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**UNDERSTANDING THE HAPPINESS OF MĀORI
AND THE ROLE OF CONSUMPTION:
EXPERIENCES OF THE MILLENNIAL
GENERATION**

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree
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EBONY DE THIERRY

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ABSTRACT

Happiness is commonly perceived as the ideal state of being for all of human kind. Although a universal definition of the term remains elusive, happiness is a goal that everybody wants to achieve. In understanding the different aspects that shape happiness, the literature has shown that this can vary depending on the cultural context. As such, this study investigates the essence of happiness as it is experienced by Māori. In understanding the experiences of the Millennial generation, the role that consumption plays is also explored. This group of young adults have been raised in an era when consumerism and cultural revitalisation are the norm.

This investigation was guided by hermeneutic phenomenology using a kaupapa Māori research perspective. Through this, thirteen young Māori individuals were interviewed to gain their experiences of happiness. Photo elicitation techniques were utilised as a means to facilitate these interviews. Stories of the participants' experiences of happiness were crafted and then analysed to explore the role of consumption.

Findings show that the happiness of Māori is shaped by the five themes of; sense of belonging, whānau and relationships, spirituality, achievement and success, and sense of freedom. These themes interrelate as they are underpinned by the collective values of Māori. In particular, the aspects of spirituality and sense of belonging appear to be specific to the Māori realm. These are based on customs, values and beliefs that are inherited from our ancestors yet are still prevalent today. In terms of consumption, happiness can be positively linked to experiential consumption. In this case, it can play three different roles on the happiness of Māori through either; a direct connection, an indirect connection, or a negative connection. For Māori, consumption is more likely to have an indirect connection. This implies that it is able to facilitate, maintain and enhance happiness, but is not essential to creating these feelings. This investigation contributes to the literature in four ways. First, this study serves as a starting point to developing a

comprehensive framework of happiness that is specific to the culture, views and values of Māori. This will assist Māori through ensuring that they are accurately represented in policies, frameworks and statistics. Second, it proposes five guidelines for Māori which suggest how they can maximise happiness through consumption. Third, this study provides a more up-to-date understanding of the happiness of Māori at the individual level whilst incorporating the impact of collective values. Marketers, researchers and practitioners can utilise this information in an attempt to aid in improving the happiness of Māori society. Finally, it shows that consumption can continue to be positively related to happiness once basic needs have been met. The positive role that consumption can play on happiness is identified, showing that marketers and consumers can work together to achieve happiness.

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TERMS, DEFINITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

1814:	A New Zealand reggae band
Aotearoa:	New Zealand: The land of the long white cloud
Aroha:	Love
Awa:	River
AWOL:	Absent without leave
Benji Marshall:	A Māori rugby league player
Bertie Blott's Beans:	A confectionary from the Harry Potter series
BMS:	Bachelor of Management Studies
Boil-up:	A staple Māori meal of food boiled together
Butter Beer:	A beverage from the Harry Potter series
Chocolate Frog:	A confectionary from the Harry Potter series
Crème Soda:	A sweet, carbonated soft drink
Deepak:	An Indian philosopher
Derek Lardelli:	A Māori tā moko artist
Disneyland:	A Disney theme park in California
E!:	A celebrity entertainment television network
Elmo:	A children's character from Sesame Street
Ernst & Young:	A large multi-national accountancy firm
Exersaucer:	An active learning centre for babies
Facebook:	An online social media site
First Nations:	Indigenous people from Canada
Haka:	A traditional Māori war dance
Haka Tautoko:	Uplift and support others with the haka
Hākari:	A feast, banquet
Hangi:	Food cooked in the earth with steam
Hapū:	Sub-tribe
Harry Potter:	A series of fantasy novels
Hogsmeade:	A wizarding village from the Harry Potter series
HOD:	Head of Department

Hui:	A meeting or gathering
Humane:	The Humane Society – A rescue centre for animals
Inuit:	Indigenous people from Canada
iPad:	A tablet computer
Iwi:	Tribe or people
Jay-Z:	An American rap and hip hop artist
Jolly Jumper:	Baby product that develops basic motor skills
Ka mate ka mate:	Words to a popular haka
Kaitiakitanga:	Guardianship of the environment
Kapa Haka:	Māori cultural group or Māori performing group
Karakia:	Prayer, grace, blessing
Katchafire:	A New Zealand roots reggae band
Kaupapa:	Topic, agenda or theme
Kete:	Basket, kit
Kina:	Sea urchin, a type of seafood popular with Māori
Knighton Road:	The street that the University of Waikato is on
Koda:	Crayfish, lobster
Kōhanga (reo):	Total immersion Māori language preschool
Kora:	A New Zealand roots reggae band
Koro:	Grandfather
Koroua:	Elderly man, elder, granduncle
Kura:	School
Kura Kaupapa:	Total immersion Māori language school
League:	Rugby league – a type of football
McDonalds:	A hamburger fast food restaurant
Mahi:	Work, job, employment
Maisey Rika:	A Māori singer, songwriter and musician
Manu Kōrero:	Māori speech competition for secondary schools
Manukura:	Person held in high esteem, leader in council
Māori:	The Indigenous people of New Zealand
Māoritanga:	Māori culture, Māori way of life
Marae:	Meeting house, a communal or sacred place
Maunga:	Mountain

Mauri:	Life force
Matatini:	National kapa haka competition
Mātauranga Māori:	Body of Māori knowledge
Metis:	Indigenous people from Canada
Mihi:	Speech of greeting, acknowledgment, tribute
Miro:	Brown pine
Moana:	Sea, ocean
Moko:	Grandchild
NZVCC:	New Zealand Vice-Chancellors Committee
OE:	Overseas experience, an extended working holiday
Pa Wars:	Inter-marae sports festival
Pak n Save:	A large supermarket chain
Pākehā:	New Zealander of European descent, non-Māori
Paru:	Dirty, muddy, soiled
Paua:	Abalone, sea ear, a type of seafood
Piupiu:	A skirt made out of flax
Poi:	A light ball on a string
PolyFest:	Māori and Pacific Islands cultural festival
Powhiri:	Welcome ceremony
Pukana:	Stare wildly and dilate the eyes
Puku:	Stomach
PWC:	A large accountancy firm
Rakaumanga:	A Māori secondary school in Waikato
Rūnanga:	Tribal council, assembly, board
Selwyn Hayes:	Māori Sector Services Leader at Ernst & Young
SLR:	A single-lens reflex camera
Snow Planet:	An indoor snow resort
Stan Walker:	Winner of ‘Australian Idol’ who is Māori
Tā Moko:	Permanent body and face markings by Māori
Tainui:	Iwi of the Central North Island
Tāne:	God of the forest
Tangi:	Funeral service
Taonga:	Treasure, something prized

Tautoko:	Uplift and support others
Te Ranga Ngaku:	Māori Management Student Network
Te Reo/Te Reo Māori:	The Māori language
Te Runanga o Kirikiriroa:	Urban Māori authority for Hamilton
Three Houses Down:	A New Zealand reggae band
Tikanga:	Correct procedure, custom, lore
Tohunga:	Expert
Tupuna:	Ancestor
Tūrangawaewae:	Place where one has rights of residence
U2:	An Irish rock band
Uni:	University
Universal Studios:	A movie studio and theme park in Hollywood
Urupā:	Burial ground, cemetery
Wāhine:	Women, wives
Waikato Student Union:	A society that represents the student body
Waitangi Day:	The day the Treaty of Waitangi was signed
Waka:	Canoe
Waka Ama:	Outrigger canoeing
Waiata:	Māori song
Wairua:	Spirit
Whakawhānaungatanga:	Process of establishing relationships
Whānau:	Family, extended family, family group
Whānaungatanga:	Relationships, sense of family connection
Whāngaied:	Fostered or adopted
Whakangahau:	To entertain, amuse
Whakapapa:	Genealogy, descent
Wharekura:	Māori language immersion secondary school
Whenua:	Land, or placenta and afterbirth
Yum Cha:	A Chinese style morning or afternoon tea

CHAPTER ONE:

TE HUARAHĪ RANGAHĀU: THE JOURNEY OF RESEARCH

*“Ko te manu e kai ana i te miro, nōnā te ngāhere.
Ko te manu e kai ana i te mātauranga, nōnā te ao –
The bird that feasts off the Miro berry belongs to the
great forest of Tāne. The bird that draws sustenance
from knowledge will inherit the world”*

- Māori Proverb

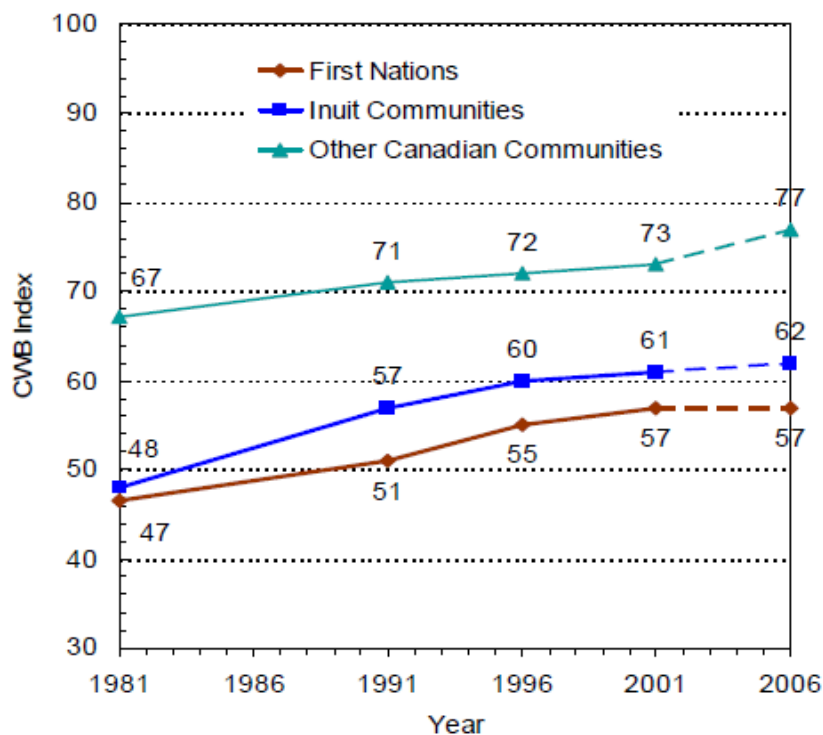
SETTING THE SCENE

In 2010, I was fortunate to be one of six Māori students from the Waikato Management School to be given the opportunity to go to Canada on an Indigenous-based research excursion. Whilst here we were given the chance to intimately connect with Indigenous people from First Nations, Metis and Inuit descent, and share in all aspects of their culture, customs and values. Throughout our ten day visit, they warmly welcomed us into their homes and community gatherings, hosted us on a canoe pull, and honoured us with traditional song, dance and story-telling.

It was while listening to a presentation on the well-being of First Nation and Inuit communities at an Ottawa-based government department that I was exposed to Canada’s Community Well-Being Index. This tool was developed as a means to help measure the quality of life of First Nation and Inuit communities relative to other non-Indigenous Canadian communities (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2010). The Community Well-Being Index uses the four indicators of; education, labour force, income and housing. It implies that through measuring these aspects over time, this index can assist in understanding the well-being of these Indigenous cultures. As Figure One shows, according to this index, the well-being of First Nation and Inuit communities is well below that of other Canadian communities. It was at this stage that I began to wonder, ‘Who comes up with these indicators? Who defines well-being in such a way that these Western

indicators are expected to be transferrable to Indigenous populations?’ I thought of an Indigenous man who I had met in Vancouver. While he was not formally educated, he possessed all of the knowledge of his people and his ancestry - who is to say that he is not educated? Similarly, while he was not financially well-off and was not surrounded by the material goods that society uses to measure wealth these days, he was rich in his culture and his connection to the land – who is to say that he is not wealthy?

FIGURE ONE: Average Community Well-Being Index Scores (1981 – 2006)



Source: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (2010)

During the twelve-hour flight home, I began to mull over my own thoughts and ponder my recent experiences. This incident had influenced me immensely, and I just could not let it sit. As an individual, and as a Māori, I had a vested interest in ensuring that we were properly represented in similar government frameworks and statistics that claim to understand and portray the well-being of Māori. On the other hand, as a researcher in the field of marketing, I had already developed a passion for understanding consumer behaviour and the ways in which specific

attributes and characteristics contribute to consumer purchasing. Through this, the idea of understanding the role of consumption in the lives of Māori, and whether or not culture, customs and values relates to their consumption experiences, was also extremely appealing. As many of us have been raised in an urban society, I was interested in understanding whether or not our cultural norms are able to prevail in such a material driven world, and if this plays a role on our well-being. Upon touchdown in Aotearoa this topic was already beginning to take shape, and it was then that this journey truly began.

THE QUEST FOR HAPPINESS

The terms ‘well-being’, ‘subjective well-being’ and ‘happiness’ are often used interchangeably in the literature (Costley, Friend, Meese, Ebbers & Wang, 2011; Diener, 2000; Nicolao, Irwin & Goodman, 2009; Tatzel, 2003). For the purpose of this study, however, the term ‘happiness’ will be used as it tends to invoke a greater understanding for the individual, and is also more highly associated with ones feelings and state of being (Lu & Shih, 1997; Nicolao et al., 2009).

