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A qualitative exploration of Māori cultural embeddedness

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Abstract

Cultural identity research has largely focused on subjective and individualised notions of identity. In recent research we introduced the concept of "cultural embeddedness" as a framework for understanding the collective expectations derived from cultural values, practices and beliefs, and how these facets of culture are integrated into identity and enacted in everyday behaviours (Fox et al., 2021). This article builds on our theory of cultural embeddedness by drawing on the lived experiences of 10 Māori individuals whom we consider to be culturally embedded in order to elucidate the features of cultural embeddedness in the context of Indigenous Māori people. Participants provided insights concerning (1) values, beliefs and practices that are important in Māori culture; (2) the characteristics of an individual who is embedded in those facets; and (3) how a person can become culturally embedded. Data were analysed using qualitative content analysis. The implicit and explicit transmission of Māori culture is discussed, particularly for those with limited access to cultural learning opportunities during childhood and adolescence.

Keywords

Indigenous, identity, embeddedness, Māori, values, being

In 2018 the centre-right National Party of New Zealand famously elected a leader and deputy leader who both had Māori whakapapa (Mahuika, 2019, for a detailed explanation of whakapapa). Amidst celebration of this historic decision, both were questioned about their Māori identity, facing criticism that their upbringing, actions and worldviews were not "authentically" Māori (Moir, 2019). The media debate that followed highlighted two dominant and divergent perspectives about

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cultural identity within Māori communities. The first is an inclusive position whereby Māori identity can be claimed by any person who has Māori whakapapa. The second is a requirement to behave in ways that are consistent with Māori values and within the parameters of Māori worldviews (Borell, 2005). In a subsequent media article, Taonui (2019) noted that, while no one has the right to question the authenticity of those who identify as Māori, "there is a difference between Māori organically seated within our communities and those of 'Māori descent'. One speaks from within communities, one does not." (n.p.). Although seemingly inconsistent, the two perspectives can be held by the same people (Moir, 2019), leading to the paradox that a person can be ethnically Māori but not culturally Māori.

Māori researchers frequently denounce the notion of "cultural authentication", promoting instead the position that all Māori have a right to identify as Māori regardless of their knowledge and experience in the culture (e.g., Borell, 2005; Gillon et al., 2019; Houkamau & Sibley, 2010; Webber, 2012). Our position is that opposition to essentialism and authentication is warranted. Discriminatory and oppressive approaches to cultural inclusion criteria, including assimilation policies (e.g., blood quantum) introduced by the Crown (Broughton, 1993; Metge, 2004), have sought to fragment Indigenous cultural identity (Thomas & Nikora, 1996). These approaches have caused and continue to perpetuate the ongoing prevalence of false and unhelpful beliefs that there is some threshold (i.e., of language fluency or blood quantum) that constitutes being "Māori enough" (Gillon et al., 2019).

Through whakapapa, Māori have the unreserved right to claim their own cultural identity (Mead, 2016; Te Huia, 2015). At the same time, it is important to recognise that culture is made up of active and dynamic processes enacted by human agents, such as customs and traditions. For many Māori, cultural identity includes an understanding of and engagement in those processes.

The confusion regarding these two notions of cultural identity perhaps stems from the English verb "to be". *To be Māori* (the infinitive form of the verb) might be interpreted as a declaration of one's cultural connections as a person of Māori heritage, while *being Māori* (the gerund form of the verb) might refer to the more active facets of Māori identity such as customary practices and general behavioural expectations (Rameka, 2018, for a similar discourse on *being* and *belonging*).

Māori identity conceptualisation and measurement

A growing body of research has sought to conceptualise and measure Māori cultural identity (Durie, 1994; Gillon et al., 2019; Houkamau & Sibley, 2010; McIntosh, 2005; Pere, 1991; Rata, 2015; Stevenson, 2013; Webber, 2012). To avoid perpetuating colonial reinterpretations of identity and culture, many of these identity frameworks are grounded on the position that cultural identity is fluid and subjective. McIntosh (2005) explains that Māori people vary in the extent to which they maintain "traditional" Māori worldviews, beliefs, values and social structures. Durie (1995) refers to this variability as "ngā matatini Māori" or "diverse Māori realities". Many studies (e.g., Borell, 2005; Gillon et al., 2019; Haenga-Collins & Gibbs, 2015; Webber, 2012) have explored those various realities, including the harm caused by essentialist framing of cultural identity (e.g., Te Huia, 2015).

Results from these studies provide an important rationale for accessible conceptualisations of cultural identity. Houkamau and Sibley (2010) developed their multidimensional measure of Māori identity (MMM-ICE) on this premise, explaining that Māori people understand their identity in individualised ways. This is the most refined (e.g., Greaves et al., 2015) and widely used (e.g., Muriwai et al., 2015) measure of Māori cultural identity of which we are aware. Similarly, Greaves and colleagues (2021) recently introduced a measure of the Māori value of whanaungatanga and its relationship to identity (see also Bishop et al., 2014).

As exemplified by the studies above, extant literature on Māori identity has explored the subjective and individual elements of cultural identity for Māori. However, as a result of prioritising subjective interpretations of cultural identity, there has been limited research exploring the collective expectations derived from Māori cultural values, practices and beliefs; how these facets of culture are integrated into identity; and how they are enacted in everyday behaviours. The present article explores these important discussions.

Cultural embeddedness

To draw out the distinction between a person's right *to be Māori* through their whakapapa and their propensity for *being Māori* through their behaviours, we previously introduced the concept of cultural embeddedness, defined as "the degree to which individuals have utilised opportunities to learn, experience, engage with, and integrate the

core beliefs, values, and practices of their culture" (Fox et al., 2021, p. 192). The concept focuses on three key facets of culture: cultural values, cultural beliefs and cultural practices (Figure 1). In other words, we posit that cultural embeddedness is characterised by knowledge of cultural beliefs, fluency in cultural practices and embodiment of cultural values. The word "embeddedness" describes the extent to which something is firmly fixed in a particular environment or context such that it has become ingrained in that context. We chose this term to describe the way that culture becomes integrated into a person's *ways of being* when they have been embedded in environments where cultural values, practices and beliefs are paramount. For Māori culture, this environment is usually (though not exclusively) the marae (King et al., 2018).
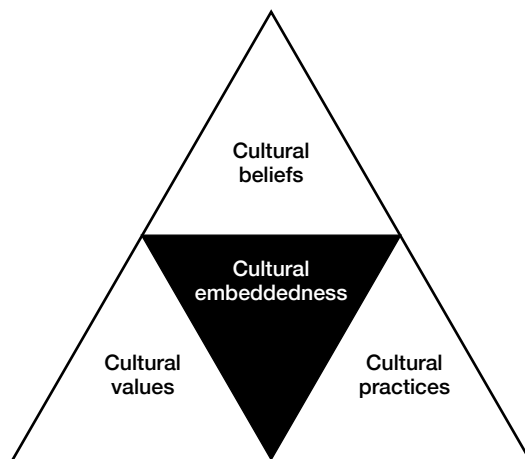
FIGURE 1 A visual depiction of the triad of cultural embeddedness, being constituted by cultural values, cultural beliefs and cultural practices

