MAI Journal A NEW ZEALAND JOURNAL OF INDIGENOUS SCHOLARSHIP

DOI: 10.20507/MAIJournal.2021.10.2.5

THE VOICES OF KAUMĀTUA DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

Teorongonui Josie Keelan[*]
Ngahuia Te Awekotuku[†]
Linda Waimarie Nikora[‡]
Kiri Edge[§]
Karyn Okeroa McRae[‖]

Abstract

Giving voice to kaumātua perspectives and experiences, and those of older people in general, during the COVID-19 pandemic has been rare because older people are more often spoken about than provided with opportunities to speak for themselves. When they have been spoken about, the focus has been on their vulnerability. While such vulnerabilities are a critical concern, this focus ignored their active participation in and contributions to their communities. Two video recordings were made, in which five Ngāti Whakaue kaumātua talked about their understanding and experience of the pandemic and the first nationwide lockdown. They also spoke about the activities in their community—Ohinemutu in Rotorua—and their roles and those of others from the village, especially in relation to a project during the lockdown called, "Feed the Pā". Their kōrero contained descriptions of the various ways their community came together in support; the threat that COVID-19 posed to whakapapa, and therefore their collective tribal knowledge; and the value elders contribute to a community in times of stress.

Keywords

kaumātua, COVID-19, tikanga, community, resilience, Ngāti Whakaue

Introduction

One critical dimension of the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic concerns the vulnerability of older people. Among the elderly, those with underlying health issues have been identified as having an increased risk of fatal consequences from potentially contracting the virus (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2021). The Aotearoa New Zealand population began to be referred to as the "team of five million" during the first nationwide Level 4 lockdown, from 26 March to 27 April 2020. During that first outbreak, Māori made up 8% of the total number who contracted the virus. In the second wave, which was centred

* Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Awa, Tūhoe. Senior Research Fellow, Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand. Email: josie.keelan@auckland.ac.nz
† Ngāti Whakaue, Tūhoe. Emeritus Professor, Māori & Psychology Research Unit, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand.
‡ Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti, Tūhoe. Co-Director, Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.
§ Ngāti Maniapoto. Senior Researcher, New Zealand Council for Educational Research, Wellington, New Zealand.
‖ Ngāti Whakaue, Ngāti Mahuta. Community Researcher, Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.

on an Auckland-based outbreak, the percentage of those infected who were Māori rose to 12.6%, with 30 of those over 50 years of age (Taonui, 2020).

The identification of 50 years of age as a point of reference for Māori is important, particularly given the statistics showing average life expectancy for Māori is roughly seven years shorter than the population as a whole (StatsNZ, 2021). Furthermore, history shows that in previous pandemics, Māori were affected disproportionately to other ethnicities (Wilson et al., 2012).

Of those who died from COVID-19 during the first outbreak in Aotearoa, none identified as Māori (Taonui, 2020). Future research is likely to elaborate upon why that was the case. Against that backdrop the intent of this article is to describe an action taken to provide a platform for the voices for older Māori who lived through the experience of the four-week lockdown. Their stories of the lockdown are ones of action, leadership, organising, and of a community coming together to support each other. They stories of positivity and resilience, with kaumātua at the centre.

Media messages about the elderly during the pandemic

Throughout the pandemic, media messages about older people have centred on their vulnerability and need for protection. However, the unintended consequences of the endeavours to protect older people from the virus through strategies of isolation included the potential for increased loneliness, decreased mental health, poorer general wellbeing, and the silencing of their voice (Bannerjee, 2020; Brooke & Jackson, 2020; Meng et al., 2020). While the need to protect older people is a critical concern, such protections can also mean that their voices are silenced and their wants and needs remain unknown, meaning they are not provided for in ways that value them as people, and as collectives within communities (Morgan et al., 2021). The unintended marginalisation of their voices fails to acknowledge their active participation in and contributions to their communities, and that they are not just dependents.

The article provides some background to kaumātuatanga and eldership, beginning with a short discussion on the role and function of kaumātua. This will be followed by a section discussing the role of elders in communities in general, with specific reference to other Indigenous peoples. The next section concentrates on voice, especially on giving voice to groups often marginalised—in the context of this article, the elderly. We then present a description of the process used to give the kaumātua advisors involved in our research project, called Kaumātua Futures: Ko te Pae Tawhiti, Whāia Kia Tata, an opportunity to tell the story of their experiences during the first nationwide Level 4 lockdown (26 March–27 April 2020). This aspect of the project was not planned for, but we feel it greatly enriches Kaumātua Futures, and we appreciate the kaumātua consenting to participate. We tell their stories using quotes from the videos, which allows their voice to be heard in the print medium as well as the audiovisual medium. A key aspect of their stories is how their community came together through a project that arose out of the lockdown called "Feed the Pā".

