Whakaro mo te Aria Whanaungatanga: He Ata Rapu.

Measurement of the Whanaungatanga Concept: An Exploratory Study.

by

Paul Ryan Hirini

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ABSTRACT

The present study attempted to develop and test a framework for a structured interview designed to investigate the whanaungatanga concept, with a view that whanaungatanga is a process manifest through collectively beneficial behavioural interaction among whanau members. Twelve adult Maori (six of either sex) were interviewed individually on their own knowledge and experience of their respective whanau. Subjects' ages ranged from 21 to 67 years, they were of different tribal affiliations and occupations. Most subjects resided in the Hawkes Bay. Subjects provided their own definition of the whanaungatanga concept and responded to interview questions under five different capacities (or categories) previously identified by Durie. The majority of interview questions concerning behavioural practices subsumed under the five major categories were found to be relevant to the interactions within whanau of subjects interviewed. This suggested the preliminary interview framework to be a useful means of investigating the whanaungatanga process among modern whanau. Contextual influences of whanau interactions were considered, and suggestions for possible future research made, including a need for further development of a measurement framework.
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Table of Contents

Abstract .......................................................................................................................... ii
Acknowledgements ....................................................................................................... iii
Introduction .................................................................................................................. 1
  WHANAU .................................................................................................................. 1
  THE INFLUENCE OF WHANAU ON INDIVIDUAL WELL BEING ......................... 4
  WHANAU VALUES ................................................................................................. 5
  WHANUNGATANGA ............................................................................................... 6
  WHANAU FUNCTIONS ........................................................................................... 8
  PREVIOUS RESEARCH ......................................................................................... 9
  FAMILY THERAPY LITERATURE .......................................................................... 10
  THE PRESENT STUDY ........................................................................................... 12

Method .......................................................................................................................... 14
  SUBJECTS .............................................................................................................. 14
  APPARATUS .......................................................................................................... 15
  PROCEDURE .......................................................................................................... 15

Results ........................................................................................................................... 17
  DATA ANALYSIS ................................................................................................... 17
  INTERVIEW OUTCOMES ......................................................................................... 18
    (1) Capacity to care ................................................................................................... 20
    (2) Capacity to share ............................................................................................... 26
    (3) Capacity for guardianship ............................................................................... 30
    (4) Capacity to empower ....................................................................................... 31
    (5) Capacity to plan ahead .................................................................................... 34

Discussion ..................................................................................................................... 36
  CONCLUSION ........................................................................................................... 49

References .................................................................................................................... 50

Appendix 1 - Structured interview used in data collection ............................................. 55
Appendix 2 - People consulted during development of the structured interview ............. 72
Appendix 3 - Information sheet for prospective subjects ............................................... 74
INTRODUCTION

The decade of Maori development 1984-1994 emphasised iwi (tribal) development, perhaps at the expense of development at the whanau (extended family) level. Iwi development has undoubtedly fostered positive progress in the social well being of Maori in a variety of ways, especially in relation to Treaty based political negotiations concerning physical resources (Durie, 1995). Maori health development has also been enhanced with the advent of iwi-based health initiatives. Yet a parallel recognition and promotion of whanau as an institution equally capable of responding to health development needs (particularly in metropolitan areas) has recently been suggested by some Maori (eg., Hui Ara Ahu Whakamua, Te Puni Kokiri, 1994; Durie, 1994b). Maori have repeatedly highlighted the whanau as both a remedy and resource (Metge, 1995). 1994 heralded in the decade of whanau development, said to have the focus of "strengthening the whanau as the most important element of Maori life" (Te Kete Hauora, 1995).

The concept of family is a universal one. Family profiles within different countries and cultures are in a dynamic state of change as a function of historical forces. A number of factors have combined to change the composition of New Zealand families including an increasing divorce rate, increases in de facto relationships, increasing numbers of single parent families and reduced fertility rates.

Whanau

The family structure or institution of the New Zealand Maori (comprising 12.7% of the total population in 1991, Department of Statistics, 1992) is that of whanau. Beyond being an extended family network, the whanau has been described as a diffuse unit (Durie, 1994a), and a customary social structure based on a common source of descent or whakapapa (descent lines), (Walters & Walters, 1986). The whanau has further been described as the main social, living and learning unit in Maori society (Department of Health, 1984). In her recent publication Metge (1995) summarises anthropological contributions over the past 70 years in defining and understanding the Maori whanau. She also devotes a chapter to the many meanings of whanau, concluding that four different meanings (ie., sibling set, cognatic descent category, cognatic descent group and extended family)
have their roots in the pre-European Maori social order. Metge refers to this type of meaning as the whakapapa-based whanau. However, in contemporary times the term whanau may also refer to a class of non-traditional cohesive Maori interest groups without such ancestral links, sometimes referred to as the metaphorical whanau. Metge notes that many derived and new meanings (particularly in the metaphorical sense) have developed in recent years, she refers to this type of meaning as the kaupapa-based whanau (ie., whanau formed to address particular issues, principles or purposes, p.333). Thus the term whanau has (like the English term family) acquired a range of meanings distinguished by context (Metge, 1995).

For the purposes of the present study, interest was confined to the several customary uses of the word whanau identified by Metge as having widespread continued use among modern Maori. Firstly, whanau in the present study refers to the cognatic descent category, comprised of all descendants of a relatively recent named ancestor traced through links of both sexes. This meaning incorporates members regardless of where they reside or their knowledge and interaction with other members. This meaning therefore has descent as the sole criterion for whanau membership. Secondly, the cognatic descent group refers to descendants of such an ancestor who interact on an perpetual basis (although individual members often move in and out of active participation), and identify themselves collectively using symbols as the ancestor's name. Criteria for inclusion in this case are descent plus active participation. In Maori these two meanings are both referred to as 'te uri a Mea' (offspring or descendant(s) of So-and-So), (Metge, 1995, p.52-53). The third pertinent meaning identified by Metge is the extended family, in Maori termed 'te pa harakeke' (the flax bush), (Metge, 1995, p.53). Metge describes this particular meaning as referring to a descent group core in addition to members' spouses and adopted children from outside the structure. This form of whanau is comprised of a collection of individuals and parent-child families who interact on an ongoing basis under a common name. Criteria for membership are descent or connection by marriage or adoption, and active participation in group activities. All three meanings were considered relevant to the present study. In contemporary Maori society one's whanau is typically comprised of relatives (either through descent, marriage or adoption) living within a number of separate households. Members may live in different localities and may or may not have knowledge of, or
frequent communication and interaction with other whanau members or households. These relatives are often defined by reference to a recent ancestor, comprising several generations, several nuclear families, and commonly have a degree of ongoing corporate life (Metge & Durie-Hall, 1992). Metge states however that whanau do not and should not be expected to conform closely to a constructed model, as each has its own character, degree of integration and effectiveness.

Durie (1994a) suggests that adult whanau members are able to exercise a high degree of choice regarding their level of personal involvement within, and commitment to their respective whanau, and may ultimately opt for inclusion or total exclusion within such a diffuse family unit. This decision will be determined by a myriad of factors dictated largely by individual circumstances. For Maori people, while descent from a Maori ancestor is a minimum requirement for subjective social identification, claims to 'full' membership within a functioning whanau require active participation in group affairs (Metge & Durie-Hall, 1992). Although the proportion of the Maori population who are active participants of descent-based whanau is not known, Metge (1995) suggests that an informed guess would estimate less than one half presently are. She states that there has been increased participation in the whanau structure over the past fifteen years due to a renewed emphasis on Maori cultural identity. The degree of active participation of whanau members are suggested to vary according to factors such as physical proximity to other members and households, economic status and leadership within the whanau (Metge & Durie-Hall, 1992).

Durie elsewhere acknowledges that Maori people do not conform to any single stereotype (akin to all other ethnic groups), and that modern Maori exist in 'diverse realities' (Durie, 1995). Self-identification as Maori conveys little in terms of lifestyle, access to resources and participation in distinctly Maori social institutions as whanau and hapu (subtribe), (Durie, Black et al., 1994, cited in Metge, 1995). The notion of diverse realities of Maori individuals might also be generalised to refer to modern Maori whanau. Durie (1994a) states that the characteristic flexibility of the whanau is both a strength and a weakness of the institution. In being constantly accessible and available the whanau offers an ongoing source of aid to members, but without support to itself, the potential for nurturing its members is diminished.
The whanau is subject to constant change, with a wide range of variation over time and between different localities and iwi (tribes), (Metge, 1995). In addition to the historical forces influencing the composition of contemporary New Zealand families noted above, the most influential factor that has changed and shaped the profile and lifestyles of Maori whanau has been the mass rural to urban drift following the conclusion of the second world war. Prior to the last world war, close to 80% of the Maori population resided in rural areas, by 1964 75% resided in urban areas (Smith, 1995). Maori urbanisation in recent decades has resulted in many Maori people assuming residence away from their traditional tribal land (turangawaewae), necessitating a degree of isolation from their relatives. As a consequence, Durie (1994a) states that it has become increasingly difficult for many Maori to meet the various obligations and responsibilities associated with whanaungatanga (discussed below). In the 1990s, whether by choice or circumstance, many (particularly metropolitan) Maori are thought by some (eg., Metge & Durie-Hall, 1992) to lead lives centred on the nuclear family and are not part of a whanau that functions as an active collective group.

The influence of whanau on individual well being

During the 1970s and 1980s Maori health perspectives were advanced by Maori people. One particular Maori perspective which gained wide acceptance was a four-sided health framework, later termed the four cornerstones of Maori health, or whare tapa wha (four-sided house). This is a broadly based view of health combining te taha wairua (the spiritual dimension), te taha hinengaro (the psychological dimension), te taha tinana (the physical dimension), and te taha whanau (the extended family dimension). This holistic perspective advanced that a healthy balance between all dimensions was a requisite for total well being. The fourth dimension gives recognition to the relevance of the whanau to health. Durie (1994c) contends that there are at least two important reasons for the whanau's relevance in maintaining good health. Firstly, the family is the primary support system for Maori people, responsible for providing care and nurturance in physical, cultural and emotional terms. Ill health in an individual is perceived as a reflection on the family, thus Maori may attribute responsibility to a family for allowing (perhaps through perceived lack of support) a member to become ill or to die, even when there is no obvious causal link. Secondly, the whanau fosters identity and a sense of
purpose for Maori people. Interdependence rather than the Western ideal of independence is perceived by Maori as a reflection of healthy social functioning (Durie, 1987).

**Whanau values**

Despite the recent major social transition, many urban Maori successfully adapted to their new urban environment by transferring values and ideals of whanau and *whanaungatanga* (see below) to these new communities of interest (Durie, 1994a). Indeed, Taiapa (1994) reports that contemporary Maori continue to retain patterns of behaviour, organisation and values that are distinctly Maori. In sociological terms the processes by which a social structure, despite transformations and adaptations, is sustained or perpetuated over time in response to changing circumstances is known as social reproduction. Social reproduction occurs because there is continuity in what people do from day to day and year to year, and in the social practices they follow (Giddens, 1993). Metge (1976) also recognises that Maori values pertaining to family are discernibly different to those of New Zealand family values in general. An integral part of the Maori value system as a whole, whanau members ideally use these values to govern their relations with each other particularly, yet also with those outside the whanau (Metge, 1995). Maori social life is closely associated with a set of distinctive Maori tikanga (Maori customs). These tikanga are dynamic patterns or guidelines for living, continually abstracted from and fed back into the daily lives of group members (Metge & Durie-Hall, 1992). Again, it becomes important to acknowledge that individual Maori vary in the extent to which they are familiar with and give effect to Maori tikanga in their own lives. Metge and Durie-Hall also note that individual Maori almost always know more of Maori tikanga than they are consciously aware of, because this knowledge is internalised (presumably during socialisation) and rarely given conscious thought.