Our theory of cultural embeddedness, and specifically Māori cultural embeddedness, is intended to supplement, not supplant, our knowledge of Māori cultural identity. While the two concepts are intimately connected, it is possible for a person to have a strong subjective cultural identity and yet have had limited access to cultural learning opportunities due to the deleterious impacts of colonisation and cultural oppression (Walker, 1990). To put it simply, we posit that cultural identity opens the door to the marae, and cultural embeddedness is what happens while you are there.

The current study

In our previous work, we introduced the concept of cultural embeddedness in a comprehensive theoretical model which sought to explain the implicit and explicit pathways through which cultural embeddedness exerts its influence on people. Specifically, we explored how cultural embeddedness motivates the acquisition and performance of "culturally valued behaviours" using hypothetical examples (Fox et al., 2021). In the present article, we focus more specifically on describing the facets of Māori cultural embeddedness using the real-life examples and experiences of our participants. We expected that these examples would add quality, nuance and depth to our understanding of Māori cultural embeddedness, including how Māori cultural values, practices and beliefs are enacted and embodied. It is our intention to utilise these descriptions to eventually inform a quantitative self-report measure of Māori cultural embeddedness.

The purpose of this study can be synthesised into the following three key research questions:

RQ1: What are the key values, practices and beliefs in Māori culture?
RQ2: What are the characteristics of a person who is embedded in Māori cultural values, practices and beliefs?
RQ3: How does a person become embedded in Māori cultural values, practices and beliefs?

Author positionalities

The four authors of this article are varied in our life experiences engaging with Māori culture. The first author has been privileged to be nurtured through kaupapa Māori education from kōhanga reo through kura kaupapa and wharekura. He is a fluent speaker of te reo Māori (though not expert) with strong connections to whānau, whakapapa and whenua. However, he did spend a significant portion of late adolescence and early adulthood in environments where Māori culture and its values were not prioritised, including some time in Australia.

The second author has both Māori and Pākehā whakapapa and was raised in te ao Pākehā. She began her journey of (re)connection to te ao Māori as an adult and was drawn to this project in part through her desire to strengthen her own embeddedness in Māori cultural values, practices and beliefs.

The third author was steeped in her Māori culture despite being raised in a predominantly Pākehā community. She was brought up in a Māori-speaking environment by her parents and both sets of grandparents, who were all native

speakers of te reo Māori and active participants in the Māori community. She was also schooled at a private Māori boarding school for girls, embedded within the ethos of instilling Māori and religious values together.

The fourth author is a Pākehā man who was born, raised and trained in the United States, although he has extensive research experience studying cultural groups intensively as well as comparatively. He has lived in New Zealand for 20 years and has collaborated with multiple Kaupapa Māori research teams to study Māori adolescents and whānau.

Method

Participants

Ten adults were interviewed for this research, including four male and six female participants who have whakapapa to various iwi and hapū. The participants were known to the first author through personal, academic or professional channels. They were selected and invited to participate by the first author for their experiences being Māori themselves and observing other Māori in their personal and professional lives. As teachers, clinicians or cultural advisors, it was the first author's assumption that these individuals would have experiences engaging with Māori at varying levels of embeddedness, including teaching Māori secondary and tertiary students, engaging in Māori-focused forensic rehabilitation programmes in correctional settings or working with Māori clients in clinical settings. Collectively, these participants provide a wealth of experience in Māori cultural identity and embeddedness. Table 1 provides a list of the participants by name (all individuals opted to be identified), their professional role(s) and their iwi and hapū affiliations.

Interviews were conducted in jointly determined quiet, convenient locations or on Zoom. Karakia (Mead, 2016) were offered at the opening and closing of each interview to support the wairua (discussed below) of the interview itself and ensure the safety of those involved, in accordance with Māori cultural practices. After the interview, participants were provided with a small koha as an acknowledgement of their time, experience and contribution.

Data collection

Ethical approval for the study was granted by the Human Ethics Committee at Victoria University

TABLE 1 Iwi, hapū affiliations and roles of participants

Participant	Iwi/Hapū	Roles
Andre McLachlan	Ngāti Apa, Muaūpoko, Kotimana (Scotland)	Clinical Psychologist, Academic
Awanui Te Huia	Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Paretekawa	Academic, Reo Māori Lecturer
Hohepa Tamehana	Tūhoe	Academic, Lecturer (Applied Indigenous Knowledge), Kapa Haka Expert
Huria Robens	Wairarapa (Kahungunu, Rangitāne)	Secondary School Māori Teacher
Kim Peeti	Te Ati Haunui-a-Papārangi	Pou Arataki: Dept of Corrections
Mike Kawana	Rangitāne, Ngāti Kahungunu, Te Arawa, Ngāti Raukawa	Kaumātua, Cultural Advisor
Pikihuia Pomare	Te Tai Tokerau (Te Rarawa, Ngāpuhi, Hokianga). Tauranga (Ngāi Te Rangi, Ngāti Pūkenga). Taranaki, Ngāti Raukawa	Clinical Psychologist, Lecturer in Psychology (Academic)
Tangihaere Walker	Ngāti Porou, Ahitereiria (Australia)	Clinical Psychologist, Tertiary Student Cultural Advisor
Steven (Tipene) Heperi	Ngāti Kahungunu	Cultural Advisor: Dept of Corrections
Walter Rurawhe	Whanganui (Ngā Wairiki Ngāti Apa)	Cultural Advisor: Dept of Corrections

of Wellington (#26522). Data were gathered between October 2018 and January 2019 using semi-structured interviews, which were conducted and transcribed verbatim by the first author. Eight participants were interviewed individually, and two chose to take part in a dyadic interview. The interviews ranged from 47 to 153 minutes in length (median = 67 minutes).