Kaumātua

Kaumātua are variously described as being all elderly Māori (Oetzel et al., 2019); only elderly Māori who are steeped in the Māori language and customs (Cleave, 2009; Durie, 1999; Kepa, 2015); elderly Māori men only (Barlow, 1991; Chalmers, 2006), which is indicated by the use of the phrase "kaumātua and kuia"; and the elderly of any ethnicity, which is implied in the title of the Ageing Well National Science Challenge: Kia Eke Kairangi ki te Taikaumātuatanga (2018).

The kaumātua advisors to the Kaumātua Futures project support the position of Durie (1999), Cleave (2009) and Kepa (2015). The kaumātua advisors are adamant that in order to be referred to as a kaumātua, one must be fluent in te reo, have knowledge of the tikanga and kawa to be able to represent the whānau/hapū/iwi on formal occasions, and make oneself available to provide service to one's marae, whānau, hapū and iwi. The "service" the kaumātua advisors refer to is attending hui, where the oral skills and knowledge of kawa and tikanga of both the men and the women can be heard and seen in action. For them, the term "kaumātua" is inclusive of men and women and not gender-specific. Additionally, kaumātua advise whānau on matters pertaining to kawa, tikanga, whakapapa and histories, and may be called upon to settle disputes.

The kaumātua advisors expressed this point of view throughout their engagement with the research team. They were also clear in the difference between kaumātua and koeke. "Koeke" is the word they use referencing all elderly Māori, including those who were formerly kaumātua and no longer fulfil the functions of representing the whānau, hapū and iwi. Koeke may still attend functions such as pōwhiri where their previous contributions are often acknowledged.

To summarise, kaumātua are those with skills and knowledge to fulfil cultural obligations of upholding the mana of the whānau, hapū and iwi on formal occasions. Koeke, meanwhile, are all elderly adults, including those who fulfil cultural obligations and those who do not.

However, in pre-colonial times, all elderly Māori would have had those abilities now assigned to kaumātua to varying degrees, with some more fluent and knowledgeable than others—not an unusual situation in any society. Durie (1999), however, raises the issue of those who would have been kaumātua but who do not have the skills and knowledge usually associated with kaumātuatanga—a situation that is a result of Māori language and culture being devalued and for periods of time banned in certain environments in broader New Zealand society. For Durie (1999), such a situation could result in a loss of knowledge and customary practices, with one consequence of that being the respect formerly accorded to elders no longer being valued. Further consequences would be elders not being cared for in a way that ensures they have healthy social lives in their old age, and their opinions and knowledge garnered over time being considered irrelevant.

The role of kaumātua being only for those who are fluent in the Māori language and knowledgeable in Māori customs (formal and informal) to be able to fulfil traditional responsibilities and thereby advise the tribe reflects a definition of kaumātua as being identified with both a space (the marae) and a social and cultural construct that occupies a crucial position in the maintenance of a spatial identity (Paasi, 2000). Kaumātua may not have created the space, but they have occupied it because of circumstance. They also occupy it to represent their whānau, hapū and iwi and to fulfil traditional obligations on their behalf when required. The desire to protect kaumātua as part of the elderly cohort considered to be of high risk during the pandemic has meant their voice has been silenced, as it was not heard on the marae. Within the whānau context, their voice was not completely silenced but restricted to an online space, telecommunication, or heard informally when engaging with whānau and neighbours whilst observing social distancing advice. So were the voices of elders among other Indigenous peoples also silenced by the pandemic?

Elders and eldership among Indigenous populations

Across Indigenous communities, elders are "leaders, keepers of history and cultural knowledge, and mentors to the young" (Braun et al., 2014, pp. 121–122). Eldership, however, is not necessarily only about age but is also inclusive of emotional wellbeing, community engagement, spirituality, physical health and wisdom gained through life experiences (Waugh & MacKenzie, 2011). An Australian study with Indigenous elders identified three themes related to eldership: its distinguishing characteristics, how one becomes an elder, and threats to elders' influence (Eades et al., 2021)—not at all dissimilar to the situation of kaumātua here in Aotearoa.

In many countries, the elderly were those who contracted the virus earliest and those who died in greater numbers. Of great concern was the loss of knowledge when elders died before being able to pass that knowledge on. This was the case in many Indigenous communities (Connolly et al., 2021, Curtice & Choo, 2020; Leonard 2020; Phillips, 2020). Many of those same communities feared the real possibility of extermination (Phillips, 2020).