During Ancient times, the notion of happiness was perceived as a state that could only be possessed by the gods (Gouthro, 2010). As cited in McMahon (2010), “human beings, Homer said, were “of all creatures that breathe and crawl the earth” the most dismal, the most agonized. The gods alone were the blessed ones. The gods alone were happy” (p. 470). Over the centuries, however, the concept of happiness has received significant transformation and is now more commonly perceived as the ideal state of being for all of human kind (Swinyard, Kau & Phua, 2001). As such, it has continued to grow in popularity with philosophers, academics and policy makers alike. In the present day, this holds true particularly for those involved in the creation of public policies aimed at improving the quality of life for the general population (Duncan, 2005; Gouthro, 2010). National happiness surveys and statistical studies are frequently used in an attempt to uncover the factors that contribute to happiness and the indicators that may be used to measure it (Gouthro, 2010). There is an emerging belief that through the use of happiness research, we can begin to understand the feelings and motivations of society, thus, recognising and increasing the happiness of the

nation. As Ng and Ho (2006) stated, “public policy should be about enhancing happiness or the welfare of people, now and in the future” (p.1).

Although the quest for happiness has continued to receive increasing levels of attention, it is interesting to note that a universal definition of happiness remains elusive (Gouthro, 2010). Whilst generally associated with positive affective states, the specific aspects that constitute happiness are debatable. According to Layard (2005), happiness is about “feeling good – enjoying life and wanting the feeling to be maintained” (p.12), while Tkach and Lyubomirsky (2006) define it as “the experience of more frequent positive affective states than negative ones as well as the perception that one is progressing toward important life goals” (p. 184). Duncan (2005) states that happiness is represented through good feelings such as elation, pleasure or joy, and perceives it to be the by-product of one’s thoughts and personal choices, stemming from the private feelings of the individual. Similarly, Field (2009) asserts that happiness is associated with such qualities as optimism for the future, the ability to control your own future, resilience, confidence and the competencies involved in establishing satisfying and meaningful relationships with others. Statistics New Zealand (2002) defines happiness as “states of being or doing that individuals or collectives value and their capability of achieving those states” (p. 4), while Potkay (2010) believes that “happiness is the ability not necessarily to get what you want, but to know what you *should* want, which is the same thing as what you would want were your soul ordered properly” (p. 525).

According to Pflug (2009) happiness is a highly complex and subjective state of being which is highly culture-specific in terms of the meanings that can be associated with it. As Duncan (2005) points out, cultural customs, values and norms as well as linguistics can influence the way that different people understand, interpret and express happiness. As Swinyard, Kau and Phua (2001) assert, assessing happiness through the use of objective indicators can be highly problematic as these measures largely ignore cultural differences and meanings. In the context of this investigation, this highlights the need to understand the nature

of happiness as Māori experience it in order to ensure that it is reflective of a Māori worldview.

THE CONSUMPTION LIFESTYLE

“As consumer researchers reflect on the twentieth century, one of the most striking trends over the past 100 years has been the evolution of consumption as a culturally accepted means of seeking success, happiness, and the populist notion of the good life” (Burroughs & Rindfleisch, 2002, p. 34). Through this, it is implied that our lives today are governed by the acquisition of material possessions in an attempt to establish higher levels of satisfaction and social acceptance (O’Cass & McEwen, 2004). The consumption lifestyle has gained increased prominence over recent decades as this ‘consumer culture’ continues to infiltrate and dominate Western society (Gouthro, 2010). With the introduction of globalisation and improvements in information technology, the influences of consumption are now able to reach people in more ways than ever before (Dunn, 2008).

Consumption can be defined as the active process of purchasing, acquiring, possessing, using or experiencing consumer goods and services (Dunn, 2008; Mackay, 1997; Ratneshwar, Mick & Huffman, 2000). In this sense, consumption not only refers to the buying of goods and services but also to owning, gifting, displaying and having. In contrast to the view of consumption as an economic activity to satisfy needs and wants, the academic literature has begun to emphasise consumption as a means to seek pleasure, fulfil desires and gain social acceptance (Bocock, 1993; Dunn, 2008). Consumption is now viewed as more of a social activity that plays a central role in the lives of many (Bocock, 1993). For the Western world in particular, consumption has had a major influence in shaping the culture of society (Dunn, 2008). As such, many have taken to consumption as a mode of establishing and enhancing their social identity (Raneshwar et al., 2000). Through this, one can purchase and consume products to enact their identity and associate themselves with a certain social group (Bocock, 1993; Mackay, 1997). This implies that consumption also possesses a somewhat

complex and symbolic significance through which people are able to express themselves and assign certain meanings to their sense of identity (Dunn, 2008).

While the consumption lifestyle continues to gain prominence, the debate as to the effects of consumption on happiness continues within the academic literature. According to basic economic theory, an increase in consumption will result in higher levels of satisfaction for the consumer as it enhances his or her utility (Dutt, 2006). Similarly, fundamental marketing principles imply that consumption of a good or service that fulfils a need or want should also have favourable outcomes (Solomon, Charbonneau, Hughes, Chitty, Marshall & Stuart, 2009). Furthermore, O’Cass and McEwen (2004) argue that an increase in consumption can have positive effects in terms of creating a social identity, enabling social acceptance and enhancing a sense of achievement. Kasser and Ahuvia (2002) along with many others, however, argue that individuals who focus on the possession of material objects are said to have reduced life satisfaction and happiness as they substitute intrinsically satisfying relationships with people for extrinsic relationships with objects. On top of this, materialistic values can also be associated with depression, neuroticism, non-generosity, envy, greed, social anxiety, dependency and self-criticism (Burroughs & Rindfleisch, 2002; Schroeder & Dugal, 1995). As Richins (1987) identified, “more materialistic people are more dissatisfied by their standard of living than less materialistic people” (p. 350). In essence, consumption tends to dominate an individual’s daily events, understandings, perceptions and nature of thinking in such a way that the overall outcomes are largely unfavourable.

Ultimately, the literature has continued to identify the negative impacts associated with the consumption lifestyle and individual happiness. While these findings serve the purpose of allowing both marketers and researchers to more effectively understand consumer attributes and behaviour, it is important to take into account that individual and cultural differences could likely influence the relationship between consumption and happiness. As such, this highlights the need to determine the ways in which cultural customs, values and norms contribute to one’s experiences of consumption and the role that this plays on happiness.

WHAT IS THE IMPORTANCE?

This study endeavours to add to the academic literature in a number of ways. Firstly, similar to the Community Well-Being Index of Canada, much of the current happiness research uses survey methods and objective measures as a means to understand and quantify the happiness of individuals and collectives (Holder & Klassen, 2010; Potts, 2011; Ram, 2010). Through the use of qualitative inquiry and phenomenology, this investigation incorporates a consumer voice into the literature ensuring that it is representative of the experiences, thoughts and feelings of the individual. Secondly, although there is no clear definition of happiness, as Duncan (2005) states “to decide whether or not I am happy, it makes no sense to reach for a dictionary... knowing, in any degree of detail, the neurophysiology of perception and emotion does not tell me what a blue sky looks like, nor what it means to feel happy” (p.20). As such, it makes more sense to understand the meanings and experiences associated with happiness at the individual level, rather than attempting to label and define it in such a way that it can be made applicable to all. Even if we were to define happiness, this would do nothing to clarify the *meaning* of the term. With this in mind, this study seeks to explore the nature of happiness, the meanings associated with it, and the way in which it is experienced by individuals.

Next, the notion of happiness is highly culture-specific. In this sense, the meaning of happiness, and the way that it is understood and expressed by individuals can be strongly influenced by cultural differences. This study seeks to understand the nature of happiness as it is experienced by Māori and the role that Māori culture, customs and values plays. This brings an Indigenous perspective to the literature, reflective of a Māori reality. This could also ensure that the indicators used to measure the happiness of Māori are aligned with the meaning of happiness as perceived by Māori, rather than with Western standards. This study also takes into consideration the current indicators of happiness for Māori, as outlined in the literature. Finally, this study explores the role that cultural values play on the consumption experiences of Māori and the ways that these experiences relate to the consumption lifestyle of Western society. As the rejection of materialism in

the name of reciprocity and sharing amongst whānau, hapū and iwi is a common Māori trait (Grievess, 2007) it is likely that Māori experiences of consumption differ from those of Pākehā. Additionally, as the academic literature has placed a high emphasis on the negative effects of consumption (Belk, 1985; Burroughs & Rindflesich, 2002; Dutt, 2006; Kasser & Ahuvia, 2002), this investigation seeks to understand the positive role of consumption through exploring its relationship with happiness.

UNDERSTANDING THE HAPPINESS OF MĀORI AND THE ROLE OF CONSUMPTION

The purpose of this study is to explore the lived experiences of Māori in terms of the way they understand, interpret and express happiness, and the role that consumption plays. This will provide an Indigenous voice to the academic literature which will be contrasted with the current Western paradigm. More specifically, this investigation seeks to understand the experiences of those in the Millennial generation (those born between 1977 – 2000) as these young adults not only embody the future, but have also been brought up in a culturally diverse yet consumption-oriented society. In order to contextualise these experiences, it was important that the stories of Māori were captured and understood from the viewpoint of those who have experienced them.

In particular, the aims of this study are to:

- Understand the nature of happiness as it is experienced by Māori
- Understand the role of Māori culture, customs and values on the happiness of these young Māori individuals
- Explore the role that consumption plays on the happiness of Māori

MOVING FORWARD: THE STRUCTURE OF THIS THESIS

This thesis has been divided into seven distinct chapters. *Chapter Two* explores the history of Māori and outlines the ways that specific measures of happiness may vary dependent on the cultural context. *Chapter Three* summarises the literature on happiness and consumption, capturing both the positive and negative associations of this relationship. *Chapter Four* outlines the methodology that guides this investigation, providing a rationale for the use of qualitative inquiry,

phenomenology, and kaupapa Māori research. *Chapter Five* presents the participant's stories of happiness which capture the thoughts, feelings, values, understandings and experiences of each individual. *Chapter Six* outlines the five themes of happiness that emerged from these stories and discusses the role of consumption. *Chapter Seven* draws conclusions from this study and outlines the implications for both practitioners and researchers.

TALES FROM THE AUTHOR

Ko Ebony de Thierry taku ingoa

No Whangarei ahau

Ko Parahaki toku maunga

Ko Hatea toku awa

Ko Ngapuhi toku iwi

It has not been since secondary school that I have been required to state my whakapapa, but it seems like a very fitting way to begin. While it is important to do this thesis justice by introducing and positioning it correctly, I also feel it is necessary to introduce myself and my Māori roots – after all, it is these roots, our iwi (tribe), our maunga (mountain), our awa (river), that define us and identify us as Māori. I had never given my whakapapa much thought. It had been taught to me, I had acknowledged it and accepted it, but I had never really stopped and considered how it contributes to my Māori identity. That is, until I undertook this topic. While it has been a journey of research and understanding, for me personally it has been a journey of spiritual and cultural self discovery.

I need to give credit where credit is due, and I must admit that had I not gone on the excursion to Canada I very much doubt that I would have conducted a Māori-based research project. I would have continued on with a topic that was perfectly OK, I would have learned some perfectly OK insights, and gained a perfectly OK grade; but upon conclusion of the thesis, I very much doubt I would have learned such valuable lessons about myself. The trip to Canada opened my eyes to a whole new world and a whole new perspective of seeing. It showed me the importance of Indigenous-based research, not only for us as Indigenous people,

but also for the rest of the population. It made me proud to be Māori and also made me realise that we possess a great deal of intrinsic knowledge that could benefit the world over. It made me eager to learn more, to get back in touch with my own identity, and to share and pass on this knowledge for the betterment of others. To commemorate this turning point in my life, I have named this chapter after our roopū (group) that went to Canada, Te Huarahi Rangahau, which can be directly translated as, The Journey of Research.

CHAPTER TWO: ENCAPSULATING HAPPINESS FROM A MĀORI PERSPECTIVE

*“As I walk as an individual in the Pākehā world,
I walk with my Māori world in my spiritual realm.
Wherever I go I take my Māori world with me.
I am never alone!*

*I walk with my wairua, my iwi, my hapū and my whānau.
Being Māori is having a deep bond with my people whether it be
physically or spiritually they will always be there, especially in times of
sickness, unhappiness, at times of death or even happy times of celebration.
For me, being Māori is being here for one another in our Māori
world and in our Pākehā world also. I am never alone”*

- Kelly Te Heuheu

In order to accurately understand the happiness of Māori, it is important to first comprehend the aspects that have shaped Māori culture and its people. This chapter does just this through providing a detailed account of the history, traditions and values of Māori. It also emphasises the ways in which measures of happiness may vary dependent on the cultural context. Māori-specific frameworks of happiness and well-being are also discussed.

THE WAY WE WERE: TRADITIONAL MĀORI SOCIETY

It is said that the first great ocean-going waka (canoe) brought Māori to Aotearoa (New Zealand - Land of the Long White Cloud) from Eastern Polynesia in approximately 1000AD (Baskett, 2010; Panelli & Tupaia, 2001). Here, Māori lived in isolation for several centuries, developing a distinctive culture that incorporated language, mythology, spirituality, and the arts. Referring to themselves as tangata whenua or ‘people of the land’, Māori held a deep connection to the natural environment, relying on it not only for sustenance, but also as a means to connect with their whakapapa (genealogy) (Panelli & Tupaia, 2001). These lands held the bones and placenta of their ancestors and served as a home for Atua (the gods). As such, Māori treated the land with great reverence and viewed their relationship with nature as one that was sacred (Te Ara, 2011).