Three interviews were conducted via video call (Zoom), and six were conducted in person, one in Hamilton and five in the Wellington region. Participants were asked for their perspectives on the core values of Māori culture, how important they felt it is for Māori to know and understand traditional knowledge and belief systems, and what the relationships are among Māori cultural beliefs, values and practices. Participants were also asked what it looks like when someone is embedded in their Māoritanga, understands wairuatanga, or has a distorted view of Māori values. Finally, participants were asked if it is possible to determine whether someone's behaviours are based on Māori values, and if they could outline some common behaviours they think are motivated by Māori values, and some that are contrary to Māori values. The full list of verbatim questions can be obtained by emailing the first author.

Data analysis

Data were analysed using a qualitative content analysis, "a flexible method for analysing text data" (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1277), following a general three-step process recommended by Elo and Kyngäs (2008): preparation, organising and reporting. In the preparation phase, we selected the unit and level of analysis. Because we were primarily focused on illuminating participants' experiences and examples, we decided to analyse only the manifest content (i.e., transcribed interview text), rather than latent content (i.e., laughter, silence and body language). The first author then familiarised himself with the data by reading and rereading the transcripts.

In the organisation phase, the first author coded transcripts in turn by assigning each new idea a number to signify a meaningful unit of coding. In some cases, coded extracts comprised a whole sentence or section of a sentence, and in other cases a full paragraph. Elo and Kyngäs (2008) explain that content analysis is usually conducted by using either inductive or deductive reasoning. However, qualitative researchers are increasingly recognising that this simplistic distinction does not acknowledge the reality that "the researcher's mind constantly switches between the

induction and deduction modes of reasoning during a qualitative content analysis" (Armat et al., 2018, p. 220).

In this study, we used both deductive and inductive coding. The analysis was partially deductive because categories (i.e., cultural values) and subcategories (i.e., whanaungatanga) were expected to conform to the authors' theoretical model (Fox et al., 2021). That is, we were particularly interested in examples and experiences that highlighted Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices. However, an inductive methodology was also used insofar as new ideas (particularly unexpected ones) were coded into new categories independently of whether they conformed to the model. Some extracts seemed to belong within more than one category, in which case they were placed in both until the categories were further refined. Categories with only a few instances were then examined to explore whether they could be subsumed into other categories or combined to create a new category.

In the final phase, reporting, the first author determined which categories would be useful in answering the research questions, reread data extracts within each category, and then developed a written analysis of the patterns noted within each category. The second author reviewed the data extracts and written analysis, and the analysis was revised based on their feedback.

As noted above, we as authors brought different subject positions and previous experience to the analytic process, not only in terms of Māori cultural embeddedness, but also in terms of doing qualitative research and our epistemological, ontological and methodological perspectives. Our hui revising the analysis was dominated by spirited discussion about how we would do justice to a (predominantly) inductive content analysis while acknowledging the theoretical model used to guide the development of the interview schedule. The following analysis reflects our attempts to enrich our existing theoretical model with participants' lived experience while ensuring their kōrero were not constrained by the expectations of our theoretical model.

Results

Here, we present our qualitative content analysis of participants' talk about their experiences and understandings of Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices. We begin by outlining the Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices participants identified as central to Māori culture (RQ1). The important values of manaakitanga,

whanaungatanga and whakapapa are discussed. In terms of practices, tikanga and kawa are discussed, as well as the connection between cultural practices, values, beliefs, principles and te reo Māori. For cultural beliefs, wairuatanga and pūrākau are articulated. We then explore participants' views on the characteristics of people who are deeply embedded in their Māori culture (RQ2). And finally, we explore the processes of becoming culturally embedded (RQ3).

RQ1a: Describing Māori cultural values

Both in response to direct questions regarding the core Māori cultural values and in other parts of the interview, participants discussed three central values of Māori culture: manaakitanga, whanaungatanga and whakapapa. Important cultural concepts such as mana and utu were also discussed to support an understanding of these values.

When asked which values are central to Māori culture, *manaakitanga* was commonly cited: "The value of manaakitanga seems to be a critical, and almost central value within our cultural frameworks for me" (Awanui). Hall (2012) explains that manaakitanga reflects "the custom of offering hospitality and kindness to guests, is central to making people feel welcome and is inherent within the Māori ethos" (p. 13). Participants' description of manaakitanga aligned with this definition. They used terms such as dignity, respect, acknowledgement, service and compassion. But most notably, manaakitanga was articulated as the acknowledgement and enhancement of mana, where mana is the "innate power in something" (Awanui).

Participants also highlighted the utu (Awanui) or consequences of manaakitanga, both positive and negative (see also Mika, 2014). When manaakitanga is enacted, the respect of others is earned, and the reputation of the person's whakapapa (i.e., their whānau, hapū, marae) is maintained or enhanced. Conversely, failure to fulfil one's duties to manaaki manuhiri can be detrimental to the mana of oneself and one's whakapapa connections:

> We bestow mana on our manuhiri whenever they come on to our marae. [We] treat them well and with all the respect that you would hope that you would receive when you go to their marae. Cause you don't want to bring people on to your marae and they talk about you and your marae. (Walter)

The central feature describing manaakitanga was making people "feel welcome", "part of us" and "at home" (Mike). Providing kai to guests was a particularly common example. However, one participant emphasised the depth of true manaakitanga, as opposed to a surface act of hospitality. He described manaakitanga as not just the offer of food, but also the inquiry about guests' wellbeing that happens while food is being shared:

> Instead of just giving someone a cuppa tea when they come to your office, there's all the checking in that goes in. All those little indicators that someone's interested in you. Want to check out how things have been for you; want to lay a groundwork before you get to the kaupapa as opposed to just getting a cuppa tea when you go somewhere and getting into the first question. . . . We both can provide hospitality; but the tikanga [of manaakitanga] is *around* the cuppa tea. (Andre)

There were many examples of manaakitanga described by participants, including being "kind and considerate" of others (Kim); "just turning up" to provide support without formal arrangements or requests (Tangihaere); and ensuring that people "can walk away with their mana" when being taught (i.e., learning cultural practices and norms) (Huria). One participant provided a wide-reaching description of manaakitanga behaviours:

> Like if my mates came over, making sure I have kai and that I'm looking after them, and they can stay over if they want to, that's not a big deal—just roll out the mattress. . . . Sharing our stuff, it's not a big deal. And at mahi that would be the same, is manaaki—especially new people that are coming in. And just keeping an eye out for our colleagues if you notice something that's not quite tau or they're under some stress. . . . But also, having that time to just hang out and talk. (Pikihuia)

The value of *whanaungatanga* was also identified as a core value for Māori and was consistently raised by participants. For example, when asked to identify the core values of Māori culture, one participant said: "I think whanaungatanga. The ability to relate to people, connect to people, and maintain those relationships is a fundamental social behaviour for us as Māori. And it's natural" (Pikihuia).