Indigenous communities often chose to take action to protect themselves from non-Indigenous people fleeing their urban homes by setting up checkpoints and blockades on the borders of their territory (Collyns et al., 2020; Kaplan et al., 2020; Leonard, 2020; Mounter, 2020). This often resulted in negative reactions from the very people who were endangering the lives of the Indigenous populations (Castles, 2020; Stanley & Bradley, 2020); in Aotearoa New Zealand, it was necessary to assert the legality of such checkpoints (Harris & Williams, 2020). However, Indigenous communities were clear that their action was to protect themselves given their vulnerability should the pandemic reach them (Harris & Williams, 2020; Ngata, 2020). The potential for the pandemic to decimate their numbers and especially their elders, who were the keepers of traditional knowledge, was foremost in their minds in instigating their own border controls. The same reasons were cited by the various iwi in Aotearoa who took the same action (Deckert et al., 2021; Dutta et al., 2020; Te One & Clifford, 2021).

The voices of the marginalised

Indigenous peoples live in some of the most marginalised communities in the world. Dutta et al. (2020) talk about this marginalisation in their article on how communities organised in their responses to the pandemic. Māori communities were one of their case studies. Indigenous communities organised their responses because the centralised government responses were not meeting their

needs (Dutta et al., 2020; McMeeking & Savage, 2020). Instead, authorities tended to implement one-size-fits-all responses to the pandemic—responses that did not address the concerns of Indigenous communities at all, let alone the elderly and especially Indigenous elderly. In the case of Māori, the responses were not designed using a Māori lens (Kvalsvig et al., 2021; McLeod et al., 2020; Pihama & Lipsham, 2020).

Marginalisation is a global problem, and its impact has been compounded by an economic agenda of neoliberalism (Mowat, 2015). Marginalisation exists in relation to education (Mowat, 2015), health (De Abreu Lourenço et al., 2021), youth development (Iwasaki, 2016) and many other areas of society. The elderly were identified as a marginalised group likely to be impacted by COVID-19 in a study by Rambaree and Nässén (2020) discussing how three communities in Sweden are having their rights changed during the pandemic. One of the marginalised communities they look at is the elderly. Based on their review of literature, Rambaree and Nässén (2020) note that the elderly feel ostracised, alienated, ancient, useless, and a burden on society. Although there is evidence of this in Aotearoa, there is also evidence of elderly Māori being integral to their community during the pandemic. Yes, they have been referred to as being in need of protection, but they are also busy fulfilling their role as advisors to their whānau, hapū and iwi and have asserted their right to protect and serve their people. The case study research we report here aimed to give voice to a group of kaumātua who live in, or are associated with, the village of Ohinemutu in Rotorua, in the central North Island.

Method: Giving voice to kaumātua

Our case study research was designed to give voice to five kaumātua in the Kaumātua Futures advisory group by making two video recordings them talking about their experiences of Aotearoa's first Level 4 lockdown period from 26 March to 27 April 2020, and their contributions to their community during it. Our recording of their stories fits with Lee's (2009) pūrākau method, enabling those both telling and listening to the story to learn from the telling. Thematic analysis was used to analyse the data collected from the two video recordings. Always, consent was sought from the kaumātua who participated. They proudly invited whānau to view the videos once published.

Voices of kaumātua during the first Level 4 lockdown

During the first nationwide Level 4 lockdown (26 March–27 April 2020), various Indigenous academics and researchers were involved in hosting and presenting webinars. Some were seminars, some conversations—different kinds of presentations that all used online meeting platforms, mostly the Zoom application. Although not ideal in many respects, through necessity such methods became the "new normal" in the research space. The research team thought about how to get the voice of kaumātua online because although there were articles about the impact of the pandemic on the lives of the elderly, they had tended to focus on death rates (Bannerjee, 2020) and the psychological impact (Meng et al., 2020). What was not being heard were the voices of kaumātua themselves (Brooke & Jackson, 2020). Instead, the voices of others talking about the elderly were unwittingly contributing to their silencing.

The research team knew it was important to let the voice of the kaumātua they were researching with be heard. Accordingly, on 18 June 2020, two video recordings using the Zoom platform were made. They were published online by Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga (NPM) on its Media Centre a month later, on 22 July, titled *Ngāti Whakaue Kaumātua Perspectives of COVID 19—Parts 1 & 2* (NPM, 2020a, 2020b).

The five kaumātua ranged in age from their sixties to their eighties. The entire kaumātua advisory group were invited to participate, and six had agreed to do so. One unfortunately was unable to join on the day because a family member had arrived at his house to discuss an important issue. They were accompanied by a facilitator from the research team whose role was to keep the conversation going.

