The introduction of a foreign culture disrupted the Māori way of life, diversified Māori cultural identity, and jeopardised the Māori language. As the key components of culture—language and identity—are threatened, happiness is threatened also.

Māori culture and language were compromised by the introduction of a formal Western education system within New Zealand and there have been longstanding repercussions for Māori and happiness. Certainly, the initial aim of Western education for Māori was assimilation into the Western world (O'Regan, 2012; Smith, 1999). In the late 1800s, all teachers referred to the following directions in an attempt to improve the happiness and wellbeing of their Māori students (Pope, cited in Taitimu, 2007, p. 90):

> What we want to do now is to show the Māori how he, too, may get rid of the bad things that are hurting him, and to give the natives such a share of the knowledge we have gained as shall make them able to prolong their lives as the Pākehā does, and also to make them better and happier.

Speaking Māori was perceived as negative for Māori by a Western system and the 1867 Native Schools Act, which promoted English as the only language, actively discouraged the use of te reo Māori and supported punishment of students for its use (O'Regan, 2012).

For many Māori, the loss of their language came at a considerable price to happiness and wellbeing. "She couldn't speak Māori and she used to cry a lot because she couldn't" (Binney & Chaplin, 1996, p. 83). Many older Māori recall their experiences at school where they were

prevented from speaking te reo Māori and punished frequently. "At school we were forbidden to speak Māori. You got the cane or the strap. All native schools around. There was no chance. Looking back, it's appalling" (Binney, 1996, p. 84). The prohibition of te reo Māori affected Māori both emotionally and spiritually.

> But speaking English for me was agonizingly soul-destroying and challenging. I met the challenge…However, I always had a deep-seated longing to use my mother tongue. If only my teachers would speak to me in Māori. Of course I would have engaged and responded readily and my whole being would have come alive…so linguistically, life for me and the rest of us school children was like being between the devil and the deep blue sea. (Ihimaera, 1998, p. 86)

Loss of language is often correlated with loss of confidence, self-esteem and identity for indigenous peoples through the process of colonisation (Taitimu, 2007). Therefore, in an effort to revive their language and improve happiness and wellbeing for younger generations, Māori fought for the establishment of a total immersion Māori language centre for children under five, known as te kōhanga reo (language nests). This was an initiative born from older Māori and their recognition that te reo Māori was critical for the wellbeing and happiness of their young and reinstatement of the language needed to be driven by Māori, in particular the whānau (Royal-Tangaere, 2012).

> This feeling with parents wanting to go back, wanting to learn, and for their children to learn Māori and things Māori – it's not just the language, it is the language and things Māori – it will give them confidence in themselves. They will never ever question. "Am I a Māori?" or "What kind of Māori am I?" (Binney & Chaplin, 1996, pp. 133–144)

Loss of identity and language and the issues associated remain commonplace in NZ. Not knowing how or when to express one's cultural identity is an unfortunate result of colonisation and is illustrated by the late, well known Māori entertainer, Sir Howard Morrison who described being punished when he tried to speak Māori at school and then being ridiculed by other Māori children because he could not speak Māori fluently (Ihimaera, 1998).

The longitudinal study, Te Hoe Nuku Roa, developed different levels of Māori identity from engagement with 700 Māori whānau (Durie, 2005). Identity was classified under four categories: self-identification, access to Māori cultural resources, access to Māori physical resources and access to Māori social resources. Participants were grouped according to the identity profiles: secure identity (self-identification and considerable access to resources);

positive identity (self-identification with limited access to resources); notional identity (self-identification and no access to resources) and compromised identity (non identification despite considerable access to resources). Less than a third of the participants were categorised as having a secure identity, which is cause for concern, given that a secure cultural identity has been identified as a cornerstone of health and wellbeing (Durie, 1995). Te Hoe Nuku Roa does not however account for Māori who identify with both a Māori and a Pākehā identity, who may feel they have strong access to Pākehā or New Zealand cultural, social and physical resources and identify more with a national NZ cultural identity. In this context, is a strong cultural identity still related to happiness and wellbeing? The Social Report 2010 (Ministry of Social Development, 2010) would suggest it is:

> Cultural identity is an important contributor to people's wellbeing. Identifying with a particular culture helps people feel they belong and gives them a sense of security. An established cultural identity has also been linked with positive outcomes in areas such as health and education. It provides access to social networks, which provide support and shared values and aspirations. Social networks can help to break down barriers and build a sense of trust between people, a phenomenon sometimes referred to as social capital. (p. 84)

Māori cultural identity is complex and continually diversifying, those values, beliefs and practices that once enabled a strong collective identity towards life no longer exist in the same way and this has implications for a collective approach to happiness and wellbeing.

Impact of Colonisation on Psychological Wellbeing

Colonisation of the mind

Many writers of post-colonial discourse have explored the colonial method of stereotyping native indigenous people as immoral and inferior compared to Western peoples (Fanon, 1967; Said, 1994; Smith, 1999).

Fanon's writings on the experiences of Black Algerians illustrate his belief that the aim of colonisation is to dehumanise the native people, by causing them to feel shame and fear, negatively impacting on their psychological wellbeing (Fanon, 1967). Fanon believed that colonisation, and the violence of oppression, had a destructive effect on the psyche of the colonised. Through power and control over knowledge, language and behaviour, colonists were able to portray the native people as human beings devoid of ethics or morality, locating their culture as essentially evil in comparison to Western culture.

Evidence of this dehumanisation also exists within the Arab experience of colonisation. According to Said, Western colonists presented both the land and people in ways that justified the process of colonisation and the Western world's political position. Palestine was depicted as an empty desert with inconsequential nomads who had no stable claim to the land (Said, 1994, p. 65).

There is some contradictory evidence as to how Pākehā colonisers viewed the Māori upon their arrival to New Zealand. Whilst the history of colonial practice would assume that Pākehā believed Māori to be inferior, savage and immoral, some narratives from early colonists suggest that Māori were proffered a higher position on the scale of inferiority, hence the term 'the noble savage' (Kukutai, 2010; Salmond, 1997; Smith, 1999). In fact, there are records where the colonisers portray Māori as a "superior race of men" (Howe, 2003) and despite being labelled as "the finest coloured race in the world", the expectation was still that Māori would completely assimilate into the "white race" (King, 2004, p. 441). More overt racism also existed with many colonisers, viewing Māori as "fiends in human form" and "swinelike niggers" (Walker, 2002, pp. 59–60).

Fanon (1967) espouses the view that the colonisers moved from planting the seed of inferiority to a systematic and conscious process to alienate the native peoples from their culture. Assimilation occurs under duress and with increasing feelings of guilt and inferiority by native peoples. They adopt a culture that had caused and perpetuated the oppression of their traditional belief systems and way of life (Fanon, 1967). The process of assimilation for Māori has resulted in loss of cultural identity, cultural practices and knowledge associated with culture and therefore Māori wellbeing has been negatively impacted.

'Colonisation of the mind' was essential to the assimilation and Māori acceptance of colonial ideology and practices and this involved instilling in Māori the belief that they were inferior, savage and immoral. Colonisation is a continuous process that is self-perpetuating and often results in the internalising of negative myths and stereotypes by the native people about their traditional world (Reid & Robson, 2007). "Those who take for granted the triumphs and superior morality of the colonizing interests can force a family into feeling ashamed of who they are" (Binney & Chaplin, 1996, p. 100). McCarthy (1997) describes mind colonisation as being on a continuum. At one end are the colonised who have accepted unconsciously or knowingly their assimilation and, at the other end, are the conscientised colonised who have resisted colonising forces and are actively involved in promoting decolonisation. Colonisation has disconnected many Māori from their sources of happiness and wellbeing (Bell, 2008; Durie,

2001); they have been described as being cut off from the anchors of identity (Taitimu, 2007, p. 106).

Colonisation produced numerous detrimental effects for Māori with ongoing impact. War and activism has been very much a part of the Māori fight against colonialism but Māori have also consistently worked towards liberation and self-determination through non-violent processes, passive resistance and development of dynamic relationships with Pākehā. Māori have held steadfast to their culture and language whilst also benefiting from the tools and knowledge of the Western world (Keenan, 2012).

However, the balance between holding on to Māori language and culture while embracing Pākehā knowledge and ways has not been straightforward.

Collectivism - A Thing of the Past?

Many collectivist cultures favour a sociocentric approach to life where group needs and interests are valued over individual interests (Lo & Houkamau, 2012). Traditionally, collectivist sociocentric values and principles underpinned Māori society and influenced Māori wellbeing. In Aotearoa/NZ, the most obvious example of the collective nature of Māori life was evident in Māori views towards land and land ownership. Māori were collectively responsible for the land and although hapū and whānau groups might claim a type of guardianship of certain lands, the overall concept of land was that as an ancestor it could never be truly owned (Ministry of Justice, 2001). With European colonisation came a new ideology of individual land ownership and individualism, and this ideology was reinforced by other social processes such as urbanisation and education. Despite such radical changes in ideological perspective for Māori, the essence and collective nature of Māori culture was mostly retained through the functional roles of iwi and hapū, evolving notions of 'whānau' and enduring relationships such as those between grandparents and grandchildren. Iwi became a more functional political grouping, partly as a way to more effectively oppose government actions that would not benefit Māori (Taonui, 2012). The idea of a Māori society, a unified pan-Māori collective emerged and became a way to continue to realise collective aspirations (Taonui, 2012). The concept of whānau broadened to be relevant and inclusive to all Māori who had been alienated from their own whānau and hapū as a result of colonisation (Moeke- Pickering, 1996).

Whānau as the foundation of Māori society has endured, but the definition, view and composition of whānau has evolved and lends itself to a number of interpretations. According to Pihama & Penehira (2005):

New developments culturally, socially and politically have meant that whānau is now viewed differently from how our tūpuna viewed whānau. New formations of whānau have taken place to provide for the needs of Māori people within the social, political and economic contexts they find themselves in. (p. 19)

Whānau were not exempt from the forces of colonisation and as such Western ideology, which was imparted through the education system and the economic state, encouraged urbanisation and the development of nuclear families and domesticated gender roles (Mikaere, 1994; Pihama & Penahira, 2005). In response to those changes and influences, a number of Māori models of whānau have developed which might not replicate traditional examples of family structures but still encapsulate traditional values such as whanaungatanga and manaakitanga. While traditional notions of whānau based upon direct whakapapa links and multigenerational living still apply today, other whānau models have emerged. Many Māori whānau no longer have close access to extended family systems, and so alternative and supplementary forms of whānau have been applied and developed. These forms of 'whānau' are based upon common goals and values rather than hereditary links (Durie, 1998). In modern times the term whānau can be applied to groups of people coming together in reciprocal arrangements with a common goal such as a sports group, performing arts group, or whānau-support group (Durie, 1998).

One of the key whānau relationships that has been sustained, despite the effects of colonisation, is the relationship between grandparents and grandchildren, although the extent to which this is realised today is difficult to ascertain. Traditionally, the practice of whāngai (customary practice of child being raised by kin), particularly of grandparents raising grandchildren, was commonplace. This practice has endured, although severely eroded through colonisation, in particular European law, which rejected the open practices of whāngai (Keane, 2011). Other social processes also affected whāngai, huge numbers of Māori were forced by circumstance to migrate to cities for work, adopting values and beliefs that operated more efficiently within the urban environment such as acquisition of material wealth, nuclear families and self-development. The mechanisms used to promote a collective approach to wellbeing shifted from within whānau and cultural landscapes to urban community groups, educational institutions and political collectives.

Urbanisation

The loss of land through confiscation and legislation provided Māori with very few avenues with which to economically sustain whānau and hapū. In fact, the destruction of these collectives was stated as one of the main objectives of the Native Land Act (Mikaere, 1994).

As a direct consequence, many Māori were forced to leave their papakainga (communal Māori land) and move to the city areas in search of work. In the 1950s, Māori moved from small urban communities to larger urban centres in great numbers; in 1936 only 17% lived in urban areas, however by 1980 this had risen dramatically to 80% (Taonui, 2012). These, mostly forced, migrations caused a disconnection from cultural systems and structures that had provided a sense of community, identity and belonging in the lives of Māori (Meredith, 2012). Furthermore, the loss of people around the papakainga and marae also had a negative impact on wellbeing and happiness. One kuia (elderly woman) when commenting on the lack of people noted, "I feel so sorry for our place. No living creature" (Binney & Chaplin, 1996, p. 57). Urbanisation was often particularly difficult for women with husbands having to travel and live away from home to search for work in the cities (Binney & Chaplin, 1996).

Māori living in urban centres did not have ready access to whānau for support (Kingi, 2005). In order to adapt, some Māori became alienated from Te Ao Māori (The Māori world), its customs, values and practices. The very structures that had once provided a measure of protection and wellbeing were now non-existent for many (Kingi, 2005).

According to Taitimu (2007), the process of urbanisation diminished mana and left many Māori vulnerable. However, despite their isolation from their whānau, hapū and iwi, 'Māori in the cities' still navigated towards environments that embraced a Māori collective spirit and identity. The Māori Women's Welfare League, Māori boarding schools and Kaupapa Māori dormitories and tutorial streams at university are some examples. These urban based collectives remain today with Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa (total immersion Māori schools) and Māori sports teams, all examples of Māori environments that still foster collective principles (Moeke-Pickering, 1996).

One of the main benefits of a collective approach to wellbeing is that the needs of all are considered in order to maintain the wellbeing of the entire group. Everybody had their specific roles and these roles were necessary and important, contributing to the overall happiness and wellbeing of society (Mikaere, 1994). Older people in Māori society were respected and valued for their wisdom, knowledge and life experience. They were able to pass knowledge between generations to ensure societal values were maintained. Urbanisation, through land loss, did much to reduce this role for older Māori and therefore impacted on happiness and wellbeing.

Māori Models of Wellbeing Today
Māori holistic approaches to wellbeing have largely been disregarded within the New Zealand health system that functions within a Western medical paradigm of health. The

overrepresentation of Māori in health statistics and their negative experiences within the health system have led to the development of a number of Māori health and wellbeing models (Ministry of Health, 2014; Taitimu, 2007). The two most well-known models are Mason Durie's Te Whare Tapa Wha and Rose Pere's Te Wheke. Durie's Te Whare Tapa Wha model represents health and wellbeing as a four-sided house with each wall representing an essential component of wellbeing: te taha tinana (physical dimension), te taha wairua (spiritual dimension), te taha hinengaro (mental/emotional dimension) and te taha whānau (family dimension). This model emphasised the interconnectedness of these four dimensions to health and the need for balance and strength in all dimensions for overall wellbeing. Pere's model, Te Wheke, portrays family wellbeing as the Octopus, the head of the octopus representing the whānau and each of the eight tentacles representing a key dimension of health: Wairuatanga(spirituality), Hinengaro (the mind), Taha tinana (physical wellbeing), Whanaungatanga (extended family), Mauri (life force), Mana ake (unique identity of individuals and whānau), Hā a koro ma, a kui ma (breath of life from forebears) and Whatumanawa (the open, healthy expression of emotion). While not claiming to be representative of all Māori beliefs and understandings of health, they provide meaningful, holistic Māori wellbeing concepts which can and have been applied within health settings to improve Māori health and wellbeing.

Happiness and Wellbeing of Older Māori Today

Generally in Māori society, ageing is seen in a positive light with more mana being bestowed on a person as they get older (Kukutai, 2006). For many older Māori, there is an advancement in their role and participation in the community as they age. The Māori perspective differs greatly from the Western deficit approach that often views ageing in negative terms with income reduction, withdrawal from society, loss of status, less physical and emotional stamina, and mental decline (Canfield, 2002; Gawande, 2014). In contrast, reaching the milestone of 'kaumātua' marked a time where Māori began to fulfil certain roles and were afforded special status. Older people were responsible for maintaining the relationships within whānau, hapū and iwi (tribe). They nurtured children, counselled married couples and supported families (Ihimaera, 1996, p. 162). The ability of older Māori to fulfil their role was contingent on them having the necessary skills and characteristics. In the past, kaumātua had a strong cultural identity, connection to whānau, hapū and iwi and the mental, physical and spiritual strength to manage the demands. Colonisation has meant that not all older Māori are strongly connected to their cultural identities and tribal resources. Therefore, the extent to which the mantle of 'kaumātua' reflects the reality of the role of older Māori today, compared to in a traditional

context, is relatively unexamined. As the holders of knowledge and responsible for the transmission of that knowledge, the older person was integral to the continuation of Māori society through the generations. Therefore, happiness and wellbeing of Māori society was tied to the happiness and wellbeing of older people.

Today, older Māori are reported to have significantly lower living standards than non-Māori, experiencing disadvantage and hardship at three times the rate of non-Māori (Wham et al., 2012, p. 214). A study by Cunningham (2002) on the living standards of older Māori showed that they have higher rates of material disadvantage than non-Māori, with older Māori having lower income levels, lower levels of savings and assets, and being less likely to own their own home. Older Māori also have considerably higher rates of illness and disability compared to non-Māori (Cunningham, 2002). Rates of cancer and heart disease are disparate between older Māori and non-Māori (Ministry of Health, 2011). Obesity and poor nutrition also feature as considerable concerns for older Māori (Ministry of Health, 2011; Wham et al., 2012).

There is also evidence for an increased rate of mental health disorders for Māori today, in comparison with earlier generations of Māori (Durie, 2001). However, generally, there is very little research on the prevalence of mental illness in older Māori. The most recent study of mental health was the Te Rau Hinengaro: The Mental Health Survey conducted in September 2006 (Oakley-Browne, 2006). This large scale epidemiological study surveyed 13,000 New Zealanders; 2,595 of the sample were Māori. One of the key objectives of the study was to determine the one-month, 12-month and lifetime prevalence rates of major mental disorders, which included anxiety, mood disorders, substance abuse and eating disorders. The research indicated that depression was common amongst Māori and occurred at a significantly higher rate than in other ethnic groups, except amongst those aged 65 and older. For this older age group, the prevalence rates of mental illness across all of the major disorders were considerably lower in comparison to other Māori age groups.

Cultural identity and happiness
The Oranga Kaumātua study (Waldon, 2004) found that older Māori tend to lead physically, socially and culturally active lives. Most of the almost 400 older Māori in this study had a secure cultural identity with high levels of iwi affiliations, participation in marae (which was associated with good health), and fluency in te reo. One key finding from the study was that Māori with the lowest health scores were less likely to participate on the marae compared with older Māori with high health status. A survey of 825 Māori aged 30–79 years (Gee, Stephans, Higgins, & Liu, 2003) found that satisfaction with level of fluency in te reo was positively

associated with life satisfaction and psychological wellbeing.

Although rarely discussed in literature, Kukutai (2006) acknowledges that the viewpoints outlined above often imply that having low cultural capital and connectedness can act as barriers to personal wellbeing as it can form the basis of social exclusion and feelings of inadequacy. There is some significant research into the health and wellbeing of older Māori that provides evidence to support the notion that many older Māori experience mental wellness and that this is contingent on having access to cultural capital (knowledge of te reo me ona tikanga—language and customs), having a strong cultural identity and positive relationships with the natural environment (Durie, 2001; Kukutai, 2006; McNeill, 2005). McNeill's (2005) study on the mental health status of Tuhoe kaumātua indicated they have a high level of mental wellness which can be attributed to the maintenance and sustenance of traditional lifeways, including the practice of te reo me ona tikanga, living within kinship based 'caring' communities and the positive interaction with the natural environment. An illustrative example is the story of a Tuhoe kaumātua who seemed to be suffering from symptoms of depression but through access to traditional whānau structures he received considerable support from his four-year-old mokopuna and his wider whānau. This support contributed significantly in mitigating the effects of the depressive symptoms, and provided healing despite the continued impact of physical illness on his quality of life (McNeill, 2005, p. 223).

Further research is needed to explore the variations and differences in the requisites for happiness and mental wellbeing within the Māori population, particularly between those Māori who live as Māori and those who do not. Kukutai (2006) stipulates that because happiness and life satisfaction (from a Western worldview) are considered important dimensions of wellbeing, it is important for policy makers to understand what makes people happy and satisfied, and whether this varies depending on "socially salient characteristics such as age and ethnicity" (p. 6). According to the Ministry of Social Development Social Wellbeing Survey of older people, whilst there were no significant differences between Māori and non-Māori for overall life satisfaction, there were marked variations in the objective indicators of wellbeing (Kukutai, 2006).

The greatest limitation to our current understanding of how happy and well older Māori are is the way in which their happiness and wellbeing has been measured and examined. In most censuses and surveys, the data are primarily obtained from questions and measures that are based upon Western understandings of happiness and wellbeing, which do not consider Māori conceptualisations of happiness and wellbeing, nor the impact of colonisation. In addition, such

surveys often use broad ethnicity identifiers which fail to account for intra-Māori distinctions (Kukutai, 2006).

In 2013, Te Kupenga (Māori Social Survey) was carried out to collect wellbeing information from Māori living in New Zealand, grounded in Mātauranga Māori, Māori wellbeing and Kaupapa Māori theories (Tibble & Ussher, 2012). The aim of the Māori Social Survey is to include Māori-specific and general social, cultural and economic outcomes and to address the diversity of outcomes within the Māori population. In 2014, the results from the Māori cultural wellbeing section presented the following key findings: 70% felt that Māori culture was important; 34% had visited their ancestral marae in the last year; 55% were able to speak some te reo Māori (Māori language); 84% connected with whānau not living with them in the last month; and 66% felt that spirituality was important (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). This survey is important as it recognises the relationship of cultural identity to wellbeing.

There needs to be further research that provides an understanding of happiness and life satisfaction in older Māori and how Māori experience, define and cope with times of sadness and unwellness. Furthermore, this understanding should also examine the relationship between cultural identity and happiness. The outcomes from such research will not only have significant benefit in understanding how older Māori maintain mental wellness but may also provide some wisdom, guidance and understanding for future generations of Māori where there are considerably high levels of mental illness (Oakley-Browne, 2006). This "gives rise to the notion of mental wellness as a legacy from kaumātua to future generations" (McNeill, 2005, p. 208).

Summary

This historical overview has shown how social, political and environmental processes altered the traditional Māori way of life and being. Change is normal and cultures never remain static; however, the changes that occurred for Māori society after contact with Europeans have largely been dominated by European cultural norms, practices and worldviews, contrary to the principles stipulated in the Treaty of Waitangi. These changes diversified Māori ways of living and being in the world and, as a consequence, the traditional markers of happiness no longer applied to all Māori in the same way. And yet, many of those core values, virtues and beliefs that grounded a Māori conceptualisation of happiness and wellbeing survived in forms that adapted to the new environments Māori found themselves in. So we see in this new world, the transformation of Māori culture and society, taking on new ideas, languages and cultural worldviews whilst still working to retain some key traditional cornerstones of happiness and

wellbeing: a harmonious balance with the environment, a holistic understanding of health and wellbeing, a relational worldview and the retention of a secure cultural identity.

A clear theme emerging from this chapter is that any discussion or analysis of Māori happiness and wellbeing today cannot be separated from the colonial past and the impacts that past continues to have today. If we understand how history shapes us and continues to shape us, then we can learn lessons that enable society not to repeat mistakes and to identify those enduring values and beliefs, which endure precisely because they continue to foster positive outcomes despite changing cultures, societies and environments.

Chapter Five: Methodology

Introduction

This chapter expands on the theory and philosophical position established in the first chapter. The Kaupapa Māori whānau-centred principles and values that underpin the research process are discussed. These principles and values have guided the research techniques, analytical frameworks and ethical considerations. The second section presents the methods employed in the study. A Kaupapa Māori methodology was used to inform the best ways of approaching the research design and the most appropriate tools to collect, examine and analyse the rich sources of data. A background to the LiLACS NZ study will be outlined, with a clear delineation of the contribution of this thesis, followed by a description of the research aims, participant sample, interview design and data collection. This section will conclude with a discussion on the data analysis.

Ngā Tikanga Rangahau (Research Principles and Ethics)

I have primarily learnt about research and Kaupapa Māori as a theory and methodology from within the institution of a university. However, my knowledge of Kaupapa Māori principles and values has come from my experience within my whānau. Whilst previous Kaupapa Māori research has identified 'whānau' as a guiding principle, the concept of whānau encapsulates even more within this research.

> The term whānau and all that it refers to is significantly more than a mere 'principle'. It is a concept, and a basic building block of traditional Māori society. It has its own set of cultural values and practices, and while there may be general similarities there will also be variations, influenced by the tikanga of different tribal affiliations as well as individual whānau differences. (Mahuika, 2008, p. 7)

My research approach is based on those principles, values and practices fostered within my whānau. This approach acknowledges that an understanding of Māori culture and philosophies comes from a subjective, unique, lived experience (Lawson-Te Aho, 2013; Marsden, 2003). Smith illustrates how the concept of whānau is central to a Kaupapa Māori methodology.

It is also argued that the *whānau* remains as a persistent way of living and organizing the social world. In terms of research, the *whānau* is one of several Māori concepts, which have become part of a methodology…the *whānau* then can be a very specific modality through which research is shaped and carried out, analysed and disseminated. (Smith, 1999, p. 187)

My way of life is centred on the kaupapa of whānau and my experience of being Māori is understood in the context of whānau. The values and principles that guide my way of being are ones that enhance the mana of my whānau. These values and principles have translated well within this Kaupapa Māori research and have sustained the integrity and validity of the research process. They are also well documented within the field of Kaupapa Māori research (Cram, 2001; Pihama, 2001; Smith, 1999). The values and principles have been established and are reinforced through the relationships within our whānau and with other Kaupapa Māori institutions such as Te Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa and other Māori practices and traditions such as tā moko. Table 2 below outlines those key values and principles. A discussion will follow describing how these principles are applied within our whānau and how they in turn guided this research process.

Table 2: Ngā Ūara - Guiding values and research practices

Ngā Ūara (Values & Principles)	Whānau & Research Practice
Whanaungatanga	Making connections and forming relationships through mana tūpuna, mana whenua, mana atua & mana tangata
Aroha tētahi ki tētahi	Showing emotion, being passionate and heartfelt, showing empathy & compassion for all people.
Whakapiki te reo me ngā tikanga	Valuing and using mātauranga Māori, te reo and tikanga Māori to communicate, to guide, to learn, to analyse, to interpret and to engage with the world. Using the language to include not to exclude.
Manaakitanga	Enhancing the mana of others through acts of kindness, generosity and reciprocity modelled relationships such as tīpuna/mokopuna.
Ako	Engaging, teaching and learning through models such as tūakana/tēina.
Āio	Creating balance and harmony, recognition of the interrelationships of all things.

Whānau

The definition of whānau used in this methodology is broad encompassing both the traditional definition as 'whakapapa' based, that is defined by kinship ties and consisting of three to four generations and the term whānau is also applied to people who come together in the spirit of manaakitanga and aroha with common goals and values rather than only genealogical connections (Durie, 1998).

Genealogical whānau

This whānau includes my nuclear family, parents, grandparents and whanaunga (wider relations). As a whānau we are committed to embracing Māori values and principles that

underpin our socialisation, learning, development and wellbeing. These are reinforced through our engagement with many Māori kaupapa including Te Kōhanga Reo, Kura a iwi and Wharekura. We also acknowledge the need to support those Māori who are alienated from their Māori identities and so we actively involve ourselves in transforming our communities into places that empower and support all Māori.

Moana Moko whānau

This whānau includes members that are connected by kinship ties and others that are committed to common goals and values. My genealogical based whānau has been part of the Moana Moko whānau for the past 15 years. It is made up of cousins and friends who are committed to the revitalisation and practice of tā-moko (Māori tattoo). This whānau is centred on Kaupapa Māori philosophies and principles, which are demonstrated through the practice of tā moko, the revitalisation of tā moko within whānau and the sharing of this taonga with other indigenous and international people.

Whanaungatanga

Whanaungatanga is derived from the word whānau and traditionally referred to kinship ties and family processes and connections. Figure 1 reflects the way whanaungatanga is conceptualised and practiced within our whānau. Whanaungatanga in this context can be defined as the process of establishing relationships and forming connections. Within our whānau these connections are established, maintained and enhanced through mana atua (spiritual), mana whenua (natural environment), mana tūpuna (genealogical) and mana tangata (human potential).

Figure 1: Visual Representation of Whanaungatanga
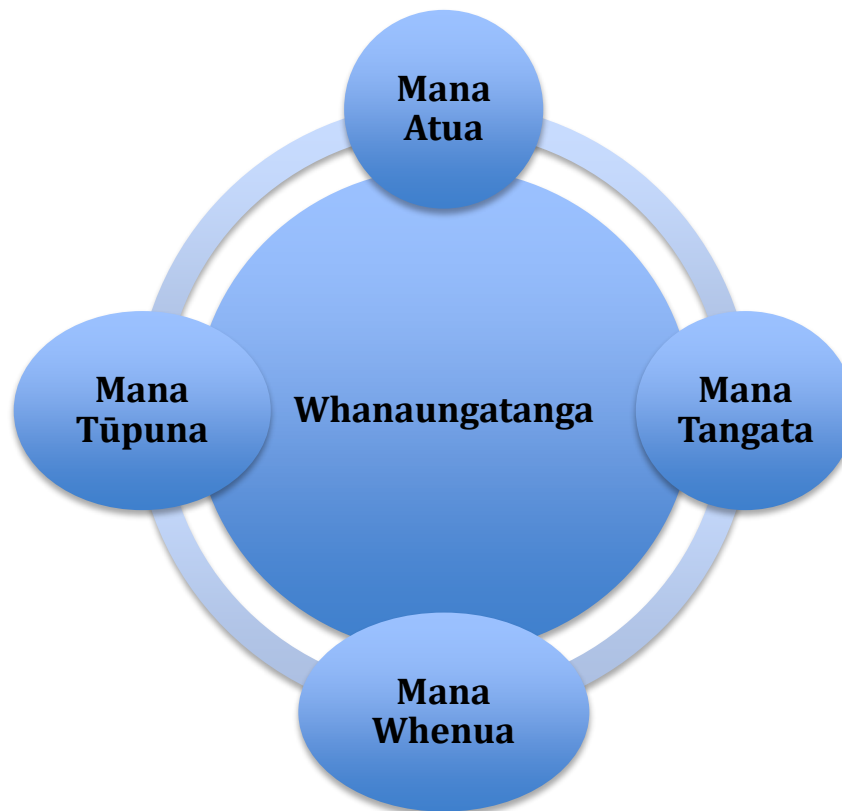
Bishop (1996) describes the role of 'whakawhanaungatanga' in the research process as identifying one's connectedness and engagement through culturally appropriate means. It indicates the difficulties non-Māori may have even at the earliest stage of the research process because they are not able to link in through genealogical ties. However, non-Māori immersed in Māori communities with knowledge of whakapapa connections may be able to negotiate through this challenge. The establishment and forming of relationships with the participants is significant. In this study, forming connections through *Mana Tūpuna* was paramount with all those participants who were strongly connected to their Māori identities and the first part of our meeting was always spent establishing those connections. Even though the participant and I may have been from different hapū and iwi, my ability to be able to speak of where I was from and the hapū and iwi of my husband and children in Tauranga enabled many positive connections to be made. This process was also relevant to my study on happiness as it was explicitly evident the joy and happiness the older people felt as they spoke to me of their ancestors, showing me photos and recalling stories and memories. Connections were made through *Mana Whenua*, by speaking of different landmarks that are considered cultural sites of significance and that we could both relate to such as Mauao, Motiti island, Maketu and Ohope Beach. In terms of *Mana Tangata,* there were connections through similar experiences of

kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa, Salvation Army, involvement in sport, raising children, and relationships of mokopuna to tīpuna. Through *Mana Atua*, there was karakia (prayer) that was given, the practice of koha (giving a gift) and manaakitanga. Through using this approach, I was always able to make some sort of connection with the participants, even those who knew little about their whakapapa or Māori culture. These processes broke down any barriers that may have existed because I was not known to many of the participants and I was from the 'university'. A key part of this process is being able to 'whakarongo' (listen) carefully, so that those moments of connection are not missed.

Aroha tētahi ki tētahi (Relationships of love, empathy and compassion)

The principle of aroha tētahi ki tētahi (love, empathy and compassion) is critical to my whānau wellbeing and permeates all aspects of the research. In my view, it is a defining requisite for both whānau ora (family wellbeing) and the ability to conduct Kaupapa Māori research. Within our whānau context, aroha tētahi ki tētahi is evident in the love and compassion in our relationships with each other and our relationships with the environment. A key belief in our whānau is the importance of showing compassion to all people and this is reflected in our home which is often referred to by others as an 'open' house, welcoming to whānau, friends and people from all walks of life; it is an environment of aroha and some stay for a night, others for months, some even for years. In another form, aroha is also expressed towards our natural environment. It is normal within our whānau to talk about and demonstrate love and compassion towards the maunga 'Mauao' (Mt Maunganui) and the moana (sea), which is expressed in many different forms: through karakia, tikanga, waiata and physically spending time in those environments. For example, recently a case of arson destroyed some of the vegetation on Mauao, which caused much distress for my children, who wept for their mountain, an expression of their aroha for their maunga tīpuna (ancestral mountain).

Within the research process, this principle is particularly cognisant when the researcher is forming relationships and making connections with the community and participants. One of the most critical elements of the Kaupapa Māori research relationship is not just through communication of spoken and written word but of the heart and the unspoken word. According to Marsden (2003), "Māoritanga is a thing of the heart not the head" (p. 1). Professor Margaret Kovach (2005), who has Native American ancestry, writes about indigenous methodologies and the indigenous way of knowing as both intellectual and heartfelt. She regards the advice from an indigenous elder, "If you have important things to say, speak from the heart" (p. 28). Denzin, Lincoln, and Smith (2008, p. 3) refer to the methodology of the heart proposed by Pelias, a feminist post pragmatist, as a challenge to the empirical model in that the "ethics of

truth are grounded in love, care, hope and forgiveness". Herein lies one of the many dilemmas between Western ways of knowing and indigenous ways of knowing. Western ways of knowing value and place importance on speaking, measuring, writing, diagnosing, which all involve cognitive processes—conceptualising, understanding, feeling and articulating from the mind—whereas, while indigenous people give credence to the value of cerebral processes, they also validate, perhaps to a greater extent, the heart and its connection to feelings, thoughts, behaviour and ways of being in the world.