Traditionally, Māori lived in a tribal society residing in and around valleys, harbours, rivers and mountains (Te Ara, 2011). These iwi (or tribes) were large groups descending from an ancestor who originally established guardianship of a specific geographic area. Each iwi contained several hapū (or sub-tribes) which were then made up of extended whānau (or families) (Rochford, 2004). Understanding ones whakapapa was vital to Māori identity. The identification and acknowledgement of tribal territory provided a clear sense of place (Panelli & Tipa, 2001). As such, each iwi, hapū and whānau had tohunga (experts) who would trace their descent from Ranginui (Sky Father) and Papatuanuku (Earth Mother), and preserve and pass on this knowledge orally (Rochford, 2004). This common story of creation ensured that relationships with both people and the environment were based on balance and reciprocity (Panelli & Tipa, 2001). It also reflected the belief that all things, both animate and inanimate, possessed a physical and spiritual dimension; everything had a mauri (a life force) (Rochford, 2004).

Within traditional society, Māori based their social and cultural structures around the values of collectivism and interdependence (Panelli & Tipa, 2001; Te Ara, 2011). Māori individuals understood their lives to be strongly interconnected with both their whānau and the environment, and were aware of the fact that they coexisted within a mutually dependent whole. The notion that what affects a part also affects the collective was a widespread belief (Te Ara, 2011). Māori abided by strict tikanga; customary practices and lore that upheld cultural integrity and guided and regulated behaviour (Harmsworth, 2004; Mead, 2003). Such values as; whanaungatanga (relationships), tino rangatiratanga (self-determination), kaitiakitanga (guardianship of the environment), manaakitanga (hospitality), mana (power), wairua (spirituality) and arohatanga (love and respect), amongst others, were of utmost importance (Harmsworth, 2004; Mead, 2003). Māori utilised these as instruments through which they made sense of and experienced the world around them; more commonly referred to as Te Ao Māori, or the Māori world (Harmsworth, 2004).

THE COLONISATION OF NEW ZEALAND

After centuries of living in isolation, tribal Aotearoa eventually became host to the European world. Abel Tasman, the Dutch Explorer made contact with Māori in 1642; however, it was Captain James Cook in 1769, that claimed the country for Britain (Baskett, 2000; Te Ara, 2011). European settlers, whalers, missionaries and traders came in flocks. By 1840, Māori had suffered immensely from European diseases, to which they had no immunity, and the musket, which they used during inter-tribal war. The number of Māori residing within Aotearoa was greatly diminished (Baskett, 2000; Te Ara, 2011). For those who remained, the introduction of Christianity, the English language, alcohol and new technologies saw the acculturation and assimilation of Te Ao Māori toward a more European way of life (Te Ara, 2011).

On 6th February 1840, the Treaty of Waitangi was signed between representatives of the British crown and the paramount Māori chiefs (Baskett, 2000). The Treaty promised Māori equal status with the British people, and allowed for peaceful colonisation by the British (Baskett, 2000). Māori, on the other hand believed that they would maintain ownership of their land and authority of their own affairs. As Māori and English translations and interpretations of the Treaty vary, there is generally no consensus as to what was actually agreed upon (Te Ara, 2011). From the mid-1840s, war between Māori and Pākehā (non- Māori) broke out as Māori sought to hold on to their land and rights of authority. Pākehā settlers, however, hoped to gain land for a growing population and ultimately confiscated millions of acres of land from Māori. During the early 20th century, Māori society reached an all time low, with estimated numbers of fewer than 50,000 people; sixteen times less than the original population (Te Ara, 2011). Colonisation represented a serious threat to the autonomy and integrity of Māori as the individualistic culture of the Europeans clashed with the collectivist and spiritual culture of the Māori (Christopher, 1999; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Panelli & Tipa, 2001; Rochford, 2004).

THE INTERGENERATIONAL EFFECTS ON TE AO MĀORI

With acculturation also came a high degree of urbanisation for Māori. This has contributed to an increase in health and social problems (Panelli & Tipa, 2001). Typically, Māori are over represented in almost every negative statistic, including violence, alcoholism, suicide, depression, substance abuse, obesity, poverty, unemployment, crime, poor housing, poor health, and low education (Rochford, 2004; Taylor, 2007; Todd, 2010; Tsey et al., 2007). To many Pākehā, this is the dominant image of Māori society. A lack of understanding and appreciation for the traditional Māori worldview is generally the cause. As Māori regarded nature and the earth with the utmost respect, love and appreciation, being divorced from their tribal lands during the process of colonisation was a culturally traumatic experience (Panelli & Tipa, 2001). Māori leaders and researchers can trace the poor social status of their people to the loss of income, language, pride, community, identity, self-esteem, social structure and spirituality that came with the loss of land and resources (Coupe, 2005; Johnston, 2006; Joseph, 1997; Panelli & Tipa, 2001; Rochford, 2004; Tito, 2008). As cultural identity and obligations were intrinsically linked to Papatuanuku (Earth Mother), alienation from the land carried with it a severe psychological toll (Panelli & Tipa, 2001). Each iwi has its own story and experiences of colonisation. Due to this, there is no one Māori worldview anymore (Rochford, 2004). Colonisation, Westernisation and the breakdown of traditional structures has had profound and far reaching intergenerational effects; what affects a part also affects the whole – regardless of time and space (Coupe, 2005; Panelli & Tipa, 2001).

TOWARD A MODERN MĀORI WORLD

Today, Māori account for approximately 15% of the New Zealand population (Te Ara, 2011). While the negative effects of colonisation are still very real, modern society has seen a steady movement toward a greater acceptance of Māori culture in New Zealand. The Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 was established to address historical Māori grievances through which the management of tribal Māori-owned land and assets has been rearranged (Baskett, 2000; Panelli & Tipa, 2001; Te Ara, 2011). In 1987, te reo Māori (the Māori language) became an official language of New Zealand and a range of te reo Māori immersion schools and teaching

institutions were created from preschool to tertiary level (Te Ara, 2011). Māori have their own political representation in government and are also responsible for instigating a range of Māori-based enterprises including television, radio, fishing, aquaculture, farming and tourism ventures (Te Ara, 2011). Such cultural aspects as; powhiri (welcome ceremonies), karakia (prayer) and Māori arts have gained prominence within society, with the haka (war dance) even reaching international popularity through New Zealand rugby. Furthermore, traditional cultural concepts, knowledge and values have also been utilised in planning, legislation, policy and research (McNeill, 2009). This revitalisation of Māori culture, language and values is beneficial, not only to gain understanding and acceptance from Pākehā, but also as a means to reach Māori who have been brought up in a Pākehā dominated world with limited exposure to their cultural roots (McNeill, 2009).

In moving forward, modern Māori society is vastly different from that which our ancestors lived in hundreds of years prior. Although many Māori have been disconnected from their culture, a distinctive Māori reality still exists today. Created through the syncretism of traditional Māori values and beliefs, with Pākehā influences, the contemporary Māori worldview, Te Ao Hou or The New World, is said to belong exclusively to the Māori cultural domain (Harmsworth, 2004; McNeill, 2009). Through this, traditional knowledge, values and beliefs have taken on more of a modern relevance, and many Māori have become more culturally secure in themselves and their identity (Harmsworth, 2004; McNeill, 2009). Many urban Māori, although separated from their cultural roots still strongly identify with tikanga, te reo and their iwi, hapū and whānau affiliations (McNeill, 2009). Many belong to a new wave of Māori who are focused upon Māori education, development, advancement, and the retention and enhancement of Māori culture and identity (Harmsworth, 2004).

GENERAL MEASURES OF HAPPINESS

Most standardised indicators of happiness have been based on Western conceptions (Oishi, Diener, Lucas & Smith, 1999). While the specific measures may vary, viewing the ideal self as one that is autonomous and independent tends

to guide these understandings (Ingersoll-Dayton, Saengtienchai, Kespichayawattana & Aunguroch, 2004; Sandvik, Diener & Seidlitz, 1993). For example, The Human Development Index measures happiness through the subscales of; life expectancy, literacy, education and standards of living (Taylor, 2007). Gross National Happiness utilises the indicators of; economic, environmental, physical, mental, workplace, social and political wellness to measure happiness (Bates, 2009). Similarly, the New Zealand Quality of Life Report (2007) uses the domains of; people, knowledge and skills, health, safety, housing, social connectedness, civil and political rights, economic standard of living, economic development, the natural environment and the built environment to aid their understanding. Rice and Steele (2004) state that the range of factors affecting happiness are relatively broad and incorporate; personality, socio-demographic characteristics, individual and economic conditions, family and health, and political rights.

While the above measures have been used to understand happiness at the aggregate level, individual measures are also utilised. For example, Ryff (1989) constructed a measure of happiness based around the six personality subscales of; self-acceptance, positive relations with others, autonomy, environmental mastery, purpose in life, and personal growth. In a review conducted by Panelli & Tipa (2001), they identified that such individual states as; income, quality of life, life satisfaction, personal efficacy, autonomy and social interaction have also been used to measure happiness. Similarly, Christopher (1999) asserts that happiness consists of life satisfaction and the affective balance in which the positive outweighs the negative. Ultimately, these universal perspectives assume that all people have common views and, therefore, their happiness can be measured in similar ways (Durie, 2006).

THE ROLE OF CULTURE IN MEASURING HAPPINESS

More recently, researchers and policy-makers have begun to acknowledge that cultural context plays a role in the ways people experience happiness (Panelli & Tipa, 2001). Christopher (1999) warns: “components of our understanding of [happiness] cannot simply be transported to another culture without risk of serious

misrepresentation and misunderstanding” (p. 149). While members of certain Indigenous groups, such as Māori, may have similar aspirations to the rest of the population, they also have unique views and aspirations which are specific to their culture and values (Durie, 2006; Te Puni Kokiri, 2007). In particular, experiences of happiness should be captured through a holistic understanding of their natural, social, spiritual and cultural worlds (Panelli & Tipa, 2001; Taylor, 2007; Te Puni Kokiri, 2007). Interpretations of specific indicators can also vary across cultures. For a measure such as autonomy, individualistic cultures may view this as independence at the individual level (Ryff, 1989), while in collectivist cultures, autonomy may refer to the ability to make their own decisions without Western influence. On top of this, as self-reporting measures of happiness and life satisfaction are not problematic for Western cultures that encourage self-promotion, collectivist cultures, on the other hand, emphasise modesty and humility (Christopher, 1999). In America, “the squeaky wheel gets the oil” whereas, a common Māori proverb emphasises that “the kumara (sweet potato) does not say how sweet he is”. Not only does this highlight the need for measures and indicators of happiness to be culture-specific, but also for research methods to be applicable to the cultures studied.

The cultural bound nature of happiness has been highlighted in several empirical studies. For instance, Ingersoll-Dayton et al (2004), interviewed Thai elders and found that the attributes of harmony, interdependence, acceptance, respect and enjoyment shaped the happiness of Thai people. Suhail and Chaudhry (2004) identified that for Pakistani Muslims, work satisfaction, social support, religious affiliation, social class, income level, and marital satisfaction were better determinants of happiness than universal predictors. Closer to New Zealand, Grieves (2006) conducted a focus group with Indigenous Australian scholars and found that attributes of happiness for Australian Aborigines include; spirituality, knowing about ones history and culture, being able to give to family and friends, knowing about ones rights as an Indigenous person, knowing family history, being with family, a better place to live, better physical fitness, and knowing interfamily relations and kinship. Izquierdo (2005) established that for the Matsigenka culture in Peru, qualities of; productivity, goodness, and maintaining

harmony with the social and physical environment, contributed to happiness. Interestingly, in a study conducted across 20 nations, Rice and Steele (2004) determined that aspects of culture that influence happiness have been passed down from people who lived centuries ago to their contemporary descendants, regardless of both space and time.

UNDERSTANDING THE HAPPINESS OF MĀORI: WHAT HAS BEEN DONE?

The evidence that happiness stems from different sources across cultures indicates the need to understand the happiness of Māori separately from the happiness of Pākehā. As such, Māori researchers and government-based organisations have taken several initiatives to determine the indicators of Māori happiness and well-being. They realise that a greater understanding of the happiness of Māori is essential to attaining statistical information that represents Māori realities. This is important to guide government policies and decisions relating to Māori (Quality of Life, 2007; Statistics New Zealand, 2002). From this perspective, scholars strongly believe that the best informants of Māori happiness should be Māori themselves (Grieves, 2007; Taylor, 2007). Hence, in consultation with Māori leaders and academics, Statistics New Zealand (2002) defined Māori happiness as the “capability of Māori individuals and collectives to live the kind of life that they want to live” (p. 5). They believe that this definition not only recognises cultural diversity, but also; acknowledges issues such as freedom, security, empowerment and participation, outlines that individual and collective happiness is often intertwined, is rights rather than needs-based, takes a pluralistic approach, recognises the role that the government plays, and acknowledges the complexity and diversity of Māori society (Statistics New Zealand, 2002). Numerous organisations have taken initiatives to attain this information including; the Mātauranga Takekake Indigenous Conference, the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, and the Kapiti Horowhenua Economic Development Strategy, amongst others. With this in mind, the following section emphasises three of the more prominent frameworks that have been created to address Māori happiness; The Māori Statistics Framework, Te Puni Kokiri’s Indicators of Well-Being, and the Te Whare Tapa Wha model. These frameworks have been chosen due to their simplicity and credibility.