Whanaungatanga was also related to manaakitanga, where relationships are fostered through behaviours that uplift the mana of others and help them to feel valued. For instance, one participant described manaakitanga, in the context of bringing people into your marae, as helping

them to "become part of the whānau" and "feel at home" (Mike).

The importance of engaging in whanaungatanga practices (called "whakawhanaungatanga"; see Bishop, 1995), or in other words, engaging in the process of building relationships, was expressed as paramount to effective working relationships (see also Bishop et al., 2014, for research on the critical importance of whanaungatanga for educational outcomes):

> I see it more as an adult, especially working in Pākehā institutions where we get straight into tasks and we don't spend any time getting to know people that we've never worked with—and how hard that is. . . . If you just spend even a little bit of time getting to know someone, building trust makes everything else way easier. (Tangihaere)

Participants acknowledged that whanaungatanga is not only about building relationships; it expects that those relationships be meaningful and mutually beneficial and creates reciprocal obligations to support and strengthen each other and the community. One participant provided an example of how this works in practice: "At the marae, there's 200 chairs to go away. That can happen in six minutes when everyone works together for the community" (Huria).

The importance of whanaungatanga for wellbeing was also noted, particularly through intimate connections with others, which enables jovial relationships: "I think we can have banter with each other as Māori. . . . That's cool—to be able to joke around with each other, but still keeping that person's mana intact" (Pikihuia).

One participant provided a poignant example where whanaungatanga is being enacted in his workplace:

> We always come in and mihi to each other at the start and the end of every day. . . . So, there's that real collective mentality around sharing, around personal acknowledgement of people. Obviously, there's a lot more laughter as well. I think those little things are natural. We know the names of our children and our whānau, we enquire about those things. (Andre)

Another core value for Māori that was raised by participants was whakapapa—the genealogical connections binding people and places together. Roberts (2013) posits that, as a philosophical construct, whakapapa "implies that all things have an origin . . . and that ontologically things come into being through the process of descent" (p. 93). In line with the literature on Māori identity which we outlined in the introduction above, participants explained that having whakapapa Māori gives a person the "valid right to anything inside te ao Māori" (Tipene). Whakapapa was seen as integral to identity, providing an understanding of where and to whom people belong:

> [Whakapapa is about] having a strong awareness of who you come from. Nā wai koe, nō wai koe, ko wai ahau. I think that is a real foundation of who we are as people. And out of that comes our identity as well. And out of that comes specific characteristics. (Pikihuia)

It was further explained that, through whakapapa, people inherit the characteristics of their ancestors. Ultimately, whakapapa was described as the value of recognising how the past has shaped the present:

> You will not go to a twenty-first [birthday] without somebody mentioning somebody who's passed away or how this person reminds them of these characteristics of other people. So, there's a large element of intergenerational remembrance. And that's a way of bringing in mana. To whakamana our tīpuna—to whakamana the person that is being celebrated. (Awanui)

While whakapapa provides people with a sense of identity, it also comes with an obligation and responsibility to represent your whakapapa connections wherever you go. For example, one participant, who teaches te reo and tikanga Māori in secondary school, explained how the actions of her students impact on her mana, since much of their cultural understanding has a whakapapa connection to her, as their teacher and cultural advisor:

> It's a Māori thing: "Nō hea koe?" So, if you misbehave at any marae, all those kuia are gonna say: "Where are they from?" Whatever your act or your hara is, it's my shame because I didn't teach you better. (Huria)

RQ1b: Describing Māori cultural practices

The second facet of Māori cultural embeddedness which we asked participants to elaborate on was cultural practices, encompassing language, customs and traditions. In our analysis of participants' discussions, we identified two key focus areas: (1) discussions around tikanga and kawa;

and (2) the link between practices, values, beliefs, principles and te reo Māori.

Discussions about cultural practices were framed around the concepts of *tikanga* and *kawa*. Tikanga most often refers to the formal customs which bring to life cultural values. In his seminal work, Mead (2016) has comprehensively outlined tikanga as they relate to formal practices. However, tikanga can also refer more generally to "right-action" in everyday settings (see Jones et al., 2006, for an example of tikanga in research). Participants of this study referred to tikanga in three different ways: the traditional customs themselves, the precise way that those customs are enacted, and right-action in everyday settings.

While most participants used tikanga interchangeably in reference to both the customs and the specific way those customs are undertaken, one participant took the time to more precisely define each one with reference to the term kawa:

> So, if we were to look at pōhiri, pōhiri is a kawa. . . . How you conduct that pōhiri is your tikanga. So, you go to Taranaki, they do things differently—they harirū before they whaikōrero. . . . The point is . . . kawa insists that these practices occur; tikanga allows you to determine how. (Hohepa)

Mead (2016) also discusses the distinction between tikanga and kawa, and notes that some people use these terms in the reverse (i.e., kawa referring to how practices occur).

While certain kawa were discussed, participants spent more time elaborating on how variability in tikanga reflects Māori worldviews. It was explained that different iwi, hapū and marae have their own values which are shaped by their unique histories and experiences, subsequently shaping their tikanga. The adaptability of tikanga for various occasions and contexts was also valued:

> Every hapū and every iwi have its own distinctive values. . . . I wouldn't go to another iwi and expect it to be exactly the same. . . and I think it's nice that we can adapt as well and that we can blend our various tikanga so it's appropriate to the occasion and where we are. (Pikihuia)

Participants revealed the critical importance of identifying the stewards of an environment or space (i.e., tangata whenua), who should determine the tikanga of that space. One participant explained that the purpose of tikanga is to determine what actions are appropriate for the enhancement of the wellbeing of those impacted, so it is important

that tikanga is determined by the people who have stewardship of spaces and the individuals who operate therein:

> If it affects you, then you should have a right to say what that should look like. . . . "We" should always sit at the forefront of our tikanga. Any values and principles that we have should be determining [our] welfare . . . or should be done with the intent of our wellbeing . . . mentally, physically, spiritually. (Hohepa)

Participants also discussed tikanga in everyday contexts, providing a description that is broader than formal customs and variations in their practice. Tikanga in these everyday contexts were related to moral guidelines for right-action:

> Tikanga is in everything we absolutely do. If we apply it to the point where it determines how we act, then it's tikanga, regardless of whether it's Pākehā or Māori. If we apply it to our understanding so that it impacts us, then it's tikanga. (Hohepa)

In both everyday contexts and formal customary processes, the fluidity of tikanga continued to be relevant in that what constitutes right-action was dependent on context: "As far as I understand tikanga, it doesn't mean one way is the only way for every time. It's more about having the right customs at the right time for the right people" (Tipene).