Customary value concepts identified by Taiapa and others (eg., attending members of the Hui Whakaoaranga in 1984; Metge, 1995; Metge & Durie-Hall, 1992; Patterson, 1992) include those of koha (a concept denoting the act of giving); manakitanga (hospitality, caring, sharing and respect); aroha (love in the widest sense and sympathy/empathy); awhinatanga (help and assistance to relieve and embrace) and tiaki (denoting guardianship and nurturance). The Maori world view of the self is described by Patterson
(1992) as radically non-individualistic, focussed on identity with the kinship group. Patterson views Maori values as collective values, expressed in terms of collective action and responsibility. Social values such as these suggest that Maori enhance personal self-worth and social obligation through practices of giving within the collective context of whanau (a view shared by Rangihau, in King, 1993) rather than in the personal accumulation of wealth (Taiapa, 1994, 1995). Maori have an ideal of a shared self and a collective responsibility (Collinson, 1994). This notion is discernibly different from the Western capitalist and individualistic ideals dominant in wider modern New Zealand society. Within the whanau context acquisitiveness or reluctance to share are viewed as major faults (Metge, 1995).

**Whanaungatanga**

There is no universally accepted definition of the whanaungatanga concept. It is perhaps best described as a multifaceted concept that, like others in any living language, is continually evolving in its meaning. Whanaungatanga has been described as a Maori cultural value in its own right. Metge (1995) describes the concept as a value which reinforces the commitment whanau members have to each other, reminding members of responsibilities to their relatives. Patterson (1992) makes reference to the central role of genealogical connections in discussing whanaungatanga, without explicitly providing a definition for the concept. Witi Ihimaera (1982, cited in Patterson, 1992) defined whanaungatanga as kinship and family responsibility. Moana Jackson (1988, also cited in Patterson) referred to the responsibility of sacrificing one's individual interests to those of the whanau. The publication of the Maori health planning workshop held at Hoani Waititi Marae in 1984 (Department of Health, 1984) defines whanaungatanga as the "element that provides strength, warmth, support and understanding in family and kinship relationships" (p.19). In her influential presentation at this hui (gathering) titled 'Te oranaga o te whanau', Rose Pere stated that whanaungatanga "is based on the principle of both sexes and all generations supporting and working alongside each other" (p.2) ...and that "Families are expected to interact on a positive basis with other 'families' in the community to help strengthen the whole" (p.2). Pere emphasised the importance of whakapapa and identity among whanau members (1988) and the support offered by the wider extended family to members in times of need, and generally. Whanaungatanga has
also been said to be energised by values of manaakitanga, awhinatanga, and wairuatanga (spirituality), (Walters & Walters, 1986; cited in Gilling, 1988) - "being cared for...is the whole essence of 'whanaungatanga' " (Walters & Walters, 1986, p8).

The whanaungatanga concept has also been variously described as referring to kinship ties (Murchie, 1984; Ngata, 1994), a sense of family cohesion (Durie, 1994a; 1993), and the process by which whanau ties and responsibilities are strengthened (Durie, 1994a). Within the Maori whanau certain obligations and responsibilities are exercised and maintained. The performance of these obligations and responsibilities are thought to determine the extent to which a whanau will make positive and/or negative contributions to the well being of its members. The concept has further been understood as an active process involving planning and development for the sake of meeting current needs of whanau members whilst also protecting their future needs, interests and welfare (Durie, 1994a). Durie suggests that certain whanau capacities (described below) operate to promote the well being of whanau members. It might be speculated that various practices subsumed under each of these whanau capacities may be viewed as a reflection of the whanaungatanga process. It might also be suggested that an assessment or examination of these various whanau practices may represent the degree to which whanau obligations and responsibilities are being met, and subsequently the relative strength within a given whanau of the operative whanaungatanga process. The assessment, or possible measurement, of the whanaungatanga process may ultimately be used as an indication of a whanau's ability to promote health and social well being among members at the household level.

A focus of the present study was given to behavioural practices thought to positively enhance social well being of whanau members. The focus was therefore on collective interactions thought to promote nurturance and collective responsibility within the whanau context. The present study intentionally avoided the investigation of practices thought to adversely diminish social well being among whanau members, without intending to minimise the detrimental impact of problematic practices (that may ascribe criticism or accusation on an individual level) which undoubtedly exist in contemporary Maori social life (eg., drug and alcohol abuse and

**Whanau functions**

The five central functions or capacities of the whanau identified by Durie (1994a) are;

(1) The capacity to **care**

(2) The capacity to **share**

(3) The capacity for **guardianship**

(4) The capacity to **empower**

(5) The capacity to **plan ahead**

Durie's whanau capacities provide a useful model or framework under which one may subsume contemporary practices of modern Maori whanau. A variety of common themes pertaining to whanau practices identified in the existing literature are capable of being included within these five central capacities. For example, Metge and Durie-Hall (1992) suggest that whanau members work together from time to time in the fulfilment of four major tasks or functions. Firstly they acknowledge members work collectively in the care and management of turangawaewae (tribal landmarks and natural resources) and taonga (cultural treasures), denoting the capacities for guardianship and to plan ahead. Secondly they rally to organise whanau events, denoting the capacity to share. Third and fourthly Metge and Durie-Hall note the provision for mutual support and the socialisation of children, denoting capacities to empower and care. Some writers have noted additional financial commitments and different spending priorities within Maori whanau (Stephens, Waldegrave & Frater, 1995; Taiapa, 1994; Kell Easting & Fleming, 1994). A number of writers also observe the different child care practices within whanau, such as collective responsibility for daily care (Metge, 1982, cited in Gilling, 1988) or 'shared care-giving' (Metge, 1995). Taiapa (1994) notes that the various distinctive practices within modern functioning whanau (including the areas of household finance, child care, the organisation of whanau events,
management of group property and providing mutual support) are informed by values such as love, loyalty and mutual responsibility. Thus, mutually beneficial practices observed among members of whanau can be perceived to be founded on Maori communal social values as those previously mentioned (ie., aroha, koha, manaakitanga, awhinatanga and tiaki).

**Previous research**

An early piece of New Zealand psychological research conducted by Jane Ritchie (1964) made some attempt to measure family integration (although admitting this a rather elusive construct to define or operationalise) and family cohesion (operationally termed 'feeling of unity') among a sample of Maori families or households in the Wellington region. This research was stated in the report introduction as being an extension of the ethno-psychological study of the New Zealand Maori rural population previously begun by Ernest Beaglehole and Jim Ritchie (p.1). This series of research endeavours was primarily concerned with relations within the parent-child family context (Metge, 1995). Jane Ritchie's early research had the chief aim of comparing the living patterns of four different groups of Maori living in, and adjusting to, urban New Zealand in the mid 1960s. A total of 98 household mothers were interviewed to produce a range of descriptive information on family life and data from administration of several psychological tests (ie., modified versions of the neuroticism inventory, the thematic apperception test and the sentence completion test). The research had no specific hypotheses but rather was intended to be exploratory in nature. Ritchie's (1964) research design was thought to have little direct utility and applicability to the aims of the present study which focussed on the modern whanau. In contrast, more recent research as that of Taiapa (1994) and Stephens et al, (1995) concerning economic functioning within the whanau, coupled with available literature concerning contemporary whanau functioning presented a number of themes pertinent to the development of the structured interview used in the present study.

In the latter part of 1995 research anthropologist Joan Metge released a book titled 'New growth from old. The whanau in the modern world' presenting her extensive work with whanau over a forty year period. Metge's research involved observation and participation in whanau life in Kotane, Auckland and Wellington. Over the past sixteen years Metge also collected
data from extensive discussions with 88 adult Maori (whom she termed kai whakatu, or informants of information and understanding), based on their personal experiences of whanau life over the course of their lifetimes. Metge describes these kai whakatu as people identifying strongly as being Maori, with fluency in the Maori language, as having a deep knowledge of Maori tikanga, and having close ties with their whanau, hapu and iwi. Metge states that her research was concerned more with the past than the present. Unfortunately this piece of work was not available until data collection and analysis had been completed, and therefore could not be included as an influence in the development of the structured interview used in the present study, or the data collection process. However, Metge's 1995 publication provided much material and many insights which proved relevant to the outcome of interviews conducted in the present study. Many conclusions regarding practices within whanau life reached by Metge through her participant observation and discussions with Maori, are echoed in the responses of those interviewed in the present study.

**Family therapy literature**

Within the broad literature of family therapy, well-known major contributions in attempting to classify family functioning include Kantor and Lehr's family typology, Olsen's Circumplex model, Reiss' family paradigms, Beavers' level of family functioning, Epstein, Bishop and Baldwin's McMaster model and Moos's family environment scale (see chapter 12 of Goldenberg & Goldenberg, 1991, for a description of each work). These frameworks were all derived from systems theory. A variety of indices of family functioning have been developed from such frameworks for research and clinical purposes within the field of family therapy (see Grotevant & Carlson, 1987 for a review of thirteen family interaction coding systems). However, few measures have been developed with the express purpose of being applicable to a specific ethnic (particularly minority) cultural group, or adaptable across diverse cultural groupings. This may be a function of family therapists and researchers themselves typically belonging to the majority or dominant cultural groups in Western society (Boynton, 1987).

As existing measures are based largely on systems and interactional theory, research has tended to focus on the measurement of family functioning or interaction with an emphasis on behavioural observation of families as the
primary method of data collection (Patterson & Reid, 1984; cited in Grotevant & Carlson, 1987). Family interaction measures vary widely in theoretical derivation, coding organisation, unit of study, administrative procedures and psychometric properties. As a consequence, such indices vary in their scope for applicability not only to particular research or clinical questions, but also to particular cultural groups.

A review of the literature suggests that existing family functioning measures can be grouped either under indices purporting to study the family as a context for the development and/or maintenance of psychopathology or under indices studying the family as a context for the development of individual differences in psychosocial development. Grotevant and Carlson (1987), highlight five common construct dimensions that differentiate the family assessment indices they reviewed:

1. Cognitive constructs - which refer to patterns of interaction presumed to facilitate cognitive development within the family
2. Affective constructs - indicating family emotional climate
3. Interpersonal process regulators - reflecting aspects of family communication that regulate the flow of interaction
4. Structural constructs - reflecting patterns of system relationships
5. Dominance constructs - reflecting control, sanctions, or conflict within families

As mentioned, few existing measures have been developed to be applied to minority cultural groups. Indeed, it has been contended by some (eg., Boynton, 1987; Abbott & Durie, 1987; Tamasese & Waldegrave, 1993; Waldegrave, 1985, 1992) that family therapy training and practice has been remarkably ethnocentric or monocultural in its general conceptual structure. The same may be said for family therapy research into family functioning or interaction. In reference to the New Zealand Maori, existing scales of family assessment are often inadequate given their sole applicability to the nuclear family system. The process of whanaungatanga operating within an extended family context would be difficult to measure in practical terms by way of direct behavioural observation (unless it was feasible to undertake long term participant observation). Thus existing psychological measures would be inadequate for the intended purpose of the present study. Although a small number of indices may assess functions and processes of some research or clinical value to Maori families (eg., the
problem solving, organisational and emotional variables of the Global Assessment of Relational Functioning Scale, American Psychiatric Association, 1994), existing scales were thought to be unable to be adapted and suitably utilised for the purpose of the present study.

The present study

A preliminary measure in the form of a structured interview was designed for the purposes of the present study based on the five whanau capacity framework developed by Durie. Although much has been said and written about the Maori institution of whanau and the concept of whanaungatanga, very little (if any) research has been undertaken to investigate how whanaungatanga and/or Maori whanau functioning might be systematically investigated or potentially measured in behavioural terms. Metge's research, although more extensive in scale than the present study, was reported (1995, p. 30) to be concerned more with the past, whereas the present study is concerned with contemporary whanau functioning. Metge's interviews and less formal discussions with Maori about whanau functioning were 'open-ended' (p. 30), whereas interviews in the present study were directed by both closed and open questions concerning specific practices, organised in a systematic sequence with a predetermined course. A number of Metge's interviews were conducted in the presence of other people (eg., partners, siblings or workmates) who became involved in the interview process. The present study utilised the 1:1 interview arrangement.

Different definitions of the whanaungatanga concept have been offered, yet few provide a model which can be usefully translated into meaningful operational terms to facilitate investigation of the behavioural properties of this concept. Durie has described whanaungatanga as a process by which whanau ties and obligations are strengthened, and as an active process involving planning and development. This definition provides a basis for investigating whanaungatanga as an active process, rather than as an abstract and elusive concept.