The video-recording sessions were initially conceived of as seminars where each of the kaumātua would speak on a topic of importance to them. However, the sessions proceeded in a conversational way, which revealed the rich experiences of a community during a stressful time and the ways in which the five kaumātua engaged with their family and community throughout. Their individual and collective conversations departed significantly from common stereotypical portrayals of "helpless old people". They were engaged in the happenings of their community, appreciative of everything provided to them during the lockdown, and conscious of their role as holders of knowledge. For the comfort of all involved, the videos were recorded. Not all of the kaumātua

had internet access, or a computer, or were familiar with the login process. The challenge for the research team, therefore, was to make it happen.

Over the summer of 2019/2020, Kelly Stewart joined the research team as an intern for a three-month period, supported by the NPM internship programme. She was asked by the research team to assist in making the video recordings happen. Kelly organised for the local campus of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, the Māori tertiary provider she is affiliated with, to provide the necessary equipment and facilities. She was also available to assist the kaumātua taking part in joining Zoom meetings, and to organise lunch for them and refreshments for the staff at the wānanga who were helping on the day. In addition, two members of the research team travelled to Rotorua to provide additional support.

The video recordings

Prior to the videos being recorded, a karakia was conducted and consent was sought for the recording to proceed. Once this was given by the kaumātua, the conversation began, with the facilitator inviting the kaumātua to introduce themselves. These first steps were an important part of their voice being heard and in keeping with tikanga of karakia and the presenting of pepeha. The videos captured stories of resilience, of connectivity, of whānau and hapū, of leadership and problem solving. Each session ended with a karakia to complete the recording session.

The video recordings were lightly edited and then reviewed by the kaumātua, who provided their consent for the videos to be published on NPM's Media Centre. The video recordings were then reviewed to identify the key themes of the kōrero, which were found to be whakapapa, whanaungatanga, communication, and leadership.

Findings

The kaumātua generously offered the stories associated with their whānau, their village and their community. Through their storytelling, they demonstrated not just their part in community activities but those of everyone in the community, even when asked to talk about their part specifically. Their kōrero constantly returned to the village and their associations within it.

Tuatini Sinnott expressed her concern at the potential loss of whakapapa posed by the pandemic—a concern expressed by other Indigenous elders around the world as the loss of wisdom and knowledge (Connolly et al., 2021; Curtice & Choo, 2020; Leonard, 2020; Phillips, 2020). That too was Tuatini's concern when she talked about the loss of whakapapa but there were other aspects to her concern. One was the potential loss of those able to maintain the whakapapa lines—in other words, women of child-bearing age and their male contemporaries. In addition, the loss of whakapapa means loss of identity and the all-important whanaungatanga needed in times of stress. The other kaumātua participating in the videos also expressed their concern at the potential loss of whakapapa. Their illustration of whakapapa and how it was expressed during the four-week Level 4 lockdown was closely tied to their discussion of the Feed the Pā project.

Although not the primary focus of the video recordings, Feed the Pā was an important subject for the kaumātua. Their voices were strong in their contribution to its organisation and how it catered for their needs and those of their community. They described how it brought together the community surrounding Para te Hoata (Tūnohopū) Marae, one of the marae in the village of Ohinemutu. Primarily, Feed the Pā was a way in which those who have genealogical links to the marae could come together to support and care for each other in a challenging and stressful time. Tuatini Sinnott (NPM, 2020b) and Miriama Searancke (NPM 2020a) both acknowledged Mariana (Donna) Grant for the catchcry "Feed the Pā!"

Tuatini told the story of how Feed the Pā got going, and throughout the two videos she and Vicki Mae Bhana added information to the story:

> We were brought up to have stacked-up cupboards. Emergency stuff stacked up. One of our irāmutu, young mokopuna . . . had connections with a friend who had fresh fruit and vegetables and all this kai. Because of the lockdown they had nowhere to generate it, so he put it up on Facebook. He got in touch with a couple of cousins and said, "Look I've got all this kai, do you mind if I go around and drop it off to everybody", and at that moment we were just coming into the second week of the lockdown, Level 4. And so they opened up a page on our Messenger. (NPM, 2020a)

Initially response to the offer was not forthcoming primarily because people did not know those offering the food. Tuatini explained:

> So I waited and waited and waited. An hour went past and that's like a lifetime to me, so I rang up the marae trustees, Tūnohopū Marae, which is situated in Ohinemutu. Got in touch with the chairperson and said, "Look we've been koha'd all this kai, can

> we use the marae as the pātaka?" Got in touch with the irāmutu, he arranged for the truck to be there in a couple of hours. Put that on the [Messenger] page, that, right, this is how it's gonna go. All the kai's going to be delivered at the back of Tūnohopū, in the wharekai in the kitchen. We'll set up a table. Then family just jumped onboard. We had five allocated drivers to cover the whole village. Named the page "Feed the Pā!" (NPM, 2020b)