The other key focus area here was *the link between practices, values, beliefs, principles and te reo*. As an oral culture, te reo Māori is used to enact most formal cultural practices, such as karanga, whaikōrero, karakia and kapa haka/waiata. Additionally, participants described the equal importance of supporting the marae from the back, such as organising the kai and ensuring that marae visits run smoothly and manuhiri feel welcome. These complementary processes were described as "runn[ing] the marae from the back to the front" (Kim). So, although te reo Māori was recognised as a key component of many cultural practices, it was not seen as essential to being embedded in those practices:

> Being able to listen to a beautiful whaikōrero or karanga and give expression to what you're feeling inside, and i roto i te reo is a huge advantage. But I don't feel comfortable saying that people who don't have the reo aren't embedded, because I feel that there are many ways in which people can express our tikanga. (Pikihuia)

Similarly, having the ability to deliver the formal customs was identified as secondary to the importance of recognising how those practices enact cultural values:

> The pōhiri process or mihi whakatau is an example of enacting manaaki. . . . You can "do" a mihi whakatau but you can do it poorly . . . cause you can become so rigid and formal that you lose the value of manaaki. And it ends up being something that can make the guests feel whakamā or devalued. Then you might say, "Well I've done the mihi whakatau. I've followed the process", but actually the purpose has been lost. (Tangihaere)

Taken together, these findings suggest that embeddedness in cultural practices is evidenced through an understanding of how practices enact beliefs and values, sometimes requiring fluidity and adaptation. Thus, cultural practices (including the tikanga for how they are expressed) are intimately connected to our individual and collective (i.e., iwi, hapū, marae) interpretations of cultural values, beliefs and principles:

> [Tikanga are] all based on principles, values and beliefs. [Our] understanding of those are contributed to by the stories that we have, by the lived experiences that we have, by the people that have influenced us in our lives . . . and by common sense. (Hohepa)

RQ1c: Describing Māori cultural beliefs

The third facet in the triad of cultural embeddedness is cultural beliefs. However, rather than describe specific Māori cultural beliefs, participants drew attention to cultural worldviews and focused their discussion on the structures and frameworks that encase these beliefs. These include wairuatanga, and pūrākau and whakapapa narratives.

Participants explained that Māori cultural beliefs are contained within, and articulated through, stories, histories and worldviews, and these beliefs describe how Māori make sense of the world. These traditional knowledge systems and the narratives they hold were also viewed as integral to cultural identity:

> Traditional knowledge provides us with a blueprint for how our tīpuna thought about things. It gives us an understanding for the interpretations of our current day behaviours, for the stories that we tell ourselves about ourselves. We are our tīpuna, our tīpuna are us. Their traditional knowledge

is our knowledge, is the way that we understand ourselves to be, the way we make sense of how we operate in this ao hurihuri. If we are deprived of those knowledge sets, we lose a part of our story, we lose a part of our "self". (Awanui)

Participants explained that one of the most central structures through which Māori cultural beliefs are understood is that of *wairuatanga*. Wairua was described as relating broadly to things which are "not necessarily tangible" (Pikihuia), including "energies and the way those energies impact" (Awanui) on people, places and relationships, and simply "the spiritual world" (Tipene).

While spirituality was commonly referenced, participants expressed that wairuatanga is often conflated with western religious (usually Christian) notions of spirituality, whereas wairuatanga for Māori is much broader: "It's not about religion. . . . That's part and parcel of it, but it's much wider than that. It's about your sense of belonging to your whenua, to your whānau, it's the whole thing. . . . It's limitless. It's through everything" (Kim).

Discussions around wairuatanga commonly referred to a metaphysical realm where ancestors reside who can provide support and strength to whānau in the physical world. Embeddedness in wairuatanga, then, was related to a person's understanding of how to navigate this connection to the metaphysical. One participant explained: "There's an understanding between us, te hunga ora, and . . . te hunga wairua. There's an understanding and there's a system on how we communicate and organise ourselves" (Tipene).

Wairuatanga was importantly connected to the concepts of tapu and noa (discussed in detail by Mead, 2016), which support the maintenance of balance. Tapu was described as things that are sacred or restricted, and boundaries (i.e., formal customs or physical boundaries) are set to allow people to operate in a tapu state. Noa, on the other hand, was described as a state of neutrality, and Māori customs have been developed to support people in moving between states of tapu and noa, since "we can't always operate in a state of tapu" (Awanui).

The points made by our participants are consistent with other research on wairuatanga (e.g., Lindsay et al., 2022; Mead, 2016) and, in particular, the findings presented by Valentine and colleagues (2017). In their research, they confirmed that wairuatanga is fundamental to Māori existence, knows no boundaries (compare Kim's "limitless"), is a perceived sensation (compare

Awanui's "energies"), and a vital link to ancestors (compare Tipene's "te hunga wairua").

When asked to describe some important beliefs in the Māori culture, one participant reflected on the concepts of whakapapa and identity (specifically, drawing support from tīpuna): "[One example is the] belief that there is something outside of yourself that can support you to be who you are as Māori, as a descendent of your tīpuna" (Awanui).

Participants explained that the cultural beliefs contained in the stories of atua (pūrākau; see Lee, 2009) and tīpuna (whakapapa narratives) serve to "fill us with pride" (Mike) and strengthen identity. It was also explained that, in drawing on whakapapa narratives, Māori "look to the past to guide [the] future" (Huria).

While participants explained the importance of having exposure to these narratives, it was clear that it is not imperative that every person learns and retains these stories. Instead, participants explained that often it is the role of someone in the whānau or hapū to learn and recite them: "There are those of us who have been [chosen] to carry the kōrero and take it forward. I don't think, though, it's for everybody to carry" (Mike).