As previously mentioned, a number of values operate to inform various central functions or practices of modern whanau. Notwithstanding the importance of these distinctive values and ideals, the ability to operationalise or measure such abstract values by way of psychological
research is limited. However, the five whanau capacities proposed by Durie (1994a) may be used as a framework for the examination of behavioural practices which represent them, this may provide a viable means to investigate or potentially measure the whanaungatanga process in a meaningful way. This method of examining the concept may be viewed as an attempt to make the whanaungatanga process 'manifest' through investigation of behavioural interactions in the context of collective whanau functioning. These whanau practices are thought to be informed by the tikanga and values noted earlier. Thus, it is argued that without such values motivating the practices within Maori whanau, the practices themselves would not be engaged in by whanau members.

The present study was intended to be exploratory in nature with the aim of developing a framework of a structured interview as a means of operationalising the whanaungatanga process. The present study was concerned with the production of theory using an inductive method. It was theorised that the whanaungatanga process may be indirectly examined by investigating common behavioural practices operating within contemporary whanau. The structured interview developed provided qualitative information concerning a Maori individual's knowledge of his or her own whanau functioning. The scope of the present study was limited to that of an applied two-paper thesis.

Bearing in mind that modern whanau vary greatly in their effectiveness or potential for nurturance to members, research as that reported in the present study may have practical value in providing a framework for the future development of a measure which may be used with Maori whanau in an applied setting. Although it is recognised more work is required to achieve this end, the potential uses of such a measure may be to aid the decision-making process at both the assessment and treatment/intervention stages in various professional fields including physical and mental health, social work, justice and education settings. In addition, the possible future extension and application of research such as the present study may help aid the attainment of government and iwi policy objectives in enhancing the development of the whanau as an institution capable of promoting Maori social well being at the household level, beyond that attainable at the iwi level.
METHOD

Subjects

Subjects were adults of Maori descent who identified themselves as being Maori. Subjects were asked by the investigator to participate voluntarily. Potential subjects were either known personally or professionally to the investigator, or were identified with the aid of professional colleagues. An effort was made (despite the relatively small sample) to interview a wide range of people from different social backgrounds or 'diverse realities'. A total of 12 people were interviewed individually. All but two subjects (residing in central Hawkes Bay and Horowhenua) resided in the Hastings-Napier area of Hawkes Bay. Five subjects lived in rural townships or in small communities on the outskirts of urban centres, the remaining seven lived in urban localities. The subjects were both male (N=6) and female (N=6). Subjects' ages ranged between 21 and 67 years (mean age was 43 years). Subjects were of various tribal affiliations, these included Ngati Raukawa, Muaupoko, Tainui, Ngati Maniopoto, Waikato, Nga Puhi, Te Whanau a Apanui, Ngati Porou, Rongomawahine, Taranaki, and Ngati Kahungunu. However, as close to all interviews were conducted in Hawkes Bay most subjects had tribal connections to the Ngati Kahungunu iwi of the greater Hawkes Bay area (ie., Ngati Kahungunu ki Heretaunga). Subjects' occupations included retired pensioner, clerical assistant, social worker, unemployed factory worker, labourer, community nurse, drain layer, unemployed salesperson, drug and alcohol counsellor and freezing worker. One subject, although self identified as Maori, was born and raised in a metropolitan city in Australia away from the whanau structure. This particular subject had assumed New Zealand residence in the whanau tribal area within the previous eighteen months at the time of interview. Given this subject's socialisation within an overseas society away from the whanau context, it was hoped responses could be used as a means of comparison to other subjects. It was anticipated that knowledge of whanau functioning would be less extensive in such an individual compared to those socialised within the whanau context.
Apparatus

A structured interview (see Appendix 1) design was used as means of data collection. The content of the interview involves a variety of closed and open questions designed to collect essentially qualitative information about observable practices operating within an individual's whanau. These varied practices are subsumed under the framework of the five central whanau capacities identified by Durie (1994a).

A dictaphone was utilised to audiotape subjects' personal definitions of whanaungatanga.

Procedure

In constructing the structured interview for the purposes of the present study a consultation process was undertaken with a number of Maori people known to the researcher as having knowledge and experience in working with Maori whanau, these people provided feedback and input in the development of the measure (see Appendix 2 for a list of people who aided the research in this respect). During the interview construction phase, discernible groups of questions (termed subcategories) concerning different classes of behavioural practices emerged as potentially relevant. Some individual questions and subcategories emerged in the consultation process with Maori people, others came from existing literature reviewed. The content of interview questions were also influenced by experiential data accessible to the Maori investigator and Maori supervisor, an essential source of information in the grounded theory approach (Strauss, 1987). The interview construction process occurred over the course of approximately six months and in itself was considered a pilot study of sorts.

All interviews were conducted by the investigator, a Maori male completing training as an intern clinical psychologist. An information sheet (see Appendix 3) was read aloud and given to each subject prior to gaining their written consent to participate. In addition, an introduction and instructions recorded within the interview measure were read requesting the subject answer questions as best they could based on their own experience (ie., not that of their parents or grandparents) and their present knowledge (however limited) of their whanau. A working definition of whanau was then made explicit to reduce confusion regarding the whanau concept, particularly in terms of distinguishing the subject's
whanau from his or her extended whanau or hapu. Subjects' definitions of whanaungatanga were then audiotaped to facilitate accurate transcription before asking the closed and open questions pertaining to Durie's whanau capacities.

In some cases reference was made to whanau members during interview that had recently passed away, these responses were included as being part of the subject's knowledge and experience of his or her whanau at the time of interview.

Subjects were interviewed either within their own homes, workplace or in the case of two subjects, while in a public hospital ward. Interviews themselves varied in duration between a minimum of forty-five minutes to two hours maximum in total, most interviews were completed in just over one hour. Some interviews were temporarily suspended due to time restraints and completed at a later date.

Several subjects who were quoted directly in this report were contacted to request permission to include their statements. Subjects were informed that a copy of the final report of the present study would be available to them at the investigator's place of work in the Hawkes Bay once completed.
RESULTS

Data Analysis
Data analysis in the present study was qualitative in nature. Analysis in essence consisted of reading transcribed interviews and grouping themes in responses. An eclectic method of qualitative data analysis was used influenced largely (yet not entirely) by the grounded theory approach. First developed in the early 1960s by Glaser and Strauss the grounded theory approach to qualitative data analysis was designed for generating and testing theory. It is not a specific method or technique of analysis, but rather a particular style of analysis with a methodological thrust of theory development. A description of the grounded theory approach can be found in Strauss (1987) and Corbin and Strauss (1990). A major feature of the approach is that data collection and analysis are interrelated processes. In conducting the present study, for instance, previous interview responses influenced the direction of future interview questioning (e.g., the use of additional cues not explicitly recorded within the interview in original form). This guideline aids the process of eliminating individual questions or subcategories (groups of questions concerning a class of practices) that prove irrelevant. It also facilitates the production of additional questions or lines of inquiry that repeatedly appear to be relevant during interviews. This ongoing process enables an evolving theory concerning the social phenomena under investigation to be consolidated and 'grounded' in the data collected. However, given the limited size of the sample used in the present study, the structure of interviews were kept consistent, and did not deviate a great deal (aside from providing possible response examples) from the questions presented in Appendix 1.

Data analysis in the present study involved the transcription of interview notes to produce a forty-two page document detailing subject responses under each interview question. This enabled the data to be scrutinised over the entire course of the data collection phase. This ongoing analysis aided the generation of cue questions to guide future interviews, the grouping of similar subject responses (i.e., indicating which subcategories of practices were particularly relevant) and highlighted unique or exceptional responses. The grounded theory approach emphasises that all concepts or subcategories must be considered provisional until 'earning' their way into
a developing theory via repeated occurrence in the data collected (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). The transcription of subject responses, and the tracking of similarities and differences regarding whanau practices using theoretical memos and coding (Corbin and Strauss, 1990) facilitated the process of data analysis and the integration of the emerging theory.

**Interview outcomes**

Subjects were initially asked to explain what whanaungatanga meant to them in their own words. Answers were transcribed with the aid of a tape recorder to produce a twelve page document. Subjects' answers varied considerably, both in length (ranging from one sentence to three transcribed pages) and content.

Three subjects did not know what whanaungatanga meant. A common theme with those who did was to make reference to whanau members by name and/or relationship to themselves (something also observed by Metge when she asked Maori kai whakatu to define the whanau). One subject related the word to personal tribal identity ...."Whanaungatanga for me...it's relating to who I am such as my Maunga (mountain), my waka (canoe), my hapu (subtribe)". Another emphasised knowledge of whakapapa (descent lines), and the incorporation of such whanau and Maori knowledge into one's own belief system. Ability to call on the advice or knowledge of whanau elders and to impart that knowledge to one's children was identified as important by a subject.

Support and help available from whanau members (particularly in times of need) was another common response..."knowing that they're (whanau members) there for you, that you can go to them in times of need and happiness, and...just being there for you to call upon".

One subject reported making a conscious effort to keep in contact with whanau members, and feeling close to members (living locally and at a distance) as their definition of the concept. One subject described a subjective sense of "connection" to other members, and further explained whanaungatanga to mean an extension of oneself. Several subjects also referred to subjective experiences as awhi (awhina means to assist or embrace), love, and belonging. Indeed, one subject explicitly referred to whanaungatanga as a "feeling".
One subject referred to whanaungatanga meaning their "immediate family" (ie., partner, children, siblings and parents). Another subject extended the subjective meaning and sense of whanaungatanga to include not only Maori of the same iwi, but all Maori, and in addition all people since following a particular religious faith.

An ability to stay with other whanau members when travelling outside of one's own area was identified by one subject as important in their meaning of whanaungatanga. The subject raised in Australia recalled occasional prolonged visits by New Zealand whanau members (unknown on arrival to the children of the household) when these members travelled to that country.

Perhaps the most insightful explanations came from two elder subjects. One described whanaungatanga as a way of functioning within a whanau that is internalised during one's upbringing. The values and concepts internalised included aroha, tumanako (hope), whakapono (faith) and wairua (spirituality). Emphasis in this elder's explanation was placed on the practices of sharing (eg., during times of need and whanau events) and caring (eg., when a member is sick). These values and ways of functioning were said to be imparted into families from generation to generation."It's (whanaungatanga) still working today. See I got a cousin...two cousins here and it's still working with them. And you see what we're doing, we're imparting it to our families."

Another elder subject explained;
Well whanaungatanga to me is very important, because we interchange with each whanaunga (relative) what we are going to do, or if we need any information or any help from...a process we may want to do...and rather than keep it to yourself and be within your own (immediate) family, we sort of ask different families that are whanaungatanga if they would like to come in and discuss...maybe a hui that we might want to propose or anything like that. Maybe to help each other in food or...helping the children...looking after the children...and how we help each other to...maybe to progress...and doing types of work as helping each other on our maraes or even to keep...to help in looking after our urupas (cemeteries). And also to help one another that we feel that they're not able to...to help themselves because of their different problems...
The wide variation in the meanings given by subjects who could verbalise what whanaungatanga meant to them (three could not), supports the view that no universally accepted definition of the concept currently exists. For some subjects whanaungatanga referred to abstract concepts or subjective experiences as love or belonging, or to internalised Maori values or concepts as aroha, tumanako and wairua. The application of the concept was not limited to the whanau unit, as one subject reported whanaungatanga meaning only their partner, children, parents and siblings, another subject extended the meaning to include all people. A variety of practices were reported to pertain to the meaning for subjects, these included maintaining personal contact, staying with whanau members when travelling, sharing resources (such as whanau knowledge) and caring for members (eg., in times of illness).

The following section reports the outcome of analyses of interview responses. Descriptions of whanau compositions and common or unique subject responses are summarised under each interview category and subcategory. In parts throughout both the results and discussion sections, some responses are discussed in reference to similar findings of Metge's research (1995) to highlight common apparent themes.

(1) Capacity to care

Care of elders subcategory
All subjects had elders within their respective whanau ranging from 2 to 32 members in total. Eight subjects had elder members in the 75 year and over age group (numbers ranged from 1-12 members).