STATISTICS NEW ZEALAND - MĀORI STATISTICS FRAMEWORK

In 2002, Statistics New Zealand developed the Māori Statistics Framework which outlines six Māori specific indicators of happiness and well-being. These indicators were determined by an advisory body consisting of Māori leaders and academics. Statistics New Zealand believed that the introduction of such a framework was necessary to the collection of Māori statistics based on a Māori rather than a Western worldview. Their indicators of Māori happiness are:

- *Sustainability of Te Ao Māori (The Māori World)*

This refers to the importance of maintaining Māori culture, values, customs and beliefs. It includes such specific measurement dimensions as; the use of the Māori language, the availability of expertise in specific areas of Māori knowledge, skills and competencies, and the performance of rituals and ceremonies.

- *Social Capability*

This refers to the maintenance and significance of relationships and networks. It includes such dimensions as; reciprocal contributions (in lieu of money) by learners through such means as labour, food or care, use of and contribution to marae, proportion of Māori in the population, and culture-related leisure activities.

- *Human Resource Potential*

This refers to the potential of Māori individuals and includes such measurement dimensions as; the acquisition of Māori language proficiency, the acquisition of Māori knowledge, skills and competencies, life expectancy, and the level of Māori juvenile and adult offending.

- *Economic Self-Determination*

This refers to the capabilities of Māori to determine their own rights and maintain their own financial and economic independence. This includes such measurements as; spending by Māori learners on learning-related activities, the productivity of Māori land, and the number, distribution and characteristics of Māori businesses.

- *Environmental Sustainability*

This refers to the maintenance of Māori land and natural resources. It includes such measurement dimensions as; the depletion of natural resource stock (such as paua) and the identification and recognition of Māori historical sites recognised by hapū and iwi.

- *Empowerment and Enablement*

This indicator refers to Māori possessing the avenues and skills required to take control over their own needs. This includes such dimensions as; access to opportunities to acquire expertise in specific areas of Māori knowledge, skills and competencies, arrangements for iwi to control the management, operation, protection and preservation of wahi taonga (historical Māori sites), and participation in iwi and Māori organisation elections, appointments and other decision-making processes (Statistics New Zealand, 2002).

It is interesting to note that of a total of 125 measurement dimensions, 68% of these are Māori-specific and unique to the Māori Statistics Framework. They would, therefore, not be found in a more conventional framework of happiness (Taylor, 2007).

TE PUNI KOKIRI INDICATORS OF MĀORI WELL-BEING

In 2007, a report was released by Te Puni Kokiri (Ministry of Māori Development) outlining eight Māori specific indicators of happiness and well-being. These indicators were developed in 2002 by Mason Durie (Assistant Vice-Chancellor Māori and Professor of Māori Research and Development at Massey University) and his colleagues based on data obtained from 25 in-depth interviews. Their indicators of Māori happiness are:

- *Māori Well-being*

This indicator refers to not only social and economic well-being but also to cultural and spiritual well-being. This is linked to aspects of happiness that are related to Māori culture and perspectives. This includes the incorporation of such dimensions as spiritual and cultural health and happiness.

- *Whānau Well-being*

This refers to the well-being of not only the individual but also the collective. It emphasises how the happiness of whānau, hapū and iwi also contributes to the well-being of the individual. It includes such aspects as the use of te reo Māori, participation of whānau within Māori networks and participation in kapa haka.
- *Culture and Cultural Identity*

This refers to cultural usage and development based around the four key areas of; te reo Māori, knowledge of whakapapa, use of marae, and practice of Māori values.
- *Te Reo Māori*

This was seen as a separate dimension of Māori well-being based upon the key areas of; the multiple domains of usage (avenues where te reo Māori is spoken as the first language such as in kohanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori etc), number of Māori who use te reo, retention of dialectic variations, and usage of te reo Māori among the New Zealand population in general.
- *The Māori Asset Base*

This indicator refers to the ownership and development of property and assets for whānau, hapū and iwi including; Māori land, fisheries, rivers, forests and wahi tapu (sacred sites).
- *Tino Rangatiratanga*

This refers to Māori autonomy, self determination, self-governance or the ability of Māori to make their own decisions. An example of this is educational independence through kohanga reo or kura kaupapa Māori.
- *Kotahitanga*

This indicator outlines the significance of co-operation and a collective effort to achieve our goals as a group rather than as individuals. Measures such as the number of Māori organisations in a community would indicate kotahitanga.
- *Treaty Settlements*

This indicator outlines the need for a large number of settlements and the appropriate distribution of the settlement package (Te Puni Kokiri, 2007).

TE WHARE TAPA WHA

Te Whare Tapa Wha is a holistic Māori philosophy of happiness, health and well-being. It was developed by Dr Mason Durie in 1982; twenty years prior to his contribution to Te Puni Kokiri's Indicators of Māori Well-Being (Durie, 2008; Rochford, 2004). This model is based on a Māori worldview. Literally translated to 'the four sides of a house', Te Whare Tapa Wha encompasses the four aspects of; taha hinengaro (mental and emotional well-being), taha wairua (spiritual well-being), taha whānau (social well-being) and taha tinana (physical well-being):

- *Taha Hinengaro - Mental and Emotional Well-being*

This dimension relates to the notion that the mind and body are inseparable. Being able to think and feel, and to communicate through emotions are vital to the wellness of both the body and soul. Holding positive perceptions of oneself and gaining favourable perceptions from others is also necessary.

- *Taha Wairua - Spiritual Well-being*

This dimension is generally felt by Māori to be the most essential element to Te Whare Tapa Wha. Relating to spiritual awareness, this implies a capacity to have faith and explore relationships with the environment, other people, and ones heritage. The spiritual essence of a person is their mauri or life force, and determines us as individuals and as a collective through emphasising who we are, where we have come from, and where we are going.

- *Taha Whānau - Social Well-being*

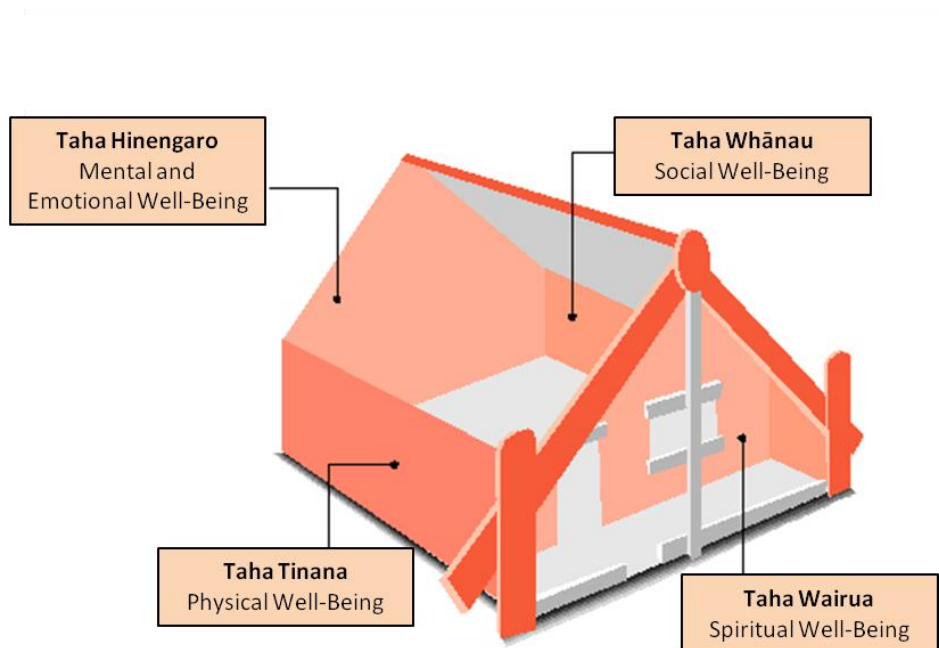
This refers to the capacity to belong, care for and share with others. This implies that each individual is part of wider social system, and that the support of whānau provides us with the strength to be who we are. Ancestral links to the past can assist in contributing to our present and our future. The beliefs, expectations and opinions of whānau are also vital.

- *Taha Tinana - Physical Well-being*

This dimension refers to the physical health, growth and development of the body. Our physical being supports our essence and protects us from the external environment. As the physical dimension cannot be separated from mind, spirit and family, we can become physically unwell when we are mentally and emotionally strained (Durie, 2008).

The whareni (meeting house) is used as the symbol to illustrate these dimensions of well-being (see Figure Two). Just as each of the four corners of a house must be balanced in order to support its structure, so must be each of the four dimensions of well-being (Durie, 2008). Should one of these cornerstones become damaged, an individual or collective may become unbalanced or unwell (Durie, 2008)

FIGURE TWO: Te Whare Tapa Wha



Source: Te Kete Ipurangi (2011)

CONTRIBUTION TO THE LITERATURE

Of the three frameworks, both the Māori Statistics Framework and Te Puni Kokiri's Indicators of Well-Being apply to the aggregate level. Using such specific measures as; 'number of Māori who use Te Reo' and 'number of Māori organisations in a community', these indicators assist in exploring happiness of the Māori population as a whole. Te Whare Tapa Wha, on the other hand, captures the holistic nature of well-being at the individual level. Generally applied in the

field of medicine, this philosophy allows both Māori and non-Māori academics and practitioners to understand the unique ways that Māori individuals experience happiness and well-being. While its simplicity aids in its popularity, it is likely that the dimensions that shape the nature of happiness are much more complex than this assumes. As society continues to develop and Te Ao Hou (or The New World) takes form, it is important that such societal changes are incorporated into our understandings. Taking into consideration that the Te Whare Tapa Wha model was developed nearly three decades ago, there is a clear need for a more up-to-date model of Māori happiness at the individual level. This investigation assists in bridging this gap. It also seeks to understand the role that consumption plays on the happiness of Māori; an area that has been previously unexplored. The following chapter will explore the relationship between happiness and consumption in more depth.

TALES FROM THE AUTHOR

I really enjoyed researching and writing this chapter and felt as though I had just as much to learn from this as the reader will. As I stated previously, I had not given much thought to how my whakapapa shapes my identity, and similarly, I was rather ignorant of the history of my own people too. I was raised by my Pākehā mother and grew up framed in a Western reality. My mother actually used to call me a Pineapple Lump (a New Zealand confectionary with a chewy pineapple centre coated in chocolate); brown on the outside, but white/yellow on the inside. I have also heard friends refer to themselves as Oreo's (an American treat with a white crème filling sandwiched between chocolate cookies), so, unfortunately, perhaps the idea of the 'Plastic Māori' is more common than we may think.

In writing this chapter, it was as if something awoke within me. I already knew this information; the culture of Māori, the effects of colonisation, the spiritual connection to the land, but I had never bothered to make it part of my own reality or understanding. I felt that I already possessed this knowledge intrinsically, but somewhere along the way it had been locked away in a hidden compartment. If anything, this has given me a burning desire to find out more! I also found the

notion of Te Ao Hou or The New World to be extremely fascinating. I have always considered myself to be somewhat of a fraud; someone who is given the means to identify as Māori, yet has been brought up in a Pākehā culture. Even going into this study, I was worried that someone would realise that I am not as 'Māori' as I first appear. But in understanding that Māori people and their realities are diverse, I feel much more confident in who I am and what I want to achieve.

CHAPTER THREE: HAPPINESS AND CONSUMPTION: A TOXIC DUO?

*“He kura tangata, e kore e rokohanga; he kura whenua ka rokohanga—
Possessions are temporary things compared to the land”
- Māori Proverb*

The relationship between happiness and consumption has received a great deal of attention over recent decades. In particular, the literature focuses on the role that consumption plays on identity (Belk, 1988; Bocoock, 1993; Dunn, 2008; Jamal & Chapman, 2000; Mackay, 1997), the relationship between happiness and income (Ahuvia, 2002; Csikszentmihalyi, 1999; Durning, 1993; Lane, 1993; Myers, 2003), and the relationship between happiness and materialism (Burroughs & Rindfleisch, 2002; Buss, 2000; Csikszentmihalyi 2000; La Barbera & Gurhan, 1997; Van Boven, 2005). Overall, a negative association between happiness and consumption is emphasised. This chapter provides a comprehensive review of the literature based around these topics. It also outlines an emerging body of research that explores the relationship between experiential consumption and happiness. The role of culture on happiness and consumption is also addressed.

ACQUIRING IDENTITY AND ACCEPTANCE THROUGH CONSUMPTION

Many individuals have taken to consumption as a means of creating or enhancing their self identity (Belk, 1988; Dunn, 2008; Jamal & Chapman, 2000; Raneshwar et al., 2000). In this sense, material possessions hold symbolic meanings that express status, gender, ethnicity or group affiliation (O’Shaughnessy & O’Shaughnessy, 2002; Jamal & Chapman, 2000). These possessions serve as physical representations of one’s character and emphasise their personal values (Richins, 1994). Accumulated possessions, such as photographs and keepsakes, can also store favourable memories of past occasions, people and places. As Belk (1988) states, “a souvenir may make tangible some otherwise intangible travel experience. An heirloom may record and recall family heritage just as a historic monument may help to create a sense of a nation's past” (p. 148). Similarly,

consumption can also be used as a means of seeking social membership and acceptance (O'Shaughnessy & O'Shaughnessy, 2002). As "others are an important mirror through which we see and define ourselves" (Belk, 1988, p. 149), consuming products can assist in gaining association with certain social groups (Bocock, 1993; Mackay, 1997). This can result in greater feelings of love, friendship, and a sense of belonging (Belk, 1988). It is important to note, however, that identity "is something more than just the sum of our appetites" (O'Shaughnessy & O'Shaughnessy, 2002, p. 525). Rather than solely relying on possessions as a means to seek identity, O'Shaughnessy and O'Shaughnessy (2002) also emphasise the importance of religion, ethnicity, personal history, job and role in life.