Participants also drew attention to the fact that iwi and hapū have different whakapapa and therefore different whakapapa narratives (and pūrākau). Therefore, like values and practices, iwi and hapū may also vary in their beliefs about worldviews and appropriate behaviours. Pikihuia described how these variations play out with an example of people from Ngāti Porou who boldly stand and sing without fear or hesitation:

> Some iwi have their own ways of being that are more acceptable than others. . . . I think it is very specific to your takiwā and even to your hapū, and even within that. . . . Like Ngāti Porou, for example, he iwi kaha ki te tū ake, me te waiata—karekau he whakamā. (Pikihuia)

RQ2: Characteristics of Māori cultural embeddedness

In addressing RQ2, participants described the characteristics of those people they perceived as being deeply embedded in their Māori culture. Participants characterised a person who is embedded in Māori cultural values as regularly putting those values into practice and being able to articulate how and why they do so:

> Embedding something means that you're putting it into practice. That you have an absolute understanding of what you're doing and why you're doing it . . . and you're doing it. That's when it becomes embedded. It's when your principles determine how you do something. (Hohepa)

Those individuals who are embedded in cultural practices were described by participants as having sufficient knowledge of the various ways that cultural values are enacted through formal practices, and therefore having greater flexibility to "go with the flow" (Pikihuia): "That person who's steeped in it, who's been around the country and practised different tikanga, knows the whole three or four or five different ways that something rolls" (Andre).

Individuals who are embedded in cultural beliefs were described by participants as taking wairua more seriously, attuning themselves to the wairua of people and places to guide their actions: "Ones that are embedded in te ao Māori take spirituality a lot more seriously. . . . Whether that spirituality comes out in karakia, through waiata [or] through feeding people, the intent of it is all linked to spirituality" (Hohepa). These individuals were also described as having an ability to draw strength from their identity as Māori and from their whakapapa narratives.

Participants were more specific when describing individuals embedded in wairuatanga, describing these people as being open and accepting of other people, their worldviews and their perspectives, and as "being open-minded about stuff . . . and being able to accept that there are different belief systems" (Mike). They were also seen as having a sense of "groundedness" and deep wisdom with a strong and impactful, yet gentle, influence that is recognised by others. Furthermore, participants described those people embedded in wairuatanga as being steady, calm and considered in the midst of turmoil, and they seemed to have more time to give.

> More accepting, take more time with things, and have that wisdom of that knowledge behind them . . . and the words are fewer, but when they are said they are much more meaningful. . . . They can link things through whakapapa as well. People who just have time . . . and saying the right things for the kaupapa at the time. (Andre)

More generally, participants described Māori people who were culturally embedded as confident in themselves as Māori, without having a need to prove it to others, and, through that confidence,

they feel comfortable operating in "two worlds", namely in Māori cultural spaces and in Pākehā New Zealand society.

> They have that confidence in what they know, and they don't seem like they have to prove it to anybody else. (Tangihaere)

> Very comfortable in both worlds. Understands [the Pākehā] world and understands the Māori worldview. (Walter)

RQ3: The process of becoming culturally embedded for Māori

In addressing the third research question regarding how a person becomes culturally embedded, participants described the process of cultural transmission. They also acknowledged that many people will have been limited in their access to opportunities to become culturally embedded during childhood and adolescence, and addressed how this process could occur in later life.

Most participants acknowledged that traditional ways of cultural transmission were more implicit and learned through observation: "In Māori pedagogical approaches, we just do, we don't teach. You learn by observation" (Hohepa). Access and exposure to cultural environments and experiences was identified as critically helpful to the embeddedness process. Having access to and inclusion in those environments increases the number of opportunities a person has available to see and feel the genuine experience of values in action:

> I think if you put someone on a marae and say, "Hey, watch what happens", they get to see manaakitanga . . . from the time somebody comes on to the marae, all the way through to when they've become part of the whānau. I mean right through 'til they've sat down to eat, and then right through to the dishes. I think you have to be in it to understand it. (Mike)

Access to cultural spaces, cultural experiences and cultural practices provides people with comfort and confidence in those spaces—an important aspect of embeddedness which we will explore further below. In addition, an ability to articulate why we engage in cultural norms and practices was seen as important. This ability to articulate the reasons for engaging in cultural practices requires a depth of understanding that can come through reflection or with explicit teaching. Participants expressed the importance of both implicit learning through experiences and explicit teaching as important to the *process* of becoming embedded.

Explicit teaching was identified as an important developmental process which deepens a child's understanding of their culture, its values and associated behavioural expectations, and helps to clarify any misconceptions that may arise:

> I mean you demonstrate [values] to your children. I think over time we become more explicit, like we say why we do things . . . when you do things for people. Like with your children, you're saying why you do it. Or if you see kids struggling . . . you help correct any misperceptions that your children have. (Andre)

Other participants also raised cultural misconceptions and distortions that are held by both Māori and non-Māori. Colonisation and cultural oppression were discussed in relation to these distorted beliefs about Māori people and culture, perpetuated by pervasive portrayals of negative stereotypes by the media (e.g., MacDonald & Ormond, 2021; Nairn et al., 2006), sometimes causing internalisation of those stereotypes (Moewaka Barnes et al., 2013). An example of the negative portrayal of Māori in the media is the distortion of Māori martial history which is not appropriately balanced against a rich history of caring and respecting other people (especially children):

> So, when people are given just part of the story. . . the way we're presented in some images . . . [the film] *Once Were Warriors*, for instance. It's a distorted decontextualised view of te ao Māori and in particular how the colonial lens seeks to characterise what they deem to be "the Māori male". This glorification of the warrior gene. (Awanui)

Due to the impacts of colonisation and the prevalence of Pākehā norms, values and narratives, Māori have been forced to be more explicit about teaching Māori cultural values:

> Now we have to be more explicit about how those things are taught because there is not always the shared understanding of . . . what Māori cultural values are. So, things that could have been unsaid and told with a look . . . now have to be explained. (Awanui)

The process of embeddedness was more often referred to as being achieved during development when cultural values had been instilled early. However, participants also acknowledged that

many adult Māori had *limited access to opportunities* to learn tikanga or te reo Māori during their upbringing. It was identified that being embedded in Māori culture did not necessarily require fluency in the language. To restate a quote from earlier in this article: "I don't feel comfortable saying that people who don't have the reo aren't embedded, because I feel that there are many ways in which people can express our tikanga" (Pikihuia).

Participants also acknowledged that a person can be embedded in cultural values or practices (i.e., tikanga) unknowingly, only to become conscious of this fact later in life: "I'm an example of [someone who wasn't brought up with te reo and tikanga]. But looking back on the things that we did, [they] were in line with some of the tikanga that I got to know as an adult" (Walter).