The above quotes reflect all four of the key themes identified—whakapapa, whanaungatanga, leadership and communication. Critical was the role one of the kaumātua (Tuatini) played in getting the activity going by organising for it to be based out of the marae. The person who made the initial Facebook post was a whakapapa connection—in her words an irāmutu, mokopuna. She was able to use that connection to assert her role as a kaumātua to facilitate a process by which the food her irāmutu was offering could be distributed. As a kaumātua, she saw the importance of the marae as a central point and hub for the collection and distribution of care packages for the village. Her initiative and leadership meant that food that might otherwise have gone to waste for lack of people taking up the original offer was then distributed from the marae to those who were in need. She then communicated the process using social media. Her action of leadership and communicating with the village as a kaumātua demonstrates the value of those who have knowledge of their community being able to take action because they are valued and known for being action oriented.

The above events were the beginning of a venture that kept going throughout the lockdown, and although the initial food supplied was from an outside source via someone from the village, the pātaka was maintained by the villagers themselves donating from their own cupboards. As Tuatini said, they were brought up to always have extra supplies for times such as these.

Others joined with Tuatini and the irāmutu, including one of the other kaumātua who participated in the videos, Vicki Mae Bhana. They had a time each day from 3 p.m. to 4 p.m. when people could drop off food and other supplies no matter the size, and no expectation was placed on anyone in the village to donate. Everything was gratefully received. Both Tuatini and Vicki Mae were involved in the organising, packing and distribution. Baking was also organised so that some households, especially those of the elderly, would receive cakes and/or biscuits. Drop-off of care packages to households happened every Monday—one week, some households got the packages, and the next week others that had not been recipients the week before received theirs, with kaumātua and families with children receiving something every week. This was the organisers' way of being able to ensure the whole village was provided for, especially those likely to be most in need. Vicki Mae also talked about other kaumātua being initially appreciative of the care packages but later saying they had enough to sustain them through the lockdown and to give what was packed for them to families.

Iris Thomas talked about her cousin who, although not living in the village, regularly provided fish for gatherings at marae (NPM, 2020a). He had continued to do so for the duration of the lockdown. Miriama said receiving the soup provided to the elderly and families with children on Fridays was especially appreciated, with all deliveries being opportunities to socialise even just for a short time and maintaining a distance (NPM, 2020a). Vicki Mae reiterated that deliveries were opportunities to socialise (NPM, 2020b).

"Feed the Pā!" was a catchcry that demonstrated the resilience of the community. They identified a need to maintain their contact as a whānau, recognising that the community would still be there once virus levels allowed for contact levels to return to what they had been prior to lockdown. They knew who were the neediest in what Vicki Mae and Tuatini described as a "well-to-do" community (NPM, 2020b). Despite being well-to-do, as a community they recognised two things: that there are people like the elderly who need social contact, and providing something tangible like soup was one way to do that; and that there are people in their community who need additional support in extraordinary circumstances such as these.

Feed the Pā demonstrated how connected the village of Ohinemutu was (Landau, 2013; Magis, 2010; Rettie, 2003). Key people within the village who knew the families and what was happening in each of the households—in this case known and respected kaumātua—were on hand to advise which households were in need of extra support. Miriama mentioned the value of being contacted by Vicki Mae and Tuatini, whom she acknowledged as being important village citizens in maintaining connections between the different marae whānau (NPM, 2020a). Also important were people who could make things happen; for example, because she held the key, Tuatini was able to mobilise what became Feed the Pā in a very short space of time (NPM, 2020b).

Wiremu Keepa gave an example of how kaumātua are also important when it comes to informing visitors of changes in tikanga and kawa during pōwhiri (NPM, 2020a). He was talking about the fluidity of tikanga providing for extraordinary circumstances when close bodily contact during a pōwhiri is best left out. The point spoken to here concerned the role and leadership kaumātua play in making a decision to adjust tikanga, and the responsibility they have to inform others. Making such decisions is not done lightly, as it can create debate by those who oppose any changes or adjustments, no matter if only for a short period of time or for the protection of the community. Such decisions are seldom made by a solitary kaumātua; they are made in consultation with others—although it might appear that one person has made that decision alone. It is usually the kaumātua who announces the change who carries the weight of that decision.

Final words

While the focus on Feed the Pā was unexpected, the video recordings allowed the kaumātua to talk about an activity they were very proud of, and in doing so, they discussed their roles in it and the roles other played. They were not passive recipients of the care packages from the Feed the Pā project but active in its creation and implementation. They organised, led and communicated with their community.