MONEY CAN'T BUY HAPPINESS

While the positive outcomes of consumption have been addressed, a majority of the literature focuses on the notion that consuming can decrease happiness. Amongst this is the relationship between happiness and income. Although the average income has doubled over the last 40 years, the level of reported happiness has remained the same (Csikszentmihalyi, 2000; Durning, 1993). Instead, we have seen an increase in divorce, depression, suicide and violence (Buss, 2000; Myers, 2003). While we are more affluent than our grandparent's generation, there are more societal problems than ever before.

Scholars agree that money can only buy happiness for the poor, but not for the rich (Ahuvia, 2002; Csikszentmihalyi, 1999; Diener et al., 1999; Lane, 1993). For an exception, see Dunn, Gilbert & Wilson (2011). For those who are lacking in basic necessities such as food, clothing and shelter, an increase in income relates positively to happiness (Lane, 1993; Myers & Diener, 1995; Schwartz, Friend & Costley, 2006; Myers, 2000; Tatzel, 2003; Van Boven, 2005; Van Boven & Gilovich, 2003). Poorer individuals gain enhanced feelings of success and self-esteem through being able to better provide for themselves and their families financially (La Barbera & Gurhan, 1997). Once basic needs have been met, however, happiness tends to level off (Ahuvia, 2002; Myers & Diener, 1995). As outlined by Csikszentmihalyi (2000), American teenagers from the wealthiest

suburbs have proven to be less happy and have lower self-esteem than those from middle-class communities, and even those from inner city slums. On top of this, Csikszentmihalyi (1999) report that in a study conducted on some of America's wealthiest individuals, their levels of happiness are similar to that of individuals with average incomes. Research also shows that lottery winners are no happier than non-winners. While they may initially experience a small increase in happiness, after a few short months their happiness returns to normal (Buss, 2000; Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). Likewise, those who have had an increase in income are no happier than those whose income has not increased (Diener et al., 1999; Myers, 2000). While the poor worry about health, income and security, the rich worry about their relations with others (Lane, 2003). This contributes to their levels of unhappiness, showing that money does not reduce worrying; it just changes the focus (Lane, 2003).

STRIVING FOR HAPPINESS THROUGH MATERIALISM

As Western society is notoriously known for its consumption culture, materialism, or the acquisition of material objects as a means of seeking happiness, is widespread (Burroughs & Rindfleisch, 1999; Csikszentmihalyi, 1999; O'Shaughnessy & O'Shaughnessy, 2002). A substantial body of research shows, however, that the search for instant gratification through possessions relates more to unhappiness than to happiness (Burroughs & Rindfleisch, 2002; Buss, 2000; Csikszentmihalyi 2000; Eckersley, 2006; La Barbera & Gurhan, 1997; Rindfleisch & Burroughs, 1999; Tatzel, 2003; Van Boven, 2005). Materialism tends to foster the wrong values and is associated more with such undesirable traits as envy, non-generosity, possessiveness, dependency and greed (La Barbera & Gurhan, 1997; O'Shaughnessy & O'Shaughnessy, 2002; Rindfleisch & Burroughs, 1999). This often occurs at the expense of more important values such as family orientation and spirituality (O'Shaughnessy & O'Shaughnessy, 2002; Richins & Dawson, 1992). Materialists may choose to work longer hours and earn more money for consumption rather than spend time with family or pursue leisure activities (Durning, 1993; Richins & Dawson, 1992).

Materialism can also be associated with such psychological disorders as depression, anxiety and paranoia (Bond, 2003; Buss, 2000; Eckersley, 2006; Van Boven, 2005). Materialistic individuals judge their own and others success through possessions, creating a great deal of pressure to conform to a particular lifestyle (Csikszentmihalyi, 1999; Richins & Dawson, 1992). They hold unrealistic expectations of their own material wealth resulting in self-perceived failures, social anxiety and reduced life satisfaction (Burroughs & Rindfleisch, 2002; Buss, 2000; Van Boven, 2005). Prioritising fortune, fame and glamour over relationships, knowledge and personal growth is ultimately harmful to ones state of being (Eckersley, 2006). Materialists only reach satisfaction at an extrinsic level as they substitute intrinsically satisfying relationships with people for relationships with objects (Kasser and Ahuvia, 2002; Tatzel, 2003). Through this, individuals are unable to fulfil their deeper psychological, spiritual and social needs (Durning, 1993; Eckersley, 2006). This is particularly damaging to those who value collective institutions such as family or religion, as they struggle to balance these competing desires (Burroughs & Rindfleisch, 2002).

Materialism is not only detrimental to the self, but also to society in general. Excess consumption can result in a breakdown in social structures, loss of religious values, and inefficient use of valuable resources (Burroughs & Rindfleisch, 2002). As Csikszentmihalyi (2000) states, “if the rest of the world's population was to develop a lifestyle approaching that of the United States or of Western Europe, at least two additional planets such as ours would have to be harnessed to provide the required energy and materials” (p.268). Evidently, it is clear why materialism has often been labelled as the ‘dark side’ of consumer behaviour (Rindfleisch & Burroughs, 1999).

THE HEDONIC TREADMILL

Despite all of the evidence that money and material objects do not bring happiness, why do people still continue to pursue wealth? Although we are aware of the common phrase ‘money can’t buy happiness’, we still tend to attribute the ‘good life’ to an accumulation of riches (Myers, 2003). According to Myers (2003), a survey conducted at the University of Michigan showed that when

people were asked what they perceived would improve their quality of life, the primary answer was ‘more money’. Similarly, a study outlined by Csikszentmihalyi (1999) revealed that for people who earned less than \$30,000 per year, they believed \$50,000 would be satisfying, while those who earned over \$100,000 per year wanted to earn \$250,000.

Scholars have attributed this incessant desire for money to what has been termed the ‘hedonic treadmill’ (Diener, 2000; Lane, 1993; Myers, 2003; Ryan & Deci, 2001; Tatzel, 2003). This implies that even after an increase in income or material wealth, the initial increase in happiness quickly wears off as people adapt to their new circumstances (La Barbera & Gurhan, 1997; Lane, 1993). At this point, they begin to strive for the next level of affluence (Csikszentmihalyi, 1999; Diener, 2000). This metaphor compares the quest for happiness to a treadmill; one must keep working hard only to remain in the same place (Lane, 1993). As our wealth rises, so do our expectations, creating an insatiable desire that can never be fulfilled (Rindfleisch & Burroughs, 1999). With all of these aspects in mind, Ryan and Deci (2001) give the following advice for achieving happiness; “avoid poverty, live in a rich country, and focus on goals other than material wealth” (p. 161).

EXPERIENTIAL CONSUMPTION AND HAPPINESS: THERE MAY BE HOPE YET

While material consumption has proven to be detrimental to happiness, an emerging body of literature has, instead, addressed the relationship between *experiential* consumption and happiness. In comparison to material purchases, experiential purchases are intangible (Nicolao et al., 2009). They encompass a range of events and life experiences such as vacations, recreation, movies, concerts, amusement parks and restaurant meals (Nicolao et al., 2009; Tatzel, 2003). Unlike material consumption, experiential consumption is more positively related to happiness (Csikszentmihalyi, 2000; Lane, 1993; Nicolao et al., 2009; Van Boven, 2005; Van Boven & Gilovich, 2003). Individuals are less likely to regret spending money on experiential purchases over material purchases (Van Boven, 2005). This is due to the fact that experiential consumption can result in

valuable life experiences, facilitate social relationships and invoke positive long-lasting memories (Van Boven, 2005).

According to Van Boven and Gilovich (2003) “a person’s life is quite literally the sum of his or her experiences” (p. 1198). Accumulating meaningful experiences aids in attaining a more meaningful life. One can gain higher level meaning from experiential consumption including personal growth, learning or becoming cultured; aspects that cannot be gained from material objects alone (Van Boven, 2005). Consuming experiences can also foster social interaction. Purchases such as travel, concerts and skiing often involve other people, enabling the establishment of successful social relationships (Nicolao et al., 2009; Van Boven, 2005). Experiential purchases are also less susceptible to the ‘hedonic treadmill’. Positive experiences live on through memories ensuring that happiness persists over time (Nicolao et al., 2009). These memories can lend themselves to positive re-interpretation where negative aspects of an experience are ultimately forgotten (Nicolao et al., 2009; Van Boven, 2005). As Van Boven and Gilovich (2003) assert, the act of remembering experiential purchases makes people happier than remembering material purchases.

THE CULTURAL CONTEXT

Csikszentmihalyi (1999) report that the relationship between happiness and consumption may hold different meanings depending on the cultural context. People from different cultures can react differently to the same circumstances and base their goals for consumption on their unique values and expectations (Diener et al., 1999; Jamal & Chapman, 2000; Tatzel, 2003). This can result in different experiences of happiness (Diener et al., 1999). With this in mind, scholars have explored the role of culture on happiness and consumption in both individualistic and collectivist societies.

Individualistic cultures stress the importance of the individual and view the self as an autonomous entity (Tatzel, 2003). This is more prevalent in richer regions, such as North America and Western Europe (Tatzel, 2003). The ultimate goals of individualistic cultures are based upon enhancing their own individual

experiences, feelings and emotions (Diener et al., 1999; Tatzel, 2003). Individualists may consume both material objects and experiences as a means to portray their personal uniqueness, self-expression and self-determination (Diener et al., 1999; Tatzel, 2003). In contrast, the primary goal of those from collectivist cultures is to ensure harmony within the group (Ahuvia, 2002). The desires, feelings and emotions of the individual are less important and are often regulated by the needs of the collective (Diener et al., 1999). With this in mind, collectivists may consume with the intention of maintaining social relations, abiding by cultural norms, ensuring reciprocity and enhancing group affiliation (Ahuvia, 2002; Tatzel, 2003). Materialism is negatively related to collectivism as this can lead to increased goal conflict where people struggle to balance the two competing values (Burroughs & Rindfleisch, 2002). Although collectivists seek intrinsically satisfying life-goals, interestingly, collectivist cultures report lower levels of happiness than individualist cultures (Rindfleisch & Burroughs, 1999). Scholars have attributed this to cultural variation in which collectivists value humility while individualists encourage self-promotion (Ahuvia, 2002). The different understandings and portrayals of happiness can result in such discrepancies that do not take into account the cultural context.

CONTRIBUTION TO THE LITERATURE

A majority of the literature emphasises a negative relationship between happiness and consumption. A small number of researchers, however, have begun to question this assumption which has resulted in more optimistic research based on such aspects as experiential consumption. In such a materialistic era, encouraging people ‘not’ to consume is a request that is likely to go unheard. Instead, we should focus on teaching people ‘how’ to consume in order to maximise happiness. Through examining who is happy and why, we can begin to promote such behaviours. With this in mind, this investigation adds to this body of research through exploring the positive role of consumption on happiness. On top of this, it also explores the role of culture on happiness and consumption. Limited research has been conducted on this topic and generally focuses upon individualistic versus collectivist cultures; but what about those who have inherent collective values yet are forced to live in an individualistic society? As the

literature discusses the idea of goal conflict when these two worlds are merged, how do Indigenous populations consume and what role does this play on their happiness? This investigation assists in bridging this gap through capturing the dynamics of happiness and consumption from the perspective of Māori. To achieve this, their lived experiences of happiness will be explored and analysed using consumer research. This methodology will be outlined in more detail in the following chapter.

TALES FROM THE AUTHOR

Over the previous summer, I spent four weeks in Africa. If you want to gain a first-hand experience of the relationship between money and happiness, this is definitely the place to do it. Many people there live life at the bottom. Those who are not fortunate enough to be born into money struggle to survive. People in the worst situations will beg, steal or walk a hundred miles in bare feet just to get their next meal.

I was fortunate to be staying with a middle-class family who owned a dairy farm and lived comfortably. They even had servants; thirteen of them who maintained the house or worked on the farm. In return they are given a small monthly allowance, a roof over their heads and occasionally, left-over food. At first, I found this disgusting. I hated the idea of someone making my bed and scrubbing dirt off my shoes. I hated the superiority of it; that I was above them and they were my inferiors. I quickly learned that the 'workers' considered themselves lucky. If they didn't have this job, they would have to fend for themselves. Plus, they could even house their extended family in the dwelling they were given. This is a clear situation where a little bit more money would definitely bring more happiness. It made me realise how lucky I am to have the basic necessities, let alone the luxuries that I've always taken for granted like a car, laptop and quality education. Materialism is one extreme, but this is another. We should be appreciative of what we have, yet we always want more. Those of us who are lucky enough to live in developed countries don't know how blessed we really are. It is such a shame then, that even with this leg-up, we still can't get our priorities sorted.

CHAPTER FOUR: TE ARA: THE PATHWAY

“Ehara taku toa, he taki tahi, he toa taki tini –

*My success should not be bestowed
onto me alone, as it was not individual
success but success of a collective”*

- Māori Proverb

This chapter outlines the pathway that was laid for this investigation and the research methodology involved in determining the happiness of Māori and the role of consumption. Qualitative inquiry was selected as the research paradigm most suitable to the context of this study. This was due to the fact that it aims to understand the social and cultural reality of the individual and enables them to describe their experiences in their own words (Cresswell, 1994; Kluge, 2002). This approach “portrays a world where reality is socially constructed, complex and ever-changing” (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992, p. 6). As a research method, qualitative inquiry offers a degree of freedom and flexibility, allowing individuals to share a holistic view of their experiences, and ensuring that phenomena are interpreted in terms of the meanings that people bring to them (Shank, 2002).