The importance of acting from the heart was emphasised in a conversation I had with our kuia about research with Māori. I spoke to her of my concerns about conducting Kaupapa Māori research especially because of my limited fluency in te reo and living away from my own hapū and iwi. She said to me, "He Māori koe, ahakoa kaore koe e matatau i te reo, he Māori tō wairua, he Māori tō ngākau." (Translation: "You are Māori, even though you are not an expert in the language, your heart and your spirit are Māori.") This response not only validated my position as a Māori researcher conducting Kaupapa Māori research, it was teaching me about core values and ethics. I am Māori and I function within my culture not through an ability to speak to others in our native tongue but to speak, feel and act from my wairua (spirit) and ngākau (heart), which are undeniably Māori.

The importance of aroha was reinforced throughout qualitative interviews with participants. At the conclusion of many of those interviews, those older Māori who were strongly connected to Te Ao Māori remarked to me that they only agreed to take part in the research for two reasons: 1) the kaupapa – would improve the wellbeing of Māori, particularly future generations, and 2) ko ahau – he pono tāku wairua me tāku ngākau hoki – my spirit was true and I spoke from the heart. I believe as a consequence of that early validation by the kuia as to the essence of my being as Māori, I developed an internal understanding and my actions were from the heart, with love, and through the spirit, with truth. In essence, that I am innately able to follow appropriate protocols and principles in my research methods and that I am comfortable to seek advice and acknowledge mistakes. Furthermore, by acting from the heart, I would be contributing to the emancipatory, transformative processes critical to indigenous research.

> [Love] is grounded in the mutuality and interdependence of our human existence – that which we share, as much as which we do not. This is a love nurtured by the act of relationship itself. It cultivates relationships with the freedom to be at one's best without undue fear. Such an emancipatory love allows others to do so as well. Inherent in such

a love is the understanding that we are not at liberty to be violent, authoritarian, or self-seeking. (Darder and Miron cited in Denzin, Lincoln, & Smith, 2008, p. 3)

Poupoua te reo Māori me ōna tikanga (Instilling Māori language and customs)

Te reo Māori refers to the Māori language and tikanga to those traditions and customs of the Māori people passed down from pre-colonial times. Competency in te reo Māori and tikanga could be considered (and often is) as a requisite for a Kaupapa Māori approach given that te reo and tikanga are inseparable from a Māori worldview. The issue of te reo and tikanga has often been contentious for me because I was not actively exposed to this knowledge growing up. However, the environment within our whānau embraces and uplifts te reo me ōna tikanga in a way that includes members who are not proficient speakers. Our children attend te kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa, our household is bilingual and as a whānau we have regular access to marae and contribute to the revitalisation of te reo me ōna tikanga within hapū and iwi environments but also in a global context. Through the practice of tā moko we have been able as a whānau to share our culture with other indigenous and international people. In a modern Māori context, upholding te reo me ōna tikanga does not necessarily mean that a person is a proficient speaker of te reo or is able to clearly articulate the nuances of tikanga. Instead, a person can have an innate understanding of such things founded in a connection to generations of knowledge that cannot be fully explained in a Western context. Our practices as a whānau are our tikanga and the things we may have missed out on as children, in part due to colonised processes imposed on our parents, we have provided for our children.

The revitalisation of te reo has been identified as a key tool in the process of decolonisation. Māori researchers have identified first hand (many of these researchers are second language learners of Māori) the power of language as a tool by colonisers to assert dominance and maintain power and control of knowledge (Pihama, 2001; Smith, 1999). Within cultural studies it is widely accepted that language and culture are synonymous and one cannot be truly understood without the other. Te reo me ōna tikanga is a central principle in understanding the Māori world and conceptualising philosophical and ontological positions within Te Ao Māori. In this study, all participants were given the opportunity to participate in te reo and many of them chose to move between the two languages (English and Māori). My husband Stu McDonald (Ngāi Te Rangi, Ngāti Ranginui & Ngā Rauru), a teacher of te reo and expert in tā moko, was employed to assist in the translation of Māori words, the interpretation of Māori concepts and analysis of te reo in this research. The use of te reo me ōna tikanga is elaborated on in the Methods section.

Research and statistics indicate that Māori live diverse realities (Durie, 1998). Many Māori, especially those who live in urban environments, do not have access to traditional knowledge and tribal structures. A large percentage of the Māori population cannot speak te reo Māori and have a limited understanding of tikanga (Durie, 1998). Māori researchers need to be aware of this diversity and set up processes that accommodate these differences. Researchers that confine themselves to one approach may run the risk of marginalising and excluding potential participants and important voices.

> In this sense the argument follows that if a researcher lacks the ability to speak in and understand te reo Māori, it may limit the information a participant is able to communicate effectively in the research process. This argument may seem logical. However, it raises issues of authenticity and challenges the identity claims and authority of those Māori who are unable to speak the language. Moreover, these views hold the potential to dis-empower and dis-enfranchise those who may already be marginalized within the mainstream because they are Māori, yet struggle to find acceptance from within their own culture because they are not Māori enough. (Mahuika, 2008, p. 8)

While application of tikanga is vital to Māori research methods, especially in more traditional environments such as the marae, Kaupapa Māori concepts and tools also need to be developed and employed which allow for Māori participants who are not secure in their cultural identity to feel safe and empowered. This is especially applicable to this study where I have chosen to interview older Māori who have strong cultural connections and knowledge and older Māori who do not have a strong Māori identity. The multiple perspectives of Māori are critical to providing a complete picture and understanding of Māori society. Despite the decline of te reo and the limited numbers of fluent Māori speakers, te reo me nga tikanga must persist because it is the truest reflection and representation of how our ancestors viewed the world and how our culture was formed and shaped. These values and ways of being were so rich, deeply embedded and intrinsic that they adapted and persisted despite the most severe and aggressive weapon of cultural destruction—colonisation.

Manaakitanga (Reciprocity, generosity and kindness)

In this research, manaakitanga is defined as reciprocity, generosity and kindness. It is a way of behaving that uplifts the mana (self-worth, integrity, authority) of others through acts of kindness, generosity and wisdom.

These principles are expressed and practiced within our whānau and our community and evident in the relationships in the Moana Moko whānau. Many people come to receive moko that are

financially unable to reciprocate their gratitude with money. As a whānau, the process of moko should never place a person in the position where their sense of worth and wellbeing are compromised. An emphasis is placed on the relationship between our whānau and the recipient and their whānau. If their intentions are honest then they give what they can, when they can, to uphold the integrity of the relationship and the wellbeing of both whānau. In this way, we have people that will bring kai to our home at different times throughout the year regardless of whether they are getting moko or not. Often I will open the front door of my home to see a basket full of fresh fish or other delicacy. Wherever we travel as a whānau, there are people who have received moko in the past providing hospitality by opening their homes to us, illustrating the never-ending spiral of kindness and reciprocity that exists through manaakitanga.

In this research process, one expression of manaakitanga is evident in the practice of 'koha'. According to Bishop (1996), 'koha' describes the giving of the research project as a taonga (gift) to the participant/s and it is their choice to accept it or not. If they decide to enter into the relationship then the relationship will be seen as ongoing with "no boundaries or time constraints" (Cram, 2001, p. 43). Within this research the concept of 'koha' was practised not only through the gift of vouchers in appreciation for their time, but also through sharing of kai and continual visits and contact to acknowledge the value of the participants' role throughout the research process. Manaakitanga was illustrated through the 'tīpuna/mokopuna' (grandparent/grandchild) type relationship that was formed in many of my interviews, whereby the older Māori were acting as tīpuna—teaching, guiding, supporting me in my work—and I was responding like a mokopuna—listening, respecting, and showing kindness and enjoyment. This process meant that the wellbeing of both the researcher and the participant was enhanced. This practice can also be reflected in the concept of 'ako'.

Ako (teach/learn)

Ako means both to teach and learn (Royal-Tangaere, 1997) and can be described as a Māori pedagogical notion prominent in education that is critical to understanding Māori approaches to learning and teaching (Pihama, 2001); the word itself denotes both those processes. This concept reflects the Māori belief that learning and teaching are synonymous and so within education a person exists in all contexts as both learner and teacher, within research as both expert and novice.

Māori research focuses on a collaborative approach indicative of 'ako' where knowledge flows both ways and both researcher and researched have something important to contribute and learn,

and this needs to be acknowledged by the researcher (Cram, 2001). This is practised within our whānau and is central to the teaching and learning practices within kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa and evident in the relationships of tuākana/tēina (older sibling/younger sibling). Tuākana/Tēina within the whānau context involves older siblings who are still learning taking on the role of guiding and teaching their younger siblings (Royal-Tangaere, 1998). During the research process our pōtiki (youngest child) began kura (school) and to ease her transition and give guidance and provide her with emotional support, the older tuākana (10- and 11-year-old girls) would care for her and play with her throughout those first few weeks, eliminating any angst and loneliness felt from being new to the kura.

One of the most important ways in which tuākana/tēina was expressed in this research, was through the supervisory model I used. At the beginning of my research journey a Māori advisory roopu (group) was established to provide advice and guidance during the research. This group was a collective of Māori scholars and one non-Māori academic from the disciplines of Education, Anthropology, Chemistry, Medicine, Psychiatry, Health, Māori Studies, and Psychology who agreed to support me in a consistent and authentic relationship. Many of the relations and the advice applied by the group were embedded in a distinctly Māori approach to counsel and encompassed Māori principles in research and practice. This group engaged through hui/training and kanohi ki te kanohi/consultation in which Māori customs of tuākana/tēina/supervisors/advisors and the candidate practised principles of aroha/love and manaakitanga/kindness, generosity, and sincerity through critical dialogue (McDonald & Kepa, 2012). The tuākana/tēina/senior/junior relationship developed naturally within our group, as I was literally the younger female among a group of Māori women who were older, more experienced, and acted in both a supportive and guiding manner. The tuākana/tēina relationship manifested through the demonstration of ako/learning and teaching vice versa.

In the group, as the tēina/novice, I have often been in the position of learning and drawing from the collective pool of expertise but the tuākana/advisors of the group have also openly acknowledged the moments when they are learning from my kōrero and experiences, and from their peers.

Āio (Peace, calm & harmony)
This concept is also central to our whānau wellbeing although is not always easy to achieve. It is a constant challenge in a busy modern world to maintain harmony and peace in one's life. However, one way which our whānau focuses on this aspect is by making a conscious effort to live in a holistic way by keeping in balance our taha tinana (physical wellbeing), taha wairua

(spiritual wellbeing), taha hinengaro (emotional wellbeing) and taha whānau (family wellbeing).

Within the research this notion was applied in different ways. In the practical sense, keeping this concept to the fore was a constant reminder to have balance between my PhD work, time spent with whānau and in the community, and taking time to care for my own personal wellbeing. My whānau were aware of the importance of this balance and were quick to remind me if things were getting out of balance.

It was particularly relevant to the interactions with older Māori. Many of the participants led busy, active lives and I had to ensure that my time spent with them did not disrupt the careful balance of their own lives. A calm and gentle manner at the interviews removed potential barriers of shyness and any personal reservations they may have held. It also encouraged an open, relaxed and comfortable environment, conducive to conversation.

This concept is also central to the Māori holistic worldview, where the importance of harmony and balance in maintaining wellbeing (Durie, 1994; Mark & Lyons, 2010) and order in society is paramount. At the analysis and interpretation level, this concept is evident in the way that themes and narratives are explored for relationships, connections and balance.

Methods

Background to study - LiLACS NZ

Life and Living in Advanced Age: A Cohort Study in New Zealand (LiLACS NZ) Te Puāwaitanga o Ngā Tapuwae Kia Ora Tonu is a longitudinal cohort study of Māori who were aged 80 to 90 years and non-Māori aged 85 years at inception in 2010. The overall purpose of LiLACS NZ is to identify predictors of successful ageing. The LiLACS NZ study oversampled older Māori to ensure equal explanatory power, and have thus collected a very unique dataset on New Zealanders in advanced age (Dyall et al., 2013; Hayman et al., 2012;). The study involved recruiting a population-based single birth decade of Māori (born 1920-1930) and a single year birth cohort of non-Māori (born 1925), conducting quantitative interviews with older Māori and non-Māori in the Bay of Plenty and then following them up every year to establish predictors of successful ageing. In 2010, I became involved as an assistant researcher on the LiLACS NZ team in Tauranga in the recruitment process and conducted standardised structured interviews. The study gathered a range of data about health, social, cultural and environmental factors. This information was useful for understanding the context of wellbeing in older Māori and was used to select participants for the current qualitative study.

Participants in LiLACS NZ were identified from a series of overlapping processes, including the Māori and general electoral roll; whakawhanaungatanga and word of mouth; Primary Health Organisation and general practice databases; advertisements in local media and general practices; awareness-raising on local media; and through contact with residential care facilities. Potential participants were approached by a person known to them, their general practitioner, a local person or with a letter based on their electoral roll status. The research was explained face-to-face to the potential participant and friends and whānau, and written informed consent was obtained. Ethics approval was given by the Northern X ethics committee in 2009. This process resulted in 421 of 766 (56%) eligible Māori and 516 of 870 (59%) eligible non-Māori being enrolled, forming the inception cohorts of the LiLACS NZ study. Provided here is a brief summary of the quantitative measures that were completed.

The LiLACS NZ's study quantitative interview schedule was developed during a feasibility study where the most relevant quantitative measures of health, physical and mental health status were identified, including the SF36 (Brazier et al., 1992); Mini Mental Status Examination MMSE (Folstein, Folstein, & Mchugh, 1975); mobility, the Short Physical Performance Battery SPPB (Guralnik, Ferrucci, Simonsick, Salive, & Wallace, 1995), the Nottingham Extended Activity of Daily Living Scale NEADL (Essink-Bot, Krabbe, Bonsel, & Aaronson, 1997); and psychological

wellbeing, Geriatric Depression Scale (GDS) (Yesavage et al., 1982). These measures were combined with demographic, nutrition and environmental inquiry. Attitudes and exercise of cultural practice questions were developed after focus groups with older Māori. Trained interviewers using standardised techniques conducted the quantitative LiLACS NZ interviews. The interviews were lengthy and were completed in one or two sittings in a place convenient to the participants.

My role was to undertake those interviews with both Māori and non-Māori living within the Tauranga region. It was my experience in this role that was the impetus for my decision in applying for doctoral study. I had been conducting quantitative interviews with older Māori in Tauranga and noticed some significant features of those participants: many of them liked to tell me stories about their lives in preference to a rating on a scale; there were a range of Māori cultural identities; and most of them appeared mentally astute, quite happy and content and were incredibly resilient. As a result, I decided I wanted to know what it was about their lives that contributed to the salience of those features.

The intellectual development of the overall LiLACS NZ study relied on a large group of academics led by Ngaire Kerse, Lorna Dyall, Karen Hayman and Mere Kepa, the leadership group of the LiLACS NZ study. The intellectual development of this study on happiness for older Māori rests with the doctoral candidate, advised by a range of supervisors, advisors, cultural leaders and other experts. Consultation provided development of the aims and approaches for the qualitative study about happiness that forms this thesis.

Consultation and advisory group

I came to the University of Auckland enrolled as a doctoral candidate conducting a sub-study of the LiLACS NZ study. I was also a 33-year-old Māori female with a family living in Tauranga, studying by distance and having completed my previous qualifications at other universities. In light of these factors my supervisors established an intellectual advisory group. The supervisors recognised that a collective pool of resources and expertise, particularly in relation to indigenous and Kaupapa Māori theory and practice, would ensure that I felt safe and empowered in my research practice and would mitigate some of the barriers to being a Māori doctoral candidate studying by distance. The academic scholars that were recruited to this collective agreed to take part in the spirit of manaakitanga and aroha and were willing to provide any support they could without consideration of being paid or as a requirement in their own roles. The first meeting took place on 26 August 2011. To include as many of the collective as possible in the meetings we used the electronic communication apparatus Skype. For the most part, though, we engaged in critical reflection and dialogue face-to-face.

I consulted widely before deciding on my aims and interview questions for the study. Initially I spoke with the lead researchers of the LiLACS NZ study, Professor Ngaire Kerse, Dr Lorna Dyall and Dr Mere Kepa. At the beginning, depression and older Māori was initially considered, in particular the efficacy of the Geriatric Depression Scale (GDS) for older Māori, which was the tool used to assess psychological wellbeing for older Māori and non-Māori in the LiLACS NZ study. After discussions with my advisors and consideration of the need for Kaupapa Māori research to be proactive and transformative, I reframed my direction to focus on the positive features and strengths of Māori wellbeing, in particular those characteristics and features that contribute to happiness and fulfilment for older Māori.

The Approach to Happiness in Older Māori

Research question
"How do older Māori conceptualise happiness?"

Aims
1. To identify the factors that have contributed to happiness and wellbeing for older Māori within the Bay of Plenty over their lifetime.
2. To understand the relationship between cultural identity and happiness and wellbeing in Māori of advanced age.
3. To explore traditional Māori perspectives of happiness and wellbeing and the relevance of those perspectives today.

Definition of 'older Māori'
The term older Māori instead of Māori elders or kaumātua is used to categorise the participants, as the terms elder and kaumātua are often used to refer to older people who possess particular skills, attributes and knowledge and/or a position of respect in society (Kukutai, 2006). The use of the term 'older' does not carry such connotations. The term kaumātua will be used when the context demands it or if literature refers to the term. When referring to the participants in this study, 'older' is taken to mean those of advanced age, which is 80 years and older. However, when referring to the literature, the definition of 'older', especially in relation to indigenous people, is broader. When writing about older Māori prior to colonisation it is more likely to refer to those in their late 20s, given that the life expectancy then was much lower (Lange, 2014). When referring to older Māori today, the literature primarily focuses on those 60 to 65 years and older. The participants in this study are a special group of people, they are the exception in Māori society as, based on 2013 data, Māori female life expectancy is 77.1 years

and Māori male life expectancy, 73.0 years (Statistics New Zealand, 2010). This is likely to change in the future as the population is ageing and significant growth will occur among Māori 65 years and older, almost trebling from 20,000 in 2006 to 69,000 in 2026 (Statistics New Zealand, 2010). Furthermore, statistics also show that the number of Māori 80 years and older in 2012 has doubled since 2002, a decade ago (Statistics New Zealand, 2012).

The participants in this study were a subset of the LiLACS NZ participants, identified, approached and interviewed for the purposes of this PhD alone.

Research assumptions

A Kaupapa Māori approach to research acknowledges the role that the researcher's values and beliefs have in shaping the research process (Milne, 2005). Given that I had some strong beliefs and ideas about this research area and had already completed some research within the domain of Māori mental health, I will outline and make explicit some of those assumptions that I carried with me into the research (Braun & Clarke, 2006):

- Older Māori with strong Māori identities would be happier.
- Older Māori might have difficulty articulating their thoughts about some psychological concepts such as happiness and wellbeing.
- Older Māori would prefer to tell me stories about their lives rather than answer a number of questions.
- Older Māori might be difficult to recruit because of a number of factors: age, illness, time, health, lack of trust, whakamaa etc.
- Older Māori might prefer to converse in te reo Māori.
- Older Māori will prefer to have whānau present at the interviews.
- Older Māori might feel uncomfortable talking to a young person about personal issues.
- Older Māori would speak a lot about their culture in relation to their happiness and wellbeing.

It was important to acknowledge these assumptions and be mindful and reflective of them during the research, to ensure that the participant voices were accurately represented rather than my own voice.

Recruitment of Participants in the Happiness Study

The sampling technique used was purposeful sampling. Participants were chosen to provide rich in-depth narratives of happiness and wellbeing in older Māori. Patton (2002) explains that such information-rich cases provide in-depth information that illuminates those questions under

study. My aim in this study was to recruit two main groups of older Māori as participants: those who were strongly connected to their Māori identities and those who were not. The criteria that I used to assess their level of connection to their cultural identity were extracted from the cultural questions in the LiLACS NZ questionnaire and were also based on subjective judgments from kaimahi (workers) involved with the participants in their rohe (location) for the LiLACS NZ study. This included their sense of belonging and connection to their Māori culture and identity, participation on the marae, relationship of hapū and iwi to their wellbeing, knowledge of te reo and tikanga and the relationship of te reo and tikanga to their wellbeing. Appendix 1 provides the exact questions. These questions were used to identify LiLACS NZ participants to invite to the qualitative study about older Māori and happiness.

Criteria for selection of participants

Older Māori with a secure Māori identity

The participants identified as having a secure connection to their Māori identity provided answers to the cultural questions from the LiLACS NZ study that reflected a positive, secure connection to their Māori culture and/or were also described by the LiLACS NZ site coordinators and interviewers in the various locations as being strongly connected to their Māori culture. They are presented in Table 3. The table shows that there is a range of connectedness to a Māori identity for these older Māori. However, all of them identified that their hapū and iwi were important to their wellbeing and reported "moderate" to an "extremely well" understanding of their tikanga. Eight of the ten participants reported they could hold a conversation in te reo Māori. Where there were gaps in the data as indicated by 'no data' in the table, the answers were not recorded by the LiLACS NZ interviewers. Only one participant in this group had significant gaps; however, the LiLACS NZ researcher who was familiar with this participant confirmed that he had a secure connection to his Māori identity.

Older Māori with a dual cultural identity

These participants all identified as being of Māori and European descent. However, the data from the LiLACS NZ study indicated that these participants had a limited connection with their Māori culture as their responses indicated they perceived their hapū and iwi to have little importance to their wellbeing, they also had limited or no knowledge of te reo Māori and tikanga and had less contact with Māori communities. This was confirmed in initial conversations with the participants. Within this study I use the terms NZ European (term used in the LiLACS NZ questionnaire) and Pākehā (term used by many of the participants to refer to their ethnic identity) interchangeably. In the thesis, I refer to this group as older Māori with a dual cultural identity. These older Māori identified as Māori, but were more securely connected to their NZ European identity. They are presented in Table 4. According to the LiLACS NZ questionnaire, some of these participants still had a strong connection to their ethnic identity and also believed that their culture and language was very important to their wellbeing. The initial telephone conversations with the participants and the in-depth interviews confirmed that they were referring primarily to their NZ European identities when referring to that connection. Some older Māori declined to participate in this study because they felt that their lack of knowledge or understanding of their Māori culture meant their experiences would be of little benefit to a study on Māori happiness and wellbeing. I explained that it was important for me to capture the diverse range of Māori experience within my study but for some this was not enough to persuade them to participate. This proved to be a barrier to recruitment and resulted in securing only six participants who were less connected to their Māori identity in comparison to 10 participants with secure Māori identities.

Geriatric Depression Scale (GDS)

A further criterion for selecting participants was based on capturing a group of older Māori that may have been through times of happiness and wellbeing and times of depression and/or sadness. The criteria I used to capture that range was the Geriatric Depression Scale (GDS), which was completed as part of the LiLACS NZ questionnaire. The GDS is a screening instrument used to measure depression created by Yeasavage et al. (1982) and has been used extensively with older populations. The LiLACS NZ study used the short form of the instrument and the validity and reliability of the tool has been established (Yesavage & Sheikh, 1986). The short form consists of 15 mood related questions and a score 0 to 4 is not typically of concern; a score of 5 to 8 points is suggestive of mild depression; a score of 9 to 11 suggests moderate depression; and a score of 12 to 15 suggests severe depression. The score is not an assessment

rather an indication of the presence of depressive symptoms and whether a more intensive assessment is required.

A significant limitation of this measure is that it only covers a small period of time, in that participants are asked how they have felt over the past week, and I was interviewing the participants up to a year after that period. The GDS has been validated to reflect depressive symptoms and a high score >5 for mild or moderate depression and >9 for significant depression (Yeasavage & Sheikh, 1986) is strongly associated with having a definable diagnosis of depression. Depression may be a long-term condition, but it also can be a reaction to life events that change over time. However, my aim was to interview participants that had experienced a measure of psychological unwellness at some time in their old age, not necessarily at the time of our interview. A further limitation of using that tool to measure psychological wellbeing in Māori is that cultural efficacy of a Western mainstream tool for assessing depression in Māori has not been proven. The concept of depression can have cultural variability and there may be limitations in using this tool within cultures where depression might be understood differently and manifest in different ways (Adams, Drew, & Walker, 2014; Greenberg, 2007; Jang, Small, & Haley, 2001). For example, a study conducted on 50 elderly Afro American outpatients at a large urban hospital found they had difficulty understanding what was meant by some of the questions and terms such as hopelessness and worthlessness; a further example in Korea where it is common for older adults to live with their families, the question, "Do you prefer to stay at home rather than going out and doing new things?" may produce a positive response which may not indicate depression as much as it would in older adults from the United States (Greenberg, 2007, p. 64). This quantitative screening tool was not particularly helpful to the recruitment process because there were very few older Māori that scored highly on the GDS within the LiLACS NZ study and therefore I was not able to capture a significant range. Five of the 16 participants in this study received a score that indicated the possibility of mild depression and only one participant had a score that may have indicated moderate depression. This is not surprising given that the most recent New Zealand Mental Health Survey indicated that older Māori 65+ were the only age group of Māori to have considerably lower rates of mental health disorders than their younger counterparts (Oakley-Browne, 2006).

Finally, I recruited participants from a range of locations throughout the Bay of Plenty, to capture older Māori living in both rural and urban areas. I was able to recruit participants from Tauranga, Rotorua, Murupara, Ōpōtiki, Tōrere and Whakatāne.

Recruitment process

I considered myself fortunate throughout the recruitment process as some of the challenges involved with recruiting participants for research, especially with Māori, had already been resolved through the LiLACS NZ study engagement. The LiLACS NZ study had incorporated within their information and consent form a clause which allowed for participants to determine whether they would like to be involved with any further research studies that developed from the LiLACS NZ study, such as my study on older Māori and happiness. I therefore had access to all older Māori in the Bay of Plenty that agreed to this clause and acknowledged that they would be happy for me to contact them about their potential participation in my study. Alongside this I attended all the first wave dissemination hui for the LiLACS NZ study, which took place within the communities of Tauranga, Rotorua, Ōpōtiki, Whakatāne and Te Kaha. I was given time during these hui to present my research project, aims and objectives, as well as an opportunity for whakawhanaungatanga with older Māori, their whānau and their communities as well as local Māori organisations. At these hui I received a great deal of support for my research from many of these older Māori and their communities. There were three main reasons that some of the older Māori at these hui decided they wanted to be part of my study:

1) They believed that my study would be of benefit to kuia and kaumātua and also to their tamariki/mokopuna
2) They wanted to help a younger Māori person achieve their doctorate
3) They felt I had a good heart.

I want to explain the last reason in more detail. I found that some of the older Māori (specifically those with secure Māori identities) that I contacted were initially a bit reserved or resistant to taking part in the research. However, almost without reservation, I found that once these older Māori met me and spoke with me, I was able to put them at ease and they were then more than happy to share their stories with me. Some of them explained this as knowing and feeling that I had a good heart and that I would do right by them and the research. This reinforces the importance of kanohi ki te kanohi (meeting face-to-face) and gave me a huge amount of confidence as a researcher.

Five participants from the dissemination hui indicated they would participate in my research.

I contacted the remaining participants by phone initially to arrange a time to meet with them kanohi ki te kanohi to explain my research in more detail before they had to decide to participate. This first meeting provided me with an opportunity for whakawhanaungatanga and

to get to know the participants without any pressure of an interview. I was able to explain the purpose of the research in detail, answer any questions and ease any concerns. Every participant was provided with an information sheet and consent form that I left with them to read with their whānau before making a decision (see Appendix 2).

All participants were afforded anonymity in the study. In the results section, participants are referred to as 'Pouako' and each allocated a number. The term 'pouako', when referring to the participants for this study, reflects the active rather than passive involvement of the older Māori in this study and a view of older Māori as vessels of knowledge, wisdom and experience. In te reo Māori, the term 'pouako' is used in the same way as 'kaiako'—meaning, teacher. Literally, 'pou' means pillar, a symbol of support, and ako means to learn/teach. The older Māori in this study are described as pouako—pillars of wisdom/knowledge teaching, guiding and informing me through the research.

Table 3: Participants with a secure Māori identity

Participants	Ethnicity	Belonging to ethnic group	Contacts with Māori	Hapū and wellbeing	Iwi and wellbeing	Understand tikanga	Language	Language & culture to wellbeing	GDS (Wave 1)	GDS (Wave 2)
Pouako 1	Māori	Agree	Mainly Māori	Very important	Very important	Extremely well	Māori & English	Very important	6	2
Pouako 10	Māori	No data	No data	Moderately	A little	Extremely well	No data	No data	No data	7
Pouako 4	Māori	Strongly agrees	Mainly Māori	Very important	Very important	Extremely well	Māori & English	Moderately important	4	6
Pouako 7	Māori & NZ European	Strongly agrees	Some Māori	Extremely important	Very important	Very good	English	Very important	0	3
Pouako 2	Māori	No data	No data	Extremely important	Very important	Extremely well	Māori & English	No data	No data	1
Pouako 5	Māori & NZ European	Strongly agrees	Few Māori	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately	Māori & English	Very important	1	2
Pouako 14	Māori	Strongly Agrees	Mainly Māori	Extremely important	Extremely important	Extremely well	Māori & English	Extremely important	3	2
Pouako 13	Māori	Strongly agrees	Mainly Māori	Very important	Very important	Moderately	Māori & English	Very Important	0	2
Pouako 3	Māori	Strongly Agrees	Mainly Māori	Extremely important	Extremely important	Extremely well	Māori & English	Extremely important	4	No data
Pouako 9	Māori	Agrees	Mainly Māori	Moderately	Moderately	Very good	Māori & English	Very important	9	7

Table 4: Participants with a dual cultural identity

Participants	Ethnicity	Belonging to ethnic group	Contacts with Māori	Hapū and wellbeing	Iwi and wellbeing	Understand tikanga	Language	Language and culture to wellbeing	GDS (Wave 1)	GDS (Wave 2)
Pouako 6	Māori & NZ European	Agree	Some Māori	Not at all	Not at all	Not at all	English	A little	2	0
Pouako 15	Māori & NZ European	Agree	Few Māori	No data	No data	No data	English	Moderately	0	0
Pouako 12	Māori & NZ European	Neutral	Few Māori	A little	A little	A little	English	Very important	3	2
Pouako 8	Māori & NZ European	Neutral	Some Māori	Not at all	Not at all	A little	English	Very important	5	2
Pouako 16	Māori & NZ European	Agree	No Māori	Not at all	Not at all	Not at all	English	Very important	8	6
Pouako 11	Māori & European	Neutral	Few Māori	A little	A little	Not at all	English	Moderately	2	1

Participant Interviews

In total, 16 older Māori (aged between 80 and 90 years) participated in the semi-structured interviews. Iwi identification was ascertained from the LiLACS NZ data that recorded iwi and hapū affiliations. Some participants identified with more than one iwi, which included: Whakatōhea, Te Whānau a Apanui, Te Arawa, Ngāi Tai, Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Pikiao, Waitaha, Tapuika, Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Whakaue, Tuhourangi, Ngāi te Rangi, Ngāti Ranginui, Te Rarawa, Ngāti Pāoa, Ngāruahine, Ngāi Tahu. Only one participant could not identify their iwi. Each participant was accorded anonymity and referred to as Pouako 1-16.

Qualitative methods were employed to both collect and analyse the data as these techniques were considered to best support a Kaupapa Māori methodology. Qualitative in-depth interviews enable participants to have a voice and express their own beliefs, feelings and values, it allows the researcher essentially to enter into another person's perspective (Patton, 2002). A semi-structured interview structure was used, as my aim was to explore the views, thoughts and beliefs of the participants, while still having some form and structure through open-ended questions. While the aim was to allow the participant "voices" to be heard, manaakitanga (generosity and reciprocity) was emphasised in the interview where I too as the researcher expressed my own feelings and shared information about myself. Legard, Keegan, and Ward (2003) write how this approach alleviates power imbalances in the interview relationship and avoids objectifying the participant. The qualitative in-depth interview challenges the more traditional attitude-scale questionnaire as it aims not to rate the participant's views but to give extended narrative accounts on each topic giving a more in-depth understanding of participant's perspectives and experiences. This structure was used to encourage the old people to tell me stories about their lives. Thomas (2005) explains that the beauty of storytelling is that it allows storytellers to speak from their own perspective and voice, having some control over the process.

Given that over half the participants were fluent in te reo Māori, they were informed on the information sheet that the interview could be in te reo Māori. The advisory group agreed that it was appropriate for me to use my husband as a translator and interviewer if the interviews were to be conducted in te reo Māori, as I did not potentially have the appropriate level of fluency. However, all those older Māori fluent in te reo Māori opted

during the consent process to conduct the interviews in English. This was not how the interviews proceeded in reality, as many of these older Māori interchanged between English and te reo Māori throughout the interview. Luckily I did not have to interrupt the interview, as my level of te reo was sufficient to keep the flow of the interview going. This would have been a significant barrier for any researcher who had no knowledge of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga. All interviews were conducted in a place chosen by the participant, where they felt most comfortable. All interviews took place in the participants' home. With the permission of the participants, all interviews were recorded with a dictaphone. However, the whakawhanaungatanga and mihimihi at the beginning of interviews were not recorded as a measure of respect for the nature of this kōrero. I began with the participants in Tauranga as I had already interviewed three of them in the first wave of interviews for the LiLACS NZ study. I had already formed a relationship with those participants and this put both myself as the interviewer and the participants at ease. This provided a suitable environment to conduct the first interviews and ascertain the right way to proceed with questioning and the appropriate order for questions.

All of the questions were open-ended to elicit as much in-depth information as possible. This style of interviewing was engaged because the researcher felt it was the most appropriate qualitative technique, which aligned with a Kaupapa Māori methodology, ensuring the mana of the old people was upheld. It allowed the researcher to approach the interview without judgment or preconceived ideas where the participant was considered the expert in the recalling of their own lives and were able to include and identify the factors they perceived as important (Thomas, 2005). As a result, the old people I interviewed did not appear to feel uncomfortable or inadequate throughout the interview. Instead, many of them recounted stories about their lives to me in the manner of a tūpuna speaking to their mokopuna.