All but two subjects reported having elders living with whanau members. In three whanau all elders (ranging from 12-32 members) resided with other whanau members. Some elders were reported to be caring for dependent whangai children (children adopted within the whanau with or without legal adoptive status), in all cases these children were their grandchildren or mokopuna. Metge (1995) identifies this as the most common form of whangai care, grandparental care accounting for at least one-third of cases. The large majority of elders were reported to live primarily with one adult offspring, living either in their own homes or that of their offspring. The practice of elders living with other whanau members may create multigenerational households (eg., one subject lived in a four
generational household). Two subjects reported a collective care arrangement in which an elder's daily living arrangements alternated between offspring for variable periods from days to months.

Two subjects reported elders living in kaumatua (elder) flats with adult offspring, in one case the flat was attached to the whanau marae.

Of the ten subjects with knowledge of whether elders required practical assistance on a regular basis, eight reported affirmatively. The types of help needed by elders typically involved those areas recorded in the interview (i.e., transport, shopping and cooking) in addition to food gathering, wood collection and chopping. Although not cued by the interviewer, several subjects reported that responsibilities for assisting elders in this fashion were shared among certain whanau members. Physical proximity to elders was suggested to be a condition influencing which whanau members provide practical assistance (i.e., those living closest to or with elders may provide most assistance).

Five subjects reported having elders living independently, that is caring for themselves without requiring regular assistance from other whanau members. Four of these subjects had less than two such elders and one reported all six whanau elders lived independently. All independent elders were reported to have regular contact with whanau members. Contact may take the form of regular visitations by local whanau members throughout the week, non-local members staying or visiting elders on an irregular basis, or elders visiting or staying with members (including other elders) when travelling outside their own locale. The occurrence of whanau events or holiday periods typically precipitate more extensive elder contact with whanau members.

Reasons or circumstances given for the independence of whanau elders typically involved such elders having an adequate ability to care for themselves and their own choice or desire to be independent.

Four of the twelve subjects reported having one or two elders living within institutional care. Three elders were in hospital-based elderly care centres and two elders of the same whanau were in rest home care. All of these
elders had either daily or weekly contact with local whanau members, and typically episodic contact with non-local members at whanau events.

Reasons and circumstances given for whanau elders being in hospital-based institutional care were reported to be the need for specialist health care services. In the three cases where elders were hospitalised each had previously been cared for within the whanau (either primary or collective care) before health care needs had become too great for the whanau members concerned. In one such case the elder concerned was cared for within three different whanau households, staying with each consecutively for a period four years. A salient factor which will influence elders being cared for within the whanau is the availability of members to do so, the employment status of whanau members will determine the pool size of potential labour to care for elders within the whanau structure. If suitable members are unemployed the potential for care within the whanau is enhanced, yet it was noted that members may cease employment to care for sick elders in some cases.

The two elders of a particular whanau in rest home care were said to be there as a result of their own decision, influenced by their not wanting to burden offspring with the responsibility to care for them.

Care of children subcategory

All twelve subjects reported whanau children living primarily with birth parents. Half the subjects interviewed reported presently having children in whangai care. Reasons for children being placed in whangai care varied, they included temporary care due to occasional behavioural problems or disobedience of a child in a single parent household (Metge also alluded to the practice of children taking 'time out' with other whanau households, 1995), and to a single parent recently emigrating to Australia necessitating temporary care by the children's grandmother until the parent had settled. One subject reported temporary whangai care by the grandmother of two whanau children as their parents' occupations as sharers required them to travel around New Zealand continually. These children returned to their parents at age five for schooling once the parents had ceased this form of work. Grandparental care of whangai children may involve regular (eg., weekend) breaks from care as other whanau members assume this responsibility temporarily.
One subject reported children living with other whanau households over holiday periods, parents will usually exchange their children (often of opposite sex to their own) with other parents at these times. Metge (1995) also reports this reciprocal exchange in child care among some households.

Baby-sitting was reported by all but one subject to take place exclusively within the whanau structure. This may or may not be a shared responsibility among members. Physical proximity to other members will influence this practice, one subject reported past baby-sitting care by friends as the household resided a great distance from other whanau members at that time. Metge (1995) notes the influence of physical proximity on shared care-giving. Financial costs associated with baby-sitting outside of the whanau structure were also suggested to influence this practice. One subject reported knowing of one exceptional member with limited whanau contact who had baby-sitting arranged among personal friends.

Of those with knowledge of parents' ability to seek support and advice on their needs and concerns as parents, all but one subject reported that such support and advice was available within the whanau structure. This was reported to be accomplished through consulting elders (typically a parent's own parents) or through whanau meetings. Two subjects reported having private whanau parent meetings in response to whanau children becoming involved in the criminal justice system. Metge (1995) reports that the whanau meeting remains of primary importance as a means of dealing with problems among functioning whanau. Consulting other whanau parents (including one's own siblings) was also a common method of seeking parental support or advice, however proximity to other whanau parents will also influence this practice.

The arrival of new whanau children was reported by one subject to result in the newborn's grandmother visiting and staying with the household concerned for a two week period in order to support the parents in practical terms.

Most subjects reported that transport of whanau children to and from daily activities such as kohanga reo (pre-school Maori language nest centres), school and sports events was primarily the responsibility of birth parents. However three subjects reported sharing transport responsibilities (eg., car
pooling) among parents. Five subjects reported that kohanga vans catered for this particular need. Two subjects reported having a provision for transport emergencies, these included a whanau member being available to transport whanau children if in urgent need during parental working hours, and a system enabling parents to telephone other whanau members for assistance if transport needs were unable to be met at any time.

Member participation at whanau children's daily activities were reported by four subjects as mainly being engaged in by birth parents, this may be due to the household residing in a different locality to other whanau households. Several subjects reported whanau members in addition to birth parents participating in children's activities with the advent of marae-based kohanga. These whanau members may include other whanau parents with children in attendance or related members of the kohanga staff. Five subjects reported multigenerational participation in whanau children's activities, an example of this included grandparents, birth parents, uncles, aunts and a child's cousins and siblings all observing a sporting event. When whanau children attend secondary boarding school outside of their birth parents' locale, whanau members living in that locality may attend activities (eg., sports events) which parents are unable to. A child attending school away from his or her household locality may stay with other whanau members in closer proximity to the school. Metge (1995) also notes this practice, particularity with children from homes in remote areas who may live with relatives closer to schools for weekdays or entire school terms.

During a time of household crisis (eg., when a parent becomes ill or dies) eleven subjects reported that affected children would stay within the whanau network. The one exception was a subject from an initial interview during data collection that reported no such crises had occurred, this subject was not prompted to answer the question hypothetically. Six subjects recalled actual examples in the past of illness and/or death which resulted in either temporary or permanent whangai care of affected children. Temporary care may occur whilst a parent grieves for the loss of a partner, or during times when a single parent becomes ill. Seven subjects indicated that a clear system was in place within their respective whanau should crises affect living arrangements of whanau children. These systems of care involved either grandparents, great grandparents or alternatively older
siblings of the concerned parent or affected child fulfilling this particular need. One subject reported an expectation among members that affected children would be cared for within the whanau structure as an outcome of their (ie., whanau members’) upbringing, implying that members internalised this expectation during socialisation. Metge (1995) further identified that provisions for crisis care also include instances where child neglect or abuse come to notice.

Care of sick and disabled subcategory
Ten subjects reported having members with a variety of long term sickness or disabilities within their whanau. Two subjects were seen as inpatients in a hospital ward due to orthopaedic problems, other categories of illness and disability included chronic heart problems, stroke, partial paralysis, arthritis, diabetes, cancer and a chronic mental illness. Three such members (ie., the same members discussed in the care of elders subcategory above) were presently in hospital-based care before previously living within the whanau structure, these members had daily or weekly contact with local whanau members. All other members with sickness or disabilities identified in the present study were currently living with other whanau members. A common theme emerged that these members resided with their children, either in their own home or that of their offspring. This practice also resulted in elders with sickness or disabilities residing with their mokopuna. Some subjects reported of members with sickness or disability having adequate ability to care for themselves, and that the purpose of whanau members residing with them was simply to provide them with company.

No subjects in the present study reported having members with long term sickness or disability living independently, that is caring for themselves away from other whanau members without regular or daily assistance from whanau.

The two subjects seen on a hospital ward reported being visited several times per week by local whanau members. One of these subjects reported getting little sleep for several days following an unplanned admission due to visiting whanau members arriving throughout the day and night.
(2) Capacity to share

Economic distribution subcategory

All but one subject (who did not know) reported that it was common practice for goods or resources acquired by members to be shared among local households. Kaimoana (seafood) catches were said to be shared in nine whanau of those interviewed. One subject made the comment that kaimoana was never frozen within their whanau network. The method of distribution may be determined by the size of the catch, as several subjects reported a priority system of distribution with smaller catches in which whanau elders will receive a share of this resource in the first instance. This system of prioritising distribution may also occur with other food resources (eg., meat, puha and watercress). Vehicles were also said to be shared, and in some cases gifted within some whanau. Firewood was also often shared among members, and in some cases a group of members cut and collect firewood at particular times of the year to distribute to whanau elders or members without transport or means to access this resource themselves. Food resources may be distributed irregularly to needy households that may be temporarily unable to meet this particular need.

All but one subject (who did not know) reported that money was also shared among whanau members and households. This was despite the fact that some whanau members contributing money were also receiving income support (eg., one subject reported only three whanau members were in regular paid employment). All subjects reported that members contribute to whanau events financially, yet if members were unable to do so they would contribute toward the event by providing food resources as an alternative. Metge (1995) further reports offering labour as an alternative contribution to money. Three subjects reported that financial contributions were made to needy households to help meet essential living costs or to service a debt a member was unable to. Such financial sharing may be on a loan or cash gift basis. Metge (1995) also discusses the material assistance of whanau members to parents unable to meet their children's needs, particularly in times of crisis. Two subjects reported that exclusive borrowing relationships existed between certain whanau households, and one subject reported being a regular source of financing for other whanau members due to having a relatively high level of income and low level of financial commitment. Whanau members may gift money to one another in order to finance travelling expenses to maintain contact with other
members (eg., in times of illness). A whanau may pool financial resources to undertake a collective project (eg., maintenance of the whanau homestead or hapu marae) or in one case gift both food and money to a sibling as a form of "payment" for caring for a whanau elder.

Eight subjects reported presently having, or had previously had whanau bank accounts in operation with regular member contribution. Several subjects reported that such accounts no longer operated as members could not afford servicing the regular payments. Typical uses of such accounts were stated as being the financing of whanau events, and to meet emergency needs within the whanau (eg., covering health, housing or basic living expenses) unable to be met by households. Two subjects reported family accounts operating within the wider whanau structure for the exclusive use of parents and their offspring.

Labour distribution subcategory
Labour during whanau events such as tangihanga (funeral wake) was said to be divided within whanau in a variety of ways among subjects interviewed. A common occurrence involved particular members having set tasks or roles during whanau events which may be determined by an individual's level of skills and experience, yet there is flexibility in what members will do during whanau events and some subjects reported that rotation in tasks may occur. Key members may coordinate labour efforts during large scale events based on their experience, knowledge of and access to local resources. All eleven subjects with knowledge of labour division during events recognised that a general division in labour occurred within their own whanau based on gender. Men were typically involved on the whole in outdoor activities such as hunting and gathering food resources and wood, laying hangi (earth ovens) and tending to fires. Women on the whole were involved with indoor activities such as kitchen (eg., organising menus, cooking, serving meals and cleaning) and dining room tasks (eg., setting tables and waiting on guests during meal times). Women may also be involved in child care activities during whanau events yet some whanau encourage young women and older children to undertake this task. However, there may be flexibility in the division of labour as men will also at times be involved in kitchen duties (eg., carving meat or cooking) and women in food gathering. Marae kawa (protocol) may also dictate the division of labour as one subject reported that men primarily prepared and
served food as the marae kitchen was equipped with old-style open fires requiring the use of heavy pots and firewood. Women were involved in waiting on tables and washing tasks within this particular whanau. Another subject reported that marae kawa determined which whanau members would fulfil decision-making roles, and which members would undertake specific tasks such as whaikorero (speech making) and food preparation at a tangihanga. Labour distribution in this particular whanau was determined by one's genealogical relationship to the deceased person. That is, those most closely related to the deceased were left to grieve during a tangihanga whilst those most distant (e.g., fifth cousins) fulfilled labour needs.