While guided by a qualitative research approach, this study was paved in both a kaupapa Māori research perspective and phenomenological inquiry. These methods not only allow for cultural sensitivity and a proper representation of the Māori voice, but also make space for the exploration of the lived experiences of Māori from the subjects own frame of reference.

KAUPAPA MĀORI RESEARCH

Kaupapa Māori research is a methodology that has been established as a resistance to the conventional research processes. It provides a space for Māori-based research conducted by Māori researchers, to occur (Warren, Webster & Kiriona, 2006). Essentially, this perspective provides culturally-specific

guidelines for researchers to adopt when conducting research involving Māori. As Māori generally have a deep distrust for Western inspired research, this methodology allows Māori to ensure greater involvement in conducting, implementing and evaluating research (Smith, 1999). Kaupapa Māori is a distinctive approach intended to incorporate the diversity of the Māori reality through an incorporation of Māori culture, values and practices into the research process (Elliot-Hohepa, 2007). In this sense, Māori research can be controlled and guided by Māori to ensure that it effectively captures the Māori worldview (Barnes, 2000; Warren et al., 2006). As Bishop (1994) states: “If we accept that there is no one way of seeing things, then our methods need to reflect this and embrace rather than deny diversity” (p. 26). In general, the presumptions guiding kaupapa Māori is that research must; relate to being Māori, connect to Māori philosophy and principles, take for granted the validity and legitimacy of Māori including the importance of Māori language and culture, recognise the unique journey of each individual, whānau, hapū and iwi, and be concerned with the struggle for Māori autonomy (Smith, 1999).

INCORPORATING A KAUPAPA MĀORI RESEARCH PERSPECTIVE

In order to incorporate a kaupapa Māori research perspective into this study, the guidelines as specified by Pipi, Cram, Hawke, Hawke, Huriwai, Mataki, Milne, Morgan, Tuhaka and Tuuta (2004) and Elliot-Hohepa (2007) were used to underpin the data collection, analysis and reporting stages of this investigation. They were also used to guide the behaviour of the researcher, ensuring that the research findings are reflective of a Māori reality. These included:

- *Aroha ki te tangata (A respect for people)*

Participants should be given the opportunity to define their own space and meet on their own terms. They should not feel as though they are being forced into the research process or are being used for their knowledge. Instead, participants need to feel valued and respected, and relationships need to be nurtured and continually built upon to ensure that participants are comfortable and familiar with the researcher. With this in mind, I, as the researcher, recruited participants that I was already familiar with, and encouraged them to

open this invitation up to their own whānau and friends. This ensured that a connection was forged prior to undertaking the data collection phase. Participation was voluntary, and the meeting time and space was chosen by the participant.

- *Kanohi kitea (The seen face)*

This refers to the importance of presenting yourself to participants face-to-face. As an important value in Māori society, this enables the establishment of trust in order to further build upon the relationship. This aspect was implemented through the commencement of one-one-one interviews.

- *Titiro, whakarongo... korero (Look, listen and then speak when appropriate)*

This emphasises the role of the researcher as a listener and receiver of knowledge. For this investigation, I, as the researcher, made a conscious effort to allow participants to speak first, enabling them to share their experiences without interruption. This also shows respect to the participant and assists in the development of trust.

- *Manaaki ki te tangata (Share and host people)*

Based on the common Māori value of reciprocity, this refers to the importance of sharing and generosity during the entire research process. Participants were provided with kai (food) of their choice during the interview as an expression of gratitude. I also shared my own experiences with participants as a means to build upon and maintain relationships. Participants will also be provided with a copy of the research results.

- *Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata (Do not trample over the mana (power) of the people)*

This refers to the importance of respecting the role of participants while including them, their knowledge and their opinions in the research process. This ensures that people feel as though they belong to the project and that they have a vested interest in the research. For this study, I attempted to build a safe space for participants through providing a non-judgmental environment in which they felt as though they were free to express their thoughts and ideas. Through sharing my own experiences as well as already holding connections with the participants, this contributed to creating such an environment.

- *Kaua e mahaki (Do not flaunt your knowledge)*

This emphasises the importance of humility and modesty as a researcher. Knowledge should be shared without appearing arrogant or conceited. If participants feel as though the researcher is showing off, they will be less likely to want to assist. Throughout this study, I remained open-minded and projected my interest in the experiences, views and opinions of the participants.

PHENOMENOLOGY

Phenomenology initially stemmed from the belief that “the value of man and the truths about him could only be found within” (Bryant, 2004, p. 46). As such, phenomenology serves as a philosophical framework to guide research, through which a phenomenon is understood from the viewpoint of the experiencing person (Becker, 1992). It is based upon understanding what an experience means to those who have had the experience and are, therefore, capable of providing a detailed account of their perceptions of the phenomenon (Schram, 2006). Through the incorporation of phenomenology, the researcher attempts to gain important insights into the essence or essential meaning of an event through an analysis of the dialogue and reflection used to describe the phenomenon (Becker, 1992; Schram, 2006; van Manen, 1997). “The researcher seeks to convey a meaning that is fundamental to the experience no matter which specific individual has had the experience” (Schram, 2006, p. 98). It is based upon a search for meaning and enables a greater understanding of people and human life (Becker, 1992). When conducting phenomenological research, the researcher will ask such questions as; what does it mean to have this experience? And, what is it like? In order to answer them, they will seek to understand individuals’ subjective perceptions and daily experiences of the phenomenon, ultimately emerging with a deeper insight into that phenomenon (van Manen, 1997). It is based upon the idea that individuals know more about their experiences than anyone else (Keen, 1975). In the context of the current study, phenomenology provides a way of understanding the phenomenon of happiness through the eyes of those who have experienced it. Like any other phenomenon, happiness when directly experienced by a person

will be instilled with meaning that can be captured and understood through the research process (Keen, 1975).

The design of this study was guided specifically by a hermeneutic phenomenological research approach. Based on the work of Martin Heidegger and Hans-Gorg Gadamer, this orientation is focused on revealing details and seemingly insignificant aspects within an experience with the goal of creating meaning and a sense of understanding (Wilson & Hutchinson, 1991). It is based on the notion that human beings share a common life world which can be interpreted through the examination of language, culture and tradition (Lavery, 2003). Gadamer believed that both understanding and interpretation were bound together and that interpretation was a constantly evolving process (Wilson & Hutchinson, 1991). With this in mind, it is perceived that definitive interpretation is likely never possible, instead, we are never not interpreting (Lavery, 2003). In hermeneutic phenomenology, the concept of 'bracketing' is rejected, implying that the idea that a researcher can dismiss their pre-existing notions and prejudices prior to investigation is absurd (Lavery, 2003). Instead, as evidenced by Butler-Kisber (2010), "the difference is the move beyond description to interpretation where the researcher actively takes a role in explaining participant meanings" (p. 51). With these aspects in mind, this approach supports this investigation's aim to seek meaning, create understanding and reveal clarity of the happiness of Māori and the role of consumption.

EMBARKING ON THE JOURNEY: RESEARCH METHOD

In order to support both the kaupapa Māori research perspective and the phenomenological method of inquiry, interviews were selected as the primary research method. As the purpose of this study was to determine the ways in which Māori experience happiness and the role that consumption plays, the use of interviews in conjunction with photo-elicitation techniques was highly appropriate.

PILOT STUDY

Initially, the method consisted of conducting two separate interviews with each participant approximately two weeks apart. The first interview was based upon understanding Māori perceptions of happiness. For this, participants were asked to compile a collection of photographs portraying images that represented and symbolised their happiness. The second interview was based upon gaining an understanding of Māori experiences of consumption. As such, participants were asked to compile a collection of their most valued possessions. The pilot study took place with one participant undertaking both interviews. It quickly became clear that the two interview topics greatly overlapped, resulting in the second interview being very similar to the first. Through discussion with the participant, they stated that they found the two interviews to be very repetitive and felt as though they were restating the same experiences twice. They also believed that the criteria of undertaking two separate interviews would likely deter participants from volunteering, and that sufficient insight could be gained from conducting only one interview. Due to this, I made the decision to restructure the research approach in such a way that only one interview per participant was necessary.

INTERVIEWS

Thirteen interviews were conducted with Māori individuals, each ranging from 60 minutes to 120 minutes in length. These interviews were largely unstructured and served more as a conversation between the researcher and the participant than a formal interview. The conversational style of these interviews allowed for the establishment of a safe and open environment from the viewpoint of the participant. Through this, they were made to feel comfortable in sharing their experiences, feelings and opinions. This also enabled participants to reflect on their ideas and provide all details relevant to their lived experiences. This unstructured approach ensured that I, as the researcher, was also able to probe participants' experiences for additional information, as well as offer my own experiences for comparison. To guide these interviews, a photo-elicitation technique was employed. Through this, participants provided photographs that represented their lived experiences and were asked to draw on these images to describe their experiences

The use of interviews as a research method allows for a more in-depth account of the life stories of a small number of people (Thompson, 1996). Interviews can often gain deeper insights than focus groups as they result in a free exchange of information exempt from social pressure to conform to a group response (Malhorta et al., 2006). Participants may also feel more comfortable with expressing their personal experiences, feelings and perceptions in a one-on-one setting, particularly in this case where both the interviewer and the interviewee are Māori. While interviews are the recommended method to determining the lived experiences of individuals based on a phenomenological approach, it is also ideal to the incorporation of a kaupapa Māori research perspective. According to Elliot-Hohepa (2007), as interviews allow for the voices, views, opinions and stories of participants to be heard, Māori often feel empowered by the process. Interviews also enable a more equal conversation so that participants feel as though they have control of and belong to the research project (Barnes, 2000). Through this, data is not gained based on pre-existing theories or notions, but is instead reflective of a Māori worldview.

INTERVIEW STRUCTURE

Interviews took place over a ten week period with Māori individuals currently residing in Hamilton. These were conducted on a one-on-one basis at a predetermined time and venue. Upon registering their interest, participants were provided with a participant information sheet (see Appendix One) and an interview was scheduled. Participants were given approximately three to seven days prior to the interview to comprehend their role and ask any questions for clarification. They were informed that the purpose of this study was to understand the happiness of Māori and were asked to reflect on their lived experiences of happiness. While participants were aware that the investigation was specific to Māori, they were encouraged to consider their happiness at an individual level rather than focusing on their happiness as a Māori. On top of this, participants were not informed of the consumption aspect of this study until after the interview took place. Instead, the role that consumption plays was determined through a detailed analysis of the participants lived experiences of happiness. This was

implemented so as to not influence the views of participants and, as such, a holistic understanding of their happiness could be gained. This also ensured that consumption was understood in the context through which it truly relates to happiness.

Participants were asked to take photographs that represented or symbolised their happiness and to bring these photographs in digital version to the interview. These photographs were used to guide the discussion and a narrative technique was employed where participants shared their experiences relevant to each photograph. The number of photographs ranged from four to thirty-nine depending on the participant. Upon commencement of each interview, participants were provided with food of their choice as an expression of gratitude and reciprocity. Interviews were largely informal and participants were given the space to steer the discussion through sharing their photographs. The role of the researcher was to listen, and to probe on specific aspects of the participants stories to gather as much detail as possible. Some participants required prompting in order to share their thoughts, feelings and emotions; however, the majority of participants were relatively open. If time permitted, participants were asked if there were any aspects of their happiness that they would like to discuss that they were unable to find relevant photographs for. They were also asked to identify the photographs that were most significant to their happiness and explain the reasons for their selection.

The interviews were conducted over a ten week period in order to allow space for analysis and reflection on the interviewing technique. This enabled me, as the researcher, to reflect on my role as the interviewer and to make any necessary amendments to my approach. From this, I learned the importance of allowing participants to share their stories without interruption, the necessity of sharing my own experiences as a means to establish stronger relationships, and the value of using such probing questions as; what does this picture remind you of? How does it make you feel? What does it mean to you? What is it like? And, how important is this in your life? The interviews were purposed to delve deep into the minds of participants and to gain all thoughts, reflections, ideas, feelings and emotions

relevant to their lived experiences of happiness. Interviews were conducted at either the University of Waikato or the homes of the participants, and were all audio-taped.

PHOTO-ELICITATION

The use of photographs to elicit narratives during interviews can be traced back to a study conducted by Collier (1957) in which he determined that photo-based interviews yielded comparatively better results than verbal interviews (Cappello, 2005). As an interview tool, photo-elicitation was used in this investigation in order to gain a richer account of participants' experiences of happiness as well as to act as a means to guide and stimulate discussion. When selecting photographs, participants were asked to consider; how they experience happiness, when they are happy, what makes them happy, what role happiness plays on their lives, how they feel when they're happy, when they are happiest, and what makes them or others similar to them unhappy. These photographs ensured that questions could be asked about the participants understanding of the image and the experience, the context of the image, and the ways in which the participants currently perceive it (Frith & Harcourt, 2007).

While participants were asked to *take* digital photographs for the purpose of this study, it was interesting to note that, instead, a majority of participants chose to select existing photographs that had previously captured a moment in time. The photographs served as a visual reminder for participants of significant events or experiences where feelings of happiness were paramount. As these photographs were grounded in the participants' everyday lives, they allowed for a static display of a particular event or experience, thus, the stories associated with them were richer in detail. "These stories were often poignant, vivid and relayed with emotion" (Firth & Harcourt, 2007, p. 1343). While most participants leaned towards the approach of utilising existing photographs, others opted to provide images that offered more of a symbolic representation of their happiness. For example, while one participant provided a photograph of their family and friends to display the importance of meaningful relationships to their happiness, another participant provided a photograph of a Pandora charm bracelet to represent his

relationship with his partner. This emphasises the flexibility of the photo-elicitation technique, where photographs are open to the interpretation of the participant, and can take either a symbolic, abstract or concrete form.