Having some structure however ensured that when reflecting on their lives, they would not only focus on times of happiness and wellbeing but also times of despair, depression and sadness and allowed me to encourage the pouako to expand on those experiences. I specifically asked questions around experiences of sadness and despair to avoid the possibility of 'positivity effect', where older people are more likely to focus on the positive aspects of their experiences (Kennedy, Mather, & Cartensen, 2004; Mather &

Carstensen, 2005). The final section of the interview involved questions specifically about their participation in Te Ao Māori and knowledge of Māori culture. During the interview process, I found that this part of the interview schedule was very necessary for the older Māori with dual cultural identities, as when recalling their life histories they did not speak in much detail about their Māori culture. For this group, I also found it was more effective to ask these questions at the end when the participants were feeling the most comfortable and relaxed. I initially asked these questions at the beginning and found that it was difficult to get much information. I believe this was due to their lack of knowledge about their Māori culture and their whakamaa (shyness) at talking about this. I discovered however that for older Māori with secure Māori identities, many of the answers to the cultural questions were answered when they spoke about their life histories and experiences, which were immersed within the Māori culture and there was less of a need to ask specific cultural questions. These older Māori also found the cultural questions difficult to answer for reasons different from the other group. For these older Māori, being Māori and understanding the culture was normal, intrinsic, a way of life and so they struggled at times to articulate the abstract notion of Māori culture and its impact on their wellbeing, making comments "that was just normal to me", "that's was just our way of life". Dicicco-bloom and Crabtree (2006) state that it is appropriate to order your themes or questions in a format that begins with the least invasive questioning. They also identify that flexibility in questioning is an important characteristic of semi-structured interviewing, as significant information can emerge in the digressions.

In this research study each interview began with introductions. For participants with secure Māori identities this often began with a karakia and always followed with whakawhanaungatanga. Many of these older Māori would not begin the interview until they had delivered their pēpeha and I had responded with an appropriate mihi (introduction). Most of these mihimihi took place in te reo Māori. All of the interviews took place in their homes and often in a room that contained photos of their whānau and tīpuna. During the mihimihi and whakawhanaungatanga the participants would often show me pictures of the particular whānau members and tīpuna they were referring to. This also emphasised their relationships with key cultural landmarks and places they had a sense of belonging and connection to. I was humbled and very respectful of these moments. I also understood these experiences to be intertwined with

their conceptualisations of happiness and wellbeing, which will be discussed further in the analysis chapters. I met most participants twice; only those requesting to have the introductions and interview in the same session (often due to time constraints) were met with once. Two of the participants who were particularly knowledgeable in Te Ao Māori I visited on three occasions, the final visit to seek their feedback on the Kaupapa Māori conceptual framework of happiness.

Analysis and Interpretation

Kaupapa Māori analysis

One of the central concepts within Kaupapa Māori methodology requires that researchers have a conscious awareness of Māori worldviews, knowledge, people and processes. This knowledge or cultural capital held by the researcher could be considered to be a form of bias, and impact on how the researcher engages in the analysis of data. Kaupapa Māori, as an anti-positivist methodology, acknowledges that these biases exist and requires the researcher to use their cultural knowledge in the analysis phase. This means that Kaupapa Māori methodology requires the researcher to acknowledge the validity of Māori knowledge and incorporate this knowledge and a Māori worldview in the interpretation and analysis of research data.

Within Kaupapa Māori methodology for research, there is no one method of analysis that can be used. Thematic analysis is a qualitative method that has been utilised within previous qualitative Kaupapa Māori research (Edwards, 2010; Taitimu 2008). Thematic analysis was the primary method employed in the analysis of the data. Kaupapa Māori theory alongside the wider literature on happiness was utilised to inform the analysis and interpretation. The flexibility of thematic analysis lends itself to a variety of theoretical frameworks that adopt qualitative methodologies within psychology. In fact, Braun and Clarke (2006) believe that thematic analysis is a foundational method for qualitative analysis. While some theorists argue that the process of thematising meaning is only part of a method, Braun and Clarke claim that it can be viewed as a method in its own right. They have highlighted the need to define some structure to the process of thematic analysis to prevent it becoming an ad hoc, anything goes approach, and

without becoming so rigid that it loses its flexibility and ability to be applicable to a number of qualitative theoretical frameworks.

All interviews were audio taped and transcribed by the primary researcher. However, te reo Māori expert, Stu McDonald, translated any parts of the interview that were in te reo Māori, as stated in the participants' information sheet. Transcribing allowed the researcher to read through the interviews a number of times to unravel the different layers of meaning and enabled an in-depth understanding of the data. Notes were taken during the transcription process that described any important changes in tone or nonverbal utterances such as laughing or silence that were relevant to a deeper understanding of the narrative (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The researcher travelled to each of the participants to return a copy of the interview transcript, apart from one who requested it by email. Providing the interview transcripts in person was important to me as the interviews contained very personal information, which I was not prepared to have mislaid. This process also allowed the participants to confirm that the transcriptions were correct and request any necessary alterations. One participant requested that the researcher omit certain parts of the interview that she felt were too personal to be included and another participant sent back the interviews with their corrections to the te reo Māori. Once the feedback was received they were prepared for thematic analysis.

Once transcription was concluded and notes put into order, the coding process began. NVivo, a qualitative data analysis package, was utilised to analyse the interview transcripts. The researcher received a training session from an expert in the software before using it. NVivo allowed the researcher to code using key terminology used by the participants in the interview such as manaakitanga and aroha. However, longer narrative passages that contained relevant information to the research questions were also identified and searches for patterns across the data items required further reading of the interviews. The researcher initially coded for as many themes as possible and any individual features that presented as significant and relevant to the research questions. These themes were further explored and some were combined, reduced or extracted during this process (Saldana, 2009).

Boyatzis (1998) defines thematic analysis as a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organises and describes your

dataset in (rich) detail. However, frequently it goes further than this, and interprets various aspects of the research topic. This research applied thematic analysis at both levels, reporting themes and interpreting the themes in relation to the research aims. Braun & Clarke (2006) are very clear about their theoretical position, which places qualitative methodology as a process where the researcher is viewed as an active rather than a passive agent in the research. What becomes vital from this standpoint is that the research question and aims match the theoretical framework and methods employed. Kaupapa Māori methodology also supports the active and subjective role of the researcher in the analysis and interpretation of information.

Identifying themes according to Braun and Clarke (2006) cannot be done by solely measuring prevalence or using quantification but by determining what data best answer the research question and aims. Therefore, the most important themes are not necessarily the themes that appear the most in the data. This research uses a contextualist method of thematic analysis, which acknowledges the way individuals make meaning of their experience as well as the broader social context that impinges on the meanings. "Therefore, thematic analysis can be a method that works both to reflect reality and to unpick or unravel the surface of 'reality'" (p. 5).

The themes arose from a general inductive approach to the analysis, which involved a process of coding the data without trying to fit it into a pre-existing coding frame, or the researcher's analytic preconceptions or presupposed hypotheses, prior to data collection. In this sense, this form of thematic analysis is data-driven (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In inductive enquiry, categories or dimensions of analysis emerge from the open-ended observations enabling the researcher to understand the patterns that exist in the phenomenon being studied (Patton, 2002, p. 56).

The themes are presented in the results section of the thesis, under the main interview headings Tamarikitanga (Childhood), Pākeketanga (Adulthood) and Kaumātuatanga (Older Age). The final results section is on Māori culture and identity. The data are presented and described with little interpretation, presenting the most common and significant narrative excerpts that related to happiness and wellbeing for these older Māori under the key themes identified during the analysis. Boyatzis (1999) defines this method as "explicit interpretation", which involves presenting the surface meanings of

the data in a way which describes the context of the participant narratives as closely as possible to the participants' own words, with the least amount of intrusion from the researcher and any preconceived notions or theoretical assumptions relating to the data. However, as Braun and Clarke (2006) explain, the researcher's worldview is not entirely exempt from the process as it shapes the lens, which is used to identify codes and themes and relationships between them.

The analysis section was where a latent interpretative approach to the data was taken and the codes and themes from the results section were analysed in relation to the research aims and questions. This process involved analysing the codes and themes and ensuring or removing any overlap between themes so that each theme, while related to other themes, still remained mutually exclusive (Braun & Clarke, 2006). A thematic map was produced to explore how the themes related to each other and to the data. This thematic map was shown and explained to the cultural advisory group and supervisors for feedback and further refined.

Development of a Kaupapa Māori conceptual framework
Kaupapa Māori concepts, philosophies and principles were applied to an understanding of the themes and the relationships between the themes. The themes identified within this research initially appeared to relate to the Te Whare Tapa Wha conceptual framework. However, as the data and concepts were explored more intensively and discussed with the cultural advisors, an alternative conceptual framework was considered. I found that Te Whare Tapa Wha was certainly applicable to aspects of the data but did not easily integrate with other key concepts that were identified from the data. The conceptual framework that was developed was shown to all participants for feedback and specific feedback sought from two participants, kaumātua with significant knowledge about the traditional Māori concepts. They supported the use of the particular traditional concepts used in the framework to explain happiness from a Māori perspective within a modern context. One participant explained how he felt it was important for these concepts to have a meaningful place in the lives of younger generations in a way that was relevant and made sense to their lives without losing the integrity of the deep cultural tradition from where they originated.

The results of the study were disseminated to all of the participants by mail and kanohi ki te kanohi. Unfortunately, three of the participants passed away before they were able

to receive this information but I was able to speak with the whānau, some who I had met before and arranged for the whānau to receive a copy. One of these whānau members spoke to me of how they had found their father's interview transcript when they were sorting out his belongings and how it had brought them happiness to read his story, which they were going to make copies of and keep for their whānau records.

Chapter Six: Results

Introduction

The participant narratives in this section are from the 16 participants (11 females, 5 males) of advanced age (80 to 90 years) who identified with their Māori ethnicity; 10 participants had a secure Māori identity, while six of the participants identified as Māori but were more strongly connected with their NZ European culture. The latter group is referred to as having a dual cultural identity. The two classifications capture a measure of the diversity that exists for Māori where:

> The realities of older Māori range from those existing largely within mainstream society (often indistinguishable from non-Māori) to those living a more traditional or culturally conservative lifestyle (and including large number of kaumātua). (Cunningham et al., 2002, p. 23)

Participants lived in the Bay of Plenty region of New Zealand in both urban and rural areas.

This chapter is ordered in sections that reflect the lifespan of the participants and examines the themes related to happiness during three key periods in their lives. Themes obviously overlap between life stages and the interpretation of these results will follow in the subsequent analysis sections. The sections have been labelled Tamarikitanga (Childhood), Pākeketanga (Adulthood), and Kaumātuatanga (Older Age). Each section is made up of themes and sub-themes drawn from the common and significant patterns found in the qualitative analysis. The sections and themes are outlined in the table below.

Table 5: Key happiness themes from participant narratives across the lifespan

Tamarikitanga (Childhood)	Pākeketanga (Adulthood)	Kaumātuatanga (Older Age)
Whānau (Family)	Whānau(Family)	Whānau (Family)
Mātauranga (Education and Learning)	Mahi (Work/Career)	Oranga (Health & Wellbeing)
Whenua (Natural Environment)	Whakapetongoi (Active Lifestyle)	Hononga (Social Relationships)
He Ringa Raupa (Hardworking)	Oranga (Health & Wellbeing)	Maioha (Appreciation and Gratitude)
He Hāneanea (Contentment)		

The concluding section of this chapter discusses cultural identity and the relationship between that identity and happiness and wellbeing. This concluding section is separated into two parts: views of older Māori with a secure connection to their Māori identity and views of older Māori with a dual cultural identity.

The methodology used within this research gives preference to the voice of the participants within this section. Some of the participant's excerpts are lengthy because they tell an important story and the narrative has been kept intact as much as possible to preserve the integrity of the kōrero (narrative), a characteristic of thematic analysis (Riessman, 2008).

Tamarikitanga (Childhood)

Whānau (Family)

Whānau/Family was the most dominant theme related to the happiness of older Māori, the importance of whānau was maintained throughout the lifespan. The concept of whānau ranged from the nuclear family to the wider extended family.

The Old People/Grandparents

The old people within the families and communities of many of the participants played a significant role during childhood and the relationships forged with the old people provided an enduring source of happiness. The strong relationship of tūpuna to mokopuna was reflected in many of the statements and stories.

Six of the participants were brought up by grandparents or other older family members such as aunties and uncles. This process was recognised as informal adoption or whāngai and was conducted in the spirit of manaakitanga, to help those who could not have children or to relieve younger parents so they could go out and work.

> *I was adopted out by an old couple [uncle and aunty] because they wanted a baby cos my mother had too many babies. I used to go on a horse about 5 miles away…Being with my parents, with that couple, that old couple, it was really good. That was my life living in the bush with them and whenever they went that's where I would have loved to live. (Pouako 1)*

Pouako 2 gave a detailed account of the time she spent growing up with her koro (grandfather) and the deep love and fulfilment she gained from the relationship.

And what I have is what my koro gave me cos I love my koro… I've always loved my koro more than I love my father cos he bought me up, he fed me, he clothed me. My father did too but I was closer to my koro than I was to my father and what he taught me, what my grandfather taught me was important you know, keep yourself clean and tidy. Even though he worked on the farm and came back you know and he'd be dusty and he always went and filled up the copper, boiled it and then had a wash before he came to have kai, washed his hands, combed his hair. It was just little things and I always took notice and he never had many clothes and he would iron his shirt in the front and the cuffs. Did you have a koro like that too? (Pouako 2)

The participants that were brought up with secure Māori identities recognised the value of being around the old people as children and exposed to their knowledge, values, tikanga and worldviews. This exposure contributed to their development in a positive way sustaining their happiness and wellbeing throughout life.

Both Pouako 3 and Pouako 4 provided vivid descriptions and stories of their relationships with the old people, in particular the koroua, and their knowledge of the universe that was steeped in tradition and tikanga.

I was four when my mother died. And that's how I grew up. Being cared by other people...I liked to sit with them [old people] and talk about their times. And what are the good times and what are the bad times, they express themselves and I like [to] just sit and listen ne?...But the people were very good to me, the old people they taught me everything about that knowledge. They talk about Ranginui, they talk about Papatūānuku, they talk about the rivers, the lakes and the moana, and that all hinges on the knowledge about the universe ae so they been teaching me all that. (Pouako 3)

We weren't allowed to go to the marae, actually but at those times everyone came to the marae to do work on their horses or on their carts and they use to tie their horses up along the fence line and where the horses were tied there's a lot of sacks on the fence, I'd grab a couple of sacks and climb into them and go to sleep and my koroua he'd wait till I was asleep and come and get me out

of the bag. I'm screaming and kicking calling out for my father. He'd take me to where all these other koroua of mine were sitting and make me sit. He'd screw my ears "noho, whakarongo", ["sit and listen"], that used to be a daily happening in my life when I was around about 2 up to the age of 5, to stay with these old fullas...I got used to these old fullas so I stayed with them and I listened to some of their stories. There was very little whakapapa spoken, it was stories and things that happened in the past all the things that had happened to our people, our iwi and unbeknown to me that was the starting of my education as far as the old people were concerned, my understanding of my role for the future. (Pouako 4)

For others just being in the presence of the old people and their humble and gracious ways of being brought happiness and joy. The old people were often described by the participants as 'beautiful people'. This adjective was used to describe the behaviour, attitudes and presentation of the old people.

They were a very gracious people, it was nature, they were naturally gracious. Dad used to say about Uncle Henare, I could go to the finest Pākehā hotel or wherever in the world and he would know exactly how to behave, he was a born natural gentleman…but they were wonderful people and that was what made me happy, they were beautiful, beautiful people and many of them came to the home and I just loved looking at them and thinking and hearing their voices and all that sort of thing and I wished that I had been bilingual. (Pouako 5)

Within the rural Māori communities old people were seen as integral to raising of children and had a positive influence in their learning and development epitomised in the following statement by one of the participants.

And growing up in this area where all the kids were raised by the koros and kuias. It didn't matter who the child was we belonged to the whole people, to the whole hapū or tribe. You didn't belong to your family you belonged to the whole village, that's how things were at that time. Koirā ngā tīmatanga mai o to mātou whakatipuranga [that was the start of our upbringing]. (Pouako 4)

The sociocentric community life was central to Māori culture and contributed to individual and collective wellbeing. When the process of whāngai separated the participants from these wider systems, a sense of unhappiness was acknowledged. Pouako 6 and Pouako 1 recalled being content and happy with their grandparents but missed the interaction with their family members, in particular siblings.

> *The only time I think I felt a little bit not so much unhappy but I didn't want to conform was when I was allowed to go and have the weekends with my parents and because I had a brother and sister, they were younger, I used to pretend to go to sleep when they used to bring me home on the Sunday. I don't know whether I was unhappy I must have been yeah I didn't want to leave cos I was an only one when I came home. I missed the other kids and going out on the farm. (Pouako 6)*

Whilst there were many positive recollections from those participants brought up in the 'whāngai' system and most retained regular contact with their parents and siblings, the participant below spoke of the difficulties from being separated from her nuclear family and the long-term repercussions.

> *When I was adopted out really I was sort of lonely at times because I had no mate to play with but my mother and father were still alive so I was quite happy but there was other things like to play with children and when I was moving back to [place] and staying with the other families and I used to watch my family play and I knew I belonged to that family but they don't want to play with me so I thought I wasn't going to do that so I never adopted. (Pouako 1)*

<u>Parents</u>

For those brought up by their birth parents, having a close and strong relationship with one or both of their parents was regarded as a source of happiness in childhood. When asked what factors contributed to their happiness in childhood they would spend some time talking about their parents, their particular attributes and their parenting skills. It was often noticeable that there was a special affinity to one parent in particular. Pouako 7, Pouako 8 and Pouako 5 all spoke of 'lovely' and 'kind' parents, Pouako 7 with a special affinity with her *"beautiful father"* and Pouako 8 was "*always happy because Mum was so kind".*

> *And then Dad was very good with doing all sorts of things that made us happy. He and our eldest sister was very energetic and very strong, she was only five foot nothing but she was very energetic and loved tennis so she helped Dad and the boys to make that tennis court you can see it in there...He was wonderful, these are the things that made us happy, myself in particular... We had a wonderful youth absolutely he was over half Māori and was brought up as pure Māori...But that's I wanted to say was that Dad in his heart he was very Māori had a pure in its purity his heart was indeed Māori you know, true Māori heart. And he loved his people and he was in all sorts of things, I'm sort of getting a bit into his life but these things make me happy. (Pouako 5)*

The close relationships with parents however also indirectly led to distress and unhappiness in childhood when events resulted in the separation of child from parent due to relationship breakdowns and premature death.

One story was particularly poignant recounted by Pouako 9, who was born out of wedlock and stigmatised as a bastard or pōriro. She was separated unwillingly from her mother, the only source of love in her childhood, sent to live in an abusive household with an Aunty and Uncle and then returned to her father from whom she remained relatively alienated. This traumatic experience had lasting effects on her happiness throughout her life and was at times difficult to speak of.

When I was with my mum, that's the only love that I experienced in my life. It was when I was with her because I'm one of those oh what do you call them? Umm you know they call you pōriro. You haven't got a father; you're a little b. Because my dad comes from [place] he married a lady from [place] and that's where my mum comes from. And it was during one of those times that he jumped the fence...I remember this when she [mother] said to my father, when I die but in Māori, mate ake nei au don't have anything to do with me and he said oh no she's not mine ehara tēnā i tāku tamaiti [that's not my child], he denied being my father. I didn't care cos my mum was there anyway. But the thing is when they buried his wife they came back...they took me without her [mother] knowing, I don't know I was about six then. And they brought me back to [place]. And I had an Uncle who was married there, he was my mum's brother, I stayed with them. It was a dog's life and I started milking cows when I was eight. It was really rough, my uncle was alright but his wife she was always picking on me she called me a little b and when I was 9 or 10 I ran away from there... So I stayed with this old lady she said I'll take you back to your father... so I stayed with him... but he wasn't at home all the time he kept going out cos he was sort of, he was paramount chief...You know these sorts of things I can look back and sometimes I get very emotional especially when I'm talking about my mum and I never saw her again... Oh no nothing is making me happy. Cos he's [her father] always laying down the law. (Pouako 9)

The unhappiness expressed here was related to separation from whānau. Pouako 9 returns to talking about the happiness she felt from her mother's love.

The love she [her mother] had for us cos there were three of us, two boys and me and she was my mother and father in one, all in one and I think during the 1930s cos I was born in 1926 and during the 30s I think there was a depression down there no kai, nothing. And she used to go down to the beach early in the morning and she goes down there and I used to ask her in a childish way, I haere koe ki hea? [Where are you going?] And she said ki te ākau [to the shore]. You got to go early to catch the first fish stranded on the beach. And I think that's why I'm not into seafood you know. I can handle two mussels. And yeah that was the only bit of love. Now and again over here I've got a tape of a song

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of this maunga Taranaki and my mind goes back you know and I get very emotional and I thought well I'm 84 and I'm still acting as a child, I'm missing my mum and when I go back the people that knows me they know me, I don't know most of them but they know me through my mum. They said oh one minute we see you here, next minute gone we didn't know where you disappeared to all those years, now you come back with white hair. And your mum died of a broken heart; yeah I try not to think of it but all my yearning for her you know. (Pouako 9)

Pouako 9 never saw her mother again, she could not bring herself to attend her mother's tangi as she never got a chance to see and speak to her before her death.

Pouako 10 and Pouako 3 also spoke of losing a parent *"too soon"* and having longing for that parent. Sadness that lingered to current times was expressed.

I was always very close to my mother wherever she goes I always like to be hanging off her skirt. I became very close to my mother and because of how we're brought up I started to digest the cause of our separation [mother died] ne? Sometimes I feel sad that we weren't together as a family ae. (Pouako 3)

Pouako 7 identified the difficult relationship with her mother as the cause for unhappiness and discord throughout her childhood and upbringing. She referred to a number of times when her mother prevented her from making progress and achieving milestones within her childhood.

The pitfalls I had in my life I feel was through my mother and I do know it had to be jealousy... I was learning music and my tutor wanted me to go to exams and my mother wouldn't let me... I think the hardest part in all my life was that I had topped my school all the way I went out at 96% and my mother wouldn't let me go to high school... Oh I got used to it. Because if I was told to do this like when I was 21 she decided that she wanted a dress made so Friday night I had to sew a dress and that's the sort of woman that she was. I think it was jealousy. It was very much jealousy. (Pouako 7)

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These kōrero show that the whānau relationships as a child were a source of both happiness and sadness and the effects remain over the lifespan.

Whanaungatanga

Whanaungatanga was integral to personal and collective wellbeing. The large extended family was viewed positively; a lot of fun was had with many brothers, sisters, cousins, aunties, uncles etc. The family was as a place to feel welcomed and secure with all other family members.

> *Yes collectively as a family we were very happy and I think that was the beauty of it we shared everything we had as I mentioned before no family was better off than others we were all the same. (Pouako 4)*

> *I was happy because I was grateful that I had a home although I had no mother and when I'd come to [place] my cousin who fed me off her breast well she had heaps of kids by this time. When she was feeding me she only had two children well when I grew up she must have had about 8 or 9 by then but she was good to me she always took me in, she knew when my father had nowhere to go and so I'd stay at her place. (Pouako 2)*

Not all participants spoke specifically of whanaungatanga, but all of the participants could provide important examples of the way connections were developed and maintained within their family and the importance of those connections to their happiness. Those participants with a secure Māori identity often placed great importance on the significance of aunties, uncles, grandparents and elderly in their community, alongside their parents and siblings, to their happiness. The older Māori with a dual cultural identity placed a greater emphasis on their nuclear family, parents and siblings in their happiness, but did make reference to happy times experienced with their wider family.

Summary

Whānau/Family in all forms had a critical impact on childhood experiences for these participants and their happiness. When whānau security was broken or threatened

through death or separation, the happiness of the participants was also challenged. The depth of such family unhappiness in childhood was so significant that it was experienced throughout life and into old age. The whānau represented an important vessel for the intergenerational transfer of knowledge, values and beliefs and traditions.

Mātauranga (Education and Learning)

When the participants were asked to speak about times that brought them happiness in childhood many of them referred to their experiences in school and education.

> *I was happy at school...I loved study cos I think mum and dad were both well-educated and I was brought up to enjoy it. I was never frightened of doing any homework or anything cos if I got stuck I had educated people to help me. (Pouako 5)*

> *Well I loved school...Well because it was such a small place I guess it was getting together with all the other kids and we had good teachers, very good teachers and you know I got on well with them. (Pouako 11)*

While some participants spoke of their enjoyment of learning and socialising within the school environment, others' happiness at school was compromised by the negative attention received for being Māori. The experience of those older Māori that attended native schools was characterised by the challenge of assimilating into a foreign system that did not accept their Māori culture and language. To this extent the participants were remarkably resilient and tolerant of the situation. They had to negotiate learning a new language and education system during the school day, and then adapting back to their own language and culture when they returned home, this was not without tribulations at times. The unhappiness brought about from this situation often was not fully understood by participants until they were older looking back and realising the importance of their language to their happiness and wellbeing. They inferred injustice to the experiences they had in the native schooling system. Many of the participants spoke of their frustration and the confusion they felt within this foreign system and having to adapt to different expectations and methods of learning and speaking.

So I went to school at the age of five because I didn't wear trousers when I was a little fulla that was the first time I wear a pair of trousers when I went to school. As soon as I got to school I took it off and threw it away. The teacher took it for a whole week and the headmaster's wife wrote a letter to my father telling him don't send me back to school till I learn how to wear trousers. And it took me two years to learn how to wear trousers. As a young fulla all I had was a singlet it wasn't a singlet anyway it was a sugar bag with holes cut out that was it and I wasn't the only one like that the whole community had kids running round in that sort of dress ... Of course go to school here we weren't allowed to speak Māori and we found it difficult to understand what's being said by the teachers...And we found it very, very difficult. In fact it sort of made children rather than ask questions retreat into themselves. Because they never had the understanding of what was being said and rather than ask they kept quiet cos they didn't know how to ask anyway. Wasn't until they got a bit older and they started to understand what's being said it was tough for all the kids here. (Pouako 4)

Māori, I hardly spoke English, mostly Māori. Like everyone else you get a strap if you were speaking Māori but I just thought that was the way of living...They made us speak English....I didn't feel any different cos I thought they were right...Yep when I used to go home and speak English they pulled your ears for speaking English. You learn some English words and you want to go home and tell them you tell them pull your ears. (Pouako 1)

Oh I learnt a lot and I'm grateful for that education the only regret that I didn't recognise at the time the language of my reo wasn't available in the school. And yet when I grew up I thought now why did you deny me to speak the reo and yet when we go to do action songs for you, you have no opposition to that, I'm referring to the teaching professionals. (Pouako 3)

Pouako 3 and Pouako 4 spoke of the 'just going along with it' and 'withdrawing' as a reaction to the suppression of their own language. Pouako 12 identified her unhappiness at school as stemming from her experience of being judged negatively by other children for being Māori.

You never ever sort of brought up the fact that you had Māori blood of any depth at all because you felt you would be looked down on because of it. Not from the nuns I mean it wasn't from them at all. But it was just the kids the way the kids were brought up. I could hear them saying things you know "don't sit with her she's got Māori blood" and probably it was just that one kid that said it but it really sticks in my mind. (Pouako 12)

Some older Māori spoke of their experience growing up without knowledge of te reo. For most, this was an outcome of their parents' belief that they needed to assimilate and be immersed in the Pākehā culture to successfully integrate into New Zealand society. As a result, even though their parents could communicate in te reo, they did not teach the language to their children.

Oh yes she [mother] was half, yeah most of them are half Māori and fluent in Māori, bilingual mum was, bilingual and even used to have Pākehā women ringing her up sometimes which was I don't know if I would have cared to have a question like that, 'Are you really Māori?' And of course mum would say of course I am. And I could hear mum talking and I used to love listening to her… I was fairly young and I could hear the two of them speaking Māori and of course I didn't understand the language. When I was a child we had to learn to speak good English because to get good jobs which was the way it was. (Pouako 5)

. *Not really, you see her [mother's] father was a Māori interpreter in the court but he never allowed Mum to be where she could learn the Māori language. So no I guess that's where it started from but he was very interested in all things Māori. He used to trace family land interests. I've got books here with him chasing up all the whakapapas, he'd go right back and make successions...And yet it was quite strange. He was always in court translating but never thought to allow his children to become bilingual. (Pouako 12)*

A number of the participants were forced to leave school early or prevented from entering tertiary education because of family and financial commitments. This was a

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source of regret and disappointment for many, especially as many of them showed promise and aptitude in their schooling.

No except when I was a teenager because I thought I think the hardest part in all my life was that I had topped my school all the way I went out at 96% and my mother wouldn't let me go to high school. (Pouako 7)

I spent two years at [Māori boarding school] and from there I set my sights on being a lawyer and I sat for another bursary which is referred to as a continuation bursary. I received that, instead of coming home I went to [place] and stayed there for about 7 weeks to earn as much money as I could to help me with my going to school but I made the mistake of coming back home…and my father told me he wasn't able to support me because he wanted to give my sister her two years. That's when everything went haywire for me that was my biggest disappointment. I wasn't able to achieve what I wanted to do. But nevertheless it wasn't meant to be. (Pouako 4)

When I was in the fifth form and Mum took ill and she had to go to a specialist and stay with my sister in law and I had to look after dad. And I was swatting for my school C to one in the morning sometimes and going to sleep in class and [teacher], he was a history teacher and he'd call out to me, you may be catching up on your sleep but not in my class thank you and of course I feel so ashamed of myself. And I went home to dad and I said oh dad I think I'll pull out and I'll catch up at a later date at night school or something. Anyway he said, he was very good dad, he said if you feel you'll be happier that's alright. And so that was okay, I left and I looked after him and did mum's house up to scratch. (Pouako 5)

There were many reasons for leaving school; primarily lack of financial support and in some families, giving everyone a chance. For some, each child only had a limited time in school and for others, the choice was to educate the boys so as to become the breadwinners. Loss of parents was also a factor. School was not always viewed positively. For Pouako 1, the experiences she had at school, the dislocation from her

whānau and her home in the bush made it difficult for her to adapt to the school environment and learn, which stilted her education and motivated her to leave.

> *I thought I was so happy to go to school it was something really neat but I went to school. It was alright I managed to get through but I wasn't learning much I didn't want to learn anything I just wanted to go home. I didn't learn much cos those days when you go to school you got to pass or they won't put you up. The other kids say "You're still here" "I say yep I haven't passed, I didn't even know what the meaning of passing was". And they call out all the kids that don't pass my name wasn't called out oh well I just stay here. For years I stay in the same class so I decided to finish school. (Pouako 1)*

For a few of the participants, the pursuit of education was so integral to their wellbeing, that it motivated them to continue their education and gain qualifications through night classes and further education when they were older.

> *I said to dad I'm going to go to night school dad and I'd like to do my junior senior with shorthand typing English. (Pouako 5)*

> *But I went to high school night class. I would have been in my 50s and I topped bookkeeping in the whole high school and I had one year tuition and I got my school C also in English. (Pouako 7)*

Early schooling experiences were inherently entwined with the use, or not, of te reo Māori, the challenges of discrimination related to being Māori and the frustrations of later in the schooling years not being able to continue with schooling. Many of the participants alluded to this aspect of their childhood having a direct effect on their longevity and wellbeing in old age. Despite these challenges, learning and education remained intrinsically linked to happiness through to advanced age for most.

Whenua (Natural Environment)

For the majority of the participants their childhood upbringing was remembered as mostly happy times and the main sources of happiness in their childhood were attributed to their life being simple, hardworking, in tune with the natural environment

and having access to natural foods from the land. The importance of the natural environment and sense of belonging to the land were central to the participants' happiness and wellbeing and was very evident in their comments. Many of them grew up in rural areas where they immersed themselves in outdoor life, absorbed in the wonders of the land and sea. They often spoke of particular places of cultural significance and the sense of belonging and connection they had to those places.

> *Well I'll never forget my childhood I was born on [the] island and bought up off the land and from the sea and school days they were always happy for us kids it was like swimming every day and we did gardens and things and we hurried up to do that so we could hurry up and get to the water and swimming. We really had a happy life there it was excellent. That was our thing swimming we just loved every minute of it we'd go every day every day. And the teachers knew that too. The beach was not far from our house. And on the side of the hill where we used to swim it's got a huge big waterfall coming down off the land when we finished swimming we all used to go under the waterfall and wash there so we didn't have to have a wash when we came home. It's still flowing today, for many, many years. There's a few there now that clean it and keep the water flowing. It's good for up the top of it watercress and pūhā [sowthistle] and that sort of kai. ...Well we all had springs on the island because we had to connect water from the springs to the marae so from the marae we had water going all the time they had tanks later on but springs were better, cleaner beautiful water. (Pouako 13)*

> *The childhood days were beautiful...Knowing how to do those things milking cows and I used to go out eeling as I got a bit older well I sneak the rifle and shoot pigeons and the old man told me off don't you shoot those birds again. (Pouako 10)*

Pouako 4's kōrero was evidence of how connected and in harmony many Māori were with their environment especially those brought up in rural areas, surviving literally off the bush and sea. He explained how his knowledge of the land, flora and fauna and the animals enabled him to integrate completely into that world. This way of being was a source of happiness and contentment.

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I think being involved with nature, the environment as far as we're concerned the environment was part of us. We lived it, we worked it and we shared it and as a consequence of that we learnt to understand the environment what it's all about we became part of nature. When I started hunting I started to think in terms like a pig like a deer. You do that you put yourself in that position will I go that way or this way you start thinking like that it made it easy when you're hunting you didn't have to look hard. It was more or less and instinctive thing with us we knew exactly where to go because everything was on a seasonal basis. In the bush at certain times when certain trees have certain berries when the berries drop to the ground the pigs will get there…then you had the fern root, the things in the bush you study all those because it's a matter of survival with us and the same with fishing these are the very things taught by the elders. We were taught the maramataka, which is the calendar of daily events and the right days for fishing. We were taught what the maramataka was all about and different days for different things it was very important to have an understanding of the maramataka because it gave you an indication of when to plant what to plant at certain times, the harvesting and fishing all evolved around this maramataka that was our life. (Pouako 4)

Living off produce was a key ingredient in the happiness and wellbeing of many of the participants. They enjoyed both the process of cultivating and collecting the kai from the land and sea, the reward of eating kai you had laboured over, the taste and sensation of the unprocessed kai and the social aspect of eating together with whānau

All our kai was from the bush everything. (Pouako 1)

Pouako 7 connected her physical and mental wellbeing directly to the food they ate in childhood which she has sustained into old age and here talks about the abundance of kai. Most participants spoke of abundance of food, kaimoana (seafood), livestock, cows and bush kai, the ways of making and acquiring kai and they attributed this as contributing to happiness then, and in current times.

I put it down to the food that we always had mostly home-grown vegetables and meats for many years all the meat was killed on farms and vegetables they were abundant, sweet corn and beans and peas and everything. (Pouako 7)

Pouako 2's memories of her koro and the happiness she felt with him were intertwined with getting and cooking kai. Experiences of kai were linked with the 'old ways' and spending time with elders that were highly valued.