For those many people who had limited access to cultural opportunities throughout their early life as a consequence of the deleterious and intergenerational impacts of colonisation, participants explained that engaging in the process of cultural embeddedness later in life requires a similar approach, specifically, explicit learning through discussions with knowledgeable friends and whānau, and that education should be supplemented by immersion in cultural experiences as they become available.

Discussion

The key purpose of the study reported in this article was to elucidate the elements of our theoretical model of cultural embeddedness (Fox et al., 2021) by exploring what Māori people say about their *lived experiences of being Māori*. By doing so, we hoped to deepen our understanding of the nuances of culturally derived and culturally valued behaviours and contribute to existing literature on subjective reflections of cultural identity (e.g., Borell, 2005; Durie, 1994; Gillon et al., 2019; Houkamau & Sibley, 2010; McIntosh, 2005; Te Huia, 2015; Webber, 2012). Specifically, we sought to describe important values, beliefs and practices of Māori culture (RQ1); explore how those facets of culture are embodied and enacted by an individual (i.e., the characteristics of Māori cultural embeddedness) (RQ2); and understand the pathways to cultural embeddedness (RQ3). We hoped that our participants' responses to these research questions would assist us in consolidating our model of cultural embeddedness and illustrating the concept for Māori cultural embeddedness using real-life examples.

Concerning RQ1, participants identified and described three central values (manaakitanga,

whanaungatanga and whakapapa); explained the importance of tikanga and the connection between cultural practices and cultural beliefs, values, principles and te reo Māori; and explained how cultural beliefs are centred around wairuatanga and are stored and shared through pūrākau and whakapapa narratives. These details, while significantly explored in extant literature (e.g., Durie, 1994; Mead, 2016; Pere, 1991), are especially important in the present context because they help to elucidate the features of each facet of Māori cultural embeddedness (values, beliefs and practices). It is also important to continue building the evidence base that articulates Māori ways of knowing and being in our ever-evolving context, and to use accessible examples. Participants in this study enunciated these features eloquently, and they provided nuanced practical examples for how these facets of Māori culture are embodied and enacted in everyday life.

Through the examples they shared, participants described important characteristics of Māori cultural embeddedness—thereby addressing RQ2. They explained that the two most telling characteristics of a person who is culturally embedded are cultural self-confidence and comfort in both the Māori and Pākehā worlds. These perspectives support our theorised conceptualisation of embeddedness—that is, where Māori people have developed comfort and confidence in Māori cultural spaces (and have thus become culturally embedded), they are also likely to be comfortable *being Māori* in more general contexts (Rameka, 2018).

Another key characteristic of cultural embeddedness that participants described was a person's ability to articulate how behaviours are informed and motivated by their understanding of cultural values and by regularly putting those values into action (i.e., performing those behaviours). One reason that this skill is a marker of embeddedness might be that it indicates that the person has had experience navigating the varying expressions of tikanga from different iwi, hapū and marae (Matthews, 2011; Mead, 2016). Thus, a person who possesses high levels of cultural embeddedness will have an ability to reflect on their cultural values as well as an appreciation for the various ways that those same values might be understood and enacted by others.

Although participants expressed that te reo Māori can enable a deep and meaningful connection to Māori cultural worldviews, they did not consider fluency in te reo Māori as an "essential" marker of cultural embeddedness, which is consistent with other research (e.g., Borell, 2005; Te Huia,

2015). Rather, participants agreed that Māori cultural embeddedness was expressed through a propensity to embody and enact cultural values. They went on to describe a number of practical ways that people do so. One recurring example was the provision of kai to guests to help them feel welcome. But participants went even deeper in describing how kai facilitates opportunities to enquire more deeply about a person's life and/or wellbeing, thereby enacting manaakitanga.

In describing how Māori people become culturally embedded (RQ3), participants explained that traditional Māori approaches to the transmission of culture often occur through implicit learning rather than explicit teaching, including the use of storytelling/narratives, teaching by example, and learning by doing (e.g., Metge, 2015; Tocker, 2017). Some participants told their own stories about how they were imbued with cultural values and tikanga as children without realising it until later in life (e.g., Walter). However, due to the deleterious impacts of cultural oppression and the prevalence of Pākehā norms, there is now an increased need to explicitly articulate Māori values, beliefs, principles, practices and approaches because Māori ways of being are routinely marginalised.

Participants explained that explicitly teaching Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices is a pivotal entry point for understanding, enacting and embedding Māori culture. In other words, explicit cultural learning was a starting point on the journey to cultural embeddedness. To supplement explicit teaching, though, participants described the greater impact of being immersed in cultural spaces for "learning by doing" (Ka'ai, 2008; Metge, 2015).

Finally, participants described simple yet powerful examples of embeddedness behaviours that are often modelled at the marae, such as helping with the dishes, putting away the chairs, and enquiring about the wellbeing of whānau and friends. These are examples of culturally valued behaviours which, we theorise, are derived from embeddedness in cultural values, beliefs and practices (see Fox et al., 2021, for a fuller description of our Dual-Pathways model).

Limitations and future directions

Because this research, to our knowledge, is the first qualitative exploration of Māori cultural embeddedness, we have restricted our analysis of participants' talk to describing the three key facets of cultural embeddedness, namely Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices (Fox et al.,

2021). In other words, the design of this study was descriptive in nature. Future research and further analytic work on the present data should elaborate the connections between each facet, enabling exploration of how the nuances and details influence each other.

We are also mindful that we have somewhat constrained important cultural concepts (i.e., wairuatanga) to finite parameters (i.e., cultural beliefs). Indigenous concepts such as wairuatanga do not necessarily fit neatly into these "boxes". In fact, wairuatanga was described in participants' talk as both a system of belief and as a value. While, for the purposes of this study, we have assigned wairuatanga to the dimension of beliefs, further research regarding how wairuatanga is embodied in the cultural embeddedness model is warranted.

Another possible limitation to this study is that we analysed the perspectives of Māori people who, by our estimation, are themselves culturally embedded. While this approach was intentional in order to support our understanding of the nuances of Māori culture, Māori people at different levels of embeddedness would add interesting and varied perspectives on this topic.

Reflexive engagement with author positionalities

The four authors of this study bring varied perspectives and experiences to this research, as expressed in the positionality subsection above. In this section, each author reflects on the findings of this study with respect to their positionality. The purpose of this section is to consider the privileges and marginalities we bring into this space. We acknowledge that research on cultural identity is not solely an academic pursuit: we inform our research, and we are both informed and impacted by our research.