Evident throughout the two videos were the ways in which the two terms "koeke" (the Ngāti Whakaue word for the elderly) and "kaumātua" were used. These particular terms did not appear to be considered interchangeable; "koeke" was use when talking about the elderly related to the village and "kaumātua" when wanting to make a general point about older people who provided service to the marae. For the participants, koeke were usually those over eighty years of age. It is also probable that "kaumātua" was used by the participants in referring to themselves because they are associated with the Kaumātua Futures research project. They were and are kaumātua who are engaged and active in their hapū and iwi.

Throughout the two video recordings, the kaumātua are articulate, have clear points of view, and provide commentary clearly—with much vigour. Through their recounting of a stressful event, it is evident that they were *not* helpless, and nor did they feel that they were unable to contribute significantly to their community through the lockdown. What is most apparent from their perspectives and experiences is that they took action and made things happen in whatever ways they could. It is also evident that they were the ones who helped the village come together. They were given an opportunity to have their voices heard and represented the voices of the elderly among their village and their iwi, which echoes the treatment of the elderly within other iwi contexts. Mauri ora!

Acknowledgements

We would like that the kaumātua who participated in the two video recordings made for this project: Tuatini Sinnott, Vicki Mae Bhana, Miriama Searancke, Wiremu Keepa and Iris Thomas. Kaumātua Futures: Ko te Pae Tawhiti, Whāia Kia Tata is funded by the Ageing Well National Science Challenge: Kia Eke Kairangi ki te Taikaumātuatanga programme. We would also like to thank Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, a partner institution of Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, for making their facilities available.

Glossary

Aotearoa	Māori name for New Zealand
hapū	sub-tribe or clan
hui	meeting
irāmutu	niece or nephew
iwi	tribe
kai	food
karakia	prayer, incantation
kaumātua	elders (sometimes with specific reference to those who are fluent speakers of te reo and holders of knowledge relevant to the gathering, making them able to formally represent the tribe at significant events)
kaumātuatanga	the act of being or becoming a kaumātua
kawa	marae protocol during formal welcomes
koeke	the elderly
koha	donation, contribution
koiwi	bones
kōrero	talk, conversation, discussion, speech
kuia	old woman
mana	power, prestige, status
Māori	Indigenous peoples of New Zealand
marae	community centre; formal outside area for discussion and debate

mokopuna	grandchild
Ngāti Whakaue	tribe based in the Rotorua district of the North Island
pā	fortified village
pātaka	storehouse
pepeha	statement of identity connecting the person with rivers, lakes, mountains and ancestors
pōwhiri	welcome ceremony
pūrākau	ancient legend, story
te reo Māori	the Māori language
tikanga	customs and customary practice
whakapapa	genealogy
whānau	family in its many forms
whanaungatanga	relationships
wharekai	dining hall

References

Ageing Well National Science Challenge: Kia Eke Kairangi ki te Taikaumātuatanga. (2018, July). *Future strategy 2019–2024*. https://www.ageingwellchallenge.co.nz/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/AWNSC-Future-Strategy-2-July-18.pdf

Bannerjee, D. (2020). The impact of Covid-19 pandemic on elderly mental health. *International Journal of Geriatric Psychiatry*, *35*(12), 1466–1467. https://doi.org/ggv24s

Barlow, C. (1991). *Tikanga whakaaro: Key concepts in Māori culture*. Oxford University Press.

Braun, K. L., Browne, C. V., Ka'opua, L. S., Kim, B. J., & Mokuau, N. (2014). Research on Indigenous elders: From positivistic to decolonizing methodologies, *The Gerontologist*, 54(1), 117–126. https://doi.org/f5q34q

Brooke, J., & Jackson, D. (2020). Older people and COVID-19: Isolation, risk and ageism. *Journal of Clinical Nursing*, *29*, 2044–2046. https://doi.org/ggq7vh

Castles, H. (2020, 17 April). Calls for police to shut down Māori-led roadblocks as public report they feel "intimidated". *1 News*. https://www.1news.co.nz/2020/04/17/calls-for-police-to-shut-down-maori-led-roadblocks-as-public-report-they-feel-intimidated

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (2021, 4 August). *COVID-19 recommendations for older adults*. https://www.cdc.gov/aging/covid19-guidance.html

Chalmers, F. G. (2006). Of kuia and kaumatua. *Studies in Art Education*, *47*(4), 291–293. https://doi.org/g8tg

Cleave, P. (2009). Starting points? A discussion of contemporary Maori society and culture. *Te Kaharoa*, *2*(1), 116–129. https://doi.org/g8th