I was happy cos we had a cow and we always had fresh milk and the best part of it was when you boil the milk and the cream came to the top and I used to love getting up first and my koro would skim the cream off the top we always had porridge and I would always be the first one sitting up at the table cos I wanted the cream. And if we were out of bread my koro would bake some bread like flapjacks like pikelets but thin thinner than pikelets and oh I loved my koro we lived in the old days where you had the open fire with two boards on the side and an iron ring like a kerosene tin on there and you slide it along, cooking and it was just an open fire you see in the old days and it was a different way of living and I loved it cos I was the only one there you see. (Pouako 2)

Pouako 13 spoke of her connection with the kai from the moana and the abundance of it in her childhood days and also frustration and sadness was heard in her voice as she spoke of the depletion of it today.

... Kina [sea urchins] and pāua [abalone] we had them, they were huge over there it's different they're under the bay, that's not far from the house and they've got huge big boulders they are underneath it and when the tide goes out you just go and pick them the waters only about to your heels, you can get bags of it but you see over the years that's gone down too because people have gone over there with their diving suits and all that. (Pouako 13)

Pouako 14 spoke of her happiness from observing and practising the tikanga around mahinga kai (food cultivation), and her pride in the way Māori people practised kaitiakitanga—the conservation and preservation of the natural environment—was very palpable in her kōrero.

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But I think the happiest times is learning about how to respect our mahinga kai and I can still remember it's so different today to the times I was growing up and I remember during the summer months the water was really our food basket and we gathered kai from the moana during those summer months to help us with our living and during the winter months it was going to the bush and the pig hunting and shooting the kereru [pigeon] which was still legal in those days. I'm not quite sure but that's how we lived and I think we learnt to respect those things but now it's different it's totally different from the old days but we still respect those ways we were brought up in as children…And for me I think Māori were very clever. I mean I remember when we used to get kai moana (seafood) and that especially kina and they always say never eat the kina or the sea food on the beach because the kai will go away and so we always take it home but sometimes we don't want to wait and we just eat it on the beach not on the beach but onto the land and eat it and you see the Pākehās looking at us sort of oh what are those Māoris doing. (Pouako 14)

Pouako 3 spoke of some his happiest childhood memories being the Christmas holidays where there would be an abundance of kai, especially delicacies. And Pouako 15 identified the happiness in childhood as related to the independence and freedom he had to explore the environment.

Yes I enjoyed my life… cos we could run wild really there was no restrictions on anything...You fished for koura [crayfish] in the creeks, we had great times. (Pouako 15)

The cultivation, collection, sharing and eating of kai incorporated many traditional beliefs and values of Māori culture for participants with a secure Māori identity. They grew up immersed in their natural environment, where Māori beliefs and practices such as kaitiakitanga were instilled. Happiness was linked to positive engagement and unity with the natural environment. Participants with dual cultural identities also referred to their wellbeing as related to food practices and the freedom of childhood activities in the natural environment.

He Ringa Raupa me He Hāneanea (Hardworking and Content)

He ringa raupa is the Māori term used to refer to people who are hardworking; in the literal sense, it means callused hands, proof of how hard a person has toiled. He Hāneanea refers to the feeling of contentment and being comfortable, which for the participants in this study came about from simple pleasures.

The social and economic hardships of that era permeated some of the discussions about early childhood experiences and the happiness and wellbeing of whānau and communities. However, this way of living was also mediated with simple and fun life experiences, evidenced in many of their recollections. The simplicity of life and the hard work required was not viewed negatively but as integral to the formation of the important values and qualities required for enduring happiness and wellbeing. Participants spoke of the resourcefulness of the times in a positive way.

> *I can remember as a five year old when I first started going to school. Our life at home was really close and happy. We were well looked after by our parents. But living down [place] in those days in the thirties you were living in the wilderness. No bridges to go to our nearest town for doctors and nurses. … And getting medical help in those days was difficult. A lot of the young children died from pneumonia which in those days? Cos they couldn't get to doctors and nurses we lived in the wilderness. (Pouako 10)*

> *Things were hard and most of the people here had kāutas, when I say kāutas they were just a one room building with a corrugated roof on top and kaponga [native tree-fern] sides and a dirt floor and that was during the time of land development for Māoris in our area here. We were all the same one family was no better off than the other and whatever resources we had was put to use, when I say resources I make reference to the flour sacks when they bought the flour. They utilized the sacks by creating clothes for the girls and for the kids as well. Classic example is the flour bag which was used for trousers for the girls and the boys as well. And the sugar bags they used that because things were so tough they used all the resources they could get their hands on to ensure that the children were clothed not so much in a manner of the Pākehā people but to keep you warm and healthy. That was the era I grew up in (Pouako 4).*

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Many of these kōrero talk of striving and hardship. They were expected to work hard as children and complete chores. Some found enjoyment in the work but at the least they were accepting that working hard and completing chores for the benefit of the entire whānau was part of life. Pouako 10 got up at 4 am to deliver the milk and got back just in time for school. Pouako 2's job was the wood, along with sweeping and fetching water. She spoke of it as being part of being a Māori. Pouako 14 talked of her young days as "*the happiest days*" and she already linked her experiences of kai preparation as being part of Māori culture. Here Pouako 4 and Pouako 7 talk about their experiences.

> *At the other pā[village] and they had the maize and when the maize grows up you had to go and weed the maize in the paddocks us young ones we used to stay at the end and we used to go backwards and forwards in the maize and you get some money, 50 cents a day. We worked at a very young age at the age of five we were milking cows. By the time you were old enough to pull the tit of a cow well that's it. You had a seat and you sat there and milked a cow at the age of 3 or 4, by the time you were 10, you were milking five cows. Everyone was the same. It was the way of life for our Māori people. (Pouako 4)*

> *I had to work hard at home I was up at 5.30 in the morning and the windows in the house alone there was 40 windows they had to be cleaned once a fortnight remember my mother was bought up in a convent. When I was 10 I cooked for my aunty and uncle and two adult cousins and my mother said she was sick cos my aunty and uncle were coming so I cooked them a hot dinner at 10 and that was our family as well...we used to have our bread delivered and they couldn't make cream puffs so I used to make cream puffs for the baker and I would have only been 13. They found out that I could make cream puffs so when they had orders I never got paid they used to swap with mum for some sausage rolls. It's just how people think. (Pouako 7)*

Pouako 5 talked of her brother's pride in being able to help with the gardening and the whole family was included and their contributions to the work valued. Pouako 6

credited the hardworking, simple but active lifestyle alongside her family's involvement in sport as the foundation for her happiness throughout childhood.

> *We learnt right from the beginning even when we were on the farm we had to do our jobs and our jobs were part of our training for sport. My brother and I would have to take the cream cans on something you pushed down to the gate which was at least two hundred yards away from the cowshed and we had to push it with our gumboots, which are heavy for young kids, but when we took them off by the time we got out to the front of the road and left them there we would see Mum and Dad walking back to the house to get breakfast or Mum would be walking back and she would call out are we alright? Now you take the gumboots off and you run from where the cream cans were left which was about from here across to the road and you ran and honestly the way your legs came up because you had no weight on them, we ran like the wind we left our gumboots back there because when the empty cans came back we would take them back to the cow shed and they'd be down there for us to do the chores we had at night time, but ooh lovely no weight on our feet we could run like crazy. But those were all the little simple things we were brought up with. (Pouako 6)*

Participants often recalled how as children they were content with what they had. They didn't expect a lot and as a consequence were rarely disappointed. They were very accepting, finding joy and happiness in the moment and simple pleasures. Pouako 4 talked of living *"day-by-day",* the eeling and fishing and the 'simple things' that contributed to happiness. Pouako 15 talked of a good life that was simple.

> *Everything we had in those days we were happy with whatever we got, whatever we had to do we'd do or work. When that was finished we were allowed to go out and play till lunchtime or dinnertime at night so we didn't have any hassles like children do today, it was just one happy family...Oh wanting this and wanting that and wanting to go here, want to go there. We never asked to go anywhere unless we were told we could go. Our life was totally different... In life in those days there wasn't much to offer. It was simple. (Pouako 8)*

Pouako 12 recalled how a simple family trip to town in the weekend was a highlight and happy time for the whole family.

> *If you were lucky you got into town on a Friday or Saturday, go to a matinee that was a big thing and shopping on a Saturday morning that was it - just going to town. And then dad always took us for a drive on a Sunday afternoon and those were the little things that you looked at that you were happy with. (Pouako 12)*

Summary

Generally, the majority of participants described their childhood as a time of happiness and contentment. The whānau/family unit was the primary mechanism that facilitated happiness for the participants, largely through the practice of values such as *Manaakitanga (generosity, kindness and support)* and *Aroha (love and compassion). Whanaungatanga (family relationships)* and *Whakapapa (genealogical connections),* through the wider connections and relationships with extended family members and the older members of the community, were significant. *Te Ao Marama (Learning, and understanding),* especially from the wisdom of older people, was related to happiness in an important way. The colonial restrictions placed on the participants during their schooling and separation from parents were the most common source of unhappiness in childhood. Childhood was characterised by *Maioha* (*gratitude and acceptance*) by the participants who spoke about feeling grateful for the simple pleasures in life such as interacting often within the natural environment and accepting of the need to work hard. Food, the acquisition of it and growing of it was interlinked with Māori culture and general New Zealand life and valued as contributing to happiness. The natural environment was identified as a crucial component of wellbeing, as a source of pleasure, cultural identity and sustenance, emphasising the values of *Whanaungatanga (relationships), Kaitiakitanga (conservation/protection), Maungārongo (harmony), Tūrangawaewae (belonging)* and *Oranga (wellbeing/sustenance).*

Pākeketanga (Adulthood)

During this stage of life, happiness and wellbeing were derived from whānau, specifically raising children and marriage, one's career or main work/purpose, participation in the community and involvement in sport and hobbies.

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Whānau (Family)

Raising children

A central component of the happiness for participants in their adult lives was raising their children and times spent together as a family. Both the men and women acknowledged the joy obtained from watching their children develop, spending time together as a family and being involved with family related activities. Consequently, the greatest despair in adult life came from the breakdown of families and the devastating loss of children. Only two participants did not identify their children as a significant part of their happiness and wellbeing as adults.

When Pouako 9 was asked what brought her happiness as an adult she spoke about her family and how she was determined not to repeat the neglect she suffered as a child with her own children. The simple but important value of being part of a family, where the children were cared for by two loving and committed parents, was Pouako 9's way of providing her children and herself with positive family experiences that she missed out on growing up. When asked what brought her happiness as an adult she replied:

> *The happy times oh when I had them [her children]. They were small, they were terribly spoilt we spoilt them, I spoilt the boy, he spoilt the girl. My kids. I only got two. And I adopted one, we adopted one. ...And uh we were really a great little pack, family. (Pouako 9)*

Pouako 1 and Pouako 5 spoke of how their entire lives revolved around their children and how children have been a significant source of happiness in their lives. Pouako 8's happiness was also largely defined by her children.

> *We had [child 1] first and then three years later we had [child 2] and then eleven years later we had [child 3]. And I thought oh gosh I'm glad I've got a little boy. It was it was so lovely but I don't know we had a wonderful happy life. (Pouako 8)*

Pouako 2's narrative also indicated how important her children were, as despite having a teaching qualification she felt it was paramount that she stayed home and cared for the children until they were older.

Pouako 4 spoke of how raising his own whānau helped create both inner contentment and happiness in life, but also reported his conflict in balancing work and raising children.

> *I didn't marry at a young age so I didn't grow up with the kids. I was 28 before I married my girlfriend over here she was left with the job of rearing our kids while I was out getting involved with developing our land and all that and my job working for our people, that is my only regret. That was the only way to do it. (Pouako 4)*

Pouako 13 spoke of her happiest times as a parent being the family holidays where she would take her children back to their tūrangawaewae (place of belonging) and spend time immersed in the beautiful environment there, sharing the kai from the land and sea.

> *I think there was lots of times but some of the times I remember they always remember us going back to the island cos I'd take them back all the time we've been going back for years to the island every Christmas we used to go back there take our kids grow a garden bout august holidays we used to cart them all back there, then we'd make a [place]for kumara[sweet potato] plants and plant them and by the time we went back before Christmas we just have to take meat we had watermelon and everything growing there. Cos its beautiful cos they don't have frosts there, oh beautiful the watermelons are huge. Yeah so that was happy times. (Pouako 13)*

Unfortunately, a number of the participants suffered from the loss of children in tragic circumstances and they experienced pain and sorrow that was never completely resolved. For Pouako 5 the loss of her baby at a few hours old was an experience that sent her into a deep postnatal depression which was to last for a number of years. Her faith and inner strength ultimately brought her out of those dark days. I was humbled that she told me her story and deeply moved by her experience. Pouako 5 spoke of the inadequacy of the maternal health service at the time and the lack of appropriate support for her in the loss of her child.

And no I can't remember I had more, had more unhappiness during my marriage when I had postnatal depression...Oh he [child] only lived 3 or 4 hours but I'd planned for him and I'd made all the trousseau [baby clothing and accessories] myself done all the knitting and the sewing and had everything beautiful for him and really he would have been so welcomed. Because I only had [one child], who was 4 before, there's a photo up there of us as a family. But that's what made me the saddest and because I got so ill with postnatal depression. And one thing they didn't do in my day, nowadays they give you a high dosage of iron and vitamins after. They didn't in my day and they were not up with it in my day, they're so much better into having babies not just going in pushing out a baby and that there's, a lot more to it... Anyway that was about the worst time of my life and it was really the loss of him and I really did punish myself...but you see when a child's got all these tubes, they should have known they should have put them away, they knew he was going to die so they should have untubed him and given him to me. In those days they're not like today they were sort of starchy, very starchy and cold and not like today they're real people, real human beings. I would say young women today would be treated far differently in that. That was the worse time in my life. Well the first year was the worse and I was so ill I couldn't bear the light of day and I think I was beating myself mentally because I never picked my son up. You know he was bought to me on the trolley thing they had him on, tubes on him, I wanted to pick him up but he had all these tubes on coming out but I sort of punished myself felt that I hadn't picked him up and told him I loved him. (Pouako 5)

Pouako 5 also spoke at length about her recovery which included a period of time in hospital, but finally it was her own strength and religious faith that enabled her to become fully functioning again.

It took me four years to get over that. I ended up having to have a some voluntary of course you don't go because you're committed to or anything I voluntarily went into [hospital]...I got to the Christmas at the end of the four years and I had this huge, cos I was a very religious girl, I was Roman Catholic and I believed in God and everything that goes with it and lived the life, a good

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life. I hadn't been to mass at all in four years ... And I said to [husband], I'm going to take the [car], I hadn't driven in four years and I'll drive myself to mass ...People love to go to midnight mass, the singing was always beautiful and I was standing there and I could see the priest. And I just said this prayer oh please help me I can't make the last step. I can't take that last step, I need your help and I went home and I slept the best sleep I'd slept in four years. Got up early in the morning and it was Christmas day and they [family] had the best Christmas dinner they'd had. Well they hadn't had much in the last Christmases, they had to help themselves more or less and I cooked them a beautiful Christmas dinner and that was the end of that so I was helped, divine help. (Pouako 5)

Pouako 13 was told by a doctor that it was unlikely she would ever be able to have children and she should consider not marrying because of her condition. She did marry and went on to have six girls and two boys and spoke of that time with joy and her happiest time. However, during this time Pouako 13 also suffered the loss of both her sons in tragic circumstances and demonstrated considerable strength and resilience in her ability to overcome such loss. She describes these periods as the unhappiest times in her life. While her first son was killed a number of years ago when he was only 13 she was able to recount vividly the details of that day. Family support played a critical role in assisting her during those times. It has only been time, her other children and whānau support that has muted some of that pain.

I think it took quite a while and I think because I had younger children to look after there was no use I've got to look after all these other little ones so that sort of helped and the family too I had family come over and have some time with us. I think that was a big thing too. (Pouako 13)

Her second loss was very recent and is still an unhealed wound within the whānau. Her last surviving son was murdered just before her 80th birthday. Pouako 13 spoke in great detail of the deaths of both her children. She believes that aside from whānau, karakia has been integral in helping her to heal and move forwards, not only through the deaths of her sons but other family members such as her parents and siblings.

I think a lot of it is karakia and having family around. Most of my family are all over the show some are in [place], some in [place] but I've got two girls here and a couple of mokos they've all got families and we all get together I think they just feel for their brothers dying that way. (Pouako 13)

One could assume that having two children die in such tragic circumstances would be an isolated incident, but Pouako 12 also lost two children in very similar ways, one son as a young boy in a farming accident and one of her daughters was murdered. It was difficult to fully gauge how these experiences affected Pouako 12, it was certainly identified as an incredibly unhappy time, the brutal death of her daughter coincided also with the death of her mother and her second husband. However, unlike Pouako 13, Pouako 12 refrained from providing much detail about the impact of those deaths, in fact she nearly didn't mention them, recalling them at the end of our kōrero.

Pouako 12 also faced some very difficult and incredibly unhappy times as a young mother. Her first marriage found her dislocated from her own family support, caring for a very ill husband, facing traumatic birthing experiences and with little emotional support from her husband. Pouako 12 initially found it quite difficult to talk about this time in her life and never referred to her first husband and children by name. It was also her first time living within a family environment where she felt culturally bereft as the family all spoke in te reo Māori which she could not understand.

I had my first baby before I had turned seventeen and that's where all the sad part comes in and of course because I had to get married under a cloud. I was made to leave home because of the shame - my mum couldn't stand it…I never had a bean to my name, I couldn't come home I was so terribly homesick, it was awful... I then went to a Māori family that had 13 in it...Oh they all spoke Māori and of course when the kids spoke Māori and laughed I knew they were laughing at me. But the mother was very good to me she would tell them to stop it. But it was horrible it was terrible. (Pouako 12)

Pouako 12's experience of pregnancy, birth and the antenatal period was reflective of a lack of education and knowledge of the process, combined with little experience and

isolation from her own family support. Although her first child was born over 60 years ago, Pouako 12 was able to describe step by step the birth.

> *I was at home on my own so the Saturday morning I was up and I chopped all my wood, lit the copper and did all the washing by hand and wrung it all out, put it all out on the line and that was the Saturday afternoon. I started to get a bit of a twingy backache so I went and laid down, and then on the Sunday the backache got worse and worse, and I thought oh what's the matter with me and of course I had no clues about a pregnancy nothing at all. So I rang somebody up on the farm, an aunt by marriage and she wasn't much help. I don't remember much about that conversation but Monday and Tuesday I was in bed and I was just in terrible pain, it was horrible and then I started losing, of course I just wanted to bear down and pee all the time. I used to have to get up out of bed walk right up through the half paddock and through a barb wire fence to go to the dropdown loo. So I'm sitting there on the Monday and Tuesday and of course I didn't even know that I was straining and I'm sitting on this loo I could have dropped my baby. And then one little boy came from his grannies home. He came running down the drive to come and say hello and when he saw what I was like he was only a little fellow about eight, and he ran home and told the old granny. She must have rung my father in law, he was away somewhere so he came bolting down the drive and the drive was like down several paddocks, so he came in ripped the blankets off and said "oh my god girl" picked me up and put me in the car and told my husband to get in the back. I went straight into the hospital and just as I got there the baby was born. (Pouako 12)*

Both Pouako 1 and Pouako 12 spoke of the lack of education given to them on contraception and maternal health.

Pouako 12's husband was not physically or emotionally supportive and understanding during her pregnancy, birth and ante partum, contributing to further unhappiness for Pouako 12.

> *Oh [he was] sort of in and out [during the birth] but then he didn't know, he didn't even realise that I was having a baby...and it was agony I tell you because*

my boobs were so big and tight and sore and it didn't matter he still, well it was disgusting really, it was more like rape all the time, it was horrible. So in and out from there the second one was born 11 months later. (Pouako 12)

Pouako 12's unhappiness was exacerbated by her yearning for her home and her family and friends. Her living situation was also difficult; she was living in a home with a number of her husband's family who did not respect her privacy and a husband that prevented her independence by leaving her without any financial income.

To have anybody come from home… it was so horrible because it would make me so homesick. All these kids in the house, and when my mum would come over for a visit she would bring me Knights Castile baby soap and Lux soap for my babies. I would have to hide it because it would be taken and just used by my husband and the others. All I had for money was the family benefit, which in those days was five shillings a week for each baby and so I would go into town, thinking oh good, cos I would have to go with family, never went on my own. I'd think oh goody I'd be getting two pounds each so that's four pounds I would have in my hand, I would come out of the post office and I wouldn't see my four pounds again it would be gone on cars or booze. (Pouako 12)

There were other accounts from participants which indicated how important it was for them to have children and the disappointment for those that were not able to have more children.

Pouako 11 described her happiness and excitement at becoming a mother but also how her health problems with the births of her first two children prevented her from having more, which was a source of sadness as she believed in the value of big families, cherished her two daughters and would have liked to have tried for a son.

Pouako 7 was only able to have one child but also had the experience of bringing up her much younger siblings and then later on her mokopuna.

Pouako 3's experiences in raising his children were also evidence of how important it was to raise children. His story epitomises the essence of 'whāngai' and its ability to

bring happiness and healing to those parents unable to biologically have the number of children they desired or who have lost a number of children in infancy.

> *I had already got married to my wife actually then. Some of my children didn't survive, I only got two, a girl and a boy out of the six, but the mother died with the last one yeah so you get your ups and downs. (Pouako 3)*

To help recover from those losses, they sought out a family member to whāngai some children.

> *Well I was fortunate in a lot of ways because at that time we adopted two children, a boy and a girl. Well there was more to that, there's a story behind that. And because I wanted a girl, the first one was a girl but miscarried and the rest was all boys. I said god it doesn't look right and anyway I saw the mother, it's a cousin to my wife anyway, you know a relation and she was carrying and she was due and I approached her. I had a talk with the wife first, if that child is born a girl I want it, sure enough she bore a girl so I took her in and that was good I was pleased. And lo and behold my wife was pregnant and when she had her baby it was a girl. I said oh my gosh what have I got into… Anyway I said to mum look would you like to have a brother for the one we had brought up and she said oh yes. So I approached the mother, if your baby is born a boy I want it...Yep when it was born it was a boy. Then I became sort of a family man you know part of me bringing up other children than my own but I got into it quite seriously you know the way we both went about it and we adopted the two, a boy and a girl. (Pouako 3)*

Pouako 3's first wife died and when he remarried, he practised the process of whāngai again for his second wife who was unable to have children. He believed that whāngai was a type of adoption that reinforced the whakapapa connections and maintained unity with the wider whānau.

> *We adopted her because those two are first cousins. Keep our unification. (Pouako 3)*

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Raising children brought happiness and hard times. Feelings and experiences of love, satisfaction, and pride were associated with bringing up children. The importance of whānau, both for support and whanaungatanga was evident. Lack of financial independence, lack of maternal and parenting support and education and the deaths of children negatively impacted on happiness and wellbeing.

<u>Marriage</u>

A strong, supportive relationship or marriage was critical to the happiness of many of the participants for a significant portion of their lives. Pouako 8 enjoyed her marriage and defined a happy marriage as having a husband who cared for both herself and the children.

Pouako 16 did not speak in great depth about any of his personal relationships but when he was asked to speak of the factors that contributed to his happiness as an adult he referred to his wife first. They were high school sweethearts and lived together before marriage for a few years at a time when this was uncommon.

> *My wife and I were very fond of each other from high school and I spent quite a bit of time with her and her family. They were substantial had a shop down the street and they were doing alright and then later on I went and lived with them and I lived with them until we were married for some years. (Pouako 16)*

Pouako 5 spoke of the happy and challenging times during her marriage, ascribing the keys to their successful marriage as the ability to laugh with each other. Pouako 5's husband came and sat with us for the last part of our interview and I got to appreciate their close connection and their ability to laugh with each other as they reminisced about their times earlier in their relationship.

> *[My husband] and I...have been married 57 years…And I guess you could say generally speaking we've had ups and downs. I can't imagine any couple who haven't…Oh well I think when you've been as close as most people get as the years go by I think it's harder to do that[leave] than to stay together [laugh]. Well we've had plenty of laughs and plenty of sing songs, plenty of happy times,*

> *we've had a few tiffs here and there and like I said I defy anybody that say that*
> *they've never had one. (Pouako 5)*

Pouako 11 was adamant that her marriage has been one of the significant contributors to her happiness over her lifetime. She attributed the successful relationship to their compatibility and similar upbringings.

Pouako 10's love for his wife was very evident, he spoke with great tenderness of their relationship. Even though she had passed away he still had a picture of her on the kitchen table, the place where they used to spend the majority of their time together talking with each other.

> *But like our marriage, she was a lovely person. Not only was she a lovely*
> *mother, she was not only my wife she was my friend. We don't sit in here*
> *[lounge]; we sit in the kitchen most of the time, yapping to each other. (Pouako*
> *10)*

It is difficult to illustrate the depth of the love and happiness I could see so clearly reflected in Pouako 10 when he would speak about his wife. However, the following passage is a good depiction of how intertwined their relationship was with his individual happiness and wellbeing. The background to this statement is that Pouako 10's wife had become seriously ill and he was looking after her at home.

> *Right from the time my wife started to nibble at her food it put me off too, I just*
> *couldn't eat and I'm still the same I don't care much, just have sandwiches or*
> *something like that. (Pouako 10)*

Whilst Pouako 12's first marriage carried many unhappy memories, her second marriage was much happier and was also characterised by a strong friendship with her husband.

> *This is my second husband. I had two more sons to him. That was a really happy*
> *life it was really, we were mates, and we were great. (Pouako 12)*

Whānau may have appeared to fill life completely for participants; however, jobs and roles outside the immediate family were also important.

Mahi (Career)

When participants were asked to talk about factors that brought them happiness as adults many of them referred to their jobs and work. Whilst some were involved in jobs out of necessity rather than by choice, they showed a determination to work no matter what the work was and the development of such a work ethic provided a sense of purpose, satisfaction and fulfilment.

A few of the male participants spoke of the Māori working schemes that facilitated young Māori men into jobs like forestry. While the work was demanding and sometimes without much pay, the men still spoke with pride of their accomplishments in the industry and the camaraderie they developed with other workers.

> *So a whole lot of us young fullas from here were sent to work in the forestry service at [place]. Bout 15mins from here our jobs were planting pines, pruning, clearing tracks, roads, picking cones for planting for seed, that was our job. Well it was another job you learnt to adapt and adjust no matter what the job was you did it. It's not so much a matter of choice it's just it was different in those times we were given a job and whatever the job was we did it. And we quite enjoyed it because we were all in a group. (Pouako 3)*

Pouako 3 reflected on his time working in forestry as a struggle, but a positive struggle because it developed his knowledge and self-reliance. Even at work, being part of a social group was important.

Many of the female participants worked on and off throughout their adult lives and really enjoyed the satisfaction of contributing to society and their family in that way. The work normally was managed around family commitments.

I went to work in the post office. I had such a wonderful time, for a start I worked on the counter and they put me on to exchange I enjoyed it and everyone was good to me. (Pouako 7)

But as I grew older and had to go to work that's how I learnt how to cook. I ended up a cook or a chef at the hotel which is now gone. I learned to cook there and it was wonderful, a wonderful experience...Well. (Pouako 8)

Pouako 2 and Pouako 6 did formal training towards a career, one as a teacher and the other as a nurse, which they identified as contributing to their happiness as adults. Pouako 6 found it easy to transition into nursing training from her experience growing up assisting her grandmother who was a midwife, and helping with the babies. Pouako 2 became a teacher and spoke of her work in education as a lifelong passion, teaching children and adults te reo Māori.

I love teaching I love it. I still teach today...I love meeting people and I love giving them my knowledge that I know...I was a resource teacher of Māori and I was attached to one of the primary schools in [place]...We used to travel all around the South Island and that's how I got to know the people and I felt at that time the people kāore e mōhio ki te kōrero Māori[cannot speak Māori] you know te āhua te tikanga he kōrero Pākehā kāore e mōhio ki ngā tikanga [their ways, customs and language were English, they didn't know Māori customs], I used to awhi [help] them.(Pouako 2)

Pouako 5 and Pouako 12 had experiences in their working life that illustrated their courage and determination to upskill and study in order to improve their standing in the workforce and challenge the inequality for women that existed within the employment industry. They recalled these experiences with a sense of pride and achievement.

Pouako 12 lobbied to have her work experience, skills and knowledge acknowledged within the pay system which up until then had only recognised qualifications.

I thought well if I'm good enough to teach them who are already qualified, why I am not getting the same wages because my rate was way lower than theirs.

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This really got up my nose because I said to my husband at the time I'm going to go and talk to our MP. Yes that's right I said I'm going to go and talk to the MP so I took in all my bits and pieces… The next thing I get a letter from the ombudsman saying that I was being put on a qualified workers scale… Because of that all the workers like myself were all bought up on the scale. (Pouako 12)

The identities and happiness of both Pouako 12 and Pouako 16 were connected to their occupations. Pouako 16's career was in the family business and throughout the entire interview, whether we would talk about his childhood, his adult life or his current life, he would make continual reference to his work and the financial success he achieved from it. Pouako 16's happiness in life centred primarily on his career and financial and material wealth. Pouako 16 spoke very little about his childhood and he indicated that there were few happy times, due to a large family living in the depression. For Pouako 16, happiness was correlated to his father developing a successful business.

There weren't too many [happy times]. I was one of seven children. And of course just coming out of depression days and what have you. My father was pretty intelligent fellow and he worked our way up till he was a partner in a substantial business. So from then on it's been great... And then later in life I joined him in his business, he had a partner in the business and after a few years they came to dissolution, my father bought him out and I joined him then and away we went. (Pouako 16)

One of Pouako 16's greatest disappointments as an adult was that he didn't have a son to take over the family business.

Pouako 12 spoke at length of how she worked her way up within radiology, an impressive feat given that she began on that path as a solo mother and was working in an area where there were few women and most had qualifications. Her job was so much a part of her life that it was a source of unhappiness when she was forced to finish work. The loss of her job affected her emotionally and physically.

I really loved the work. I can always remember my department heads saying what a pity I hadn't had more education. I was 30 years in this field…but I was

overworked. In the end I had to resign. It was awful, I mean I could have still been working because you didn't have to retire at 65 in those days, I don't know what it is now. I know there are some people up there who are still working that I know must be close to my age. So that was that, that was the big thing in my life, so I thought now what am I going to do. So you know for three months nearly, when I'd retired I used to make myself walk down to physio and back and other than that I would just sleep all day, sleep, sleep, sleep, sleep, my body was just so tired and one day I looked in the mirror and I thought, God girl you're looking awful, you've got nothing else in your life. (Pouako 12)

Whakapetongoi (Physically Active)

Many of the participants spoke of their enjoyment at being involved in sports and an active lifestyle. Pouako 4 talked of his involvement in rugby which dominated much of his adult life and his kōrero was indicative of the passion he felt for the game and the joy he got from playing.

Then I left the area playing rugby that was my ultimate playing rugby... My life was mostly on rugby. (Pouako 4)

Pouako 7 was involved with a multitude of sports throughout her life and her achievements and physical fitness obtained from her sport, which was badminton played at regional representative level, contributed to her happiness as an adult.

Pouako 15 and his wife were both actively in sport throughout their lives and it provided them with a hobby to do together, overseas and a way to socialise with other people, significantly contributing to their overall happiness and wellbeing.

Well we partied a lot and did a lot of pig hunting on horseback and go away for a weekend pig hunting and fishing and that and playing sport. We had rugby teams but we never really trained just social and we had tennis courts so we were really involved with tennis. Well I was 47 when the running craze came in so we joined a marathon clinic and we'd run marathons together. (Pouako 15)

Pouako 1 derived much happiness from bringing up her children which largely involved her being involved with all their sporting activities.

The themes of whānau and an active life overlap as do aspects of health and illness. The next section emphasises that health and ill health of whānau impacted significantly on happiness.

Oranga (Health and Wellbeing)

Most of the participants had relatively happy times in their adult lives, however some of the saddest and most difficult times in adulthood were when the participants had to deal with illness in the family and the death of loved ones. Pouako 8 spoke of the saddest part of her life being when her husband became very ill and she had to care for him at home.

> *Ohhh that was the saddest part of our lives. It was sad when he lost his leg and he had to go into hospital and the doctor he was a surgeon he was so lovely and he comes round he'd come round to the house to visit and he'd stop and chat with [my husband]. He said we'll have to operate on that leg. So they operated but they didn't fix it because it couldn't be fixed, so he lost that one. But anyway he came home it wasn't too bad with one leg but then later on he had troubles again he had to get the other one off. That was quite hard it was quite not hard but upsetting that that had happened...But that was the only hard time for me when he wasn't good he was ailing. (Pouako 8)*

Pouako 8's husband became bed-ridden and was completely reliant on her support. He died suddenly one morning and she acknowledged that it was a difficult time but accepted that was the way life worked.

Not only did Pouako 8 have to cope with a sick husband, her daughter also became seriously ill with cancer and she was committed to her recovery and cared for her daughter, her grandchild and her daughter's husband for an entire year while her daughter was in hospital. Manaakitanga and devotion to one's family, is represented here. There is little evidence of concern for self, and overwhelming need to care for family. Watching her daughter suffer was a deeply upsetting time.

[My daughter] had cancer...Oh I looked after [my grandchild], I stayed around at their place, and I said I can't stay here all the time [to son in law] I said I've got [my husband] at home. I thought that's not fair leaving him all the time, so I packed up some stuff and bought [my grandchild] home with me so I could be here with [my husband] and I'd say to [my son in law], well you can come round here and have dinner at night after work. So he did and then when [my daughter] would come home I'd go back down there, she came home for a week...Ooh that went on must have been a year or more. The little one would sleep with me around there in my bed. [My son in law] said she can't sleep with you, you've only got a single bed. I said don't worry about that you move to the side and let the kid in, you do. And she's very clingy. She is so clingy with me. ..Sad it was so sad. I really thought she wouldn't survive. But she did...But she came through it. So I'm grateful for that. (Pouako 8)

Pouako 5 also spoke of the unbearable pain and sorrow she felt watching her daughter suffer from cancer. Pouako 10's devotion to his wife during her illness was also very evident in his narrative when he talked about refusing to put her in a nursing home, preferring to take on the role of her main carer in the home.