There was a varied response to how whanau youth contributed toward labour at whanau events. One subject reported that teenagers do not contribute to labour efforts at all during events, others reported contributions in the certain areas such as child care, kitchen duties, collecting rubbish and cleaning around the marae complex, fitting in where needed (i.e., contributing in all forms of labour) and working alongside their own genders.

Of the eleven subjects with knowledge of labour division within their whanau during events, seven believed that work was divided fairly among members. Reasons for this included the expectation that all members contribute in some way to the requirements of hosting an event, that members may participate equally in different tasks (i.e., task rotation) and that members will identify where their contribution is needed.

One subject believed that labour distribution within their particular whanau was both fair and unfair, depending on which marae was under consideration (i.e., maternal or paternal hapu). Reasons given for believing labour was unfairly divided among members during whanau events included men being unable to contribute due to alcohol intoxication at whanau celebrations (i.e., excluding tangihanga), and uneven distribution of labour among households. Examples of uneven distribution included the same households, perhaps living in the locale of the marae, and pononga (servant) whanau contributing most labour at marae events.
All but one subject (who did not know) reported that local whanau members help each other in practical ways. A common feature was members exchanging their services of labour to help complete domestic maintenance at each other’s homes. Examples of tasks undertaken included painting a member’s roof or house, building a garage or fence, home renovations, and mowing lawns. Labour may be provided to members in need of this form of assistance such as whanau elders, sick or members with disabilities and single parent households.

Several subjects reported members congregating to provide labour to whanau elders (e.g., to fell a tree or maintain and/or repair an elder’s entire house), division of labour may take the form of men generally doing outdoor and women indoor tasks at these times. One subject reported that whanau youth regularly work around the homes of elders, undertaking physically demanding tasks. Members may also group to maintain a whanau urupa (cemetery).

Several subjects reported having access to the services of whanau members skilled and qualified in a wide variety of fields. These members included a dress maker, electrician, hairdressers, painters, drain layers, mechanics, butchers, plumbers, carpenters and concrete layers. Within these whanau, members pool their skills which minimise financial costs among members. One subject described this practice as "cost-cutting measures", another stated..."We don't believe in spending money outside (of whanau) if necessary, (that is) if whanau is in a position to help".

The practice of sharing labour to serve each others' personal needs produces economically advantageous consequences for Maori households, yet as one subject alluded to, a member’s willingness to help other members in this way is based on values, expectations and norms internalised during socialisation through watching older generations interact in this way.

**Social/recreational activities subcategory**

Nine subjects reported that whanau members were involved in social, cultural or sporting activities together. The most common sphere of social interaction was the sporting. Responses included netball and/or rugby union clubs based at the whanau marae, whanau basketball or touch rugby teams, and members belonging to the same community squash or rugby
club. Conditions influencing these sporting interactions include physical proximity to other members (e.g., whanau members may belong to the same clubs if residing in a rural area) and numbers of appropriate members available. Five subjects reported members being involved in a cultural or kapahaka group. Members may interact in this regard regularly or intermittently (e.g., when in preparation for whanau events). Other types of social interaction included church related activities, whanau dinners or small scale celebrations. Members may share Christmas day or go on holiday together. One subject reported playing music as being a central activity facilitating interaction among whanau members of all ages.

(3) Capacity for guardianship

Leadership subcategory
All but one subject (who did not know) reported they knew who was involved, and what type of decision-making processes were operating within their whanau. Two common themes emerged, whanau either had a consensus approach (e.g., whanau meetings) to decision-making or specific elder(s) lead with regard to collective matters. Elder leaders may be members over 65 years of age, or often their eldest offspring. However, being eldest did not guarantee leadership responsibilities as a younger member skilled in Maori language and cultural knowledge (perhaps through exposure in being raised by grandparents) may assume leadership roles. An elder subject reported that personal interest also influenced an elder’s involvement in leadership activities.

Accepted leaders tended to lead only in specific areas (e.g., land management, whanau finances or marae functioning), indeed one subject reported that land is the only collective interest in which a decision-making process exists on a whanau level. Members proficient in Maori language, cultural skills or whanau knowledge tended to lead in important areas of Maoridom (e.g., marae kawa, whaikorero, whakapapa) necessitating such knowledge. Elder members may have a major influence upon the outcome of whanau meetings where consensus is sought in decisions. One subject reported that whanau women made decisions for the whanau in most areas outside of speech making.
Land and natural resources subcategory

All but one subject reported that their whanau had collectively owned land, commonly inherited through succession. All subjects could locate whanau land yet most did not know the amount of land owned. Whanau land may or may not be in one's tribal area. Land in some cases was leased outside of whanau (eg., for farming), yet in most cases was utilised for agricultural (eg., sheep stations) or occasionally horticultural ventures (eg., fruit orchards) within the whanau. Other whanau-owned resources included forestries and fisheries (sea and freshwater).

Trusts existed for the protection and management of whanau natural resources, trust meetings and less frequently whanau meetings were used for the collective management of these resources. Two subjects reported past training or future plans to train whanau members specifically to manage these resources. This practice is achieved through whanau or iwi-based educational funding.

Six subjects reported small dividends (although most subjects did not know amounts) as being a benefit to members of whanau resource ownership. However, not all whanau members may benefit in this way. Other benefits identified by subjects included access to seafood, holiday destinations, educational funding via resource trust funds and individual employment in whanau-owned farming or fishing ventures. Several subjects reported knowledge of financial reinvestment in whanau resources (eg., sheep stations) or business opportunities (eg., fishing ventures) for the long term benefit of future generations.

(4) Capacity to empower

Educational empowerment subcategory

Seven subjects reported knowledge of available funding for educational training of whanau members. Such funding may be available within the whanau (eg., via whanau land trusts) or hapu and iwi structures (ie., tribal educational scholarships and grants). Funding for tertiary education was most commonly available. Some subjects reported immediate family trusts (ie., parents, their offspring and grandchildren) for educational purposes operating within the wider whanau system.
**Vocational empowerment subcategory**
Six subjects reported that their whanau was involved in business ventures providing benefits to members. Ventures included a Maori toy making business, farming ventures, and kohanga reo. Iwi-based ventures included a fishing and drain laying business. Benefits mentioned included employment, income, daily activity and hope.

The large majority of subjects reported funding was not available for the proposal or development of business projects within their whanau structure. Hapu or iwi-based funding was not queried. One subject reported a wealthy member has funded business ventures proposed by other members in the past, another reported that free-hold houses owned by members have been used as collateral for lending institutions to access capital in order to establish a member’s business.

Most subjects did not report having provisions for the promotion of working lives of whanau women. Informal provisions consisted of some women acting as role models to others in the educational setting or work force (ie., women who are presently in or have completed university training and women holding positions of responsibility in the work setting). An educational scholarship for women was reported to be available within one hapu. A subject reported that whanau women were encouraged more than men to pursue higher educational training due to the belief that "...if (whanau) women are ignorant, (their) children will be ignorant".

**Cultural empowerment subcategory**
All subjects were connected to one or more marae. All subjects could name and locate these marae. All subjects reported that whanau members are encouraged to participate in marae activity (particularly whanau events as tangihanga, yet also marae kohanga reo). Subjects cited individual choice as an important determinant of marae participation, yet subjects reported an accepted expectation that all members attend whanau events. Although all members may not participate, the large majority usually attend within the whanau of those interviewed. It was common for all members to attend tangihanga in particular. Several subjects alluded to socialisation being a major influence in member participation. One subject explained that children are encouraged at an early age to participate fully in marae events so as overt encouragement is not needed by teenage years (ie., whanau
expectations of participation are normally known by this age). Another subject referred to an "internal value system" or social norm promoting participation. The one subject socialised in Australia away from the whanau structure was overtly encouraged by a sibling to attend a whanau tangihanga soon after arriving in New Zealand.

One subject reported a deterrent for some members to attend whanau events due to a preference not to be confronted by certain members on their non-participation in whanau religious life within a particular faith.

All subjects reported that young members are also encouraged to attend marae activity as adults are. Whanau youth generally attend events with their own respective households. Whanau youth internalise expectations to participate through observing parents and older members who model engagement in event activities. In some cases youth may be more able to participate in waiata and physically demanding activities than other members. One subject reported that young people are always made part of marae activities.

One subject reported that whanau grandparents travel with children under 13 years twice per year to holiday with relatives near the whanau marae in their tribal area. These young members engage in any marae activity there at that time. The purpose for this practice was described as maintaining contact between whanau children and relatives living in their tribal area.

All subjects reported that learning of the Maori language and culture was promoted within their whanau. Methods in which this was done included members attending language courses at marae or members' households. Members may attend language courses outside of the whanau structure at tertiary educational institutions or within their workplace. All subjects reported having whanau children attending kohanga reo, some subjects also had members attending kura kaupapa (schools based on Maori teaching methods and the use of the Maori language as the medium of instruction). Some subjects reported mainstream primary or secondary schools also teach Maori culture and language to whanau children. A common theme was for some whanau teenagers to have had, or presently be attending a Maori high school. Members may speak Maori within their whanau, particularly in some households (eg., members speaking
exclusively Maori during certain times such as school holidays). Members may be involved in whanau or marae kapahaka groups. Members were reported to be exposed to Maori language and culture at whanau events.

(5) Capacity to plan ahead

*Future whanau cohesion subcategory*
All but one subject (who did not know) reported plans to foster future whanau cohesion. These plans primarily consisted of upcoming whanau events (eg., 60th birthdays, unveilings and weddings) that would also create a whanau reunion of sorts. Five subjects reported planned reunions in near future to encourage members to maintain links with relatives. Many whanau had regular planning meetings and kapahaka practice in preparation for these events which (in addition to the informal social gatherings mentioned above), may further promote a sense of collective unity, identity and direction.

*Protection of resources subcategory*
A mixed response was produced concerning subjects' knowledge of future plans to care for whanau resources discussed previously. Most subjects either did not know of any, or reported having no such plans. One subject reported planned investment for development of a tourism venture on whanau land. Two elder subjects reported that the responsibility for protection and management of whanau resources, and the improvement of member benefits from these resources lay with the younger and future generations.

*Protection of economic well being subcategory*
Five subjects reported having no plans for the protection of future economic well being of whanau members. Two subjects reported long term whanau ambitions to improve the education level of whanau youth in order to increase future whanau income levels. Some subjects expected increased financial returns from existing resources or whanau business ventures in the long term future. One subject reported operating an immediate family (ie., parents and independent adult offspring) savings account for future use by a number of households.

34
Protection of health subcategory

Seven subjects reported no formal plans to protect the health of whanau members. Two subjects reported knowing of marae-based health clinics servicing their whanau either in the past or presently. One subject reported that whanau women have a central role in leadership within the health protection area. One subject reported a current no alcohol policy operating on the marae complex, and future plans to provide drug and alcohol education to whanau members.

Finally, subjects were asked to describe any important whanau practices or activities related to whanaungatanga they thought were not covered within the structured interview. Most did not report any additional practices. Three subjects provided answers to this question. The first reported opportunities to network with other Maori people on a personal and professional basis via whanau contacts, another reported the availability of whanau elders to provide information (e.g., historical information) for use by oneself and one's children (i.e., the succession of whanau knowledge) as being an important additional practice. The third subject referred to the availability of whanau when in times of need, sharing good times, growing together and whanau love as important considerations concerning whanau interaction and whanaungatanga.
DISCUSSION

The aim of the present study was to develop and administer a structured interview measure using the five capacity framework of modern whanau identified by Durie. These whanau capacities were suggested to be represented by subcategories of behavioural practices investigated during interview. Ultimately, these observable practices and the capacities they represent were theorised as providing a means of making the whanaungatanga process tangible or manifest. Whanaungatanga may be viewed in this sense as a hypothetical construct, or a process that is inferred to have real existence by giving rise to measurable phenomena (i.e., various behavioural practices or interpersonal interactions within whanau).

The consultation process with Maori people who examined the interview during its construction resulted in all feedback being positive. All those personally contacted by the investigator encouraged the implementation of the research and agreed that the interview content had relevance for modern whanau functioning and the practices therein. This feedback provides support that the measure has sound face validity, appearing to Maori people with knowledge and experience in working with whanau to investigate what it was designed to.