As was previously stated, the number of photographs used for each interview varied from four to thirty-nine. While it could be perceived that participants who provided a greater number of photographs also provided greater insight and information, this did not hold true. Instead, those participants who provided fewer photographs were able to compact a large number of experiences into each image. These photographs were personally meaningful to the participant and were a great deal more significant than could immediately be discerned. On the other hand, for those participants who provided a large number of photographs, approximately four or five images would gravitate around the same theme or experience. Essentially, the same richness of information was obtained from each participant regardless of the number of photographs used. The use of photographs also proved to be a highly effective tool from the perspective of the researcher. It allowed for a shared resource in which the researcher could probe on specific details, people or backgrounds captured within the image, enabling participants to share a deeper insight into their experiences (Frith & Harcourt, 2007). This technique proved to be valuable for both collecting and analysing the lived experiences of Māori.

STUDY PARTICIPANTS

Thirteen individuals participated in this study, ranging in age from 19 to 34 years old (see Table One). All participants resided in the Hamilton area and identified themselves as Māori by descent. Of the thirteen participants, eight were female and five were male. Four of the participants; Tracey, Isabella, Michaela and Kylie, were sisters. Purposive sampling was employed to ensure that all participants were; of Māori descent, intellectually capable of sharing, articulating and reflecting on their experiences, and in the age range of 18 to 34 years old. This age specification was imposed for a number of reasons. Firstly, according to Thach and Olsen (2006) those born between the years 1977 and 2000 have very high purchasing power and, as such, have a substantial influence in the consumer

world. Named the Millennials, this generation uses their purchases and consumption patterns to establish their own identities. These patterns are often carried well into an individual's lifetime (Mishra, 2010). With the ability to influence the purchase decisions of others, invoke change in the consumption habits of society, and potentially serve as loyal customers both now and in the future (Mishra, 2010), understanding the motivations and behaviour of this segment could be extremely valuable to marketers. Growing up in society where consumption is a culturally accepted norm, it is more likely that those in the 18 to 34 year old age bracket have experienced social pressures to conform to a particular lifestyle. On top of this, the Millennial generation has been raised in Te Ao Hou or The New World; an era where Māori culture has experienced a great deal of revitalisation and acceptance, when compared to older generations. With these aspects in mind, it could prove beneficial to understand not only the way in which Māori culture, customs and values relate to happiness for this segment, but also the way in which it links to their experiences of consumption. While this thesis cannot even begin to encapsulate the lived experiences of the entire Māori population, it can instead provide a snapshot of the happiness of Māori and the role of consumption for this specific demographic.

TABLE ONE: Study Participants

	Age	Descent/ Home	Education/ Employment	Whānau Status	Involvement in Māoridom
Aroha	19	Hamilton	Completing undergraduate degree	7 Siblings 1 Daughter	High
Atawhai	26	Ngāpuhi: Kaitaia	Completing undergraduate degree	1 Sibling	Moderate
Hemi	23	Whakatōhea: Opotiki	Completing undergraduate degree	5 Siblings 1 Son Partner	High
Hohepa	21	Ngāti Paoa, Ngāti Maniapoto	Completing undergraduate degree	Siblings	High

Isabella	25	Gisborne, Napier	Completing postgraduate degree	3 Sisters*	Moderate
Jack	24	Ngāti Porou, Te Whānau a Tuwhakairiora Hicks Bay	Completing conjoint undergraduate degrees	4 Siblings Partner	High
Jane	34	Ngaitai, Ngāti Porou, Ngāpuhi, Torere	Graduate degrees, worked at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa	2 Children Partner	High
Kylie	28	Ngāti Kahungunu	Postgraduate degree, works at Te Puni Kokiri	3 Sisters* 1 Son Partner	High
Michaela	22	Ngāti Kahungunu, Rongowhaka- ata	Undergraduate degree	3 Sisters*	Moderate
Olivia	23	Otorohanga	Completing conjoint undergraduate degrees	6 Siblings 1 Daughter Partner	High
Paora	31	Te Arawa: Rotorua	Completing PhD	Siblings	High
Rawiri	32	Ngāti Kahungunu, Rongomai- wahine o Mahia, Ngāti Pahauwera: Mahia	Completing PhD, background in engineering	6 Siblings 2 Children	High
Tracey	31	Napier	Completing undergraduate degree	3 Sisters*	Moderate

* Participants (Isabella, Kylie, Michaela and Tracey) are sisters

Participants were initially recruited through connections with members of Te Ranga Ngaku, the Māori Management Student Network, and Te Whakahiapo, the Māori Law Student Association, both based at the University of Waikato. This ensured that participants were not only Māori and of sufficient age, but were also educated and able to engage in the interview process. Members that I had previous

work, academic or social connections with were approached either face-to-face or through email, and were informed of the purpose of the interview and their role as a potential participant. It was made clear that participation was entirely voluntary. As such, this resulted in the recruitment of the first six participants. Following this, a snowballing technique was utilised where participants were asked to refer friends or whānau who they believed may be interested in assisting. This resulted in the recruitment of four additional participants. Ultimately, it became clear that the representation of males within this study was extremely poor. At that stage, only two Māori men had offered to share their experiences. Upon reflection, I was unsure as to whether or not this was due to a lack of Māori males in my life, or whether Māori men were just generally less willing than their female counterparts to share their feelings and experiences. Eventually, I selected a number of Māori men that I was familiar with and extended personal invitations to participate in this study. Friends and colleagues also extended these invitations to their own Māori male contacts. This resulted in the recruitment of the final three participants. To reciprocate for their involvement, participants were offered kai (food) of their choice, which was provided immediately preceding each interview. Five of the participants were unwilling to accept this kai, while the remaining eight were hesitant of this offer. Many stated that they ‘just wanted to help’.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The protection of participants is essential to ensuring that an investigation of this magnitude is conducted in an ethical manner. While it is important to ensure that the rights of those involved are not violated, it is also essential to abide by the principles of partnership, protection and participation as outlined in the Treaty of Waitangi. This is possible through providing a culturally sensitive platform where participants can feel safe in sharing their stories. As such, a number of contingencies were used to ensure that this study remained ethically appropriate and mindful of the rights of participants.

Firstly, as this study was based upon the understanding of a Māori reality, it was important to exercise caution at all times in order to remain culturally sensitive. As such, the research process was guided by a kaupapa Māori research

perspective in which certain culturally-specific practices and protocols were utilised to facilitate the research process. This ensured that procedures were not culturally offensive and were reflective of a Māori reality. On top of this, privacy was a key issue through ensuring that participants' identities remained confidential. In order to achieve this, each participant was provided with an alias for the purpose of this study. No photographs depicting people were incorporated into this report. This was to respect the privacy of the participant and the participant's friends or whānau. Blurring the faces of individuals within photographs was not an option as this is seen as disrespectful to Māori. Furthermore, it was necessary to ensure that participants were aware of what was required of them, for what purpose, and in which form their stories would be utilised. Participants were provided with a Participant Information Sheet outlining the key aspects of this study, and were made aware that participation was voluntary. Participants were able to provide verbal consent and were given the opportunity to opt out of this study 48 hours after the interview. Respect for the rights and privacy of the participant was of utmost importance. With these aspects in mind, ethical approval was gained from the Waikato Management School Ethics Committee on 23 March 2011.

DATA ANALYSIS AND REPORTING

Upon accumulation of the raw data, this information then needed to be analysed, interpreted and reported. To begin, each interview was transcribed verbatim and the photographs that participants used were positioned within these transcripts. Interviews were transcribed and reflected upon in conjunction with the data collection process. This allowed me, as the researcher, to gain a general feel for the data as a whole. It also ensured that the collection method could be refined if any shortcomings became evident. These transcripts were only viewed by the researcher and the researcher's supervisors.

In order to preserve a close link to the original data, stories of each participant's happiness were written using their own words. This allowed me, as the researcher, to gain a complete understanding of each individual. It also ensured that the experiences that were captured accurately reflected each participant. In writing

these stories, transcripts were read and re-read, and some interviews were re-listened to. A close reading approach was then utilised where key sentences that were relevant to the phenomenon of happiness were extracted. These were reorganised into themes that were relevant to the individual and used to shape each story. Information that was deemed by the researcher to be of a private nature was not included in these stories unless it added value or insight to the individual's experiences of happiness. This was to respect the privacy of the participant. A great deal of time and effort was placed into crafting each story. These proved to be rather lengthy in size in order to present a complete picture of each individual. Additional sentences were only inserted into each story to allow for better structure and readability.

In line with the phenomenological research approach, a thematic analysis was conducted using the participant's stories, interview transcripts and any relevant field notes. Each individual's story was re-read and reflected upon, before the data was comprehended as a whole. It was analysed for similarities, complementary aspects and conflicting points of view. The essence of happiness began to emerge and initial themes were written onto a flow chart. These themes were reflected upon and refined until the final themes emerged. This resulted in the identification of five themes that related to the essence of happiness for Māori. These themes were expanded upon using participants' experiences and relevant academic literature. They were then analysed using the current literature on happiness and consumption in order to determine the role that consumption plays.

TALES FROM THE AUTHOR

When I first stumbled across the Māori proverb that guides this chapter, I felt as though it was very fitting to not only this specific chapter, but also the entire thesis as a whole. Throughout this journey, it always remained at the forefront of my mind that I could not have possibly achieved all that I had without the help of my research participants. Not only did they offer me their time, but they were also willingly shared their inner most thoughts, experiences, feelings, desires and ideas. Opening someone up to such intimate details of your life is a difficult and vulnerable task, yet my participants were all able to do it. For this, I am eternally

grateful. I was surprised at how emotional and inspiring I found each interview to be. Not only for the purpose of this research, but also for myself as an individual. I was awed by some of the stories of my participants. People who I had associated with on a daily basis, those who I regularly exchanged pleasantries with, or those who were new friends or acquaintances; they all possessed an amazing body of knowledge, wisdom and experience, and were all inspiring in their own way. It made me realise just how little we actually know about the people in our lives as we never even bother to ask about their stories. It also made me realise that everybody does have a story to tell. I came away from the interviews feeling as though I had formed a spiritual bond with each participant. I felt as though they had bared to me their souls, and through that we would always hold this connection. I felt like we had shared something together that no one else had, something that was ours alone. I don't know if my participants felt the same way that I did as it was an unspoken bond that does not necessarily need acknowledgment in order to exist. I do know, however, that I was not expecting to gain such a significant experience of my own when undertaking this research process.

CHAPTER FIVE: STORIES OF HAPPINESS

*“Kaua e rangiruatia te hā o te hoe; e kore tō tātou waka e ū ki uta –
Do not lift the paddle out of unison or our canoe will never reach the shore”*

- Māori Proverb

In telling their stories, thirteen Māori individuals take us on an inspirational journey of their experiences of happiness. As Māori have a natural affinity for the narrative, these stories are successful in capturing the thoughts, feelings, emotions, values, understandings and experiences of each individual. Remaining true to the intended meaning of these experiences, each unique story has been written using the individual's own words. These are their stories of happiness.

AROHA

Aroha is a 19 year-old female who was born and bred in Hamilton. She is currently a second year student studying communication at the University of Waikato. Aroha is the youngest of eight siblings and has a three-month old daughter. For her interview, she brought eleven photographs to symbolise her happiness, all of which were based around the themes of; whānau and friends, values, engaging in Māori activities, and nature. This is her story.

Whānau is central to the way in which Aroha experiences happiness. Her sister and her daughter are especially influential in invoking positive feelings. *“My first cousin, but we were brought up as sisters. So she's baby's name sake. And first off, she really makes me happy because she's one of those people that you cannot hate because she brings out all the happy stuff in you and she gets you, we laugh over the same things, we're idiots. I'm one year older than her. We're really tight. We used to go on holidays together. We even laugh the same. It wasn't until last year that people would say, you two are so the same... We're basically two*

halves of a whole. That's why I named my daughter after her. And she's the other person that makes me happy...They really do make me laugh. They make me happy... I instantly see [my cousin's] personality and baby, how she's got all these funny facials, she's got her own personality already". Since her birth three months prior, Aroha's daughter has greatly assisted in shaping her happiness. "I was scared at the thought of giving birth but when it started coming and when I actually had the birth it was fine. I think that people do really over exaggerate... From giving birth to baby I really learned that it depends on you, it's a mental thing first and second you have to have your family there to support you so that you can feed off their energy. They can't be freaking out. If you're calm the birth is going to be sweet as. And what helped me through was that it's worse for the baby to be born than it is giving birth. Because it's really traumatic for them. So I thought, no, I don't want my baby to be traumatised, so I tried to be calm. So, yes. Happy moment... [When I first saw her] it was just a big fat smile. The biggest smile I've ever had. I didn't cry. I really thought that I would cry but I didn't. I think I was so exhausted and I was proud of myself. That was the first emotion that came out – I was proud". Aroha's happiness has become even more meaningful as she is now able to experience happiness through her daughter's actions. "It reminds me of all the little things she does, that even though they're little, they really boost me up every day. She gives me joy. This photo just reminds me of the little things that a little person does that just makes your day. Like when she smiles I feel like I could be happy for eternity".