But ever since she started to deteriorate. And all the kids say to me my daughters from Wellington, Auckland, put her in a home. I said like bloody hell I'm not putting her in a home I'll look after her myself. (Pouako 10)

Finally, Pouako 12 spoke of the hardships she faced having to care for a husband who suffered from tuberculosis. Whilst Pouako 12 did not speak of feeling sad or the effects that experience had on her wellbeing, the way she spoke illustrated how difficult it was as a very young wife who had had no previous experience with serious illness. She had to care for him at times without being able to disclose the horrors of such an illness.

Then of course I got pregnant again and he [husband] was just so ill and I can remember him being at his grannies place with him and I had this new baby, my second boy, the fourth one, at the end of the bed. He was only a tiny wee thing and my hubby would sit up in bed and say get the basin, get the basin and

we had those you know wash up basins and he would just go…and all the blood would come out like that and I mean I was barely 21 and of course I'd never seen anything like that and he would say to me don't tell granny, don't tell granny she'd send me into hospital and I didn't dare tell anybody. I would have to go out get a spade, dig a hole, and pour all this blood into it bring it back to him ready for the next lot. Little did I know that all this blood was coming from his lungs because of the TB. I also didn't know that from here my little baby had contracted TB. He was placed in hospital for many months. (Pouako 12)

Caring for whānau with ill health contributed to unhappiness and pain during adulthood. Despite this unhappiness, participants bore this responsibility with strength, resilience and acceptance.

Summary

In adulthood, happiness was experienced through whānau which revolved around whānau life and whānau activities such as sport. *Whanaungatanga (family relationships), Aroha (love and compassion)* and *Manaakitanga (generosity, kindness and support)* were the dominant values and practices that contributed to happiness within the whānau system. Raising children, careers, involvement in the community, facilitated a purpose in life *(Mana Motuhake)* and involved further education and learning *(Te Ao Marama)*, which were key factors in happiness during adulthood. Keeping fit, active and healthy *(Hauora)* were central to happiness and wellbeing, as well as an acceptance *(Maioha)* of the hardships brought about by challenges such as ill health.

Kaumātuatanga (Older Age)

Whānau (Family)

For many participants, living close to family members in their old age was a source of happiness and comfort; they viewed themselves as fortunate to have easy access to whānau support. Pouako 1, Pouako 9 and Pouako 13 specifically mentioned the importance of being close to mokopuna (grandchildren).

> *I think it's[happiness] got to do with family hasn't it really and you're very lucky if you've got a loving family and I think that really is one of the main things and getting so much enjoyment out of them all. And you find it hard when you see some families that don't get on. And you feel sorry. (Pouako 11)*

Two of the participants spoke of the importance of family in sustaining and contributing to their happiness and as being the central core value but also referred to the absence of close contact with family in their current lives.

> *Family I suppose really... Just be there for them and for them to be there for you. As you get older you need a bit of support I suppose not that I feel that I do yeah family means a lot but we don't see family a great deal most of my grandchildren are men now with family of their own like my sons and daughters they've got family and they've got grandchildren themselves so you sort of they've got their lives away from what you have. (Pouako 15)*

Pouako 16 remarked that he only had regular contact with his sister in law who he had recently had trouble with over ownership of the house and contents. The remainder of his family lived away and he saw them at times throughout the year.

> *No only the sister in law that lives with me. Other family of mine are in Auckland see them half a dozen or so times a year. I'll go up there or they'll come down but really that's my family that's it. (Pouako 16)*

Pouako 9 spoke of the periods she spent living with her daughter. Her description is indicative of the manaakitanga and aroha between mother and daughter. Her daughter

was happy to support her mother's needs and wanted to work in with her mother's wishes.

> *So I stay with her [my daughter] for a week come back and stay two weeks home it was getting longer and longer, three weeks and she said I know you don't want to stay here and I said well I'll stay till you're settled and you can tell me to go when you're ready. She said no I'll never tell you to go, never tell you to go, but you know feel free to go backwards and forwards. (Pouako 9)*

In old age, being bereaved of a loved one was a significant factor to wellbeing, contributing to feeling down, unhappy and lonely. Pouako 1, Pouako 8 and Pouako 10 all spoke of their spouses that had passed on and how much they missed them. Here are Pouako 6's words about being alone in old age.

> *I wish I had a partner that I could share, love everyday living, laughing, seeing things, sharing that's about the only thing that would improve my life. I had a chance but I turned it down. But that's just the choices you make you can't make them all correct you can't win them all. (Pouako 6)*

Pouako 5's kōrero illustrated how being intimately involved with their family, their children and their mokopuna has been the sustaining element in their lives, especially in her old age. She spoke in great detail about all her children and her mokopuna.

> *I think really in our last 10 years of our married life the things that have made us the happiest has been our family really, the kids have been so lovely when they're tiny… I can't say any more than that it's been family and the closeness you have and just seeing them achieving you know that's been wonderful because when [my granddaughter] was made house captain and that was a joyous thing, all little things like that. And when they excel and one might become a very good student, [my son] was a double scholarship winner, so he cost us precious little only his uniforms and that, and that's what's made us happy in our old age. (Pouako 5)*

Most of the participants were closely connected and involved with their

grandchildren/mokopuna. This relationship was often the main source of joy within the last two decades of their lives and was evident in the way they spoke about their mokopuna and the way their eyes would light up when thinking of them. Some of these participants were so closely connected to their mokopuna because they had brought them up as parents or their mokopuna had lived with them for extended periods of time.

> *They accept you. They treat you like a grandmother, perhaps I've had so many years with children I know how to relate to them. [She went and got photos] they are the most beautiful children in the world. Aren't they gorgeous? ... Him and his brother I virtually brought them up, they stayed with us more than they stayed at home. (Pouako 7)*

Pouako 8 currently cares for her grandchildren on a weekly basis and finds great joy in being able to provide for them, just like her own mother did.

> *She [her mother] was there for us, she'd cook something nice for us when we went over there and we appreciated all those things. I try and do the same for my grandchildren and my children and I enjoy every minute of it. (Pouako 8)*

Pouako 13 enjoys having regular contact with her grandchildren who treat her home like theirs and often stay with her, even fighting over who gets to sleep in bed with their Nan.

> *Oh my mokos coming in and out. I've got 18 grandchildren, 16 great so far. Three great were born just before Christmas… this one's 23 and she still sleeps with me. (Laugh). (Pouako 13)*

Imparting mātauranga Māori to mokopuna was mentioned frequently and with it came a sense of pride and responsibility. Pouako 14 spoke of her great pride and happiness at observing her mokopuna speaking te reo Māori, attending kōhanga and having strong Māori identities. Her greatest wish in old age is to see her mokopuna grow up and become great leaders.

I think my mokopuna were better than their parents. I think as soon as they come in and I'm talking Māori to them and they're able to talk Māori to me. I think my mokopunas and my mokopuna tuarua [great grandchildren] have made up for my children that missed out. Kei te pai tera [That's good]...I want them to grow up and become leaders. That's my tūmanako [wish/desire], that that will happen. And you know I'm quite proud of [my grandson] because when I listen to him talking his wairua is real Māori; you can tell by the way he talks. I can always pick up those things you know. And his understanding of Māori is really good... I'm listening to them and kei te pai my mokopuna [very good, my grandchild]. And I can tell by the way they talk, tūturu [authentic, true] Māori, their reo. And I'm happy about that. Always when they come here kōrero Māori and it's the same with young [great grandson], his first language is Māori and so I'm quite proud of my mokopunas. (Pouako 14)

Pouako 1 also referred to the happiness at having her mokopuna around her and the pride she felt at watching her mokopuna practising Māori tikanga. Pouako 4 also reports that learning te reo is important.

These are the mokopunas around me my mokopunas… and they get the cushions they sit on and I think that's quite good cos ka mohio ratou [they know] you're not supposed to sit on the tablecloth. Mohio ngā mea pakupaku i te kohangā [these are the small things learnt at the Māori language nest]...the tablecloth I felt happy when I saw them do that cos they pushed the tablecloth they got the pillow and they sat on the pillow. (Pouako 1)

Being with my grandchildren, when I say my grandchildren my wife and I all the children here are all our grandchildren. It gives us the greatest feeling the future generations and instilling in them that the world is theirs and to learn the reo. (Pouako 4)

Pouako 5's happiness was also closely connected to her involvement with her mokopuna and her pride in watching them achieve milestones in their lives.

Pouako 11's first answer to what brings her happiness in her old age was her grandchildren and she believes herself to be very lucky that a number of her

grandchildren live close by and maintain regular contact. The views about mokopuna and importance of family as being strongly related to happiness were similar for all participants, both with a secure Māori identity and those with a dual cultural identity.

Oranga (Health and Wellbeing)

Health, both physical and mental wellbeing, was also identified by many as important to their happiness in old age.

> *Ohh. I guess just being here darling and being able to get around. I'm so happy with that. I can still walk....I suppose my biggest value is my health. I wished I still had the body of a sixty or seventy year old. I mean you do deteriorate, as you get older, you slow down, you can't do the things you used to do and it's quite frustrating... I don't think there's anything else really along as my health keeps going. I'm happy with that very happy with that. (Pouako 8)*

While Pouako 8 acknowledged that she had slowed down considerably in old age, she was still committed to staying active by continuing to preserve fruit and vegetables and cook for her whānau.

> *Oh I loved it. I haven't stopped yet. I'm still doing it. [My daughter] says Mum you don't need all that now. I said I don't like vegetables wasting. So I make it into pickle or chutney or something. Oh I love it. He [her son] loves it I think. On Monday I took over pork pieces and watercress. I know that's what he likes. (Pouako 8)*

Pouako 10 talked about his fear of his health deteriorating and becoming a burden on his family. He viewed declining health as an indicator of his reduced worth.

> *But I don't want to deteriorate too much till I fade away I don't want to be in no home. If I was to come to that stage I would get a bottle of whiskey and drown myself. But I might not get my insurance life insurance for the kids and the family, that sort of thing if it's suicide. I don't want to be useless, I'm useless*

enough now, a man wants to do things but the body says no when and I go and
try to oh my gosh, terrible. (Pouako 10)

Many of the participants believed that it was crucial for people in old age to stay mentally and physically active for positive wellbeing and happiness. They spoke of some of the activities they participated in to keep mentally and physically active.

So being fit and being in a walking group is really important. Being able to
drive. Keeping active eating the right food drinking the right red wine. [Laugh].
As I say keeping active is one of the main ones for me getting out I just couldn't
sit in the house all day got to get out and do something. (Pouako 15)

I think you have to give them [old people] something to do, keep their minds
occupied. You know like me I've been off my mahi. I find it gets boring, I'm
bored because I've been so many years being so busy. And all of sudden, you've
got time on your hands and I find it boring. They [old people] need to be able
to participate still...I've sort of decided that perhaps I'll go to the whānau unit
and just help with the reading programme, but I haven't been well these last
couple of months. I've been keeping it low key; my legs have been playing up
and the old ticker [heart]. (Pouako 14)

Pouako 12 spent a number of years playing croquet when she retired and has only recently given that up for health reasons but still stays involved by umpiring. In order to combat boredom when she retired, she also took on a number of hobbies.

Yes. It was the croquet really that made me get over all my aches. It was all just
the exercise that kept me going...Two or three times a week. And sometimes if
you go away for a tournament you could be playing four or five days, three
games a day and each game takes about two and a half three hours. So you've
got to be fit. But I can't do that now because of my heart problems I find I get
tired too quickly. But I can still go and umpire - I've got an umpire's badge and
that keeps me involved as well...but no it's just been croquet that I've been
involved in. And as you say you know I love to read, I like to read lots oh and I
love playing with the computer. Well I went along to senior net about 5 or 6

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years ago. No sooner had I got in there and they said to me oh would you like to help us to teach. I said I've come here to learn. So I was teaching people how to do email and the little that I knew. Oh I don't know I just love fiddling. (Pouako 12)

Pouako 16 identified physical and mental wellbeing as being critical to his happiness in old age, alongside financial stability.

Oh health is the main thing of course after that financially I'm pretty well off... Just being, I think physically and mentally, reasonably fit and comfortable and a reasonable amount of resources, nothing out of mind but I own the house and got the odd hundred thousand or so in the bank. (Pouako 16)

Even for Pouako 1, who was the most physically unwell of all the pouako, it was important that she remained active even if it was only going for a ride to town once a week or going outside to watch her whānau gardening.

All older Māori in this study believed it was important to be involved in some manner of activity despite the challenges of ill health and disability in old age.

Hononga (Social Connections)

Some of the participants were grateful for the support from their social networks in old age and the enjoyment they got from still being able to interact socially with others.

Pouako 15 spoke of his enjoyment of being part of a social group where he got to engage with younger people.

Now we're joggers and walkers down here and we're both only walkers now but it's a great social life amazing...mainly around our club is you know where the car park is at [place] main car park there's a girl guide hall just up the pathway we're in there we've got about 200 members we've got runners and walkers and the mothers come there and their children somebody looks after them it's good when you sort of meet those younger people too. (Pouako 15)

Pouako 11's socialising in old age is within her church circle and she too identified that part of her enjoyment within that social circle came from being around the vitality of young people. She also draws strength and comfort from this community that she regarded as a type of family.

> *Because you're one big family and it's bright and they have a band with music and they have the young ones up there with their guitars and their drums and they just accept you put their arms around you and accept you and I love it. And now we're old it's wonderful we've got a lot of I think once you belong to it you know everybody and that's what they're like because they don't smoke they do not drink so that wasn't hard because I was never allowed to do that that wasn't a difficult thing for me and just being part of a big family is good and having a faith. (Pouako 11)*

The church community was also central to Pouako 9's happiness in wellbeing in old age. She regards this community as a family that supports, loves and accepts her unconditionally, which she failed to receive during her childhood.

While activities and contacts were important to wellbeing, personal attitudinal aspects also came to the fore.

Maioha (Acceptance and Gratitude)

Attitude played an integral role in the happiness of the participants. An attitude of acceptance, peace, simplicity, gratitude and manaakitanga was related to older Māori experiences and perceptions of happiness.

Pouako 9 faced a number of very difficult struggles in her life but despite this, sitting next to me in her 80s, she could still say:

> *I love life. And to make me happy and that I need not very much. (Pouako 9)*

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Both Pouako 1 and Pouako 6 believed that the individual had the inner ability to overcome sadness and that your experience of being unhappy could be overcome by your attitude and inner strength.

> *No I wasn't really unhappy I was happy even if you're unhappy I made myself unhappy nobody made me just myself I just had a different way of living. (Pouako 1).*

> *I don't think we ever had any well we were brought up to enjoy everything and try not to have unhappy moments, that's I remember both my mum and dad if we had a little cry over something we'd done wrong, that's only a little thing enjoy the moment here you learn from it if it makes you cry well what have you learnt from otherwise live the moment try not to have unhappy moments. (Pouako 6)*

Pouako 6 believed the pathway to happiness was an individual endeavour, guided by those principles developed through one's upbringing.

> *There's so much to be gained from looking at the past and taking out a lot of it still abides by today's principles, they are principles that you need to keep yourself to keep your road straight it's you that needs to keep the straight road. And unhappiness can be a destructive thing I think. I can see unhappiness that my grandmother had because she married a Pākehā, her father brought him out from England and now when I hear, but she never brought that on to any of her family, that unhappiness where she had no choice of who she married but I can see it now that unhappiness but she never brought it out and put it on us, never had a bad word to say about our grandfather never.... this I why she let my mother go the way she did her only daughter marry who she wanted, although it wasn't, I learnt who she really wanted my mother to marry but she never stood in her way because of what had happened to her ...You cannot live somebody else's life. And somehow I think if you've brought people up right or if you bring your children up to reasonable standards no matter what their choice is against how you think they will be strong because that foundation is there. I stood by that too the foundation was there so I dropped all the unhappy things and looked*

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to the future that it could be better and I'm the only one who can do it make
sure everything's set for my daughter. (Pouako 6)

Others accepted that it was a normal part of life to experience unhappiness and hardship in life, but that it was important to keep moving forward. Pouako 3 previously had talked about adapting to situations outside of his control and Pouako 8 had talked about her husband losing a leg. Both had had the attitude of 'carrying on no matter what'. Pouako 13 talks about unhappiness in the family.

There's always an unhappy in the family. Doesn't matter how happy you are.
They don't all listen to you but that's their way of living. Now they know when
kua whiwhi whānau ratou ka mohio ratou [they choose to have a family, they
understand] oh that's what my mum went through when ka hara mai ratou ki te
kōrero mai ki ahau oh kei konei au ināianei [they come to speak with me, oh,
I'm in this situation no] oh mum te mea te mea te mea [this, this and this] oh
good job I went through that! [Laugh]. No, all my kids he pai [are good] I mean
they're not perfect nobody's perfect. (Pouako 13)

For Pouako 4, happiness was about having a peace of mind that is developed over a lifetime through practising the values of tūmanako (hope), whakapono (faith) and aroha (love).

When you think about happiness it's a difficult one in this respect you cannot
focus on one particular area it happened over a period of time and that's what
I'm trying to explain certain times my growing up certain periods when I was
happy and all this and that. So it doesn't involve one particular incident it was
over a period of time until you achieve a peace of mind and that peace of mind
can only come through the values that have been instilled in you by the old
people which is tūmanako, whakapono me te aroha. (Pouako 4)

Summary

The participant kōrero on happiness in old age centred on the importance of *Whanaungatanga* (family relationships) and the *Aroha* (love, compassion, empathy)

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and *Manaakitanga* (sharing, reciprocity) demonstrated in these relationships. Social connections and networks were acknowledged as an important aspect of happiness in old age and ranged from relationships within the wider whānau to friendships and community groups. The important relationship between tīpuna and mokopuna became a focal point for meaning and happiness in the lives of Māori in advanced age. *Hauora* (health and wellbeing) comes to the fore, as disability and illness is more evident. Participants were committed to staying physically and mentally active in old age and related this to their happiness. *Maioha* (gratitude and acceptance) becomes more significant and strongly related to achieving happiness despite the challenges of old age.

Cultural Identity

Participants with a Secure Connection to their Māori Identity

Ten participants were identified at the beginning of the study as having a secure Māori identity. They identified their culture, their language and their values and beliefs as integral to their happiness and wellbeing. All of these participants had access to their hapū, iwi and marae growing up and were immersed in cultural practices. Eight of the participants in this group were fluent in te reo Māori. Te reo Māori, manaakitanga and aroha in relation to their cultural identity and happiness all featured consistently throughout their narratives.

Whakapapa

When asked what being Māori meant to the participants they most commonly referred to being proud of their culture and would then refer to their whakapapa and their genealogical ties. Pēpeha was always recited to me at the beginning of the pouako kōrero, where participants were locating themselves through a sense of belonging to their genealogical ties to people and places of significance in the environment such as mountains, rivers, land and sea.

> *I'm proud to be a Māori, I'm a Māori I got no Pākehā in me, nothing I'm just a*
> *Māori and my husband's got he's as black as I am but they've got some Pākehā*

in them. Just a little bit. No Ngā Puhi tāku papa. [My father is from Nga Puhi].
(Pouako 1)

I'm proud to have my Māori; my father is half French and Māori a Māori
mother. My mother on her father's side [was] Irish and the great grandfather's
side Scots and Irish too and Māori. (Pouako 10)

For me being Māori it is important. I was born a Māori, my parents are Māori,
my tūpuna are Māori, so I think it's important to know who you are, I think it's
very important and I'm proud to be a Māori. (Pouako 14)

Pride in genealogy was sometimes acknowledged for both Māori and non-Māori
heritage.

We were brought up not only to be Māori but to be proud of our Scottish
heritage too, like my Dad's grandfather there and he was a purebred Scots so
we were proud of both. But of course our Māori culture was the closest to us
because we were living in it and even though I didn't grow up knowing the
language, well it was always important to me and I think you always feel how
should I put it you'd always feel more Māori. (Pouako 5)

The participants in this grouping of secure Māori identity found it difficult however to
describe the relationship of their culture and cultural identity to their happiness and
wellbeing. Being Māori was synonymous with just being, it was the norm and
characterised by their beliefs, values, their language and lived experiences. Therefore,
an understanding of the importance of their culture and being came more from their
kōrero about their lives and their lived experiences rather than directly from the
questions focused on cultural identity. This was true for both those participants with a
strong connection and those with little connection to their Māori culture.

Manaakitanga and Aroha

For the participants with a secure Māori identity, the concepts of aroha and
manaakitanga were central to their beliefs and values and to their understanding and

definition of happiness. Pouako 1 placed importance on helping others; the expression of manaakitanga was evident in her beliefs and the actions and behaviours demonstrated by herself and others in her whānau.

> *Being friendly to people. People that are asking for a little help or something, or they ask you for advice listen, listen to what they say ki a koe [to you], even if you don't understand what they're saying, but try and listen and give an answer. It's not right if somebody come and see you and you haven't got an answer, there must be an answer somewhere ka kitea koe [it can be seen by you] but you've got to think about it. (Pouako 1)*

Pouako 4 described how from an early age the old people designated him to carry out a life that involved caring and helping not just his own whānau but his entire people.

> *Well they made it quite clear that I was to be a servant for all. To the people, that was my role to help my people. (Pouako 4)*

One of the most poignant illustrations of manaakitanga and aroha that depicts these concepts more accurately than any English translations came from Pouako 2's kōrero about a relation who could not have children.

> *Cos I feel you know all of us have something to offer we all have koina tāku kōrero ki aku tauira, ma te atua koe ka whānau mai koe e homai te atua he taongā ki a koe ko koe te wahine tino pai ki te tunu kai, ko koe te wahine ki te tuitui kakahu. You know ko koe te wahine mahi pepi [or a woman gifted to care for babies]. He taonga tenei nana i homai. [That is what I say to my students, God gives the ability to have babies, God gives these gifts to you, you might be a woman who is good at cooking, you might be a woman who is good at sewing. You are a woman that is good at looking after babies. This is the gift given to you]. Koina ka aroha au ki ngā wahine korekau he pepi [I really feel a lot of empathy for those women who can't have babies] you know and ka tono maku tena pepi [I asked for that baby]…oh my cousin came and asked for this one [baby]…and I said what did you do? No I'm not going to give it. I said yeah but look at all your other kids your cousin you know she'd love your baby. Oh no. I*

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said well think about it, that's all just think about it you can have another one your cousin can't and I said you know you'll feel wonderful cos you've shared. (Pouako 2)

The next illustration is an example of how manaakitanga and aroha was instilled during childhood and within the wider family and community.

We were told when you've finished your mahi go and help that one and that's what happened at the island we had two thousand acres at the island…it was all maize and kumara it was all kai and when you've finished go and help that one. I remember one of the biggest things I'll never forget was Christmas time everybody got all their kai ready and they'd have a kai and then we'd go from house to house have a kai with that family have a kai with that family. (Pouako 13)

It was not uncommon for these older people to remark on how the practice of aroha and manaakitanga as it was in their days is not as prevalent with younger generations.

Talking about it and actually doing it are two separate things, there's a lot of kōrero about aroha but whether they are actually partaking in it. It's very strong thing aroha cos it's not only speaking it to me it's sharing it and showing it you don't have to speak to show aroha you've just got to act on it. Not really a lot of kōrero…Aroha that's one of the biggest, biggest things out, the most important. (Pouako 13)

Aroha and manaaki disappears in a lot of homes. Like I said before everybody used to help one another in those days. Not now, its dog eat dog now. (Pouako 10)

Te reo Māori me ona tikanga
When participants with a secure Māori identity spoke of their culture, te reo Māori me ona tikanga (the language and the customs), were viewed as paramount to ensuring that Māori culture remains strong and that younger generations are able to walk comfortably

and confidently in both worlds, Te Ao Māori (Māori world) me te Ao Whānui (wider global society).

> *Te reo ki ahau ka haere koe ki hea kei te kōrero ki te tāngata Pākehā, te Māori ranei [To me with the language you can go anywhere and talk to Māori or Pākehā] you understand it that's what I like about the reo cos you can go in both worlds. (Pouako 1)*

> *I think it's [tikanga] important. You can be comfortable in both worlds if you know how to use it. It's how you use it that makes you who you are. And my taha Māori I must say that I had good mentors with my kuias, they were good mentors and I've learnt a lot and I respect what they've taught me. And also my korouas. But I think I learnt a lot from my eldest brother. He was a Māori interpreter for the land court and he always used to teach me don't do this, don't do that, this is how you do it and I grew up like that. (Pouako 14)*

> *Us, we here in this land are a monoculture we only know English but a lot of us are fortunate to have our own language which is Māori and I'm proud of being a Māori. I can't do otherwise cos look at me look at me I'm brown I'm not white like you, you have a look at me so I'm proud of being me you should be proud of being you. (Pouako 2).*

The ability to speak te reo Māori and to know tikanga Māori were associated with feelings of pride, confidence and security. These participants often used the analogy of 'two worlds' and viewed te reo and tikanga as tools to help Māori operate successfully in both worlds, i.e., the Māori world and the Pākehā or global world. Knowledge of the language and culture were considered requisites for a strong identity and belonging, that is knowing who you are and where you come from. Some of the participants expressed their regret and unhappiness at being placed in a situation where they were discouraged from passing te reo Māori me ngā tikanga to their children.

> *It's very important without the reo they would not be Māori if they cannot speak the reo. Your Māoritanga is a cultural thing and be proud of it...Well I didn't realise before that the reo is very, very important, very few people are speaking*

it we need to teach our children by then my children had gone out. I didn't realise our language our ways were dying out. (Pouako 4)

The only regret I have is that my children really didn't learn the reo Māori although I spoke Māori to them. (Pouako 14).

Despite such regrets some of the participants have found comfort and happiness in being an integral part of the revitalisation of te reo especially with the younger generations, their mokopuna and the kōhanga reo.

We started the first kōhanga... I think we've got about 18 kōhanga ināianei. And I think that was a great achievement for Māoridom because I honestly think that non-Māori thought that it was something that wouldn't survive but because of the determination and the ngākau Māori of the elders that it must succeed that it did and we did it, I don't know must have been about four or five years just giving our contribution to our reo, from that our reo grew you know and those are the commitments I've made to our reo Māori. And out of it we've had kura kaupapa Māori and the whānau units, those are the fruits of what our Māori people committed themselves to and that's because that's how much it means to us, it still is ...and I've loved every minute of it. (Pouako 14)

We've had heaps of families and oh they're doing well. That's what I keep saying to people that's the reward when you're doing kōhanga it's seeing the kids talk it's seeing the parents look quite a lot of them are schoolteachers ...some have gone overseas that's what it's all about. (Pouako 13)

The marae

Pouako 1 spoke of her happiness at seeing her mokopuna practising the tikanga Māori she attributed to their learning from kōhanga reo, she also presented her reservations at the government's current idea of merging kōhanga reo with early childhood centres and policy. Pouako 1 felt that the kōhanga had been the catalyst for encouraging young people back to the marae.

I think that's good cos ka mohio ratou [they know] you're not supposed to sit on the [tablecloth]. Ka mohio ngā mea pakupaku i te kohangā e mohiotia nei kare ngā pākeke [they learn these little things at the kohangā not the parents]. I felt happy when I saw them do that. Ka mohio ratou from the kohangā, my kohangā. It was great to see that cos kei te akohia [learning]...I mean ko te kohangā that's bringing them back to the marae because kei reira te kōhanga [that's where the kohangā is]. (Pouako 1)

The marae was also acknowledged for its role as a place where Māoritanga was fully expressed and te reo Māori and tikanga practised.

Yeah we had the marae, which is good. I had the marae to teach me things. Like the value of the marae to me, ngā mahi o te marae...Everything to do with Māori I was there, maybe ko te hahi, maybe ko te tangihanga as I was saying i mua ra when the people come I'm there to feed them I'm the cook make the beds get the marae ready, that was my life being a Māori being at the pa. If Whakatōhea have got a hui somewhere like out of the rohe they say haere mai we go I'll go, now I don't...I was brought up as a Māori I wasn't bought up in the Pākehā world. (Pouako 1)

Some of the older Māori expressed a deep sadness at the loss of these practices on the marae and the loss of the marae as the focal point of Māori communities. Pouako 2 believes that there are not enough people able to maintain the operations of the marae due to the reduced number of elders on the marae and the old people not relinquishing their knowledge to the younger generations.

We've lost a lot of our elders, our elders in our village te nuinga [the majority], well I'm the oldest there now today the kuia that was 94, 95 she passed away about two years ago and there's no elders. We got no men, the old codgers that are there, been there a hundred years and they won't let the young ones and that's the sad part to me they're selfish, those old codgers, you know. Kaore e tuwhera o ratou ringaringa kia haere mai ngā tama tāne e noho i taku taha kia mohio koe me pehea te whakatakato ngā kōrero [they don't open their arms to encourage younger men to sit by their sides and learn the process and oratory].

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But now you see ka matemate te katoa [they are all dying]. And there's no one. Yeah so young fullas are starting to get together...they're not young now they'd be about sixty years old now, getting together and they know that they got no one so they're starting to work together ki te tu ki te whaikōrero [to stand and speak formally]. I said even if you just get up and say Tena koutou ngā manuhiri, nau mai nau mai haere mai, tena koe [Greetings, visitors, welcome, welcome, greetings]. That's a start you know. So that otherwise, te mana o to marae korekau [the marae has no authority/standing]. Ae ae so they're doing that now but it's sad and I notice that when we have tangihanga it all depends whose dead you know they don't come and support. Life's changed today have you noticed that? You know in the old days when you were young and you'd notice a lot of people at the whare you know keeping the whānau mahana but now some of them you go in there and there's only two women. (Pouako 2)

Pouako 14 expressed unhappiness at the way tikanga and te reo were being treated on the marae.

I'd have to say to you and I'm talking about my own hapū even the kuia ināianei [now] most of them they've sort of switched to te reo Pākehā and I'm saying, "Kōrero Māori, kaua e kōrero Pākehā" [Speak Māori, don't speak English] and they laugh and I say to them especially at the tangihanga, so much of the tikanga has changed and it's sad because it hasn't got that same wairua Māori in those things for me, that's sad. (Pouako 14)

During the qualitative interviews, Pouako 9 spoke of her disconnection with her Māori identity in older age. Pouako 9 was unique in that she grew up closely connected with her Māori culture, fluent in te reo Māori and brought up close to her hapū, iwi and marae but in her later life has disconnected from her Māoritanga, associating it with her negative experiences growing up. Although she initially indicated that she was proud of being Māori there were also many instances where she spoke of her disillusionment with her culture. She spoke of her confusion around the development of the language and of negative Māori stereotypes.

I'm proud I'm a Māori. I really am. Because of this new Māori language I don't know half of what they're saying and of course there's a lot of things going on which the Māoris are involved in and kind of make me think you know…Our babies dying…Yes child abuse these young people these teenagers…? Grownups themselves is getting into trouble you know, stealing and killing off old people… so I'm proud to be a Māori but there's a lot of things I won't go into with them you know like going to maraes and that.

Interviewer: You don't go to the marae anymore?

No. When my dad died…that's where I recently come from. I left the place and didn't want to go back there again…If a Māori came in here I'd welcome them in but what they do, not interested. (Pouako 9)

Participants with a Dual Cultural Identity

Six participants identified as Māori but had a limited connection to their Māori culture. When speaking of their culture they would refer to their knowledge about their genealogical links, their land interests, and their lack of knowledge of te reo Māori me ngā tikanga. During the interviews, five of these participants could identify their hapū and/or iwi and one could not. Despite a lack of connection to their Māori identity, many did have a positive association with their Māori culture; some of them regretted not having the opportunity to know more about their Māori heritage. Although these participants did not have strong Māori identities, they were able to identify confidently with their New Zealand Pākehā culture. They often referred to being brought up the 'European' or 'Pākehā' way. Some of these participants had negative experiences growing up in relation to their Māori ethnicity. These participants did hold some stereotypical attitudes about Māori society.

Positive views

When Pouako 12 was asked about her connection to her Māori culture she remarked that it primarily entailed an interest in her land shares.

> *All I think about is the land interests that we're sort of chasing up now, the family trust that's about the fullest extent that I should think. (Pouako 12)*

However, she did comment on the feeling of belonging that came from her visit back to her marae to organise matters relating to the land and the family trust.

> *In the wharenui it was really great when they took me inside the meeting house where we'd had the meeting and showed me all my ancestors like my granny's brothers and sisters and they had all the names there up on the wall. It really made me feel like I was part of the Māori culture down there. (Pouako 12)*

Pouako 15 explained that growing up he had knowledge of being Māori but no specific information about his genealogical links to his Māori ancestry. He spoke of his amazement at having some relatives with darker skin colouring.

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Yes but didn't really know I had aunties and uncles we even tried to trace it in the South Island we couldn't find it. But some of my cousins went to the Māori colouring amazing we were white and then we had ones seemed to be the ones that were from the female lineage. (Pouako 15)

However, later in life Pouako 15 spoke of his journey to discover more about his Māori heritage and his happiness at finding his links to Ngāi Tahu and becoming connected to his iwi, especially being able to have regular contact with their progress. He also expressed his disappointment that his children have not wanted to establish their connections with their iwi as he feels they miss out on the opportunities to receive benefits from the iwi.

Well it was a relly who got the information first and then informed me and of course I've got a lot of stuff here about it they send you out a form and you fill it out and you have to trace I had to trace my grandmother and her father no my father first then my grandmother then her father and then old #### which was my great, great grandmother who was the start of it and she married a whaler so it was half caste straightaway...All the time I try to I can't get my family very involved but there's so many benefits for them if they knew it. I've got a grandson who's having a child if I was to join them up to Ngāi Tahu they get Christmas presents and birthday presents and information for kids but I can't get them interested. (Pouako 15)

Negative views

Pouako 6 held some negative, stereotypical beliefs about Māori youth and violence in society.

Well I accept that but I don't live that life [Māori life] because I wasn't brought up like that... I can't identify with Māoris at all... Well I see the Māoris getting violent whereas in my day the Māori people were all gentle people now there is a certain growth in the young ones they are going to get what they want at any cost even their own people's cost, I'm thinking of what's happened over at Tuhoe now. No, no need for warfare and violence. (Pouako 6)

Pouako 15 felt unhappy that many of his friends did not acknowledge his Māori ethnicity and would make disparaging comments about Māori and their entitlement rights in his presence.

> *Oh that's right it annoys me at times a lot of my European friends do class me as European anyway to hear them go on about what Māori are getting and what they shouldn't be getting it's up to them it's upsetting. (Pouako 15)*

Pouako 12 also expressed that growing up she felt embarrassed about her Māori ethnicity and this has had far reaching consequences for her confidence in her adult life.