First author

As a graduate of kaupapa Māori education and growing up around the marae, I am not impartial in this research. In initiating this research topic, I hoped to bring to light some of the nuances of Māori culture that I have observed and experienced in my own life, and to showcase the ways in which cultural embeddedness can empower identity. Participants' kōrero did resonate strongly with my own understandings and experiences, but they also strengthened my knowledge, deepened my understanding and broadened my perspectives.

My positionality also means that, during my upbringing, I did not struggle with the issue of

cultural disconnection or lack of access to Māori culture. And while I have a deep understanding of the issues that have been caused by colonisation and cultural oppression, this research has caused me to be more considerate of others' personal experiences with their Māori cultural identity in my framing of cultural embeddedness.

Third author

My lived experience of being Māori provides insights on how my positionality links to the present study. I grew up in a traditional Māori context where my normality was being Māori in a predominantly Pākehā community for the first 20 years of my life. These experiences allowed me to be Māori yet in the same breath have some understanding and compassion for those people who for multiple reasons were not exposed to their Māori side. Māori knowledge, values and practices are the core of my positionality. Therefore, understanding and applying them with integrity and the gravitas they deserve provides me with a secure footing in life. From this position, I am able to help others who may be starting out on their journey of understanding their Māori culture.

Fourth author

As an older Caucasian male raised within the American culture, but also as a cross-cultural researcher with three decades of experience studying diverse cultures around the globe, my position relative to Māori cultural embeddedness is one of curiosity and respect. My training in cross-cultural psychology has prepared me to approach the present topic from a position of academic interest. But as a citizen of New Zealand living in the reality of bicultural life here, I also bring a personal interest to this project to understand this important cultural dynamic. I am aware that I hold western perspectives (and biases), and they pervade my perceptions of Māori values, beliefs and practices. I have striven to become aware of these often implicit and unconscious beliefs, and I have attempted to enhance research efforts to understand the phenomenon in question without distorting the authentic voices of Māori speaking of their experiences. Ultimately, I have learned more than I have contributed to the project.

Second author

As someone who did not grow up in te ao Māori and who is not typically read as Māori, my first feeling that comes up in kōrero around cultural embeddedness is usually whakamā, and a sense of being "not Māori enough". For me, the process of becoming embedded or *more* embedded has been about realising (1) that "not Māori enough" is a colonial concept and that I am Māori enough simply because I am (Ko Tahu, ko au!), and (2) that I need to go towards my Māoritanga rather than run from it, even though doing so can be painful, because it can be rich and beautiful too. In this context, participants' kōrero shows me that embeddedness is not about how much reo we can speak or what we know of tikanga or knowing exactly where we should be at all times on marae—it is about how we relate to and connect with other people and the world around us. This kōrero is affirming because it shows that we need to think about how we can connect our people with their Māoritanga rather than gatekeeping them from it.

Creating a single piece of work from a group of researchers with such a range of identities and experiences means our mahi cannot (and should not!) reflect a single perspective. This is our attempt to come together and hear each other's and our participants' kōrero, and to weave them into something we hope will be useful to other people trying to understand this taonga that is Māori identity!

Conclusion

This research was designed to illuminate the facets of Māori cultural embeddedness through the lived experiences and observations of our participants. We hoped to elucidate important values, beliefs and practices of Māori culture; the characteristics of Māori people who are embedded in those facets of culture; and the process of becoming culturally embedded. We intend to use these findings to inform a quantitative self-report measure of Māori cultural embeddedness.

This study also provides further support to existing research promoting the value of Māori pedagogies (Lee, 2009; Mead, 2016; Smith, 2012; Waitoki & Levy, 2016) and their role in strengthening Māori cultural identity. Participants' kōrero have provided greater nuance about how Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices are embedded, embodied and enacted. We know that the taonga our participants have provided, through their kōrero, will be a source of encouragement for Māori people who are looking to understand how to increase their embeddedness, and a source of affirmation for those who are already there.

Acknowledgements

Glossary

ao hurihuri	the ever-changing/turning world
atua	deities, gods
hapū	subtribe
hara	transgression
harirū	greet, shake hands
hui	meeting
hunga ora	living people
hunga wairua	people who are deceased/spirits
i roto i te reo	in the Māori language
iwi	tribe
kaha ki te tū ake, me te waiata— karekau he whakamā	confident to stand up and sing without hesitation, shyness or embarrassment
kai	food
kapa haka	Māori performing arts
karakia	incantations, prayers
karanga	ceremonial call of welcome
kaumātua	Māori elder
kaupapa	topic, matter for discussion, initiative
Kaupapa Māori	Māori approach or methodology
kawa	ceremony, protocol
koha	gift, offering
kōhanga reo	total immersion Māori pre-school
kōrero	discussion, conversation
ko wai ahau	who I am
kuia	female elder
kura kaupapa Māori	total immersion Māori primary school
mahi	work
mana	prestige, status, authority, influence, integrity, honour, respect
manaaki	show respect or kindness; entertain; care for
manaakitanga	Māori value of generosity, kindness, and hospitality
manuhiri	visitor
Māoritanga	essence of being Māori
marae	meeting house
matatini Māori	diverse Māori realities (literally the many faces/components of Māori)
mihi whakatau	Māori welcoming custom which is less formal than pōhiri
nā wai/nō wai koe	who you belong to
noa	unrestricted; absence of tapu
nō hea koe?	where are you from?
Pākehā	a person of predominantly European descent, European-influenced culture
pōhiri	Māori welcoming ceremony
Pou Arataki	whānau liaison officer at the Department of Corrections
pūrākau	story, legend
takiwā	region, district, area
tangata whenua	Indigenous people of the land, first people of the land
taonga	precious; an heirloom to be passed down through the different generations of a family; protected natural resource
tapu	restricted, sacred, set apart, existence of potential danger
te ao Māori	Māori worldview
te ao Pākehā	Pākehā world view
tau	calm
te reo Māori	the Māori language
tikanga	customs, protocols
tīpuna	ancestors
tuia i roto	to be woven within (part of a well-known Māori proverb)
utu	reciprocity, repayment
waiata	song; to sing
wairua	spirituality
wairuatanga	Māori value of spirituality
whaikōrero	formal speech, oration
whakamā	devalued, embarrassed
whakamana	empower, give prestige to, validate
whakapapa	genealogical connections binding people and places together

whānau	extended family unit
whanaungatanga	Māori value of relationships
wharekura	total immersion Māori secondary school
whenua	land, earth

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