Using data analysis techniques suggested by Corbin and Strauss' (1987, 1990) grounded theory approach, data collected from the small sample in the present study initially suggest the interview measure has reasonably sound external and ecological validity. The large majority of questions concerning behavioural practices thought to exist within modern Maori whanau (e.g., caring for elders within the whanau system, distribution of economic resources) were answered in the affirmative, providing at least some confirmation that the associated subcategories (e.g., care of sick and disabled, labour distribution, cultural empowerment) have relevance and utility in examination or assessment of behavioural interaction within modern whanau. A number of practices in the caring and sharing capacities were also common among the whanau of those Maori interviewed by Metge (1995), further suggesting the interview examines common interactions operating within whanau. Practices within the preliminary interview pertaining to the capacities to care, to share, for guardianship, and to empower appeared to be of particular relevance to subjects in the present
study. Questions concerning interactions under these capacities frequently produced responses indicating such practices regularly occurred among the whanau of those interviewed. The future whanau cohesion subcategory also produced responses indicating common plans (in the form of upcoming whanau events as reunions and unveilings) to foster this aspect of planning ahead for whanau needs. However, the protection of whanau resources produced a mixed response from subjects, yet it may be possible that this particular type of information may only be accessible to a select few whanau members (eg., leaders in the management of whanau resources such as land trust committee members). The other subcategories of the planning ahead capacity (ie., protection of economic and health well being of members) also produced less convincing responses indicating less relevance to the whanau of those interviewed compared with other subcategories. The planning ahead capacity in its present form may need to be revised or reconsidered in any future research of this nature, yet this would be clarified by more extensive interview administration to monitor any repeated occurrences of such plans in a larger sample of whanau.

Based on analysis of data collected from the limited sample used in the present study, early indications are that the five capacity interview framework in its embryonic form appears to be a useful means of assessing the behavioural practices contended to represent the whanaungatanga concept (when viewed as a process). Results of the present study suggest that qualitative measurement of the whanaungatanga process is potentially possible via indirect observation of the process, through investigation of interactive practices (which represent the process) within the whanau context. The present study provides some validation to Durie's capacity framework in assessing whanau functioning, and to his thesis in viewing the whanaungatanga concept as a process by which the whanau strengthens itself. The assessment of practices subsumed under the interview subcategories seem to provide a viable means to estimate a whanau's relative strengths and weaknesses in the various whanau capacities. Insight into a whanau's capacity to care for members, to share among members, for guardianship of collective resources, to empower in the educational, vocational and cultural spheres and to plan ahead for future whanau needs may potentially be utilised as a candid measure in estimating the operative whanaungatanga process, at least from the perspective of the individual interviewed.
A whanau's indicated level of functioning under each of the capacities provides a basis upon which one might assess the potential of that whanau for enhancing the general social well being of whanau members. Yet it would be imprecise to generalise the level of functioning of any one capacity to imply overall level of whanau functioning in terms of the whanaungatanga process. All capacities (and potentially others as yet identified by the present study) are of equal relevance if the concept is viewed as a multifaceted process by which the whanau acts as a primary social support system enhancing the physical, mental, emotional and spiritual health, as well as economic, educational, vocational and cultural well being of members.

Corbin and Strauss' grounded theory approach emphasises the importance of not only describing the indicators of social phenomena under investigation (ie., whanau practices), but also the conditions which give rise to them and the consequence(s) they produce. Consideration of the contextual influences or social conditions which contemporary Maori face may help provide elucidation into the behavioural patterns investigated within the present study. Social indicators are outcome measurements useful in gaining impressions of the general state of social well being within and between populations. In the late 1980s Pomare and de Boer (1988) concluded that Maori were grossly disadvantaged socially, economically and culturally relative to non-Maori as highlighted in high levels of unemployment, low earning capacity, poor educational attainment, low home-ownership, over-representation in penal institutions and high rates of physical and mental ill-health. Despite positive developments within the ethnic group in the areas of education and housing, a recent publication (Pomare, Keefe-Ormsby, Ormsby, Pearce, Reid, Robson and Watene-Haydon, 1995) re-examining developments since that time suggest a continuation of relative disadvantage in social well being as evidenced in their review of more recently available social indicators.

It has long been established that Maori are among the lowest income earners in New Zealand society (Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988, volume 3; New Zealand Planning Council, 1989). Pomare et al. (1995) highlight the further deterioration of Maori employment and income status relative to non-Maori over the past decade. Income is the major
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determinant of standards of living and health care (Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988, volume 1). The socio-economic disadvantage of Maori people and subsequent disadvantage in relative social well being may partly explain the existence of collectively beneficial practices identified by the present study (eg., resource sharing, collective care of whanau members, collective guardianship of natural resources). That is, it may be partly due to the relative scarcity of resources (particularly disposable income) among Maori households that a greater need for pooling resources (both in terms of material resources and labour), distributing responsibility of care for whanau members and guardianship of collectively owned resources generally exist.

In addition to evident social indicators as economic status, internalised Maori social values and behavioural norms (informal rules governing conduct) undoubtedly promote the existence of collectively advantageous practices within modern whanau as examined by the present study. The social norm of reciprocity is of particular relevance in understanding the influence of social norms with respect to the present study. Sociologist Alvin Gouldner (1969, cited in Myers, 1993) contended that people 'invest' help in others and expect their favours returned in future. The reciprocity norm therefore governs social exchange in a given population and is believed by Gouldner to be as universal as the incest taboo. Also of relevance is the social responsibility norm which refers to the social expectation that people will help those dependent upon themselves (eg., parents providing for their dependent children). Taiapa (1995) notes from her research with Maori households that just as parents expressed giving to children as an expectation of being a parent, so too was giving to whanau an expectation of being a whanau member. Metge (1995), like other writers reports that whanau members have certain obligations and responsibilities to each other (as well as people outside the whanau) emphasising interdependence as a guiding principle in social relations. Metge further identifies a more specifically focussed duty to value and cherish whanau elders and children (both often referred to as taonga or treasures). The present study demonstrated that these whanau obligations and responsibilities may also pertain to interaction with members having sickness or disabilities.
In terms of Maori behavioural norms, the social values previously discussed (eg., awhinatanga, aroha and koha) are contended to motivate the behavioural practices examined within the structured interview. Beliefs determine the expectations (and subsequently practices) Maori have regarding social life within the whanau. Metge (1995) identifies the influence of Maori beliefs and values (acquired through socialisation) which stress the importance of descent and kinship connections as the basis for organising social life. She relates this to the shared responsibility in child care and the view that children are valued as links in and between descent lines, belonging not solely to their parents but to their parents' whanau. Resource flow between households (in terms of money, goods, labour or services) was clearly evident among the whanau of those interviewed in the present study, this finding replicates that of Taiapa (1995). The essence of social norms as reciprocity and social responsibility may be expressed in the Maori sentiment ... 'Ko au ko koe, ko koe ko au', ('What's mine is your's, and your's is mine'). Interdependence as opposed to independence is viewed by Maori as indicative of healthy social functioning. This supports the view that through the processes of social reproduction modern Maori have successfully and continually adapted to their predominantly urban environment in the past half-century through the transfer and incorporation of customary communal values into contemporary social life. Maori cultural norms can therefore be viewed as a contextual influence promoting the practice of communal behaviours and interdependence.

Whanau interactions are motivated by the subjective values of whanau members internalised and reinforced through the processes of social learning and socialisation. In addition, social values and norms are reaffirmed and social expectations perpetuated through ongoing communal interactions, thus also becoming consequences of these interactions. Metge & Durie-Hall (1992) advanced that Maori individuals may possess more knowledge of Maori tikanga than they are consciously aware of. Metge (1995) argues that Maori with little conscious knowledge of Maori concepts and tikanga have often unwittingly acquired such knowledge from parents, relatives and Maori friends. This form of social learning is suggested by the present study in the personal execution of many propitious practices examined by the structured interview by subjects who could not articulate what the whanaungatanga concept (inextricably related to whanau
functioning) meant to them, (however, one such subject socialised outside the whanau was less actively engaged in these practices relative to the two others). It is argued that the various practices would not be engaged in without whanau members having first internalised certain values as previously mentioned, yet socialisation within the whanau context is a prerequisite of this internalisation. For Maori individuals socialised within the whanau context, he or she may undertake such cooperative and mutually beneficial activities (as those examined in the present study) despite not having an acute awareness of, or being able to articulate, the associated Maori values which inspire their very existence.

Despite lower socio-economic standing relative to non-Maori New Zealanders, many modern Maori have ready access to material, financial, labour and care-taking resources within the whanau structure. Financial resources may in addition be accessible to modern Maori via tribal structures at both hapu and iwi levels. It is of interest that all subjects interviewed could identify their respective tribal affiliations. Yet knowledge of and access to resources of everyday relevance was greater to those Maori people interviewed at the whanau level. Interaction of those interviewed with other Maori outside of one's household was largely on a whanau-based level. Regular active participation within the collective sphere appeared to be dominated by whanau, rather than iwi or even hapu interaction among the twelve people interviewed. However, it should be recognised that the whanau structure is not accessible to all Maori (Ramsden, 1995). It cannot be assumed that all Maori participate in whanau activity, or that all whanau function to the benefit of members (Taiapa, 1995). Potential for nurturance to members from functioning whanau is dependent on member participation in whanau corporate life. The whanau system itself requires nurturance and support from many members in order to function effectively. When conceived as a process, whanaungatanga may be viewed as providing nurturance to individual members, and the necessary support to the whanau system as a whole, through the collectively beneficial interactions of whanau members and households.

A common theme identified by the present study included widespread involvement of whanau children in te kohanga reo (the language nest) initiative. This social movement is a total immersion Maori language programme for children aged from birth to five years. Since the first centre
opened in 1982, the total number has expanded to 809 centres catering for over 14000 pre-school children in 1993. A large proportion of Kohanga operate on marae, often being hapu or extended whanau-based. A total 49% of Maori children in early education attend a kohanga centre (Ministry of Education, 1994, cited in Pomare et. al. 1995). An outcome of the Maori cultural renaissance, in a relatively short time the kohanga movement has become a significant provider of pre-school education for Maori children in addition to a focus for health promotion and early intervention through the establishment of health nest centres, as well as observance of Maori social values (The Review Team to Consider Hearing Impairment Among Maori People, 1989). A child’s attendance at a kohanga reo centre often means parental involvement in day to day kohanga operations, thus Maori social values are also promoted and/or reaffirmed at the parental level. The founders of the kohanga movement chose the term whanau to describe the group of parents, teachers and elders who operate each kohanga reo centre. The whanau title was said to be chosen to provide these groups with a model of group action which stressed aroha, cooperation, collective responsibility, and consensus decision making (Government Review Team, 1988, p.20; cited in Metge, 1995).

The division of labour at whanau events as tangihanga on the basis of gender was a common theme in subjects' reports. Metge (1995) reports that differentiation of roles on the basis of sex applies only to certain areas of social life as formal ceremony on the marae, and child bearing. Marae kawa was the major influencing factor in labour division at whanau events in the present study. Another common feature of subject responses was the integral importance of the marae and whanau events (particularly tangihanga) as providing a forum for whanau goal-directed activity and cooperation. Whanau events or hui provide opportunities and settings for the expression of whanau values through cooperative practices. Metge (1995) highlights this in reference to shared care-giving of whanau children at events. Yet the expression of Maori social values are also manifest in everyday interaction among members, as evidenced in the present study. Not surprisingly, physical proximity to other whanau members was a common influencing factor in most forms of interaction between members, members living in the same locale tended to interact more frequently than those living at great distances. Metge suggests that after decades of urban dwelling most Maori families have as many if not more relatives living in
the same town or city as they would have in their rural 'home' community.