> *Going to high school I was quite intimidated by anybody else that looked more Pākehā and it made me terribly shy. You know I was quite introverted and I still feel it. Do you know that I cannot go into town and sit down at a table and have a cup of tea by myself? (Pouako 12)*

Pouako 6 also indicated a disappointment at the way she was treated by her Māori relatives because she identified primarily with her Pākehā culture. Her apprehension about the situation was centred around the impact it might have on her daughter's access to her land rights.

> *No I accept all my rellys and I tell you what my rellys don't accept me...Because I've gone the Pākehā way...They don't talk to me barely say hello. If I turn up at a Māori land meeting or something, what are you doing here? Doesn't make me feel...I just think oh get over it you know. I'm entitled to this and it's not only for me maybe okay I'm different what about my child what about those coming after me, you want to cut them out? You talk to them, they all go...my daughter does they all go the maraes and all these sorts of things concerned with Māoris and that, yeah you talk to them and they can only get what my mother and father left to me, through me and that means to say you are going to cut me out then you're going to cut my kids out, that's not on with me. (Pouako 6)*

Some of those participants who had limited connection to their Māori culture felt that growing up, Māori and Pākehā experienced really positive relations and that this had changed in the current times. Pouako 6 believed that the Treaty of Waitangi and the treatment of Māori as distinctive from one New Zealand people has had a negative impact on Māori and Pākehā relations.

> *I hated the idea when we all separated in the 60s… I think he [prime minister] changed the whole thing made the Treaty of Waitangi a legal document. And when I saw the changes it bought in I didn't like it...Well it separated us in my opinion...Yes before that we were all integrated we all treated each other we knew we were different and if you liked to accept the culture that was there before. (Pouako 6)*

Pouako 8 also preferred to adopt the approach of viewing all New Zealanders as one people regardless of their ethnicity.

> *We've never had, we've never mixed like that in our time everybody mixed together. Everybody was all one...You know it was and it still is I always feel, when people come to see me or pop in to see how I am if they're Māori, Pākehā whatever they're all lovely and I make them all welcome it doesn't matter which nationality. (Pouako 8)*

Pouako 15 held memories of positive Pākehā and Māori relationships with few race issues, in fact he recalls those experiences as some of the happiest growing up; however, he intimated that this was no longer evident in today's society.

> *Mixed with plenty of Māori girls and Māori boys there was no racial thing whatsoever in those days. I stopped with Māori families and they stopped with me the boys and girls. Amazing. A different world. (Pouako 15)*

Summary

This last section on culture and identity reflects the complexities and diversity that exist in Māori society. Within both the group of older Māori with a secure Māori identity

and the group of older Māori with a dual cultural identity, there were differing levels of connection. Also, the concepts of culture, identity and wellbeing were not commonly thought about or spoken about in their daily lives, so they found it difficult to speak in-depth about the relationship of their culture to their wellbeing. Te reo Māori, tikanga and other Māori practices such as manaakitanga and whanaungatanga were seen as central to maintaining a secure Māori identity for older Māori in this study. Encouraging and transferring these cultural resources were also viewed as important for strong Māori identities in future generations. Those older Māori with a dual cultural identity were content with their connection to their NZ European identity and, while they identified with their Māori heritage, they had limited knowledge about Māori culture. A few of these participants expressed a desire to know more about their Māori heritage, but overall they did not see it as a barrier to their wellbeing.

A thematic map is presented below (Fig. 2) which outlines the key themes from the narratives and the associated values and principles reflected in those themes.

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Figure 2: Diagram of themes and principles/values from Kaupapa Māori and thematic analysis

Tamarikitanga - Themes
- Whānau
- Matauranga
- He Taiao
- He Ringa raupa
- He Hāneanea

Principles/Values
- *aroha(love, empathy, compassion)*
- *manaakitanga(generosity, kindness, reciprocity)*
- *whanaungatanga(family relationships)*
- *te ao mārama(knowledge, widsom & creative potential)*
- *whakapapa(ancestry & inheritance)*
- *maioha(appreciation & gratitude)*
- *kaitiakitanga(responsibility & guardianship)*
- *maungārongo(harmony)*
- *tūrangawaewae(belonging)*
- *oranga(sustenance)*

Participant Korero

Pākeketanga - Themes
- Whānau
- Mahi
- Whakapetongoi
- Oranga

Principles/Values
- *aroha(love, empathy & compassion)*
- *manaakiktanga (generosity, kindness & reciprocity)*
- *whanaungatanga(family relationships)*
- *mana motuhake(having a purpose)*
- *hauora (health)*
- *te ao mārama (knowledge, wisdom & creative potential)*

Kaumātuatanga - Themes
- Whānau
- Oranga
- Hononga
- Aio

Principles/Values
- *whanaungatanga(family relationships)*
- *aroha(love, empathy & compassion)*
- *manaakitanga(generosity, kindness & reciprocity)*
- *maioha(appreciation & gratitude)*
- *hauora(health)*

Chapter Seven: Discussion

Introduction

The major aim of this research was to develop an understanding of what happiness and wellbeing means for older Māori. Factors that contribute to happiness and wellbeing, alongside an analysis of how culture shapes those factors have been identified. This research is a qualitative exploration of happiness in Māori of advanced age, over the lifespan.

Key values and principles that contribute to happiness and wellbeing have been identified within a Māori conceptual framework. Traditional Māori beliefs and views of happiness and wellbeing underpin the framework, interpreted within a modern context.   How these values and principles can be enhanced and supported within society, to provide Māori with the resources and environments required for a meaningful and happy life into advanced age are discussed herein. The intergenerational transmission of mātauranga Māori on happiness and wellbeing has positive implications for future generations of Māori.

This discussion is structured into four sections:

- The main findings of the study are contextualised within a Kaupapa Māori conceptual framework. The key elements of the framework are discussed through a Kaupapa Māori lens and interpreted in consideration of the wider literature on happiness and wellbeing.
- The strengths and limitations of the study.
- How these findings might be used for policy development, and for whānau and communities, including recommendations for future research.
- Overall concluding comments.

Māori conceptual frameworks

There have been a number of models developed in the last few decades as a way to understand Māori health and wellbeing. They have largely been ontological and conceptual laying the foundation and framework for developing specific methods, processes, and outcomes that reflect Māori realities and worldviews and that make a positive difference in Māori lives. This research follows in the same convention, examining the concept of happiness as a cultural construct. Durie's (1994) Te Whare

Tapa Wha, Pere's (1991) Te Wheke, McNeill's (2005), Te Ao Tūtahi and Edwards (2010) Taupaenui all have relevance to understanding Māori wellbeing and Durie's and Pere's models have been utilised within the New Zealand health system. These frameworks and models are embedded in Māori holistic views of wellbeing, that reflect the physical, social, psychological, spiritual and environmental dimensions of health and wellbeing.

This research illustrates that older Māori understand happiness in a way that is consistent with aspects of both Western psychological conceptions and Māori models. There are also distinct elements that have emerged which could be better explained, understood and utilized within a Kaupapa Māori conceptual framework. The themes identified in the data that reflect older Māori experiences and conceptions of happiness have been situated within a framework that embraces traditional Māori concepts but applies modern interpretations to those concepts. These modern interpretations consider the powerful repercussions of colonisation and hegemonic practices on the indigenous psyche and seeks to present a model that does not further oppress or colonise 'Māori'. In simple terms it is a way of understanding happiness that is not only pertinent to those Māori that have a secure connection to their Māori identity, but is able to find resonation with all Māori.

The conceptual framework that has been developed from the participant data acknowledges the unique history of those in advanced age and the challenges they faced which included colonisation, land loss, world wars, economic depression, epidemics and infant mortality. Certainly there have been casualties from these events, loss of cultural identity and language, dislocation of whānau, hapū and iwi, inequality in education, housing, crime and health, and an increase in mental illness and suicide for Māori. (Durie, 1998; Kingi, 2011; Mikaere, 1994; Reid & Robson, 2007). However this research focuses on the strengths, resilience and positive states of wellbeing that enable Māori to endure, move forward and live a meaningful life. While modern science has afforded our developed societies better health care, higher economic wealth, greater quality of living, technological advancement, greater opportunities for travel and global mobility, our future is still fraught with as many challenges as those that faced our ancestors. Today we must now adapt and prepare to meet the challenges of global climate change, global overpopulation, global inequalities, global colonisation and global competitiveness. One significant issue

amongst these monumental challenges will be helping Māori to achieve happiness and wellbeing despite facing ongoing threats to the stability and safety of our world. It is unlikely that Western modern advancement and technology hold all the solutions to these problems for indigenous peoples. Much will depend on the ability of whānau and Māori communities to galvanise and integrate in a way that fosters traditional values such as manaakitanga, kaitiakitanga and aroha, alongside Western science. As the world's population ages at a faster rate than ever before, we must consider the possible challenges for the government and communities, but also the potential benefits of an ageing population. Evident in traditional Māori society and in the narratives of older Māori in this study is the value of intergenerational relationships and the transmission of knowledge and experience to individual and whānau wellbeing. This thesis suggests that young Māori would do well to look back, to listen, observe and learn from the experiences and knowledge of our older people. The narratives from the participants provide important validation to the notion that many of the values and factors that contribute to enduring happiness are the very components that could aid and protect wellbeing and happiness into the future even considering the various threats that accompany the modern advancement and technological development of our world.

Cultural Identity

A strong and secure cultural identity can be positively associated with happiness and wellbeing in older Māori from the Bay of Plenty. The level of association however differed between those older Māori with secure Māori identities and those with a dual cultural identity. The former group articulated clearly, and in detail, within their narratives the central positive role of their Māori cultural beliefs, values and language to their happiness. For the latter group this association was less overt; they acknowledged that their culture was related to their wellbeing but did not provide explicit explanations or examples of what they considered to be cultural factors within their narratives. They were less likely to relate to traditional Māori values and beliefs. They also held some negative stereotypes about Māori society, an effect cited in the literature as an outcome of colonisation. Colonisation is a continuous process that is self-perpetuating and often results in the internalising of negative myths and stereotypes by the native people about their traditional world (Reid & Robson, 2007). A critical analysis of the data provides insight into values and principles that were

important for happiness in older Māori with a dual cultural identity. However, more extensive research is required for the dual cultural identity population.

Te Reo me ngā Tikanga (Language and Customs)
Those older Māori with a command of te reo Māori and knowledge of tikanga Māori identified the language and customs as being important to their wellbeing and happiness. For the older Māori with secure Māori identities, it is through the language and the customs that Māori values and principles are understood, expressed and practiced. For example, manaakitanga cannot be practiced or cultivated as it applies to traditional Māori culture without knowledge of te reo me ōna tikanga. This asserts the importance of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga to happiness, particularly for Māori that have secure Māori identities. As previous literature has noted te reo Māori me nga tikanga is a critical aspect of a secure Māori cultural identity and a strong cultural identity is associated with positive health and wellbeing (Ministry of Social Development, 2010; Hohepa et al, 2010; Waldon, 2004; Durie, 1999). Recent research of Māori in advanced age found that te reo Māori me nga tikanga Māori was associated with better physical health-related quality of life (Dyall et al., 2014).

Those older Māori with dual cultural identities did not associate strongly te reo Māori me ōna tikanga with their understanding of and experience of happiness. However, the data from the LiLACS NZ study indicated that they did associate their culture and language positively with their wellbeing. It is possible that they are referring to what they viewed as their New Zealand Pākehā culture rather than Māori culture.

Māori conceptual understanding of happiness
Emotions, values and concepts of the self, do not hold universal meaning across all cultures (Kubokawa & Ottoway, 2009; Lu & Gilmour, 2004; Uchida & Kitayama, 2009), therefore it cannot be accurate to depict Māori conceptualisations of happiness within a Western worldview or fit a Māori conception of happiness into a Western framework. The use of Western psychological theory and methods to study emotions in different cultures has scientific limitations and posits the need:

> In psychology to examine the subjective experience of people in different cultures from their own point of view and ground its theories on these culturally informed observations (Kitayama et al., 2000, p. 121).

Kaupapa Māori theory would assert that the best way to understand and measure the happiness of Māori is to examine Māori subjectively, through their experiences, perceptions, beliefs and values. Their unique social and historical context and the values and practices they attribute to happiness is important.

There were both hedonic and eudaimonic features central to Māori experiences and understandings of happiness; the presence of positive affect and absence of negative affect, alongside the focus of living life in a deep and satisfying way (Ryan & Deci, 2001). This is consistent with the approach in positive psychology that is described as 'flourishing' whereby wellbeing is conceptualized as an integration of both hedonic and eudaimonic components (Seligman, 2011). However, an examination of 'flourishing' within positive psychology reveals an individualistic approach to happiness and wellbeing (Christopher et al., 2008). This conceptualisation of happiness may be less relevant to older Māori where working towards the happiness of others is a salient feature. Seligman's work also does not examine in much detail the relationship of the natural environment to flourishing and happiness, again an endemic quality of Māori wellbeing. Eudaimonic factors such as spirituality and harmony with the environment featured more significantly for those older Māori with secure Māori identities and hedonistic factors such as enjoyment from pleasurable activities and material acquisitions were more common for older Māori with dual cultural identities.

Happiness for Māori traditionally, and in this study, is situated within a sociocentric, collectivist perspective, where what was right, good and meaningful for whānau, hapū and iwi was paramount. In contrast to Seligman's (2011) model of flourishing and Ryff and Singer's (1996) model of psychological wellbeing, the kaupapa Māori conceptual framework emphasises not only the concepts of self-actualization, reaching potential and relatedness with others through values such as whanaungatanga, but also asserts that a positive connection with the universe and living in harmony with the environment are major components necessary for happiness and wellbeing.

The word or concept 'manaakitanga' was used by many of the participants with secure Māori identities to define happiness. Manaakitanga means to care for/show kindness, generosity, reciprocity and support. Interpretation of the data and delving

deeper in to the concept of manaakitanga provided understanding of how participants related happiness and manaakitanga. Manaakitanga is probably best understood by understanding the concept of 'mana'. In Chapter Three the traditional meaning of 'mana' was explored and its relationship to happiness and wellbeing for Māori people prior to colonisation. Traditionally 'mana' was viewed as a quality sourced from the gods and manifested in humans. This quality could be expressed as authority, psychic force and power and clearly defined by its spiritual basis.

According to Royal (2006), "It is mana that lies at the heart of Māori, indeed human, health and wellbeing – the degree to which we feel empowered, illuminated and warm about ourselves and life around us" (p. 3).

Royal (2006) identifies two key components of mana – one is related to being and identity, and the second is related to authority and acting with generosity and wisdom. From this perspective, a person gained mana through markers of identity and through a sense of authority developed by acting with generosity and wisdom to create positive connections and relationships with the people and environment. The participant narratives reflected many examples where individual and whānau happiness was enhanced through the practice of manaakitanga.

This thesis asserts that the concept of mana is critical to an understanding of happiness and wellbeing for Māori. Whilst mana can be facilitated within the self, it can be argued that mana cannot reach its potential when it exists simply within the self. Mana requires expression, projection and reciprocal transference between people and all living things, enhancing the mauri or energy (S.McDonald, personal communication, August 24, 2013). When these connections do not take place, mana remains dormant, without the realization and development of mana in people, the human potential cannot be advanced and the happiness and wellbeing of all humanity is compromised. From this perspective happiness is more than just feelings or emotions of joy and pleasure, in fact it more closely resembles Western eudaimonic views of happiness and Eastern philosophical theories relating happiness to meaning in life, flow, energy and consciousness. Neither of these theoretical philosophies alone captures a full understanding of a Māori conceptualisation of happiness but there are comparable aspects.

This research proposes that happiness for Māori originates from four domains of

mana:

- Mana Atua – positive spiritual connection and commitment to the wider universe
- Mana Tūpuna – genealogical connections and relationships
- Mana Tangata – realising ones unique identity and potential
- Mana Whenua – integration and unity with the environment

What is good and meaningful and what constitutes happiness for Māori resides in the balance of these sources of mana and results in both inner and outer reflections of harmony. What is of value is based upon this premise and can:

> Be explained as not seeing ourselves in competition with others or with nature. Rather than trying to establish or defend our own authority, power or standing (mana), we can acknowledge the mana of all creatures and try to find ways of enhancing their mana while at the same time enhancing our own. (Whaanga, 2012, p.11)

The four domains of happiness within this conceptual framework have been identified based on the values and principles reflected in the main themes that were identified from the analysis of the narratives (Fig. 2, p.178). These values and principles have been placed in the domain that they primarily relate to but many of the values and principles also interconnect between domains. For example, Kaitiakitanga is placed within the Mana Whenua domain but also has spiritual elements which could sit within the Mana Atua domain. This conceptual framework acknowledges the fluidity and interrelationship between all aspects of happiness and wellbeing for Māori. Te reo Māori me ōna tikanga (Māori language and customs) are embedded in all the principles and values identified in the framework and so is situated in the framework across all four domains. Within this framework, values are defined as: "Principles or standards of behaviour; one's judgement of what is important in life:" (Oxford Dictionaries online, n.d) and principles as "Truths or propositions that serve as foundation for a system of belief or behaviour". (Oxford Dictionaries online, n.d)

It must be emphasized though that there were significant differences between the two groups of participants in the importance placed on particular values and principles and the expression of these values and principles. For example, Manaakitanga (generosity, kindness & reciprocity) was related to happiness for both older Māori with secure Māori identities and those with dual cultural identities. However the practice, understanding and expression of manaakitanga differed. Older Māori with secure Māori identities, practiced 'manaakitanga' as it was understood in the traditional Māori world, and many considered it to be the central component of happiness. Most older Māori with dual cultural identities did not refer to the term 'manaakitanga' and did not have a traditional understanding of it, but they provided examples that illustrated how the practice of showing kindness and caring for fellow human beings is related to a person's happiness. Another example is the principle, He Ara Tika (have a purpose), which again was common to both groups but differed in expression. For example, attaining financial security gave a sense of purpose and meaning in life to older Māori with a dual cultural identity, but was absent from the narratives of older Māori with secure Māori identities. Whereas finding meaning and purpose by contributing to the positive development of Māori society as a whole was only present within the narratives of older Māori with secure Māori identities.

Kukutai (2006) found when examining the New Zealand Social Survey that there were no significant ethnic differences in overall life satisfaction, however there was a marked variation in objective indicators for life satisfaction. Furthermore her analysis of the Ministry of Social Development study on living standards showed that both Māori and non-Māori ranked whānau/family activities as important but differed in their value of non-essential items such as dishwashers. She concluded that:

> When necessities such as adequate food and shelter are met, happiness and satisfaction would seem to depend on intangible factors such as relationships, a sense of purpose, and the fulfilment of socially defined obligations. However, the specific content of obligations etc., and the extent to which they are valued, may vary across groups. (p.7)

This study uses a Kaupapa Māori conceptual framework which draws primarily on concepts from a traditional Māori world and also acknowledges the role of colonisation on Māori understandings and experiences of happiness today. The design

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is ultimately about providing a way of looking at happiness that is intrinsic to Māori culture and reflective of diverse Māori realities.

The explanations of the concepts in this thesis: Mana Atua, Mana Whenua, Mana Tangata and Mana Tūpuna do not reflect entirely traditional Māori definitions. Instead they draw on key principles and values to extend our understanding by providing a modern interpretation that is relevant to contemporary Māori society. A similar application of this method of interpreting concepts relating to 'mana' has been utilised within the New Zealand Early Childhood Curriculum (ECE), which incorporates the concepts of Mana Atua – Wellbeing, Mana Whenua – Belonging, Mana Tangata – Contribution, Mana Reo – Communication and Mana Aoturoa – Exploration. These strands within the ECE framework do not reflect entirely traditional definitions of those terms. For example Mana Atua is not defined as spiritual authority imbued by the gods but is defined in relation to early childhood education as, "The health and well-being of the child are protected and nurtured. Children experience an environment where: their health is promoted; their emotional well-being is nurtured; they are kept safe from harm." (Ministry of Education, 2007, p.3).

He Whare Tukutuku (Conceptual Framework) - Happiness for older Māori

Based on the narratives from older Māori in the Bay of Plenty, happiness is conceptualised as:

'A way of life that enhances 'mana' and promotes a meaningful existence through Mana Atua – A connection and commitment to the larger universe; Mana Tūpuna – Strengthened genealogical relationships; Mana Tangata – Realisation of human potential and Mana Whenua – Harmonious integration and unity with the environment.' A visual representation of this conceptual framework is provided below in Table 6 and is followed by a discussion of the key domains, values and principles identified in the framework.

Table 6: He Whare Tukutuku – Happiness for older Māori

	Mana Atua – Positive spiritual connection and commitment to the larger universe.	Mana Tūpuna – Strengthened genealogical relationships	Mana Tangata – Realisation of human potential	Mana Whenua – Harmonious integration with the environment
	Te Reo me ōna Tikanga (Language and Customs)			
Ngā Tikanga–Values and Principles	Wairuatanga (Spirituality) Manaakitanga [Generosity, kindness & reciprocity] Aroha [Love, empathy & compassion] Maioha [Appreciation & Gratitude]	Whakapapa [Ancestry & Inheritance] Whanaungatanga [Family relationships]	Te Ao Mārama [Knowledge, Wisdom & Creative Potential] He Ara Tika [Having a purpose) Te Taha Tinana [Physical Health] Hononga [Social connections]	Maungārongo [Harmony] Tūrangawaewae [Belonging] Oranga [Sustenance] Kaitiakitanga [Responsibility]

Tuatahi: Mana Atua

'Mana' in traditional times was viewed as a spiritual authority sourced from the many atua and transferred or utilised by all living things (Marsden, 2003). The advent of Christianity for Māori transformed the understanding of mana, whereby many Māori moved to advocating for an absolute and all powerful mana residing in one overarching god (Royal, 2006). However the expressions and understandings of mana were still interconnected to the traditional spiritual concepts of tapu and mauri (Chapter Three). Royal argues that in today's contemporary society there has been a further shift. The focus on gods and unworldly beings influencing the transfer of mana to living things has less relevance than the belief that mana is a "quality, energy or consciousness in the world which can be harnessed and expressed in human activities through acts of generosity and wisdom."(p.8-9). Manaakitanga and aroha are therefore particular expressions of that consciousness and are reliant on connections and relationships with others.

Mana Atua in contemporary times could be viewed as being developed and enhanced through values and beliefs that promote emotional and spiritual wellbeing. Values that are attributed to a deep commitment to the larger universe which connect people through one god, many gods or to a psychic energy and consciousness. For Māori, spirituality was fundamental to their worldview and wellbeing. In fact, during my consultation about the framework, kaumātua indicated that the Mana Atua domain was the most important of all domains to happiness. The Māori cultural view of spirituality involves understanding the spiritual world within its holistic interconnectedness to all aspects of life and wellbeing, not as a separate reality, as is often the case within a Western worldview (Cheung, 2008; Durie, 1994; Valentine, 2009).

The key values and principles inherent within the Mana Atua domain that relate happiness to a connection and commitment to the larger universe were;

- Wairuatanga - Spirituality
- Manaakitanga – Generosity, Reciprocity, and Kindness;
- Aroha - Love, Empathy, Compassion; and
- Maioha – Appreciation and Gratitude.

These values and principles are situated in the Mana Atua domain, as they have strong spiritual foundations. Older Māori with secure Māori identities expressed these values and principles differently to the older Māori with dual cultural identities.

Wairuatanga - Spirituality

While many older Māori with secure Māori identities expressed a strong sense of spirituality it was neither fully immersed in Te Ao Māori nor Western religion. The co-existence of spiritual beliefs that centred on Māori cosmology were practiced alongside Christian beliefs and practices.

Many of the participants did not discuss in detail the nature of their spiritual faith but it was implicit in references made in their interviews and the karakia performed during our meetings. Faith and spirituality existed in their lives and contributed to their happiness both throughout their lives and into old age. Previous studies have shown that spirituality is important to wellbeing for older Māori (Edwards, 2010; McNeill, 2006). Older Māori with secure Māori identities were more likely to acknowledge their Christian religion, than those with a dual cultural identity. Karakia were spoken in some interviews and regarded by many as essential to their faith and belief system and in particular in helping them to get through difficult times. There is a dearth of research that examines the role of karakia today. Karakia is however still recognised and utilised by many Māori, in a way that recognises the relationship of this tikanga with health and wellbeing (Durie, 2001; Eketone, 2013b).

The association between spiritual and religious faith with happiness and wellbeing has been well examined in Western literature and research. There is a positive correlation between religiosity and higher SWB; based a large part on intrinsic benefits such as providing meaning and purpose in life and strengthening social relationships. (Diener & Ryan, 2009). According to Diener & Ryan (2009) religious people tend to experience high wellbeing, higher life satisfaction, lower suicide levels and this is thought to originate from the sense and meaning and purpose and the presence of strong social networks that are gained from being part of a religion or spiritual faith. Moreira-Almeida, Neto, and Koenig (2006) state that people who live in stressful circumstances such as the elderly and people with disabilities are likely to be influenced more positively by religious involvement. Despite these findings, research across nations has shown that some non-religious nations report high levels of wellbeing while religious nations have low levels of wellbeing (Diener & Ryan, 2009). This may be premised on how religion is defined as the non-religious countries may still have strong spiritual connections. Schumaker (2006) believes that religion is beneficial to psychological wellbeing because it provides cognitive structures that help to order a chaotic world and provides meaning, purpose and hope in people's lives. Furthermore it enhances emotional wellbeing because it fosters social cohesion and an understanding and acceptance of mortality which are two areas of particular significance to people in old age.

Yet in contrast, those older Māori who had a dual cultural identity, provided less expression of a connection between spiritual beliefs and their happiness. Only one older Māori from this group identified religion as a significant component of her happiness and wellbeing. Religion for this person was a critical part of her everyday life and she regularly attended church. Despite this apparent absence of religiosity or spirituality, some of the older Māori with dual cultural identities did demonstrate the practice of, and belief, in values and principles that are positioned within the Mana Atua domain, in particular the expression of manaakitanga and aroha within their family and their community.

The Enhancing Wellbeing in an Ageing Society (EWAS) study on wellbeing and ageing (Waldegrave, 2009), comprising of 1680 New Zealanders aged 65-84 in 2007 showed that older Māori considered spiritual faith to be significantly more important to them than non-Māori. In this study it was apparent that spiritual faith was more important to those older Māori with secure Māori identities than the older Māori with dual cultural identities. It may be that this is a further illustration of the interface between two worlds. In fact Whaanga (2012) claims that this particular interface reflects:

> The holistic values of tikanga Māori (Māori function) adapting Christianity to reflect a Māori cosmology and enhance mana Māori (Māori standing) for a confident tribal and national identity in New Zealand communities. This successful adaptation [an indication] of the acceptance possible between Māori and Pākehā values and that as human beings we can always learn more. (p.12)

The positive outcome of such a philosophical approach is that these older Māori have a strong faith and belief system that draws on both Western and Māori spiritual thought and provides a source of happiness and wellbeing.

The best illustration of the Māori belief and spiritual system that govern the lives of older Māori came from the values and principles that they expressed as being critical to their happiness and wellbeing or that were simply reflected in their dialogue about experiences that brought them happiness over their lifetime.

> *It's very important faith, without faith you cannot achieve anything. You have faith in god, you have faith in yourself and other people and give to the people. Faith in the atua because my people, our old people said whakarongo ki te atua [listen to God] and that's all have faith in god. Don't belittle other denominations because they all from god ae, na te atua [from God] ...Its quite different from Pākehā because our*

aspirations are totally different to the Pākehā they think in terms of financial gain
whereas we go beyond that we think in terms of spiritual and enlightenment and of
course financial gain is a part of it but it's not all of it. Our commitment to one
another is more important, our whānau, our people. (Pouako 3)

Manaakitanga – Generosity, Kindness and Reciprocity

Manaakitanga incorporated the notions of helping others, reciprocity, caring and generosity. Manaaki is derived from the word 'mana' and involves acting in a way that upholds your own mana while at the same time enhancing the mana of others. The majority of older Māori with secure Māori identities viewed manaakitanga as a practice that had contributed significantly to their happiness and to the happiness of their community and society. Aroha and manaakitanga were often interrelated and reflected notions of servitude, caring, reciprocity, sharing, unconditional love, harmony, balance, contribution to the wellbeing of community and society, loving one another and showing love to all humankind. When asked to define 'happiness', many indicated that aroha and manaakitanga were the closest translation of happiness in Te Ao Māori.

 It is difficult to reflect in words how deep and profound manaakitanga is in practice. The stories described in the narratives in Chapter Six present the best illustrations of practices that reflect manaakitanga. The stories of whāngai, kōhanga reo, tīpuna relationships with mokopuna, working on the marae, 'serving the people', feeding visitors, caring for sick family members – all these stories reflect a way of living premised on the notion that the happiness and the wellbeing of the community influences the happiness and wellbeing of the person. This perspective is particularly salient in research on happiness and indigenous, socio-centric, collectivist societies and has been one of the most commonly cited delineations with Western conceptualisations of happiness. The research indicates that collectivist cultures are more likely to value social relationships and collective wellbeing, as more important than personal happiness (Derne, 2009; Heil, 2009; Izquierdo, 2009; Maher, 1999; Thin, 2009; Waugh & Mackenzie, 2011).

One further addition to this perspective that has not been discussed extensively in the literature is that many of the participants demonstrated an understanding of manaakitanga that involved caring and helping people for the benefit of Māori development and humanity as a whole. Previous research about happiness and collectivist cultures has focused primarily on social integration and relationships within the family and community as the priority (Izqueirdo, 2009; Heil, 2009; Waugh & Mackenzie, 2011, Derne, 2009). Traditionally, the

focus of collective wellbeing was on the hapū and community. However, colonisation has forced Māori to consider the collective wellbeing of Māori as a whole society, in order to adapt to the challenges of development and change positively, both locally and globally.

This aspect of 'manaaktitanga' appeared to be a cultural quality in that it was not present in the narratives of older Māori with dual cultural identities. Māori with secure Māori identities used examples of working in Te Kōhanga Reo and other Māori education settings to ensure that future generations retained te reo me ōna tikanga and talked about the Māori culture flourishing. Some participants spent their lives serving others on the marae and providing care and hospitality to people.

> *Well they made it quite clear that I was to be a servant for all. To the people, that was my role to help my people. (Pouako 4)*

> *...when the people come I'm there to feed them I'm the cook make the beds get the marae ready, that was my life being a Māori being at the pa. (Pouako 1)*

> *We've had heaps of families and oh they're doing well. That's what I keep saying to people that's the reward when you're doing kōhanga its seeing the kids talk its seeing the parents look quite a lot of them are schoolteachers… some have gone overseas that's what it's all about. (Pouako 13)*

Others intimated that the essence of living well and developing a positive society was through loving one another as human beings. When asked to define happiness in te reo Māori, this participant responded:

> *Aroha tētahi ki tētahi. [Loving one another]. (Pouako 14)*

The inability to have children was considered one of the greatest sources of unhappiness in Māori society (Binney & Chaplin, 2004). The process of whāngai, in the spirit of manaakitanga could be seen as one mechanism to care for women who were unable to biologically produce children.

> *Koina ka aroha au ki nga wahine korekau he pepi (I feel empathy for women that are unable to bear children) you know and ka tono maku tena pepi (I ask her for the baby) you know ka hapū koe ka rongo koe oh my cousin came and asked for this one ae and I said what did you do? No I'm not going to give it. I said yeah but look at all your other kids your cousin you know she'd love your baby. Oh no. I said well think about*

it, that's all just think about it you can have another one your cousin can't and I said
you know you'll feel wonderful cos you've shared. (Pouako 2)

Some of the participants also attributed the problems in society with the lack of manaaki and
aroha being demonstrated between people.

Aroha and manaaki disappears in a lot of homes. Like I said before everybody used to
help one another in those days. Not now its dog eat dog now… Well the main thing to
me is helping one another, manaaki, aroha. To me they are the main things, which
are disappearing. You go into Māori homes in the old days you always go home with
something, they always give you something they might have fish or wild pork, that's
gone now, you got to show your money.(Pouako 10)

Participants with dual cultural identities, did not prescribe entirely to the Western focus on
personal/individual happiness. They also acknowledged the relationship of helping and caring
for others as central to their happiness and wellbeing. However, they tended to focus this care
and desire to help and share with their immediate family and close social relationships. There
was no mention of practicing this value for the benefit of Māori society or Māori development
as the secure Māori identity group did.

One aspect that was comparable with a Western emphasis on self-reliance and autonomy
(Derne, 2009) in relation to age was the attitude by some older Māori that did not want their
children to feel burdened by caring for them. As a consequence, some older Māori had
relationships with their children that reflected the notions of separation between parents and
their children, removing the responsibility from children to care for their parents. These older
Māori were predominantly from the group that had dual cultural identities. One participant
from this group defined happiness as being connected to helping others and being with family
but also admitted that he did not experience many opportunities to engage in that practice.
Another spoke of her commitment during her life to caring and helping others in her wider
community and remarkably she was still continuing this practice in her 80's. She spoke of the
extreme joy she felt at being able to support people through difficult circumstances without
any expectation of being rewarded or acknowledged for her work.

Manaakitanga is an important cultural principle and practice that has endured and remains
interwoven in the lives of older Māori. Manaakitanga was reflected in diverse ways, from the
practice of whāngai to caring for sick family members. It was recognized by older Māori
with secure Māori identities as paramount to individual, whānau, hapū, iwi and societal

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wellbeing. For older Māori with dual cultural identities, showing kindness and generosity was connected to happiness, but was spoken about primarily in reference to family and social networks (i.e. friends and/or community groups).

Aroha – love, empathy, humility

Aroha is a fundamental value in Māori society that is closely associated to the notion of happiness for older Māori in this study. Aroha is often translated to mean 'love' but there are many layers of meaning. One way of understanding the cultural aspects of emotional states is to analyse the metaphorical associations with the particular concepts.

> While the general conceptualisation of such concepts is grounded in universal human experiences, different cultures attach different cultural salience specific realisations, elaborations or construals to these near universal conceptual metaphors. (Ansah, 2010, p. 5).