Collyns, D., Cowie, S., Parkin Daniels, J., & Phillips, T. (2020, 30 March). Coronavirus could wipe us out: Indigenous South Americans blockade villages. *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/mar/30/south-america-indigenous-groups-coronavirus-brazil-colombia

Connolly, M., Griffiths, K., Waldon, J., King, M., King, A., & Notzon, F. C. (2021). Overview: The International Group for Indigenous Health Measurement and COVID-19. *Statistical Journal of the IOAS*, *37*(1), 19–24. https://doi.org/gk64gh

Curtice, K., & Choo, E. (2020). Indigenous populations: Left behind in the COVID-19 response. *The Lancet*, *395*(10239), 1753. https://doi.org/gjhc28

De Abreu Lourenço, R., Devlin, N., Howard, K., Ong, J. J., Ratcliffe, J., Watson, J., Willing, E., & Huynh, E. (2021). Giving a voice to marginalised groups for health care decision making. *Patient*, *14*, 5–10. https://doi.org/g8tj

Deckert, A., Long, N. J., Aikman, P. J., Appleton, N. S., Davies, S. G., Trnka, S., Fehoko, E., Holroyd, E., Jivraj, N., Laws, M., Martin-Anatias, N., Pukepuke, R., Roguski, M., Simpson, N., Sterling, R., & Tunufa'I, L. (2021). "Safer communities . . . together?" Plural policing and COVID-19 public health interventions in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Policing and Society*, *31*(5), 621–637. https://doi.org/gjzqk2

Durie, M. (1999). Kaumātuatanga. Reciprocity: Māori elderly and whānau. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, *28*(2), 102–106.

Dutta, M. J., Elers, C., & Jayan, P. (2020). Culture-centered processes of community organizing in COVID-19 response: Notes from Kerala and Aotearoa New Zealand. *Frontiers in Communication*, *5*, Article 62. https://doi.org/g8tk

Eades, O., Toombs, M. R., Cinelli, R., Easton, C., Hampton, R., Nicholson, G. C., McCabe, M. P., & Busija, L. (2021). The path to eldership: Results from a contemporary Indigenous Australian community. *The Gerontologist*, Article gnab062. https://doi.org/g8tm

Harris, M., & Williams, D. (2020, 10 May). Community checkpoints are an important and lawful part of NZ's COVID response. *The Spinoff*. https://thespinoff.co.nz/society/10-05-2020/community-checkpoints-an-important-and-lawful-part-of-nzs-COVID-response/

Iwasaki, Y. (2016). The role of youth engagement in positive youth development and social justice youth development for high-risk, marginalised youth. *International Journal of Adolescence and Youth*, *21*(3), 267–278. https://doi.org/g8tn

Kaplan, H. S., Trumble, B. C., Stieglitz, J., Mamany, R. M., Cayuba, M. G., Moye, L. M., Alami, S., Kraft, T., Gutierrez, R. Q., Adrian, J. C., Thompson, R. C., Thomas, G. S., Michalik, D. E., Rodriguez, D. E., & Gurven, M. D. (2020). Voluntary collective isolation as a best response to COVID-19 for indigenous populations? A case study and protocol from the Bolivian Amazon. *The Lancet*, *395*(10238), 1727–1734. https://doi.org/gjg8nj

Kvalsvig, A., Wilson, N., Davies , C., Timu-Parata, C., Signal. V., & Baker, M. G. (2021). Expansion of a national Covid-19 level alert system to improve population health and uphold the values of Indigenous

peoples. *The Lancet Regional Health—Western Pacific*, *12*, Article 100206. https://doi.org/g8tp

Kepa, M. (2015). Partnership, production and exchange of knowledges. *Journal of Indigenous Research*, *4*, 1–6. https://digitalcommons.usu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1045&context=kicjir

Lee, J. (2009). Decolonising Māori narratives: Pūrākau as a method. *MAI Review*, (2), Article 3. http://www.review.mai.ac.nz/mrindex/MR/article/download/242/242-1618-1-PB.pdf

Leonard, K. (2020). Medicine lines and COVID-19: Indigenous geographies of imagined bordering. *Dialogues in Human Geography*, *10*(2), 164–168. https://doi.org/gjhc2c

McLeod, M., Gurney, J., Harris, R., Cormack, D., & King, P. (2020). COVID-19: We must not forget about Indigenous health and equity. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health*, *44*(4), 253–256. https://doi.org/gk6xbk

McMeeking, S., & Savage, C. (2020). Māori responses to Covid-19. *Policy Quarterly*, *16*(3). https://doi.org/g8tq

Meng, H., Xu, Y., Dai, J., Zhang, Y., Liu, B., & Yang, H. (2020). Analyze the psychological impact of COVID-19 among the elderly population in China and make corresponding suggestions. *Psychiatry Research*, *289*, Article 112983. https://doi.org/ggvz3j