The validity and reliability of the interview information is limited by a number of factors all of which need consideration in making conclusions about the data obtained in interview. The interview has all the limitations of any self-report measure (e.g., response bias and interviewer effects), and perhaps more so given its relatively early stage of development without benefit of a large scale study to provide more robust and generalisable conclusions. The one subject socialised outside of the whanau structure had no knowledge of information concerning many questions, far exceeding all other subjects in this regard. This may further support the view that the qualitative interview measure has credible validity, as it would be expected that a member who is not actively engaged in corporate affairs of a functioning whanau would not respond in the affirmative to the extent of one who is. One potential method of improving the validity of information gained from individual interview may be to compliment it by administering the interview to other key whanau members. This may have been a useful endeavour to undertake with regard to this particular subject allowing comparison of responses between an active and less active whanau member. Individual variation in responses from other well-informed or active whanau members would suggest a lack in an individual's interest or awareness of whanau functioning, which may in turn imply a lack of active engagement in corporate whanau life. Another method to increase the validity and/or reliability of information collected includes the interview style assumed by the interviewer. Well-known guiding interview techniques as capsule summaries, paraphrase or repeating back subject responses are useful in clarifying one's accuracy in recording responses. Such procedures will help minimise inaccurate recording of responses. Rapport between interviewer and interviewee may best be achieved (where possible) through use of a Maori interviewer, as people engage in more self-disclosure to an interviewer perceived as similar to themselves (Breakwell, 1995).

The small number of subjects and sampling procedure used in the present study may be a focus for criticism. However, as Corbin & Strauss (1990) note, representativeness of concepts (i.e., behavioural subcategories) not of subjects, is crucial in the grounded theory approach. The ultimate aim in
research based on this qualitative approach is to build a theoretical explanation by specifying social phenomena in terms of conditions that give rise to them, how they are expressed in action or interaction (ie., the practices that represent the subcategories), the consequences that result from them, and variations of these. The aim therefore is not to generalise findings to a broader population per se. Furthermore, the present study was intended to be explorative in nature. The limited scope of the research as an exploratory study restricted the overall ambition to developing and administering a preliminary framework for possible future development of a similar measure.

Pool (1991), Pomare et al. (1995), Durie (1995), Metge (1995) and others have noted that the Maori nuclear family structure has changed in recent times with many more Maori children living in single parent (typically mother) households. Although the long term effects of this change are yet to be known, previous research by the Maori Women's Welfare League (Murchie, 1984) has noted various benefits of a strong social support structure as a functioning whanau for Maori women. The report of that research also contends that the social, economic and personal well being of the 1177 Maori women interviewed cannot be examined in isolation from the whanau. Only a little over a third of Maori single parent households are closely linked to whanau (Davey, 1993). Future research might undertake to investigate the implications of participation and non-participation in whanau life with respect to these households, and on whanau interactions and responsibilities toward the single parent subgroup, particularly in reference to the caring and sharing capacities. Another feature of contemporary demographic trends is the projected increase in Maori elders, forecasting an eight-fold increase in elder (ie., over 60 years) numbers by 2031 (Department of Statistics, 1993, cited in Public Health Commission, 1994). Future research could usefully investigate the implications of increasing elders on whanau structures, distribution of resources and functioning. Again, specific regard to the caring and sharing capacities would be justified (eg., as Maori are significantly less likely to have made provisions for retirement, Public Health Commission, 1994), as well implications of this trend for whanau leadership.

Future interview administration to a larger sample of the Maori population with a wider range of social demographic backgrounds (eg., Maori residing
in metropolitan centres, young single parents) would usefully extend the confined scope of the present study. Many modern Maori are thought to lead lives centred on the nuclear family independent of a functioning whanau (Metge & Durie-Hall, 1992). Although all people interviewed in the present study had at least some prior experience and knowledge of whanau interaction patterns, the interview in its present form does not address the issue of a subject's personal level of whanau involvement directly. An informed estimate (based largely on subjects' references to the first person in interview) would suggest that all but one subject in the present study (who was socialised outside of the whanau network) had regular active involvement in their respective whanau. The issue of Maori isolation from the whanau network may be a worthwhile topic for future research, reasons for and consequences of such isolation may have implications for policy concerning whanau development. Only through vastly more extensive research can an accurate estimate of the proportions of Maori actively engaged in, or isolated from, whanau be made. More extensive research would also be required to determine how and to what extent Maori households are affected (either in a positive or negative sense) by participation or non-participation in whanau structures. Taiapa (1994, 1995), for example, has recognised both positive (emotive) and negative (financial) effects of household participation in whanau events as tangihanga.

Possible amendments to improve the preliminary interview measure developed in the present study might include the revision of some interview questions. It was noted during data collection that some questions (eg., plans to promote future whanau cohesion, promotion of working lives of whanau women) required re-wording and/or elaboration using possible response examples to facilitate subject understanding. Questions or subcategories (eg., protection of economic well being) which proved to be less relevant in wider administration would need to be withdrawn or modified to justify their future inclusion. Conversely, new and frequently produced responses not presently in the interview would generate additional subcategories of inquiry and groups of practices which may be of common relevance to contemporary (or future) whanau. For example, several subjects alluded to the frequent practice of staying with whanau members for variable periods whilst travelling or attending events outside of one's locale (this was also a major feature of households in
Taiapa's research). Another subject described the succession of whanau knowledge as an important practice pertaining to whanaungatanga that was not included in the interview developed in the present study. Metge (1995) also acknowledges passing on of matauranga Maori (Maori knowledge) as one behaviour representing what she terms the 'care and management of whanau property' function of the whanau. Additional areas of future interest in investigating modern whanau functioning may include this particular practice, and any other areas identified by a larger pool of subjects. Metge (1995) identified five main functions of the whanau, including the support and assistance of members, and closely associated care or upbringing of whanau children, which both pertain to the caring and sharing capacities used in the present study. Metge also proposes a third function of care and management of group property, pertaining to the capacities of guardianship and planning ahead, the organisation of whanau hui and fifthly the internal problem-solving function of the whanau. The present study did not address the last two functions identified by Metge directly, although labour distribution at whanau events was investigated, and whanau meetings were mentioned by two subjects as responses to whanau children breaking the law. Metge makes what she describes as a first attempt to discuss the features of whanau meetings to resolve internal problems in her 1995 publication. The function of internal problem-solving and conflict resolution may be another example of an additional area of interest to future research of this nature.

Larger scale consultation with relevant Maori researchers and professionals in any further development of the present study would be of considerable value. Constructive coordination with other research endeavours investigating modern whanau and Maori social functioning may include projects such as the Te Hoe Nuku Roa longitudinal study of Maori households, and the Whanau Ora study both presently being conducted at the department of Maori studies at Massey University, Palmerston North.

The structured interview measure in present form is unlikely to be of high practical value in the professional arena at this early stage of development. Further advancement of the present study (as already mentioned) might include refinement of the interview content based on more extensive administration and ongoing qualitative data analysis. Corbin and Strauss' approach to grounded theory would contend that conceptual density of the
multi-category framework and theory integration will be enhanced through more extensive data collection and analysis, providing increased confidence in the interview measure and the theoretical framework which has directed its construction. Focus upon a single category may be of applied value in complimenting information concerning a whanau's level of functioning in a certain area of interest. For example, the caring capacity may have application in assessment of the potential for whanau community placement of members being discharged from institutional (eg., resthome) care. Further development may involve tailoring the content of a similar qualitative measure to suit the particular service needs of a given social agency. Possible extensions to the measure as those above may be of future interest to professional fields such as social work, health, justice and education. The major potential value would be the generation of information to aid the decision-making process at the assessment and treatment/intervention stages in working with Maori clients.

The interview in its present form was designed to generate essentially qualitative data concerning behavioural interaction of whanau members. Results using a small sample of Maori suggest the interview framework provides a useful means of assessing whanaungatanga as an active process. The behavioural interaction of whanau members assessed by the interview is theorised as providing an indirect qualitative measurement of the whanaungatanga process. Measurement of responses in quantitative terms was not within the scope of the present study. Any effort to produce a quantitative measurement framework would require further consideration and development than was possible in the present study.

Any future development in measurement of subject responses based on a capacity framework (as that used in the present study), may aim to provide an indication of a given whanau's relative strengths and weaknesses across different categories. The use of an ordinal or interval scale of measurement may be a potentially useful means in rank-ordering responses along a hypothetical continuum within each category or subcategory. Further development in a measurement framework may include devising methods to graphically present a subject's responses by depicting estimated levels of whanau functioning within each category (capacity) or subcategory. One such method of visually representing an individual's responses, using the
five capacities used in the present study, might be to use a histogram format similar to the hypothetical example exhibited below.

![Histogram of Whanau Capacities](chart.png)

**FIGURE 1:** A hypothetical graphic representation of levels of functioning in whanau capacities based on the interview framework.

The present study however, was not concerned with the generation of quantitative data or subsequently the quantitative measurement of the subject matter. It is suggested that a need for further elaboration and development of a quantitative measurement framework is evident if such an extension is judged to be of any potential value in future research of this nature.

The year 1994 ushered in the decade of whanau development. Maori themselves have alluded to the potential worth in parallel recognition and promotion of whanau alongside iwi structures as equally capable of advancing Maori social development. The structured interview measure developed in the present study provides a breadth of information concerning the practices thought to represent all five capacities identified by Durie, a comprehensive assessment of the whanaungatanga process was thought to be possible by doing so. Such a necessarily broad view of whanau functioning maybe of interest to those charged with the responsibility of developing and implementing policy aimed at promoting whanau development in the global yet practical sense. The absence of plans to protect whanau resources such as health reported by subjects in the present study, for instance, may be one area of interest in policy concerning Maori
development at household levels. Durie (1995) and others have contended that health policy in particular must relate to whanau, as an exclusive focus on iwi will bypass many modern Maori who are not active participants in tribal life.

**Conclusion**

There is to date no universally accepted standard definition of the whanaungatanga concept. It is perhaps best understood as a continually evolving multifaceted concept like many others (eg., whanau), and a product of a living language. The present study suggests that the interview measure developed using the whanau capacity framework has utility in assessing behavioural practices commonly observed among modern functioning whanau. The nature and outcome of the present study may at least help contribute to our evolving understanding of whanaungatanga not as an elusive, difficult to define concept, but as a process manifest through collectively beneficial behavioural interaction. This indirectly observable process is argued to be influenced by social conditions which are 'common realities' for many Maori (eg., lower socio-economic status), promoted by the unique extended family structure of the New Zealand Maori, and informed or inspired by internalised subjective social values which in empirical terms are immeasurable. From any perspective whanaungatanga has, and will continue to be, a social process of substantial value to Maori in terms of their own social well being and development.
REFERENCES


APPENDIX 1

Structured interview used in data collection
Measure of preliminary indicators of whanaungatanga

Structured interview format

(i) Pre-interview introduction. "Thankyou for agreeing to answer some questions about your whanau. The answers you provide will be used for research into whanaungatanga, and will assist me to complete my training to become a clinical psychologist."

"The information you share about your whanau will remain confidential and your identity and that of your whanau will not be recorded."

"Please answer the following questions as best you can based on your own experience and knowledge of your whanau at the present time."

(ii) Working definition. "When we refer to whanau during this meeting we are talking about extended family members with whom you may interact or have knowledge of as being closely related. These whanau members are usually related to you through common descent or whakapapa, or by whangai/adoption or marriage. Whanau members usually come from a number of different households." *Ensure subject's understanding. Distinguish from extended whanau/hapu.*

(iii) Subject's definition of whanaungatanga. "As this research is about understanding whanaungatanga, could you explain to me briefly in your own words what whanaungatanga means to you" *(Audio record this definition to facilitate accurate transcription.)*
Section A - demographic information

Sex
Age

Marital status (eg., single, partnered, de facto)
Dependents (no, age, residing with subject?)

Do you know your tribal affiliation(s)?
If so, what are they?

Do you know your tribal area(s)?
If so, what are they? - ie., place(s) your tribe(s) belong to?

Where do your whanau generally live at the moment? - Differentiate rural or urban (ie town/city) locality

Where do you currently live? (differentiate rural or urban locality)

What is your current occupation/job/role? (eg., full time parent)
Section B - whanau capacities (Durie 1994a)

Capacity to care for whanau members

(Read the following brief introductions to each subject without specific reference to each category - eg., capacity to care)

The following questions are about how the living arrangements and whanau interaction with elders, youth and ill or disabled members are organised within your whanau.

(1) Care of elders

1a - Does your whanau have elder members? (eg., >60 yrs) Y/N D/K (ie., dont know)

If so; how many are in each age group, and what is your relationship to each person?