The narratives depicted aroha as the 'glue' that held the wellbeing of society and people intact. The metaphorical association of aroha with 'glue' has been taken from the words of Māori language scholar, Ruth Makuini Tai (2009, n.p.):

> For me the glue of life, or the glue of wellness is in the term aroha, that's usually translated as love and so it is but if we are to look at the root word:
>
> **Aro** – is to pay attention, to focus, and to look intently at
>
> **Ha** – is life force

Aroha is about being able to focus one's life force, focus one's energy and engage with the world from that level of perception. It is perhaps through this level of perception that aroha can be demonstrated in the forms of empathy and compassion. Only through an acute awareness of one's being and worldview can one attempt to understand other people and their worldviews and more importantly recognise the importance of showing compassion for other people and the wider universe. The relationship of aroha to perception and compassion can be seen in the following narrative,

> *It's a very strong thing aroha cos its not only speaking it to me, its sharing it and showing it, you don't have to speak to show aroha you've just got to act on it. Not really a lot of kōrero. (Pouako 13)*

This perspective is obvious in the narratives of older Māori with secure Māori identities. Aroha is connected to their spiritual existence and centred on achieving love in the context of

humanity. The association could be attributed to both the cultural collectivist structure of Māori society, which promotes interdependence in favour of independence. Kitayama et al. (2000)'s research on cross-cultural comparisons of emotions between East Asians and Americans postulates that a culture's concept of self is correlated to the way emotions are constructed and experienced. They argue that "emotional experiences have the corresponding social functions and to some extent are significant cultural artefacts" (p. 94). This theory provides a possible explanation for the perception of aroha being directed strongly towards the wellbeing of the collective rather than just the individual or nuclear family.

The expression of aroha was demonstrated within the whānau at all levels, between the participants and their spouses, their parents, their children, their grandparents and wider whānau. Aroha ranged from romantic intimate love to compassion, empathy and love for humanity. This experience of aroha was a considerable source of happiness for the participants throughout their lifetimes.

> *And the greatest one of all of course is te aroha, love that is the greatest. If one can achieve love with the greater community, you can achieve anything. (Pouako 4)*

Those participants with dual cultural identities demonstrated the practice of aroha primarily in the sense of 'love' as being related to romantic love and intimacy within their family relationships, particularly their marriage. This correlates with previous Western psychological research that has found a positive association between marriage and SWB in old age (Blanchflower & Oswald, 2004; Diener et al., 2000; Vaillant, 2002). The participants with dual cultural Māori identities in this study however were less likely to express their happiness as being contingent on the practice of aroha as empathy and compassion with humankind. The narratives of these participants indicate that while the experience and expression of ' love' was an emotion which all older Māori correlated to happiness, the way 'love' or 'aroha' is understood, conceptualised and expressed in relation to happiness has some culturally bound differences.

Aroha, like manaakitanga included both spiritual and collective aspects for older Māori with secure Māori identities. They spoke of the relationship of aroha to the wellbeing of communities, humanity and metaphysical and natural environments. In contrast, when older Māori with dual cultural identities related the concept of love to their happiness, they referred primarily to love for and from their spouse, parents and children.

Maioha – Gratitude and Appreciation

The majority of older Māori regardless of cultural identity, prescribed to beliefs and values of cultivating a life of gratitude and appreciation of life. According to Emmons and Shelton (2002), gratitude reflects a psychological state and is felt as "a sense of wonder, thankfulness and appreciation for life. It can be expressed towards others and as well as towards impersonal (nature) non-human sources (God, animals)." (p. 460). Maioha was cultivated from childhood for participants, where there was little option but to find acceptance in life's hardships and appreciate the simple, non-material aspects of life such as enjoying and living in harmony with the natural environment. Many Eastern philosophies subscribe and promote this way of living as conducive to happiness and wellbeing (Joshanloo, 2014; Lu, 2001).

Gratitude is becoming a common theme in Western psychology and health practices and beliefs of how to live a good and meaningful life. There is however, criticism of the lack of scientific validity to the claim that there exists a positive correlation between the practice of gratitude and health and wellbeing (Emmons & Shelton, 2002). Although, research within the field of positive psychology, identifies the cultivation and practice of gratitude as an intervention for increasing wellbeing (Seligman, 2011; Wood, Froh, & Geraghty, 2010).

Despite the negative impacts of colonisation, loss of language and culture, and experiences of discrimination, older Māori still possessed an attitude immersed in the practice of gratitude and appreciation for their life and the life of others, which many of them identified as conducive to their happiness.

> *I've seen a lot of life and I take notice you know cos when I was a child I walked to school and noticed that there was a bloom come out and that tomorrow its right out the next day you know I watch little things and its nature around you I think that's what it is and I feel nature I can sit all day and not talk to anyone and just admire think and look at what's around me and be thankful for what I've got and I like people and if the people feel sad I always say hello. (Pouako 2)*

There is also considerable research in positive psychology and ageing that associates a positive, optimistic attitude with greater SWB (Holahan et al., 2008; Jopp & Rott, 2006). This association has been challenged however for the potential cultural bias inherent in the approach. A positive, optimistic, 'happy' attitude appears to take on far more value within Western cultures and has less currency within other cultures that have more accepting views of the importance of balancing the dialectical role of negative emotions with positive emotions (Lu & Gilmour, 2004; Uchida et al., 2004).

This research did not emphasize attitudes of optimism and positivity but rather gratitude and acceptance. These qualities enabled the participants to develop resilience and overcome hardships in their life

> *There's always an unhappy in the family. Doesn't matter how happy you are. They don't all listen to you but that's their way of living. (Pouako 13).*

> *But anyway he came home it wasn't too bad with one leg but then later on he had troubles again he had to get the other one off. That was quite hard it was quite not hard but upsetting that that had happened and I thought well life goes on regardless of what happens. (Pouako 8)*

This philosophy of living has remained as a central compass for older Māori in this study throughout life and into old age. The practice of acceptance alongside other buffers such as strong family networks were important strategies to overcome hurdles and feelings of despair and depression.

The participants acknowledged that their attitude of accepting and being happy with the simple things in life came about from having few material possessions or not having the luxury of choice. Many of the participants were content to live in the present moment and appreciated the simplicity of those moments.

> *We were living on a day-by-day basis and we were quite happy with that. We were adequately fed and nice and comfortable and warm and that was it we were happy...We'd go out eeling we were happy, and we go fishing and catch a fish. It was a different way of life it was the simple things that made us happy. (Pouako 10)*

Potentially this focus on intrinsic motivation and emotions for happiness may be a reason why the desires for external pleasures such as money and material goods were less important to many older Māori.

While there were elements of optimism, hope and a positive outlook in the attitudes displayed by the participants, the practice of acceptance, simplicity, and gratitude was the strongest feature of their approach to living. Many of the participants had and continued to have a number of challenges and hardships in their lives, but they demonstrated an acceptance of those aspects as a normal part of life. Even emotions such as sadness and despair were viewed with acceptance, as an appropriate response to life's challenges.

Wairuatanga, manaakitanga, aroha and maioha are principles and values that contributed to a meaningful, happy life for older Māori, having a positive effect on their emotional and spiritual wellbeing

Tuarua: Mana Tūpuna

Mana Tūpuna relates directly to mana derived from one's connection to their ancestry, to their whakapapa and to whānau relationships. Mana Tūpuna is described by the political Māori party as;

> that which defines Māori as a people, a bridge linking us with ancestors, defines our heritage, gives us stories to place us in this world, helps us to know who we are, from whom we descend and what our obligations are to those who come after us. (Māori Party, n.d.).

Whakapapa – Ancestry & Inheritance

Interviews with many of the older Māori securely connected to their Māori identity commenced only after they had explicitly acknowledged through recital of whakapapa their ancestral connections and heritage. Due to the spiritual and tapu nature of whakapapa, it was my decision to exclude quotes which directly related to whakapapa within the interviews. One kaumātua humbly requested that I use my discretion with that particular source of knowledge imparted. Another ushered me into the back room of her whare to conduct the interview, as this was the room that contained photos on the walls of her ancestors and would provide the spiritual environment that was appropriate to talk about the past and whakapapa. A significant portion of the interviews were spent listening to participants telling me stories and showing me photos of their tīpuna. It was evident to me that the recital of whakapapa and stories of ancestors made them feel proud, and joyful in the moment of recall. It also reinforced that those connections, memories, experiences were critical to their happiness and wellbeing in their advanced years. It is a spiritual experience to sit in a room full of photos of ancestors and feel them come alive in the words of the old person sitting next to you. This connection is very much intertwined with their spiritual wellbeing. Throughout the interviews there would be occasions when they would make reference to their ancestors or find comfort from holding a photo of a tīpuna in their hands.

For those older Māori with dual cultural identities, the connection to their ancestors did not resonate as strongly. Most only referred back to connections with grandparents. However, one participant did show me an album which held photos of her ancestors.

Whanaungatanga – Family relationships

All older Māori interviewed, regardless of cultural connection, held a belief in the importance of 'family' to their happiness. Whanaungatanga has been situated within Mana Tūpuna because 'whanau' is considered within the framework of relationships identified within whakapapa, between nuclear family, extended family and connections with ancestors. A recent report on the determinants of life satisfaction for Māori found that whanaungatanga was identified as a key determinant of wellbeing for Māori (Statistics New Zealand, 2015b).

The way in which whānau was understood and whānau relationships were discussed in this study differed and can be interpreted culturally. Older Māori with dual cultural identities tended to view whānau in the nuclear sense and happiness centred on activities and relationships fostered within their nuclear whānau. In old age, whilst whānau was seen as a value of importance, some participants indicated that they weren't regularly involved with wider family members, including their children. Some believed that it was important to stay independent from their children least they become a burden. The concept of 'dependency' in many Western cultures has largely been associated with negative connotations and deficiencies and within the elderly population in particular the idea of dependency as a burden (Fine & Glendinning, 2005). Within cultures that are centred on ideas of intergenerational reciprocity negative feelings of dependency are less likely to exist (Gawande, 2014). However the extent to which these support systems exist today needs to be explored.

Only two older Māori that had dual cultural identities, maintained close involvement with their whānau on a daily or weekly basis. Their happiness was strongly related to their familial relationships. These two participants were also the only participants from this group to specifically refer to the happiness they drew from their relationships with their grandchildren, especially in old age. For this entire group of older Māori a belief in family as a value reflects the notion that family relationships are built on love, mutual care, shared experiences, and genealogy. These relationships define one's identity and provide a measure of emotional and physical support to differing levels throughout one's life.

Within the 'happiness' literature, having positive family relationships and social networks is identified as one of the strongest predictors of happiness, especially in old age. It is difficult to locate any literature on SWB that does not refer to positive relationship with others as significantly contributing to wellbeing. Both Western and indigenous research identify and discuss the importance of family and social support to wellbeing (Conceicao & Bandura, 2002; Valliant, 2002; Jopp & Rott, 2006) However, in this thesis I have differentiated

between kin based family relationships and social support networks such as friends and community despite the overlap. Mana Tūpuna is specifically in reference to kin-based relationships and ancestral links so it is only appropriate that the discussion is centred on kin relationships.

The literature on family and wellbeing for Māori is also consistent with other research that posits the kin-based relationships as integral to the personal, family and societal functioning and wellbeing (Chan et al., 2011; Heil, 2009; Izquierdo, 2009; Uusitalo-Malmivaara & Lehto, 2013; Waugh & Mackenzie, 2011). The family networks are represented as a rich, complex and multifaceted system that is largely contingent on the process of reciprocity. 'Whānau' refers to more than the nuclear family and is the nexus of Māori society and critical to Māori wellbeing both traditionally and in contemporary times (Durie, 1994; Irwin & Davies, 2011; Moeke- Pickering, 1996; Walker, 1990). Whānau is a critical concept for Māori and refers to both the extended family and birth, encapsulating a system of reciprocal support and creation (Pihama, Smith, Taki, & Lee, 2004).

Older Māori with secure Māori identities spoke of 'whānau' in terms of interconnectedness and genealogical inheritance. The individual cannot be separated from the whānau and the whānau is connected to a hapū and iwi (Pihama et al, 2004). Therefore every action of the individual has a direct influence on the whānau and in turn the hapū and iwi. When they spoke of happiness they often referred to collective happiness before their own individual happiness. This does not reflect a lack of concern for their individual wellbeing, rather it emphasises the positive contribution of collective wellbeing to personal happiness. Consequently many of these older Māori dedicated their lives to 'serving their people', rather than concentrating solely on self-based pursuits or primarily on their own nuclear families.

The process of 'whanaungatanga' was evident in the narratives and crystallises the view that 'whanaungatanga' is a critical tool to empower whānau and community relationships, solidify cultural identities, and provide a sense of belonging.

The findings from this research support the current New Zealand government approach to improving Māori wellbeing through 'Whānau Ora'(Durie, Cooper, Grennell, Snively, & Tuaine, 2010). The concept of 'Whānau Ora' embraces the philosophy of whānau being the best mechanism to determine and have control over Māori wellbeing. It is a strategic approach to addressing health and social inequalities for Māori that requires interagency coordination of resources and support but that ultimately is about Māori whānau facilitating their own success and wellbeing. Whānau Ora empowers whānau as a whole rather than

focusing on individual family members and their problems (Durie, Cooper, Grennell, Snively, & Tuaine, 2010). The philosophy of this approach draws significantly from the Mana Tūpuna domain, identified by the participants as a crucial component of their happiness and wellbeing. Whānau Ora acknowledges that whānau will "be strengthened by a heritage based around whakapapa, distinctive histories, marae and customary resources as well as access to societal institutions and opportunities home and abroad" (Durie, et al, 2010, p.7)

The intergenerational relationships that existed within the 'whānau' were considerable sources of happiness and wellbeing for both participant groups. In particular, the reciprocal relationships of support between parents and children, grandparents and mokopuna. Strong intergenerational relationships are critical for realising whānau aspirations and this was portrayed vividly within the participant narratives. Both the participants with secure Māori identities and those with dual cultural identities were cognisant of the benefit of having positive relationships between parents and children and grandparents and with grandchildren. Those older Māori that were raised by their grandparents expressed a great deal of love, admiration, gratitude and fulfilment from that relationship There were different reasons for grandparents raising their grandchildren, ranging from death of a parent to the traditional practice of the first born being raised by grandparents. These reasons indicate that this relationship and practice fulfilled and important social need whether that was to support a bereaved widow/widower, to support young parents who were required to work or to support an elderly couple that were lonely. The relationships between tīpuna and mokopuna portrayed in the narratives were often not characterized by the transfer of a certain level of knowledge and expertise but by the simple lessons learnt throughout a lifetime of 'ordinary' experiences.

Positive intergenerational relationships were critical to whānau and tribal wellbeing in traditional Māori society (Morehu, 2005; Durie, 1999). The experiences of colonisation, war, economic instability and modernisation have evolved whānau compositions and these relationships have been transformed for many. These traditional whānau structures have been eroded due to social processes such as urbanization and where traditionally multigenerational living was the norm, today Māori children are more likely than other ethnic groups to be raised in one-parent families (Cribb, 2009)

Anecdotal reports claim that modern Māori live within extended whānau structures, however there is little official data to support this premise (Irwin & Davies, 2011). Many living arrangements of this nature are informal and so not captured by government recording mechanisms (Families Commission, 2012). It is estimated in fact that in New Zealand over

10 000 children are being raised within kin or whānau care (Worrall as cited in New Zealand Families Commission, 2012).

Recent research has also shown that there are a significant number of grandparents caring for or contributing to the care of grandchildren (Dyall, Kerse, Hayman & Keeling, 2011; New Zealand Families Commission, 2012), in line with trends worldwide (Worrall, 2009). Furthermore, other data suggests that grandparents have an important role to play in family wellbeing, including their own psychosocial health (Grundy et al., 2012). Additionally, there are positive emotional and psychological benefits to these intergenerational relationships. However, these relationships are not without their burdens and challenges and demands on older people. Many grandparents take on the caring role as parents are unable to do so and face a number of financial and emotional challenges balancing employment with care of the grandchildren. They may be forced to make lifestyle changes, which affect their living conditions and social support networks. Worrall (2009) found that grandparents caring for grandchildren have to cope with deteriorating health themselves and of their spouses. In addition, increasing financial costs, challenges with parents often within the justice system and other personal challenges made life difficult when caring for grandchildren. Despite these challenges the value that grandparents attain from their roles in caring for their grandchildren and observing them flourish and grow under their guidance and love cannot be denied. The New Zealand Families Commission research (2012) presents an unequivocal stance that grandparents are critical to positive whānau development and that grandparents require appropriate supports to do so effectively and in a way that does not jeopardise their own wellbeing.

One feature that was unique to the interviews conducted with older Māori with secure Māori identities was their positive attitude towards all old people within their communities, particularly during their childhoods. They recognised the value of being around the old people as children and exposed to their knowledge, values, tikanga and worldviews. This exposure contributed to their development in a positive way sustaining their happiness and wellbeing throughout life.

The importance of old people to the wellbeing of whānau and communities is a salient feature of traditional Māori society and indigenous worldviews. The elderly within many indigenous communities are valued for their knowledge, wisdom and expertise and regarded as essential to the positive development of future generations and the maintenance of tradition and cultural practices (Warburton & Chambers, 2007; Izqueirdo, 2009; Welsh & Turner, 2003).

From this perspective the wellbeing of the old people is increased as they feel a sense of worth and involvement in their community and the younger generations are able to learn and develop from the guidance and support of their elders.

According to Durie et al (2010, pp.14-15) the 'old people' are vital to whānau and community wellbeing as they are:

> Carriers of culture, anchors of families, models for lifestyles, bridges to the future, guardians of heritage and role models for younger generations, their contributions stand to enrich the quality of life for the whānau as a whole. Measuring the economic costs associated with an ageing population is complex but measuring the value of the contributions older people make to the whānau and to wider society is a great deal more complicated. The point, however, is not that contributions are incalculable, but rather they are immense, even if the present state of accounting knowledge defies their precise quantification.

The modern Western world can appear ageist, placing value on such things as economic independence, the nuclear family, independence, urban living and geographical mobility. These things provide potential threats and challenges for grandparents and/or extended kin caring for mokopuna. It seems the importance of the relationship between grandparents and grandchildren might have less currency in the Western world and therefore less value is applied to the needs of grandparents within policy development and governance. The commonly held view of Western society is that old people have little to offer and are incompetent. (Cuddy & Fiske, 2002; Gawande, 2014). This view does little to encourage younger generations to establish respectful relationships with older people. Within mainstream schooling systems there appears to be very little evidence of philosophies and practices that encourage intergenerational relationships and learning. In comparison, intergenerational relationships remains integral to Te Ao Māori and are implicit in Kaupapa Māori education. From kōhanga reo to wharekura the integration of older generations within the schooling environment is paramount. This is drawn from traditional Māori values and beliefs, where elders contributed significantly to the teaching and nurturing of children. Te Kōhanga Reo is based upon a philosophy and framework inspired by Māori elders that focuses on the wellbeing of the child and the whānau collectively. The philosophy articulates the importance of kaumātua participation as conducive also to strengthening whakapapa ties and fostering whanaungatanga. It is a common experience for children within these structures to interact with elders on the marae and at school which facilitates respect for elders. During

my mainstream secondary school experience I cannot recall one moment when we had the opportunity to interact with the elderly aside from my involvement within the Kaupapa Māori whānau group. Within the mainstream school environment the presence of elderly people was non-existent. It is very possible that this has been a feature of mainstream education since its inception but it becomes more of a necessity when communities and families are less connected to their old people. It is not a practice that should be exceptional to Māori society and has the potential to be of benefit to all, as the care of both old people and our young people should be viewed as the responsibility of the entire community.

The parent/child relationship was also consistently regarded as having an important contribution towards the happiness of the participants in this study. They often referred to a strong connection to one parent in particular. There was little evidence of children being brought up in a single-parent household despite situations where one parent was absent through death or separation. In those situations, wider family networks were utilised to assist in the parenting with mostly positive outcomes for the wellbeing of the children concerned. Only one participant spoke of a dysfunctional upbringing and this experience had a negative impact on their psychological wellbeing. During childhood the participant was initially brought up by her mother and then removed to live with other family members where she suffered abuse. Finally she ended up living with her father but their relationship had difficulties due to his absence with work and cultural obligations. In old age this participant seemed to make some association between her Māori culture and the negative experiences in her childhood and as a result no longer maintained a strong connection with aspects of her Māori identity such as involvement with her marae, hapū and iwi. This experience of growing up within the care of the extended whānau does not appear to reflect traditional cultural practices as it is rarely mentioned in the literature that children severed contact with their biological parents when they were brought up by other family members.

For a significant number of the participants, having and raising their own children marked some of their happiest experiences during their adulthood, especially for the female participants. Consistently across the literature, children hold an important place in indigenous societies and provide a considerable source of happiness (Heil, 2009; Izquierdo, 2009; Kral & Idlout, 2012).

For some of the women, children were the primary focus in their lives and have provided them with the most meaningful experiences. The relationship between having children and happiness appears to be an important facet of both traditional and contemporary Māori

society. Paradoxically, the loss of children was also the source of the deepest sadness and despair for older Māori. Two of the older female participants also spoke of difficult experiences during motherhood specifically around their experience of birth and postnatal care. Their dialogue highlights the inadequacies of the maternal health care system at the time where there was a lack of education around concepts such as birth control.

The data does provide evidence that positive relationships between children and their parents (biological or not) provided these participants with psychological security and happiness throughout their lives. These relationships were characterised by unconditional love, direction and guidance and quality time spent between parents and their children.

Whilst the ties and bonds of extended family networks are generally examined for the strengths they bring to Māori society and the contribution to wellbeing, it is not without its challenges also. Caring for and supporting family members suffering from illness caused significant sadness and times of despair for participants. It is possible that such strong family ties and responsibilities may also present burdens and difficulties for people, particularly the elderly who by virtue of age and inferred wisdom may be called on to provide a number of measures of support, advice, guidance and leadership (Durie, 1999; Kukutai, 2006).

Mana Tūpuna was one domain where those older Māori with dual cultural identities were able to strengthen their Māori cultural identity. The ability to make and sustain whānau connections reflected one participant's primary connection to her Māori identity. Another of the participants, who had little access to her Māori culture, remarked on her positive feelings experienced when she was acknowledged later in her life by her whānau at the marae and the reinforcement of her connection through her ancestors to her Māori cultural identity. This account illustrates the profound impact whanaungatanga can have in reconnecting Māori with their cultural identity.

While these participants spoke of feeling content and secure within their NZ Pākehā culture, there were also instances where they spoke of insecurities that they experienced in relation to their Māori identities. So whilst they might experience a level of happiness and psychological wellbeing associated with being connected to their Pākehā identity, it is possible that this happiness may be increased if they also had a positive and secure connection with their Māori culture. Furthermore, age is no deterrent to instigating such processes; happiness and fulfilment can still be achieved from strengthening and reconnecting the very old with their Māori cultural identity.

Tuatoru: Mana Tangata

Mana Tangata refers to those skills, qualities and attributes that enhance a person's mana and contributes to both the individual and the wider group (whānau, hapū and iwi) realising their full potential.

Te Ao Marama – Knowledge, Wisdom and Creation.

Almost without exception, education was perceived and experienced as impacting on happiness during childhood and facilitating happiness throughout one's life. Lack of education was perceived to be a significant barrier to happiness and wellbeing. Education was appreciated for its role in providing Māori with a measure of control over their lives, the ability to reach potential and enable older Māori to navigate successfully through the Māori, and the global world.

In Western literature there are conflicting positions on the influence of education on happiness and wellbeing. The difficulties in comparing the literature are partly due to the different definitions of happiness and different measures used. Some studies show that education has a positive impact on happiness primarily through indirect measures such as increased income and occupational status (Chen, 2012; Cuñado, Gracia, & Gracia, 2012). Kahnemon, Diener & Schwarz's (1999) analysis suggests that education can play a pivotal role in fostering many of the correlates of happiness such as employment, involvement in leisure activities and building sustainable positive relationships. Chen's (2012) research on happiness in four East Asian countries found that individuals with more education had more extensive social networks and greater involvement with the wider world, conditions which are positively related to happiness. The evidence in this research on older Māori supports the positive correlation of education and learning on happiness. However, this was not just a reflection of indirect influences such as income, employment/occupational status and global mobility. Direct influences such as self-confidence and a strong cultural identity were part of the correlation. Western research also provides evidence of the negative and weak associations between education and happiness and wellbeing, due to unfulfilled aspirations and expectations (Clark & Oswald, 1996; E Diener, 2009). There is little which examines the negative impact of Western imperial education on Māori and happiness. The detrimental effects of colonial education systems on Māori wellbeing however, is evident (Durie, 1998; Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2011).

For the participants in this study, in childhood, education was associated primarily with their schooling experience. There were mixed outcomes on wellbeing. For those who attended

native schools they had to negotiate their innate desire to learn and grow, curiosity at being immersed in a new setting, with a system that denounced their Māori identity, marginalising their values and punishing them for speaking their own language. Paradoxically, that system was both a success and a failure for Māori. Psychologically it fostered insecurity and shame but it also enhanced resilience and determination. Perhaps most importantly the native schools never diminished Māori people's belief in the power of learning and education as catalysts for positive growth and development. Many of the older Māori with secure Māori identities believed that education was critical for Māori to engage successfully in Te Ao Māori me Te Ao Whānui. For many, the chance to achieve that goal was not fully achieved and their children were perhaps the most disadvantaged, for many of them grew up primarily within the mainstream Western education system with little access to Te Ao Māori but also a compromised experience as Māori within the mainstream system.

> *The only regret I have is that my children really didn't learn the reo Māori although I spoke Māori to them and I guess it's when we went to school we weren't allowed to speak Māori in school but I wanted to talk Māori to my children so they could have it but it was difficult because it was a time when they went to school that the reo wasn't spoken at school not like now it is introduced into the education system. (Pouako 14).*

Older Māori with secure Māori identities were all very well educated in Te Ao Māori, and they devoted their energies to creating opportunities for their mokopuna to negotiate education pathways more effectively than they did or their children did. Establishment of Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa are examples of how this happened.

> *We started the first kōhanga... I think we've got about 18 kōhanga ināianei (now). And I think that was a great achievement for Māoridom because I honestly think that non-Māori thought that it was something that wouldn't survive but because of the determination and the ngākau Māori of the elders that it must succeed that it did and we did it, I don't know must have been about four or five years just giving our contribution to our reo, from that our reo grew you know and those are the commitments I've made to our reo Māori. (Pouako 14)*

For many of these old people their greatest happiness in old age was governed by the joy gained from watching their mokopuna engage successfully in both worlds through education.

> *I think my mokopuna were better than their parents. I think as soon as they come in and I'm talking Māori to them and they're able to talk Māori to me. I think my*

mokopunas and my mokopuna tuarua (great grandchildren) have made up for my
children that missed out. Kei te pai tera [That's good]...I want them to grow up and
become leaders... I'm listening to them and kei te pai my mokopuna [well done, my
grandchildren]. And I can tell by the way they talk, tūturu Māori their reo. And I'm
happy about that. Always when they come here kōrero Māori and it's the same with
young Reremoana, his first language is Māori and so I'm quite proud of my
mokopunas. (Pouako 14)

Teaching and educating the future generations te reo Māori me ōna tikanga was identified as
the primary method for Māori to learn their culture and strengthen their cultural identity. In
old age these participants had a greater understanding and value of how important the
language and the customs are to the continuation, growth and development of Māori society
and the wellbeing and happiness of its people.

Education continued to feature as significant for many of the participants even into their old
age in terms of their own growth and development. Three of the participants' spoke of the
opportunities they have had returning to school during their adult lives and the confidence and
fulfilment that has brought them.

Two older Māori however also expressed their concern that the wisdom they possessed could
be of significant benefit to younger generations however they were cautious that young
people needed to demonstrate values of respect and patience if they were to receive this
wisdom. The way wisdom was reflected was characterised in different ways depending on
culture. For those that with dual cultural identities, wisdom tended to manifest as seeing
things clearly; seeing things as they are and acting in prudent and effective ways. For those
with secure Māori identities wisdom strongly emphasised coping with life's challenges with
peace of mind and a compassionate holistic response; acting with the wellbeing of the whole
being in mind and a deep understanding of the cosmic/human situation.

There were many stories, anecdotes and experiences that reflected not just the significant
amount of knowledge that old people have but the wisdom that age and experience can bring.
The narratives illustrated how wisdom is less likely to be taught and passed down by adults
within a formal education setting but by old people in everyday living and conversation
between the generations.

Old people provide excellent sources of wisdom, which need to be disseminated to the
younger generations. In fact as one of the older Māori in this study articulated there is a vital

need for the very old who are considered within Māori society to be 'kaumātua' and the bastions of wisdom and culture to teach the younger people so that this type of knowledge and wisdom is retained and upheld properly.

This research advocates for the need to provide values based education alongside knowledge acquisition. Older people within the community have an important role in the transmission of this knowledge.

He Ara Tika – Having a Purpose

He Ara Tika translates to mean the right pathway. In this framework, the principle, He Ara Tika encompasses those factors that contribute to having a meaningful purpose or pathway in life

Through careful examination of the participant narratives it is evident that happiness was often experienced when the person felt they had a clear purpose and reason to get up each morning. During adulthood (Pakeketanga), this purpose was primarily around raising a family (spoken about in whanaungatanga section) and having a career. Despite their work challenges and changing workplace expectations/requirements, the participants demonstrated a strong work ethic and it continued to give them meaning in life, fulfilment, pride and a purpose for many years.

Happiness and living a meaningful life through being engaged in meaningful activities can be compared with what is described in Western happiness research as 'flow'. According to Csikszentmihalyi (1997) flow occurs when people are fully immersed in an activity such as playing a musical instrument, reading a good book, being 'in the zone' during a sports game, achieving a goal at work or simply being engaged in a good conversation with a friend. These moments involve intense concentration, time distortion, increased confidence and a loss of self-awareness. Furthermore flow tends to occur when a person faces a clear set of goals that require appropriate responses and where the goals are compatible to their own skill level that is when people perceive that the challenges of the situation and their skills are in balance and above their average subjective experience. While this study does not seek to prove how and when the participants experience flow, it does indicate that being involved in meaningful activities that encompasses achieving goals, utilizing one's strengths, skills and creativity where they can demonstrate capability and achievement and being immersed in such activities has contributed to their happiness. Furthermore, there is evidence that people are engaged in these activities because of intrinsic motivation, the desire to do something for its own sake. In traditional society Māori had the propensity to experience flow frequently given the number

and types of activities they were engaged in that have been shown to induce flow, such as carving, ta moko, weaving, singing, kapa haka, games and physical activity (see Chapter Three).

One common activity that many older Māori participated in was sport and physical exercise. This activity was identified as contributing to their happiness in particular throughout childhood and adulthood. Many of the participants associated sporting participation positively with personal development, social interaction and fun. Even if the participants weren't involved in a formal sport, they referred to the large amount of time spent in their youth being physically active in the outdoors. Only two participants spoke of the importance of physical activity and sport to their happiness and wellbeing in old age, however most of them were still physically active, involved in activities such as gardening and walking.

One of the key requisites for experiencing flow in physical activity is confidence and mental attitude (Jackson & Kimiecik, 2008). In addition, participation in sport is affected either positively or negatively by level of confidence. So confidence is both a requisite and outcome of positive participation in sport. Furthermore, other emotional and environmental factors such as whānau involvement, financial resources and access support Māori participation in sport and physical activity (Moon, 2012). From this we can see that psychological wellbeing and whānau wellbeing are both related to Māori participation in sport and physical activity. The evidence from this study asserts that older Māori find enjoyment and happiness at both the hedonistic and eudaimonic levels from sport and physical activity, that is they find pleasure and joy from being active and competitive and they find meaning from sport as a vehicle to connect to others especially their whānau. Therefore, any approach to promote Māori participation in sport and physical activity should consider cultural components. For example how to effectively engage Māori as a whānau in sport, how to keep older Māori physically active, how to appropriately develop confidence and self-esteem in Māori children within the sporting arena and how to strengthen cultural identity alongside Māori participation in physical activity.

All of the participants were involved in some sort of meaningful activity in their old age, however some were busier than others. These activities included caring for grandchildren, going to the marae, attending community group activities, going to church, cooking, shopping, walking, visiting and receiving visitors. While some of the participants acknowledged that they were no longer as active in their 80's and life was lived at a much

slower pace; only one older participant did not mention his involvement in any activities. He was also the only participant that acknowledged feelings of downheartedness in his old age.

For those older Māori that had secure Māori identities activities that were typified by whanaungatanga, in particular spending time with whānau and mokopuna and often activities at the marae contributed to meaning and purpose in life. The other key purpose was their drive to contribute to the positive development of Māori society as a whole, especially the focus of strengthening the cultural identity of the younger generations, through kohanga reo, revitalisation of marae etc.   Those older Māori with dual cultural identities tended to favour both individual and socially centred activities such as gardening and exercise groups. Some of the older people in this group found purpose and meaning in work that improved their material wellbeing i.e. owning their own house and/or having a good income.

Te Taha Tinana – Physical Health

Physical health was of significant value to participants.

> *Ohh. I guess just being here darling and being able to get around. I'm so happy with that. I can still walk.... I suppose my biggest value is my health (Pouako 8)*

> *So being fit and being in a walking group is really important. Being able to drive. Keeping active eating the right food drinking the right red wine. [Laugh]. As I say keeping active is one of the main ones for me getting out I just couldn't sit in the house all day got to get out and do something. (Pouako 15)*

However only a few of the participants spoke of physical health as the primary determinant of happiness and wellbeing in old age. And whilst many of them were challenged by illness and disability throughout their lives and in old age it did not preclude them from having an overall positive sense of wellbeing and happiness. This data supports previous research that shows while older Māori have poorer physical health and more disability than other New Zealanders (Hirini et al., 1999; Waldon, 2004), especially in chronic heart disease and diabetes (Teh et al., 2014), older Māori have high self-reported health (Teh et al., 2014) and they still experience relatively high levels of mental wellbeing (Oakly-Browne, 2006). This contrasts with other research, primarily Western that identifies physical health as a major predictor and determinant of happiness in old age (Cid et al., 2008; Molzahn et al., 2010). This research suggests that there are other values that are important to happiness and wellbeing for Māori, which might mitigate some of the effects of poor physical health on happiness and wellbeing.

The participants also perceived their level of physical wellbeing as being related to their lifestyles growing up. Their active childhood in the outdoors and a healthy diet which involved eating predominantly natural organic food from the land, was identified, as having a positive impact on their physical wellbeing which has been sustained into old age. Many of these healthy habits they continue to practice today. Where possible they still ate produce from their gardens and continued to be active by walking and keeping involved in activities. Even one participant with significant physical challenges indicated that it was still important for her wellbeing to get out and about.