Morgan, T., Wiles, J., Williams, L., & Gott, M. (2021). COVID-19 and the portrayal of older people in New Zealand news media. *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand*, *51*(Suppl. 1), S127–S142. https://doi.org/g8tr

Mounter, B. (2020, 24 March). Self-imposed coronavirus lockdown part of Cape York efforts to protect vulnerable communities. *ABC News*. https://www.abc.net.au/news/2020-03-24/coronavirus-travel-ban-roadblocks-across-remote-far-north-qld/12082414

Mowat, J. G. (2015). Towards a new conceptualisation of marginalisation. *European Educational Research Journal*, *14*(5), 454–476. https://doi.org/gj53cr

Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga. (2020a, 22 July). *Kaumātua Futures: Ngāti Whakaue kaumātua perspectives of Covid 19—Part 1* [Video file]. NPM Media Centre. http://mediacentre.maramatanga.ac.nz/content/kaum-tua-futures-part-one-perspectives-covid-19

Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga. (2020b, 22 July). *Kaumātua Futures: Ngāti Whakaue kaumātua perspectives of Covid 19—Part 2* [Video file]. NPM Media Centre. http://mediacentre.maramatanga.ac.nz/content/kaum-tua-futures-part-two-perspectives-covid-19

Ngata, T. (2020, 7 May). COVID-19 and the Māori duty to protect. *Overland*. https://overland.org.au/2020/05/COVID-19-and-the-maori-duty-to-protect/?fbclid=IwAR2tDMCjVsn9PY-5XYmSnMJ_wvCnQCqY0iKKW1UJQf7sDJT-wD6IgPkhdplM

Oetzel, J. G., Hokowhitu, B., Simpson, M., Reddy, R., Nock, S., Greensill, H., Cameron, M. P., Meha, P., Johnston, K., Harding, T., Shelford, P., & Smith, L. T. (2019). Kaumātua mana motuhake: A study protocol for a peer education intervention to help Māori elders work through later-stage life transitions. *BMC Geriatrics*, *19*, Article 36. https://doi.org/ggbfr2

Paasi, A. (2000). Territorial identities as social constructs. *Hagar—International Social Science Review*, *1*, 91–113. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/291022562_Territorial_identities_as_social_constructs

Phillips, D. (2020). "We are facing extermination": Brazil losing a generation of Indigenous leaders to Covid-19. *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2020/jun/21/brazil-losing-generation-indigenous-leaders-covid-19

Pihama, L., & Lipsham, M. (2020). Noho haumaru: Reflecting on Māori approaches to staying safe during Covid-19 in Aotearoa (New Zealand). *Journal of Indigenous Social Development*, *9*(3), 92–101. https://journalhosting.ucalgary.ca/index.php/jisd/article/view/70788/54413

Rambaree, K., & Nässén, N. (2020). "The Swedish Strategy" to COVID-19 pandemic: Impact on vulnerable and marginalised communities. *International Journal of Community and Social Development*, *2*(2), 234–250. https://doi.org/gh8dwb

Stanley, E., & Bradley, T. (2020). Pandemic policing: Preparing a new pathway for Māori? *Crime, Media, Culture*, *17*(1), 53–58. https://doi.org/gg7m7d

StatsNZ. (2021, 20 April). Growth in life expectancy slows. https://www.stats.govt.nz/news/growth-in-life-expectancy-slows

Taonui, R. (2020, 27 August). World and New Zealand numbers update. *Waatea News*. https://web.archive.org/web/20200827225046/https://www.waateanews.com/waateanews/x_news/MjUzODU/opinion/Dr-Rawiri-Taonui-%7c-Covid-Maori-%7c-World-&-New-Zealand-Numbers-27-August-2020

Te One, A., & Clifford, C. (2021). Tino rangatiratanga and well-being: Māori self determination in the face of Covid-19. *Frontiers in Sociology*, *6*, Article 613340. https://doi.org/g8tt

Walker, R. (1975). Marae: A place to stand. In M. King (Ed.), *Te ao hurihuri: The world moves on* (pp. 21–34). Hicks, Smith & Sons.

Waugh, E., & Mackenzie, L. (2011). Ageing well from an urban Indigenous Australian perspective. *Australian Occupational Therapy Journal*, *58*, 25–33. https://doi.org/dm5w96

Wilson, N., Barnard, L. T., Summers, J. A., Shanks, G. D., & Baker, M. G. (2012). Differential mortality rates by ethnicity in 3 influenza pandemics over a century, New Zealand. *Emerging Infectious Diseases*, *18*(1), 71–77. https://doi.org/fzkfp2