Describe r/ship(s) below

60-64 yrs __________

65-74 yrs __________

75+ yrs __________

1b - Do any elderly members of your whanau live with other whanau members? Y/N D/K

If so; describe this/these elder(s), (eg., 72 yr old maternal grandmother) residing with whanau members

1c - Open ended - What are the daily living arrangements of this/these elder(s) in your whanau?

Cue examples:

~ collective care between senior offspring of elder
~ exclusive or primary care by one offspring of elder
~ creation of three/four generational households in caring for whanau elders

1d - Do any whanau elders require regular practical help from other whanau members? (eg., in areas such as shopping, cooking, transportation etc) Y/N D/K

If so; describe this/these elder(s) - ie., age, title

1e - Open-ended - In what ways do whanau members provide help to this/these elder(s)? (who are the primary caregivers for these elders, what sort of help is needed, how often etc)
1f - Do any whanau elders lead daily lives in your community mainly independent of other whanau members? (ie., caring for themselves away from the whanau without requiring daily/regular assistance from whanau)
Y/N      D/K
If so; describe this/these whanau elder(s)

1g - Open ended - What (if any) form of contact or communication is maintained by whanau with such elders, and how often is contact made? (eg., daily, weekly, monthly etc).

1h - Open ended - What are the reasons and circumstances behind their independance? (eg., they have adequate ability to care for themselves, they live at long distance from whanau)

1i - Are any elderly members of your whanau living within resthomes, hospitals or other institutions?  Y/N    D/K
If so; briefly describe this/these elder(s), and their living arrangements;

1j - Open ended - What (if any) form of contact or communication is maintained between whanau and this/these elder(s), and how often is contact made?

1k - Open-ended - what are the reasons/circumstances behind the decision to place that/those elders in institutional care? (eg., specialist health services/facilities required in the daily care of elder, elder within criminal justice system etc)
(2) Care of children

2a - **Open ended** - In what ways are the daily living arrangements of children (i.e., <17 yrs) within your whanau organised?

Cue examples:

~ whanau children all live on a daily basis with birth parents
~ collective care of children among whanau households? (i.e., living arrangements of children shared among whanau members) - if so, in what circumstances and how often?
~ children in whangai care within the extended whanau - if so, how many children?
~ baby-sitting done within the whanau - if so, by which members and how often?

2b - Are parents able to seek support and/or advice from other whanau members concerning their needs or concerns as parents?  

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<th>Y/N</th>
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If so; in what ways is this done?
2c - **Open-ended** - how is the transport of whanau children to daily activities (such as daycare, kohanga reo, school, sports events and after-school jobs) organised?

**Cue examples:**

~ birth parents meet child transport needs alone  
~ uncles/aunties share transport requirements with parents  
~ grandparents meet child transport needs alone etc.

 NB: Describe the different needs being met by each whanau member (eg., grandparent drops-off and collects children from kohanga reo etc).

2d - **Open-ended** - which whanau members participate in these daily activities of whanau children? (eg., auntie usually observes child at kohanga, grandparent spectates grandchild playing rugby, uncle acting as a sports coach etc)

2e - **Open-ended** - in times of need such as when a parent becomes ill or dies, in what ways are the living arrangements of affected children met within your whanau?
(3) Care of sick and disabled

3a - Does your whanau have any long-term sick or disabled members? Y/N  D/K

3b - Do any long-term sick and/or disabled members of your whanau live within your whanau network? Y/N  D/K

If so; describe their sickness/disability, and number living in whanau households

3c - Open ended - What are the living arrangements of these sick or disabled members of your whanau? (eg., collective care or primary care between some whanau households)

If not in whanau care; do these members lead daily lives in your community mainly independent of other whanau members? (ie., caring for themselves independent of other whanau households without requiring daily/regular assistance from whanau members)  
Y/N  D/K
3d - Open ended - what are the reasons and circumstances behind their independence? (eg., they have adequate ability to care for themselves, they have alternative daily support from other sources)

3e - Open ended - what (if any) form of contact or communication is maintained between whanau and this/these members, and how often is this done?

3f - Are any sick or disabled members of your whanau living in hostels, hospitals or other institutional care? Y/N D/K

If so; briefly describe their living arrangements

3g - Open ended - What (if any) form of contact or communication is maintained between whanau and this/these member(s), and how often is contact made?

3h - Open-ended - what are the reasons/circumstances behind the decision to place this/these member(s) in institutional care? (eg., need for daily specialist services)
The capacity to share with whanau members

The following questions are about how different resources such as money, kai, work and recreation activities are shared within your whanau.

(1) Economic distribution

1a - Are goods/resources gained by members of your whanau shared among other whanau households? Y/N D/K

If so; describe these goods and how they are usually shared (eg., firewood or food sources/delicacies such as kaimoana, puha, water cress or tiitii shared equally among households)

1b - Is money from whanau members ever used for collective whanau needs/purposes? Y/N D/K

If so; please list the different needs/purposes being met by this

Cue examples:

~ financing whanau events (please list events such as tangi, unveilings, celebrations etc)
~ meeting personal needs of whanau members (please list needs such as personal loans, cash gifts, money to meet school fees of whanau children etc)
~ any other whanau needs/purposes

1c - Is such money of varying amounts occurring at varying and unpredictable times? Y/ND/K

...or are there regular amounts going into extended whanau accounts? (eg., by automatic payments) Y/N D/K

If so; describe the purpose of such accounts and how often payments are usually made.
(2) Labour distribution

2a - **Open ended** - during whanau events (eg., tangi) how are the various jobs/tasks shared among whanau members? (eg., teenage whanau members work in kitchen, collect firewood or do little)

2b - Do you believe work during whanau events is fairly divided/shared among members?

Y/N D/K

If so/not; in what ways do you believe the way jobs are divided is fair/unfair? (eg., inequities in way jobs are shared between generations or gender)
2c - Do whanau members help other members for their own practical needs? (eg., cooking meals, building or working around the home)  Y/N  D/K

If so; describe these needs being met

If not; what are the reasons/circumstances behind members not helping each other? (eg., long distances between whanau members, other help available to whanau members such as friends, workmates, neighbours etc)

(3) Social/recreational activities

3a - Are members of your whanau involved in any social, cultural or sporting activities together?  Y/N  D/K

If so; please describe these activities (eg., whanau kapahaka or cultural group; whanau touch rugby team; whanau involvement in a particular rugby, netball or softball club etc)
The capacity for guardianship of whanau members

The following questions are about how your whanau organise leadership within itself and takes care of any resources (such as land) it may own.

(1) Leadership

1a - Open-ended - in what way are important decisions within your whanau made? (ie., who is involved in the decision-making process on matters concerning the whanau as a whole?, how are decisions usually made?)

1b - Is there an accepted leader or leaders within your whanau? Y/N D/K

If so; please describe this/these leader(s), in what areas they lead (eg., Maori culture, marae kawa, whanau history/whakapapa or finances) and the role they play in decision-making within your whanau

(2) Land and natural resources

2a - Does your whanau or extended whanau (hapu) own any land or natural resources (eg., land, forests, fisheries, food sources)? Y/N D/K

If so; describe these natural resources

2b - Open ended - how does your whanau protect and/or manage these resources? (eg., existing trust for this purpose)

2c - Open ended - describe how whanau members benefit from the ownership/guardianship of these resources? (eg., material/financial or access benefits)
The capacity to empower whanau members

The following questions are about how your whanau might foster members to help themselves in different areas of life, including education, work, and culture.

(1) Educational empowerment

1a - Are any trade or work-related, technical or educational funding available to members within your whanau? Y/N D/K

If so; please describe where the funds come from (eg., lwi-based funding, whanau trusts, whanau income from collectively owned farm) and how the money is used

(2) Vocational empowerment

2a - Is your whanau involved in any work or business providing any form of benefit to members? Y/N D/K

If so; please describe these and the type of benefits provided? (eg., a drain laying business providing employment to members)

2b - Is money available within your whanau to fund any type of business/work projects? Y/N D/K

If so; please describe the source of funding, and the type of business/work projects

2c - Are the working lives of women within your whanau promoted/fostered in any way? Y/N D/K

If so; please describe how this is done
(3) Cultural empowerment

3a - Is your whanau connected to a marae? Y/N D/K

3b - If so; are whanau members encouraged to participate in marae activity? (eg., tangi) Y/N D/K

If so; describe the activities and in what ways this is done?

3c - In what ways are young people within the whanau encouraged to participate in marae activity?

3d - Does your whanau promote/foster the use and learning of Maori language and culture within itself? Y/N D/K

If so; please list in what ways this is done

Cue examples:
~ use of te reo among whanau members
~ children attending whanau-based kohanga reo
~ whanau members teaching other members te reo Maori or other cultural skills/knowledge
The capacity to plan ahead

The following questions are about how your whanau may plan for the future

(1) Future whanau cohesion

1a - Do you know of any plans your whanau may have to foster future whanau cohesion/unity? Y/N D/K

If so; please describe

Cue examples:

~ planned whanau reunion
~ development of whanau trust(s)
~ ongoing whanau meetings

(2) Protection of resources

2a - Do you know of any plans your whanau may have to care for it's resources - such as those mentioned earlier (i.e., land, forests, fisheries and food sources) - in future? Y/N D/K

If so; please describe these plans
(3) Protection of economic well-being

3a - Do you know of any plans your whanau may have to care for the economic or financial well-being of it's members in future?  Y/N  D/K

If so; please describe these plans

(4) Protection of health well-being

4a - Do you know of any plans your whanau may have to care for the health or physical and mental well-being of it's members in future?  Y/N  D/K

If so; please describe these plans (eg., establishment of a marae-based health clinic; child immunisation projects; health promotion activities or development of health-related policies etc)

Concluding statement: "Thankyou for helping me in researching whanaungatanga, lastly I am interested in knowing if you feel any important practices or activities within the whanau related to whanaungatanga have not been covered in our discussion."  Y/N  D/K

If so; "please describe these practices/activities you feel have not been covered"
APPENDIX 2

People consulted during development of the structured interview
Professor Mason Durie - Consultant psychiatrist, Head of Department, Department of Maori Studies, Director, Te Pumanawa Hauora, Massey University, Palmerston North.

Rev. Warihi Campbell and Rev. Flora Tuhaka. Family therapists, the Family Centre, Lower Hutt.

Harry Walker, Lecturer, Social Work Department, Victoria University of Wellington.


Mere Pahau and Mere Wehipeihana, Advisory Officers, Children and Young Persons Service, Head Office, Wellington.

Staff of Te Kupenga Hauora, the Maori Women's Welfare League, Napier branch, Napier Hospital.

Tuterangi Apatu, Youth Justice Coordinator, Childrens and Young Persons Service, Napier Office.

Monica Stockdale, Manager, Addiction Services, HealthCare Hawkes Bay, Napier Hospital.

Pare Nia Nia, Maori cultural advisor, HealthCare Hawkes Bay.

Diane Wepa, Social Worker, Hastings Community Mental Health Team, HealthCare Hawkes Bay.

Danny Dalamere, District Nurse, Napier Community Mental Health Team, HealthCare Hawkes Bay.

Robin Routledge, Family Therapist, Social Worker, Hastings Community Corrections.

Tracey Routledge, Family Therapist, Social Worker, Disability and Rehabilitation Services, Healthcare Hawkes Bay.
APPENDIX 3

Information sheet for prospective subjects
Measurement of the whanaungatanga concept: An exploratory study

Information sheet - to be given to prospective subjects

This research project is an attempt to learn how whanaungatanga may be measured among modern Maori whanau. The research itself is a requirement of my university training to become a clinical psychologist.

The research involves asking some Maori people a number of questions about their own whanau and recording their answers. The questions themselves are about ;- 

~ the living arrangements and interaction among whanau members;

~ how resources and activities are shared within the whanau;

~ how whanau resources are protected and how leadership is organised within the whanau;

~ how the whanau may foster members to help themselves and plan for their futures.

In addition to these questions, people will be asked to explain in their own words what whanaungatanga means to them, this will be tape-recorded to help accurately capture their answers.

If you decide to take part in this research by being interviewed by me, the personal information you provide will not be shared to anyone other than the researcher, your name will not be recorded in any way to protect your privacy. You may refuse to answer any questions you wish and can withdraw from the research at any time.

Thankyou.

Paul Hirini.