> *Or else I'll say oh shall we go somewhere……and we go somewhere or you might just do the garden and I'll watch you. (Pouako 1)*

Changing activity patterns may happen in older age.

> *Yes. It was the croquet really that made me get over all my aches. It was all just the exercise that kept me going...Two or three times a week… So you've got to be fit. But I can't do that now because of my heart problems I find I get tired too quickly. But I can still go and umpire - I've got an umpire's badge and that keeps me involved as well. (Pouako 12)*

Physical health was a barrier to wellbeing and happiness when it prevented older Māori from engaging in the activities that brought them happiness such as going to the marae and socializing. The Oranga Kaumātua study identified that for older Māori, poor health was associated with decreased involvement in cultural activities (Waldon, 2004). The study found that while kaumātua were able to carry out their duties – duties that required physical as well as mental stamina – they reported relatively good health. However when kaumātua were no longer able to carry out their duties, they reported declining health with increasing age, and associated with their declining health was poorer emotional wellbeing.

Hononga - Social Connections
Of all the factors considered as requisites for happiness, social connections and relationships appear to be one of the most pervasive in Western research. (Helliwell et al., 2012). Being embedded in a strong supportive social network has been identified as a significant buffer against mental illness (Jopp & Rott, 2006) and of particular relevance to the aging population who through retirement and disability have additional barriers to engaging socially with others. Denmark has been identified as one of the happiest nations on earth and this is partly attributed to their strong systems for maintaining social connections such as co-housing where

multi-generational living is encouraged and communal and eco-friendly strategies are used to produce healthy, happy people and environments (Helliwell, Layard & Sachs, 2012; Lietart, 2010). Certainly for indigenous cultures, positive social reciprocal relationships with others are a recurrent theme in the happiness and wellbeing literature (Adelson, 2009; Thin, 2009; Lu & Gilmour; Derne, 2009; Izquierdo, 2009; Heil, 2009; Maher, 2002). So while social connections and personal relationships are a common feature of happiness within many nations and cultures; the nature of these connections and relationships may differ.

Western research has tended to focus on marriage as one of the most important institutions that can be correlated to higher SWB (Conceicao & Bandura, 2002; Valliant, 2002).

> Marriage is one of the unambiguous, universally positive and statistically significant correlates of life satisfaction. Basic estimates of happiness always reveal that being married rather than single, divorced or widowed, is strongly associated with higher self-declared happiness, in all countries that have been under study, e.g. the United States and the countries of the European Union, Switzerland, Latin America, Russia, Eastern Europe and Asia. In most countries married people are also happier with their life than those who cohabit with a partner. (Helliwell, Layard & Sachs, p.76)

Marriage has also been attributed to happiness and positive ageing (Valliant, 2002) and was identified by many of the participants of this study as an important contributor to their happiness. While this supports Western literature on determinants of happiness, traditional Māori society also emphasized the importance of such personal intimate relationships to happiness. Many of the participants identified their relationship with their partner/spouse as one of the most important contributors to their happiness in their adult life.

> *But like our marriage, she was a lovely person. Not only was she a lovely mother, she was not only my wife she was my friend. We don't sit in here [lounge]; we sit in the kitchen most of the time, yapping to each other. (Pouako 10)*

Participants were realistic about the challenges and hard work that was required to sustain a relationship. But despite these challenges, in their old age having a strong relationship with a significant other was one of the most tenable and protective factors to their happiness and wellbeing. For older Māori whose spouse/partner had passed away, their sadness and longing for that relationship was evident.

As an institution marriage has most definitely evolved over time and there exists considerable differences and approaches to the state of marriage today for younger generations. Dissolution of marriage is no longer viewed as socially unacceptable. While separation and divorce have provided solutions for people unhappy in their marriages, it has also meant that people may be less likely to work hard at overcoming the challenges in their relationships as it is more acceptable to have multiple intimate relationships over one's lifetime. The increase of single parent households has been even more dramatic, combined with less connected communities the negative effect of this on happiness and wellbeing of both adults and children could be argued. Further research is required to examine whether marriage will predict happiness later in life amongst the current generations who have grown up in an environment that does not value marriage in the same way as older generations. For example cohousing communities may provide one possible solution or strategy for providing those social connections and support to single people, parents and children of single parents.

For many of the older Māori with secure cultural identities, social relationships exist within the family domain. Many engagements with others take place within the home, or marae and are largely with wider family networks. While non- family friendships are evident, their communities of engagement are predominantly within the whānau and hapū context. Robinson and Williams (2001) explain this conceptual model of social connectedness as social capital, which cannot be differentiated from cultural capital:

> The Māori concept of family (whānau) moves seamlessly from the immediate family to the wider family network (hapū) and the tribe (iwi), where the (extended) family becomes the community and the community is made up of the (extended) family. Social capital is created through networks and relationships that are within all of these expressions of "family" (or community). Thus, in the Māori context, the distinction between cultural and social capital disappears. (p. 55)

One exception to this was a kuia who no longer maintained a strong connection to her cultural institutions such as marae and hapū and drew her social support from the church. Like the kuia mentioned above, many Māori today no longer have access to those customary Māori social systems in the same way, and they are therefore reliant on other concepts of social capital for their social interaction and support. Those older Māori with dual cultural identities who did not have access to marae and Māori community networks, identified participation in non-family community organisations and personal friendships as their primary forms of social engagement and interaction. An interesting feature of these social interactions was that two of

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these participants favoured social networks where they were able to engage not only with their peers but also with younger people. So it is possible that intergenerational engagement is viewed as a positive characteristic of social connectedness.

While intergenerational relationships were considered a norm within Māori society, further research is needed to assess the efficacy of intergenerational support systems as a positive mental health strategy for all New Zealanders. New Zealand's Positive Ageing Strategy (2001) has established key goals and actions to promote positive ageing at the local and central government level. Support through the promotion of intergenerational programmes in schools and communities is identified as key to achieve the goal that people of all ages have positive attitudes to ageing and older people. However, in recent reports (Ministry of Social Development, 2010) it is difficult to locate many initiatives that incorporate this goal and action. The Ministry of Social Development made reference to 40 families they supported where older people that were receiving superannuation were caring for children. However, this support may exclude many older Māori who support children through the whāngai process and do not have formal parental rights in the legal sense. While schools were identified as a key target area to build positive intergenerational attitudes and relationships, the Ministry of Education did not make that a priority in the 2008-2010 period. At the regional level of the 33 local agencies that reported back on how they had incorporated the positive ageing goals in their own work, only two referred to any intergenerational programs.

The domain of Mana Tangata includes many important values and principles that contribute to happiness in older Māori. Older Māori with secure cultural identities understood and expressed these values in a sociocentric way where for example education and learning often took place within intergenerational relationships and education was viewed as a way to contribute to whanau wellbeing and strengthen the cultural identity of younger generations. Older Māori with a dual cultural identity valued this domain very highly; physical health, education/career and marriage/social networks were the most dominant factors that contributed to their happiness overall, aside from family.

Tuawha: Mana Whenua – Harmonious Integration with the Environment
This final domain of happiness has particular significance not only because it is intrinsic to indigenous conceptualisations of wellbeing but it is also largely absent from Western psychological explanations of happiness. Reference to environmental sustainability to positive development and quality of life is acknowledged but is very different to Mana Whenua (OECD, 2011; Statistics NZ, 2009). Individual and collective happiness and wellbeing is

inextricably intertwined with the wellbeing of our natural world for indigenous people. The current climate of environmental disasters, increased carbon emission rates, population growth means that "the quest for happiness will be carried out in the context of growing environmental risks." (Helliwell, Layard & Sachs, 2012, p.7)

For the participants of this study, their relationship to the environment permeated much of their discussions about happiness. Many of the older Māori spent most of their time enjoying the physical landscape and natural environment from swimming, farming, eeling, and hunting during childhood. They were brought up living off natural produce from the land and they perceived this experience as having positive repercussions for their physical health. For those that learnt to grow their own produce and still maintain small gardens even in their old age, feelings of independence, autonomy, pride and self-sustenance are evident. Aside from the physical health benefits they believed in the value of spending time in the fresh air and engaging positively with the environment.

Maungārongo, Tūrangawaewae & Oranga – Harmony, Belonging & Sustenance
For the older Māori with secure Māori identities there are spiritual and cultural dimensions to their wellbeing associated with the environment. The participants that have retained secure Māori identities still prescribe to some traditional relationships and understandings of the whenua in relationship to people. Like other indigenous peoples that view is of the land as a place that gives and receives life (Kingsley, Townsend, Phillips & Aldous, 2009), Māori spiritual wellbeing, identity and sense of belonging is inextricably tied to the land through the constant cyclical process of birth, life and death. Despite the effects of colonisation including the loss of land and many cultural sites of significance, older Māori were still able to define themselves in terms of a connection to whenua. While older Māori did not refer specifically to the role of the natural environment to their happiness in old age it was reflected in other ways. They expressed, through whakapapa and pepeha, their connections to their cultural landscapes including, maunga, awa, moana, ngahere (bush) and other cultural sites of significance in their introductions. Pēpeha and whakapapa are important parts of a secure Māori identity, which in turn is related to positive wellbeing for Māori. For many indigenous peoples a spiritual and harmonious relationship with the environment is identified as a requisite of a positive cultural identity, and positive cultural identity in turn as viewed as an indicator of wellbeing (Morphy, 2008; Derne, 2009, Durie, 2006). The participants spoke of their intimate knowledge and strong connections to the places where they collected kai and places where their spiritual wellbeing was nourished and replenished in childhood. Their narratives reflected not only a sense of belonging to the environment but a complete sense of

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maungārongo (harmony) with nature, the cornerstone of indigenous thought about health and wellbeing and the place of humans within the environment.

The process of collecting and cultivating their own kai was identified as equally as important as the pleasure gained from eating and integral to their physical, emotional, spiritual and social wellbeing.   While the participants acknowledged the hard work associated with cultivating and preparing their own food, this process was appreciated for the tikanga and values inherent in the work. The culture is taught, preserved and passed down the generations at these times and participants present moments when whanau are interacting with each other for mutual benefit.

This entire process of cultivating the land, planting, harvesting, sharing in the fruits, preparing the kai together and eating as a whānau is an example of a process that results in both hedonic and eudaimonic happiness for Māori. The hedonistic pleasure of eating tasty, fresh kai and the eudaimonic cultural meaning attributed to the process

> *But I think the happiest times is learning about how to respect our mahinga kai and I can still remember it's so different today to the times I was growing up and I remember during the summer months the water was really our food basket and we gathered kai from the moana during those summer months to help us with our living and during the winter months it was going to the bush and the pig hunting and shooting the kereru which was still legal in those days I'm not quite sure but that's how we lived. (Pouako 14)*

While many of the older Māori with dual cultural identities felt connected and a sense of belonging to their environment, it differed from older Māori with secure Māori identities who literally felt that people and the environment were spiritually, psychologically and physically intertwined.

> *I think being involved with nature, the environment as far as we're concerned the environment was part of us. We lived it, we worked it and we shared it and as a consequence of that we learnt to understand the environment what it's all about, we became part of nature.(Pouako 4)*

From an eco-psychological perspective, happiness in childhood was contingent on living in harmony and balance with the environment. Such an intrinsic relationship with the environment ultimately means that when those environments are threatened the happiness of

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the people is also threatened. The abuse, pollution and domination of the land by colonisation and modernisation have had significant spiritual, psychological and physical ill effects on Māori (see Chapter Four).

Even those older Māori with dual cultural identities placed some value on the importance of environment to their wellbeing, attributing the food grown in the natural environment to their longevity and wellbeing in old age.

> *I put it [wellbeing in old age] down to the food that we always had mostly home-grown vegetables and meats for many years all the meat was killed on farms and vegetables they were abundant, sweet corn and beans and peas and everything I had to stay home and help my mother and I didn't get the education I wanted but we used to do all the preserving even do our own passion fruit pulp and 500 jars of plum jam alone made about 1200 jars of fruit and we did all our own as a family our garden. (Pouako 7)*

Māori health models have also established that harmony with the environment is a crucial component of Māori cultural identity, which in turn has positive associations with wellbeing (Durie, 2006). My research asserts that at least for this cohort of older Māori, those who expressed predominantly N.Z. Pākehā cultural values also identified having a connection with the environment as a factor contributing to their happiness. Furthermore this connection was not one of domination, exploitation, mastery or control but reflected as enjoyment and respect for nature and belief in the importance of growing and eating natural organic foods.   As a Pākehā or New Zealand cultural value, the environment was important to their happiness. It must be emphasized here however that the nature of this relationship presented cultural differences.

For Māori with secure cultural identities the value placed on the environment was largely dependent on having access to traditional lands and experiences within the natural environment. These opportunities don't exist for all Māori and access to traditional lands has been excluded for many of the future generations.

Kaitiakitanga – Guardianship
In modern Maori society, although traditional kaitiaki still play important role for many whānau, hapū and iwi, the concept of kaitiakitanga has also evolved to place more responsibility on all people to care for, guard over and protect the spiritual wellbeing of the natural environment (Jefferies & Kennedy, 2009). The older Māori with secure Māori

identities viewed the environment in a way that was synonymous with traditional views of the land. Maintaining the balance between people and the environment provided a lifestyle that nurtured, gave sustenance, encouraged cultural traditions and maintained positive relationships. These older Māori believed that a healthy environment had a direct influence on their own happiness and wellbeing in childhood

While some older Māori with dual cultural identities acknowledged that the environment had a beneficial impact on their wellbeing, they did not speak of a reciprocal relationship that involved caring for that environment.

The relationship between the natural environment and happiness for Māori and the pressing need to create a sustainable environment has implications for social and environmental policies and programmes. There is a need to incorporate the concept of kaitiakitanga into policy so that our natural environment can remain a source of wellbeing and happiness for future generations.

According to Royal (2012, p. 7),

> Kaitiakitanga today is being rediscovered and explored. Māori communities are reconstructing and expressing traditional knowledge in their tribal areas. They are restoring both environmental areas and tribal knowledge of those places.

Further research is also needed to examine how a relationship with the natural environment is related to wellbeing for Māori in advanced age. The extent to which older Māori people are provided with opportunities to maintain and sustain a relationship with the environment was not explored in detail within this study. Further research should be conducted to evaluate how places like rest homes and retirement villages can foster such relationships. In addition research about how older Māori with disability and illness, who may be too old to completely manage their gardens or access traditional food sources, can be supported to continue to receive those benefits. Certainly this older generation still retains a significant amount of knowledge around traditional methods of conservation and kaitiakitanga and so the importance of intergenerational transmission of knowledge as way to sustain Māori wellbeing across generations should not be underestimated.

The recent recommendations of the Waitangi Tribunal in response to the WAI 262 claim (a claim to rights in respect of mātauranga Māori or Māori knowledge, and indigenous flora and

fauna) is that the Department of Conservation and Māori work in partnership to conserve the environment (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011). This is to ensure that Māori cultural values are utilised in order to preserve and sustain our natural environment for the wellbeing of future generations. The outcomes of the WAI 262 claim in relation to 'kaitiakitanga' has powerful implications for environmental sustainability and the happiness of Māori if those findings are successfully upheld by policy and legislation.

The responsibility to care for the wellbeing of the environment is interrelated to mahinga kai, and maintaining balance and harmony with the environment. The value of kaitiakitanga was taken very seriously by Māori traditionally and by many of the participants in this study. Mana Atua also guided this value through the spiritual feelings of kinship that Māori attributed to the natural world and their understanding of the need to ensure a sustainable environment for their future generations.

Concluding remarks

The findings presented in the conceptual framework reflect a conceptualisation of happiness that aligns with other Māori health models where happiness and wellbeing is viewed as holistic, with interrelating dimensions. For example, in this framework, Mana Whenua principles have strong spiritual elements that could also be positioned within the Mana Atua domain. The importance of these interrelating dimensions for happiness, is that any approach to ageing that doesn't consider the multifaceted nature of happiness for older Māori will fall short. According to the results of this study, if we were to rely on current life satisfaction surveys that identify income and physical health as the most significant contributors to Māori wellbeing and tailor our programmes and policies around improving only those indicators, then we risk a future with an unhappy older Māori population. Cultural identity plays a major role in the way older Māori with a secure Māori identity conceptualise happiness, where happiness is contingent on being able to understand, access, integrate, transfer Māori principles and values such as manaakitanga and aroha in their everyday lives. While older Māori with dual cultural identities, related strongly to components that are related to happiness in many Western models such as physical health, they also connected to many of the values and principles within this framework, especially the importance of positive family relationships. It is important to note also that Māori with secure Māori identities in this study related aspects like physical health to their wellbeing but it wasn't the most significant aspect. There is scope for further research to explore how these values and principles could be applied in ways that effect happiness for the diverse realities of older Māori.

Strengths and Limitations of the Study

The Kaupapa Māori methodology is the primary strength of this work. It has enabled me as a Māori researcher to access Māori participants of advanced age, establish reciprocal researcher/participant relationships; utilise the guidance and advice from a kaupapa Māori academic advisory roopu and whānau and interpret data from multiple perspectives, that of traditional and more contemporary Māori understandings of happiness and wellbeing.

Accessing Māori participants has been an inherent challenge of research that is conducted under the mantle of academic institutions. The challenge is due to a history of damage that has resulted from previous research and the misuse of Māori knowledge for the benefit of others rather than for Māori themselves (Smith, 1999). This research had the additional challenge of recruiting a group of Māori in advanced age. Older Māori, especially those in advanced age on one hand are more likely to have disabilities and illness, but on the other hand often have increasing roles and responsibilities required of them, decreasing their likelihood of being able to engage in research. Engagement in this study was facilitated by the Kaupapa Māori approach. Choosing a sample of participants from the LiLACS NZ population meant that potential participants had already indicated that they were happy to be contacted for related studies. As a result of my involvement in the LiLACS NZ study I had already met some of the participants, which enabled both myself and the participants to feel more comfortable with each other and it was easier to develop rapport. My kōrero to participants at the LiLACS NZ dissemination hui around my reasons for conducting the research encouraged many of my participants to volunteer to take part.

The numbers recruited for this study were small and not representative of the entire older Māori population. Efforts were made to access participants living in both rural and urban settings, a range of iwi affiliations, differing levels of connection to Māori cultural identity and a range of levels of wellbeing. While some attempt was made to access participants with a range of levels of connection to their Māori cultural identities, the majority of the participants had a secure connection. Those participants that had a dual cultural identity were generally more difficult to recruit because they felt their experiences and understandings were less relevant to a kaupapa Māori research study. While the recruitment of these participants provided a greater range of views and perspectives on happiness, their reservations may have

influenced the detail and depth of their narratives. Furthermore any negative views or perspectives they may have had towards Māori culture may not have been presented out of concern that they might offend me. A limitation of this research is the lack of information on happiness for older Māori who have a less secure Māori identity and those that are unable to positively identify with either a Māori and/or a New Zealand cultural identity. The conceptual framework gives greater insight and understanding into the foundations of happiness for older Maori, however the application of such a framework would require further development to ensure its relevance to the diverse older Māori population.

The GDS results from the LiLACS NZ study were used to access participants who were more likely to have differing levels of psychological wellbeing. Older Māori were recruited that in the LiLACS NZ study questionnaire had produced both high scores (indication of mild to moderate depression) and low scores (no indication of depression). However, there were few older Māori in this cohort that scored highly on the GDS and furthermore this screening tool was based on Western concepts and not Māori views of wellbeing and so this initial selection criteria was of limited utility. It is possible that participants with a higher level of wellbeing would have been more motivated to participate in this study creating the potential for sample bias.

The Kaupapa Māori practice of 'kanohi ki te kanohi' was a significant strength in creating an authentic and positive research relationship and moderated anxieties that participants may have expressed by phone. These anxieties were often alleviated once they met me 'kanohi ki te kanohi' and gained a sense of my wairua and ngākau (heart). The protocols of kaupapa Māori research also required me to ensure that the participants were provided with opportunities to feedback on their interviews and the conceptual framework was given to them to provide feedback on increasing the rigor of the method and validity of the findings.

The use of te reo Māori me ona tikanga throughout the research, especially the interviews was a considerable strength. For example, all of the participants chose initially to conduct the interviews in English; however, a number of the participants reverted to speaking Māori throughout my visits with them. As a Māori researcher with an understanding of te reo, I was able to respond to this kōrero, view this as a taonga and consequently it did not disrupt the flow of the interview and maintained the integrity of the interview process and the depth of the narratives.

It is possible that my role as a Māori academic researcher researching a Māori kaupapa may have resulted in biases. During the interviews I may have been more likely to focus on and confirm those explanations and kōrero that reinforced the positive aspects of Māori cultural ways of understanding and experiencing happiness. However in order to limit such bias I was constantly reflecting in a critical way my own assumptions, values and beliefs in relation to the research. The advisory roopu also added a degree of rigor and robustness to the research, as my methodology, results and findings were critiqued and debated with academic and cultural mentors on a regular basis. Such processes helped me to remain non- judgmental especially when conducting the interviews with the Māori participants that did not identify strongly with their Māori culture and who at times presented views and perspectives that were negative towards Māori people and culture. These participants did not necessarily understand or follow Māori tikanga observed in many of the other interviews, such as karakia, recital of pēpeha, which created a different atmosphere in the interview process; I found it took longer for these participants to relax and open up in the interviews. My understanding of the effects of colonisation on cultural identity meant that I was placed to understand and accommodate these differences. These participants often required encouragement and support to ensure them that their experiences as Māori were relevant and important.

Positive memory bias

Positive memory bias was a potential limitation in this research, where older people are more likely to favour memories with positive emotion than negative (Mather & Knight, 2005; Mather & Carstensen, 2005). To restrict the impact of this bias I included questioning that specifically focused on experiences that were associated with sadness and depression. While older Māori may have had a greater number of experiences that they recalled with positive emotion, they were often equally as descriptive with experiences recalled associated with negative emotions. However, I was aware that for many of the participants reminiscing about their past in a positive way, was a source of happiness for them in the present and so it was important that this experience was not minimized for their own wellbeing.

Finally it is possible that my age and gender may have affected the information shared by participants. Those older Māori with secure Māori identities tended to engage with me as elders towards their mokopuna, and so the information they disclosed may have been different if they had been talking to someone older or of their own age group.

Implications of this study

This research has contributed to the growing body of knowledge on Māori understandings and experiences of wellbeing, specifically happiness, however it is primarily exploratory. This research has produced one possible conceptualisation of happiness for older Māori over their lifetime that could be examined further with the wider Māori population. Older Māori within this study expressed their desire to see the information that they shared used to help the younger generations. Many of the values and principles that enhanced happiness and wellbeing for older Māori were instilled during their childhood, which suggests the need for ageing well policies to also be aligned with whānau development. Social and health providers may need to examine how these values and principles, how this way of living presented by these older Māori might be incorporated into social, health and educational programmes aimed at improving the wellbeing of children and the valuable contribution older Māori could make to these programmes.

This conceptual framework could be useful in providing an alternative approach to the measurement of psychological wellbeing and mental illness in older Māori. This study supports other findings for the need to use tools and measurements of wellbeing that incorporate the knowledge and beliefs of the culture it is being applied to. For example the Geriatric Depression Scale (GDS) should be assessed for its efficacy and appropriateness for older Māori. Interventions and programmes to enhance happiness and improve psychological wellbeing for older Māori should include approaches from a Kaupapa Māori perspective reflecting Māori understandings of happiness and wellbeing. Happiness and wellbeing in this study was achieved through the interrelationship and balance of all the principles and values within the four domains. Facing challenges in one domain, such as ill health and disability did not preclude older Māori from experiencing happiness. Research into how current wellbeing measurements such as Life Satisfaction and Wellbeing Surveys can reflect Māori conceptualisations of happiness is warranted.

The multiple and diverse realities of Māori today requires multiple and diverse approaches. This research supports the positive relationship of a secure cultural identity to happiness but also emphasizes the complexities and the diverse Māori identities within our society. Opportunities for older Māori to reconnect with their Māori heritage and culture should be promoted within ageing well policies.

At the whānau, hapū and iwi level, the findings call for community driven programmes that foster positive intergenerational relationships to enhance the happiness and wellbeing for all generations within the whānau. In particular there is scope for research into how environmental planning and architecture especially of retirement and rest homes, might facilitate intergenerational living arrangements that effectively incorporate the values of manaakitanga, kaitiakitanga and whānaungatanga. This is just as pertinent for Māori that are less able to access family support systems and papa kainga living arrangements. As healthcare and education have moved towards the provision of Kaupapa Māori services, this should also be a requirement of residential aged care providers. For example, residential age care providers should provide and facilitate older Māori with regular access and involvement with their tamariki and mokopuna, as well as opportunities to find sustenance and wellbeing from important cultural sites of significance within the natural environment. The importance of whanau relationships and intergenerational contact would suggest that segregating older Māori in a care facility that isolates them from regular whānau contact would be detrimental to their happiness and wellbeing. Kaumātua housing, rest homes and retirement villages should promote strategies that provide opportunities for older Māori to regularly engage with whānau and younger people in a valuable way, where they can impart wisdom and knowledge, in a way that fosters their emotional and spiritual wellbeing. This could be further supported by education policies that encourage children to visit with and spend time showing manaakitanga and aroha to older people within their homes and residential care. Strategies to enable older Māori to retain their connection to environment might include regular visits to cultural sites of significance, native plants and trees both inside and surrounding homes and residential care, as well as the provision of traditional gardens and foods.

The findings of this study indicate the need for ageing well policies and programmes to provide opportunities for older Māori to be engaged in meaningful activities and make valuable contributions to collective Māori society. It is important for Māori to have a meaningful purpose in life in older age and activities and opportunities should reflect their cultural beliefs, values and worldviews.

This thesis endorses a national approach to wellbeing and development that values harmony with the environment, spiritual wellbeing, whānau relationships and cultural identity as equally as important as income and health to the happiness and wellbeing of older Māori.

Conclusions

Within this thesis, the conceptualisation of happiness is represented as a cultural construct. Western definitions and measurements of happiness do not adequately reflect older Māori conceptualisations of happiness in this study. Happiness for these older Māori participants was shaped by multiple factors, realities and conditions and must be understood within their unique social, cultural and historical contexts.

Furthermore within this group of older Māori there were cultural differences in the extent to which certain domains, values and principles were related more significantly to their happiness and the expression and understanding of these values and principles. Values and principles that contributed to happiness for older Māori with secure Māori identities reflected a strongly holistic approach to happiness. They were more likely to reflect aspects of traditional Māori beliefs and values. Older Māori with dual cultural identities connected with the majority of values and principles within the conceptual framework but happiness was much more contingent on those values and principles within the Mana Tangata (Realising human potential) domain. This thesis provides insights into how traditional values and beliefs can foster a deep and profound experience of happiness that does not lose meaning, value or affect as one ages. The ability to practice maioha, manaakitanga and aroha is not mitigated by circumstances and age in the way that income and health might be. Creativity and innovation will be required to effectively incorporate these values and practices within care services for older Māori, in a way that enhances the wairua and mauri of these values. Intergenerational transmission of these values and practices and this way of understanding happiness is paramount to ensuring that future generations of Māori may benefit, living fulfilling and meaningful lives into advanced age.

Appendices

Appendix 1

LiLACS New Zealand Cultural Identity Questions from Quantitative Questionnaire

LiLACS Cultural Identity Questions

AB2: Which ethnic groups do you belong to?

AB3: "I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group." How much do you disagree or agree with this question?

AB5: Have you ever been to the marae? If yes how often over the last 12 months

AB6: In general would you say that your contacts are with:

Mainly Māori, Some Māori, Few Māori, No Māori

AB9: How important is your hapū to your wellbeing?

AB10: How important is your iwi to your wellbeing?

AB11: How well do you understand your tikanga?

AC1: In which languages could you have a conversation about a lot of everyday things?

AC4: How important is your language and your culture to your wellbeing?

Appendix 2

Participant Information Sheet

The Secret to Happiness – Narratives of Maori elders in the Bay of Plenty

Information for Participants, their whanau, relatives and friends.

Te Kupenga Hauora Māori
Faculty of Medical and Health Sciences,
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland

An invitation… briefly

My name is Marama McDonald (Ngati Kauwhata and Rangitane). I am a student, conducting research with the University of Auckland as part of my PHD in Te Kupenga Hauora Māori, Department of Māori Health, and in conjunction with the LILACS NZ study, regarding Maori elders and wellbeing.

You are invited to share your mātauranga (knowledge) by taking part in this research. I am hoping that this research will provide information to assist the government and Maori communities to provide effective services and support to our older Maori. I also believe younger generations of Maori will benefit from the knowledge and experiences of Maori elders.

You do not have to take part in this study, it is your choice. To help you make a decision about participating in the study please read this information sheet. You may take as much time as you like and please feel free to discuss taking part with family, whanau and friends.

What are the aims of this study?

This study aims to answer these questions:

- What factors are important for happiness and wellbeing in Maori elders?
- How does culture influence happiness and wellbeing in Maori elders?

I am expecting to interview between 16 and 20 older Maori (80-90yrs) that have already participated in the LILACs study and have agreed to be contacted about further studies in relation to LILAC.

What happens if I do decide to take part?

If you agree to take part in this study you will be asked to have a kōrero (interview) with myself about your experiences and opinions on the factors that have given you happiness and wellbeing over your lifetime and those challenging times that may have caused sadness or despair. If you wish to have the interview in Te Reo Maori, the interview will be conducted with Stu McDonald (Ngati Ranginui, Ngai te Rangi, Nga Rauru) who is an experienced Maori researcher and is fluent in Te Reo Maori. I will be present at all interviews as the main researcher. The interview will take around 1 hour to be held at a place, time and date that suits you. If you would like to meet with me, you can meet with me at a place of your choice, including your home or marae or I can organise a private

room for you. If you choose to participate my aim is to allow you to speak freely without fear of any judgement. You will be fully informed of the interview content before it begins and do not have to answer any questions you do not wish to. You may have support person/s present at the interview. I would prefer to audiotape the interview but this would only be done if you allow it and it could be turned off at any time. You can withdraw your information any time up to two weeks after the interview. You will have an opportunity to read your interviews and edit any part of the information. A hui will be held for all participants and support persons after the report has been written to have a kōrero about what was found and how the findings should be used in the community.

What is the time-span for the study?

The study is expected to start in March 2011 and conclude in October 2013

The risks and benefits of the study

Taking part in this study will take some time. The only risk from this study is that you may get tired during the interview, or discussing past experiences and issues to do with ageing and wellbeing may in some way upset you. As the interviewer I am trained to provide you with appropriate support if you become upset from talking about past experiences.There is no guarantee that you will benefit directly from being involved in this study, however for most people even just talking with someone about your life and ageing is pleasant. By conducting this study, we hope that it will be of benefit to whanau, hapu and iwi.

Compensation

In the unlikely event of a physical injury as a result of your participation in the study, you may be covered by ACC under the Injury Prevention, Rehabilitation and Compensation Act 2001. If you have any questions about ACC, contact your nearest ACC office or the investigator.

Confidentiality

The study files and all other information that you provide will remain strictly confidential. No material that could personally identify you will be used in any reports on this study. Upon completion of the study your records will be stored for 10 years in a secure university premises. All computer records will be password protected. All future use of the information collected will be strictly controlled in accordance with the Privacy Act.

Your rights

If you have any queries or concerns regarding your rights as a participant in this study, you may wish to contact an independent health and disability advocate:
Free phone: 0800 555 050, Free fax: 0800 2 SUPPORT (0800 2787 7678)
Email: advocacy@hdc.org.nz

Ethical approval

This study has received ethical approval from the Northern X Regional Ethics Committee on 15 February 2011

Study Investigators

The principal investigators for this study are:

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Appendix 3

Participant Consent Form

CONSENT FORM
for participants in the study

Project title:
**The Secret to Happiness – Narratives of Maori elders
in the Bay of Plenty.**

Researcher Name:
Marama McDonald

REQUEST FOR INTERPRETER			
Deaf	I wish to have a New Zealand sign language interpreter, if one available	Yes	No
English	I wish to have an interpreter.	Yes	No
Maori	E hiahia ana ahau ki tetahi kaiwhakamaori/kaiwhaka pakeha kōrero.	Ae	Kao
Samoan	Oute mana'o ia iai se fa'amatala upu.	Ioe	Leai
Tongan	Oku ou fiema'u ha fakatonulea.	Io	Ikai
Cook Island	Ka inangaro au i tetai tangata uri reo.	Ae	Kare
Niuean	Fia manako au ke fakaaoga e taha tagata fakahokohoko kupu.	E	Nakai

I have read and I understand the Information Sheet 08 February 2011 for older Maori invited to participate in the interview study. I have had the opportunity to discuss this interview with the researcher. I am satisfied with the answers I have been given.
I understand that my taking part in this study is voluntary (my choice)
I understand that I may withdraw any part of my information from the study up until two weeks after the interview.
I understand that the kōrero will be audio taped and that I will receive a copy of the transcript of the tape for my approval prior to its use in the study.
I understand that my participation in the kōrero is confidential if I am the only one being interviewed. If I am interviewed in a group, confidentiality cannot be assured.
I understand that the interview will be stopped if it should appear harmful to me.
I understand the compensation provisions for this study.
I have had time to consider whether to take part.
I know whom to contact if I have any questions about the study.

I indicate my approval (or otherwise) for the following:

I wish to participate in the study	Yes / No
I wish to receive a copy of the kōrero (transcript) at the end of the study.	Yes / No
I wish to receive a copy of the results. I understand that there may be a significant delay between data collection and the publication of the study results.	Yes / No

I _____ hereby consent to participate in the study.

Signature.. Signature of witness………..…………

Date: .... Name of witness………………..………

Project explained by .... Project role ………………….…………

Signature.. Date ………………………..……………

Note: A copy of the consent form is to be retained by participant.

Appendix 4

Interview Schedule

Interview Schedule

Whakawhanaungatanga

Explanation of research

Looking back when you were a child/tamaiti growing up:

Can you talk about the times and the things that brought you happiness and wellbeing?

Can you talk about the times and things that made you unhappy or downhearted?

Looking back on times as an older adult/pākeke:

Can you talk about the times and the things that brought you happiness and wellbeing?

Can you talk about the times and things that made you unhappy or downhearted?

Looking at your life today as an older person/kaumātua:

What are the things that bring you happiness and wellbeing now?

What causes you unhappiness or makes you feel downhearted now?

Cultural identity questions:

Tell me about being Māori and what that means to you?

Tell me about your values and how they are important to your life and how you live it?

In what ways are your culture and your language important to your wellbeing?

Closing Mihi

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