As a young mother, Aroha initially struggled with the idea of whether or not she would be able to properly provide for her child. "I was going to give her away at first. I personally felt that I wouldn't be a good enough mother for her. Because I'm studying and have so much extracurricular activities outside of university that I wouldn't be able to give my all to her". Now, however, Aroha's daughter is her motivation to succeed. "She's my motivation. My future... [It's] just big fat motherly love. Unconditional love. I definitely feel that... When I was pregnant and I first got my scan I had my degree planner. I put her picture right next to it... [My goal was always] to get my masters. Nothing's changed now, I've just got baby". Due to the help and support of Aroha's whānau, being a mother has in no

way hindered the way that Aroha experiences life; if anything, it is much more fulfilling. *“[My whānau] always want to have baby. They take me everywhere too. Because I was recently tutoring in kapa haka for the regionals... And they had to take me to my practices because I don’t have a car... That’s where my family has been really helpful – getting me to places. But I’m pretty independent. But they try and come to steal her, as it goes. Especially my nieces and nephews because they’re older, well at high school, they always come and ask if they can take baby for a walk... Maybe once a month I’ll have a night where I’ll go out. Be young... They give me down time and they’ll watch over baby for about ten hours while I go have some drinks and dance and then come back”*. This support means that Aroha is able to pursue an education, spend time with friends, and hold extracurricular activities, all while being a mother.

Coming from a large whānau of eight siblings it is inevitable that they would hold a close bond. This connection, along with the love and support that they have provided for one another has ensured that Aroha and her whānau were able to succeed academically. She speaks of a promotional campaign that they were involved in for the University of Waikato. *“They had heard that in our family, all the siblings had graduated from Waikato except for me. They wanted to use us as an example of a Māori family... You know how they’ve got that billboard on Knighton Road? This photo was on there... Mum got to choose her photo. So we got one with mum and the siblings. By the time I graduate, mum would have graduated with her doctorate, and so we’re gonna get another one... This is about family. Family and how everyone has helped me, we have all helped each other, at the end of the day we all support each other. This is one of those photos that shows people if they don’t know what whānau is about. You know how a lot of Pākehā people don’t understand why we’re all about whānau? We’re all about whānau so that we can get to where we want to be and support each other along the way”*. This support has ensured that having children has not hindered any of their chances for success. *“My mum has eight kids and did her doctorate... My sister, she had her son when she was 17, in seventh form. So she had to finish school and then went to university straight after. My other sister did that too”*. Aroha speaks of her future plans for her own family. *“I used to want eight kids*

because I'm the eighth of the eighth. My mum is the eighth child in her family too, and I was the eighth child in my family. But now, I'm thinking about three. I've settled for four at the most, just so I can get stuff for my nieces and nephews too. If I've got too much kids it will be way too difficult for the rest of the family. Christmas is hard man. We have, because we're such a tight-knit family we have to buy presents for 50 people". Aroha is aware of the way that her actions can impact on the rest of the whānau, and wants to ensure that she does what is best for the collective.

Aroha's mum also plays a significant role in her happiness. *"My mum. She's the number two person that makes me happy. She used to be number one until baby came... Me and mum, we're the same. We're one of those mum and daughters that are best friends... She's my best friend, she's always there for me. I'm not her favourite; she doesn't have favourites, but because we're so alike, we love going to restaurants, my brothers and sisters don't. I'm the only person that she'll let tell her what to wear. I'm the only person that she asks for an opinion anyway. And if she gets compliments, she'll say, 'oh my baby dressed me'. When people ask me who my number one role model is I say her. She's done it all. She's travelled everywhere. She's been rich. Her first life was real hard. She had my brother when she was 16 and it was real hard. She had five kids in a span of 10 years or something. After she had the five kids, she said, 'no, I'm gonna go to uni, I'm gonna pursue it all', and she did it, and then all she had to worry about was me because I was the only one who wasn't old enough to look after myself. So, she started getting her masters, and then she became the HOD of Canterbury for the Māori Department over there. She got paid well doing that and I used to live with her then in Christchurch. I can say that we were living pretty comfortably. I was pretty spoilt. She went to all the conferences around the world. She has a thirst for knowledge. She went and did her doctorate. That's the next achievement for her. She's my big number one role model, she's done it all".* To Aroha, her mother represents true success. Having made significant achievements in life through her whānau, culture and career, Aroha is inspired by the path that her mother has chosen to take.

Two of Aroha's best friends also play a key role in her happiness. Both have made noteworthy achievements in their lives that Aroha finds to be highly inspirational. Her first best friend is a world karate champion. *"She makes me happy because she's the dopest person in the world. Like literally... She's real dopey and silly, she does the silliest things ever, [but] her determination makes up for it big time. At the moment she's the number one champion in kyokushin karate... She went to the worlds last year for kyokushin and won for heavy weight... She's such an inspiration, even though she's really thick and real dopey, she won the worlds... She inspires me and makes me happy"*. Aroha's other best friend is a mum of two. *"She's 19 turning 20 this year. She's just my inspiration because she had two kids, she's got two daughters, and she's the greatest mum, she rocks as a mum. She speaks Māori to them and she disciplines them in a nice way, just like how a mum should be... She was the one who told me that the birth was not that bad, you just have to be calm, you're doing it for baby. And she told me, she goes, 'I honestly think that what we go through to get a baby, a child, is nothing. It's nothing, it doesn't even add up to the value of a baby'. She's really positive"*. Aroha surrounds herself with a number of positive and inspirational people that impact her life for the better. *"All my friends inspire me, we are a good bunch of inspiring people I think. Not trying to be bigheaded but we really are, every single one of us, all of my friends, we have all accomplished something really great. Like our other best friend, she goes to worlds all the time in waka ama, so she's really accomplished a lot. There's the karate one, and I'm the real hard out Māori one"*. She credits this drive to the help and support of their whānau. *"We've got the best families ever. Our families are like, let's prepare a hangi for the girls so they can go to worlds. Like our parents are really like that. And it's great because we're Māori. Our families are really really Māori and all of the parents have wanted the kids to get somewhere"*. Through instilling these values and asserting a strong positive influence, Aroha's whānau have ensured that she strives for the top in all that she undertakes.

Aroha's high school has been a huge contributor in shaping her happiness, culture, experiences and values. Aroha attended a wharekura; a Māori language immersion school, in the Waikato region. She speaks of winning Manu Kōrero, the national

Māori speech competition for secondary schools. *“I won the trophy for senior Māori at the Manu Kōrero in 2009 and I was the first woman in nine years to win it... So I won the school [competition]. Did regionals. Went to nationals and I won and I was so surprised. I had come second in the junior one when I was fourth form. I just wanted to give it another go, because no one in my family has ever won senior Māori before... I wanted to win the senior one because that’s the most prestigious... When I look at all the names on the trophy. It’s all these well-known Māori people. And there’s like heaps of CEO’s names on there. People that are really well-known in Māoridom and the nation. Hard out prestigious people”.* While it could be assumed that this experience would be symbolic of success; instead, to Aroha, it represents values and gratitude. *“I think the outer image of it is success and accomplishment but for me it’s all about my values and how they relate to my happiness... It reminds me of what my core values are. Like, humility, winning that trophy, even though it was great I had to be humble... At prize giving, we’re not allowed to do a haka tautoko to ourselves because that’s being big headed. We have to be really humble... Everyone else was doing haka tautoko to me. But my school you could just see that they were crying... You’re not allowed to yell out or anything. Just clap. My poor school and family they were just silent, cheering but nothing was coming out of their mouths. It’s a lot of restraint but it teaches us to be humble... [I also feel] gratitude to my school. They were the ones who taught me how to be humble and taught me all I know about Māoritanga, well so did my family, but they taught me a lot and opened up my eyes to a lot of things, a lot of cultural things, and gratitude to my school because they gave me the opportunity to win Manu Kōrero. They taught me respect, to respect others... it brought me back to my core values that I learned from the school”.* Aroha is also reminded of these values through a photograph that depicts the day that her school won the 2009 Kapa Haka Regional Competition. *“I was seventh form, I was a prefect and this was the first regionals that our school had ever won... This brings me back to the whole humility thing as well... It brings back the memories of; when we found out we had won, the first thing we did after karakia was pick up all the rubbish. The other schools just left. But it wasn’t our school though, it was Rakaumanga, and they normally always win, so we kind of felt bad that we had won. But we didn’t want to be like, yeah, we won, so we just*

said, 'nope, come on guys', in Māori of course, because we're only allowed to speak Māori... 'Pick up the rubbish so that we can go home and this place looks clean'. And they were just like, 'ok'. They were still being humble about it. So this reminds me of humility, and how it's actually gone through the students... It is about kapa haka but more about unity and how unified our school was during that time".

Aroha speaks of the foundation from which her school was built. "It's a new school... We're a really cheap school money-wise, but it's really good quality. Even our principal, he's got a MMS... He's real driven. He runs the school like a business but in a good way. He makes sure that we all adhere to his core values. But the schools core values, he didn't choose them. The local iwi did, the parents did, everyone came together to establish the school and its core values... [We are a] Waikato tribal high school, so we have to include the iwi into it". In particular, students are given ample opportunity to gain significant experiences and learn important lessons. "Our school has a criteria that students have to have community experience, national experience... and international [experience]... We have to do community service. Our house had to do Trees in the Park, that Halloween thing at Fraser High School. We had to set that up and make the candy floss... We go and do national things like basketball, kapa haka, waka ama, Manu Kōrero, national competitions... [and] we have to have an overseas trip for every seventh form year". This ensures that students are exposed to a diverse range of people, cultures and experiences. For Aroha's international trip, she was given the opportunity to go to the Cook Islands. "We went to Rarotonga and Aitutaki and that was great... We did a lot of local stuff. We had picnics with the locals and every second day they would make us a hākari. And in Rarotonga we did all the touristy stuff, going around the mountains, the diving, going out on glass bottom boats. Enjoying the scenery and experience. But in Aitutaki we did a lot of cultural local stuff. We went to look at all the maraes, but their maraes are just land, there's just rocks there, it's pretty sad. Where they used to have a marae there's just land with rocks on it. You wouldn't even know it was a marae unless they said".

As Aroha classes herself as the “hard out Māori one” from within her group of friends, she is extremely passionate about Māori activities such as waka ama and kapa haka. Engaging in and being involved in such cultural events makes Aroha feel very happy. She speaks of going to Sacramento in California for the Waka Ama World Championship. *“I did the worlds for waka ama... We were one of the top crews to qualify to represent New Zealand... All of us, except for my little sister, we all went to school together. And we’re all best friends and cousins, so we all hard out know each other... As a team we were great. As individuals we were so-so... We placed fourth [at the worlds], but it was tragic though. The one race we knew we would have won, my little sisters paddle broke, and we were nearly finished... We all need the same size paddles, it’s all about unity and being in sync, so when one goes out, we all go out. But either way, it’s great memories... Waka ama makes me really happy because it’s a Māori sport [and] it took me to America”*. Aroha feels similarly about kapa haka. *“Kapa haka; It makes me happy man. I love kapa haka. I breathe kapa haka. Everytime I go home I watch it on Māori Television... I sing their songs and stuff”*. Kapa haka is a passion that stems throughout her entire whānau. *“It’s definitely a family thing. Like, mum, her first kapa haka group was Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato (University of Waikato)... Back in the 80s and 90s, they were top dog group. They were one of the best groups in New Zealand... Mum, she was the first one to ever win the Matatini female leader, back in 1982... She won it two more times after that. So she really brought us up around kapa haka. Even though my first competition was in 2004, the first time I ever performed in competition, I was still into it... People think I’m freaky when it comes to kapa haka because I love doing whakangahau performances, you know, it’s not a competition, it’s like little gigs. I love doing gigs. A lot of kapa haka people hate doing gigs, but I love doing gigs. If I get to sing and pukana then I love it”*. Aroha also ensures that her daughter is exposed to kapa haka. *“When I was pregnant, we were going to my kapa haka practices right up until she was born. So I was doing the poi hard out with her in my puku, and I was singing to her... I sing to her Māori songs. When I’m calming her down. I sing to her all the time. Now she’s starting to laugh and she cracks up at me. I think she thinks I’m an idiot. And because I do haka to her too and make her do the actions. I hold her hands and do like, ‘ka mate ka mate, ka ora ka ora’, she*

cracks up at me. But she only shushes when she's watching the kids do kapa haka, because she's been to all of the practices, and when they perform, she loves it".

Aroha also experiences happiness when she is surrounded by the natural scenery and beauty that New Zealand has to offer. *"This makes me feel happy that I'm from New Zealand. [I] appreciate being Kiwi. Because it's so pretty.... Nowhere in the world can beat it, it's the best place in the world. I'm a real coastal and land person. I love the sea. That's why every holiday I have to go out to the sea. I go to Kawhia*

". Aroha enjoys undertaking outdoor activities as they help her to feel connected to her Māori roots. "[I love] doing kiwi things; just taking the dog for a walk and having fish and chips on the coast... You know that time when you just eat a Choc Bar and it's just the best time ever. Or a Fruji... I like waka surfing. It's like surfing but... waka surfing is a one man waka ama canoe. When you watch it a lot of people are like, that must not be safe. But with a single, you can just tip the waka over and bring it up again and it tips all the water out. I love waka surfing, it's great. It's the best thing ever... [I like] seafood... and diving... It was the first time I had been diving to get kinas and koda and pauas. Normal Māori stuff that makes you feel closer to your ancestors". As she descends from the coast, Aroha feels a natural affinity to the land and sea. "My iwi is from the east coast and the west coast, so either way I'm a coastal girl. I was brought up in New Plymouth as well for some of my life. And in Christchurch, and they're both coastal areas. So the sea calls me, it does... This makes me happy because I'm a real nature girl. I love walking barefoot on nice grass... It's great. It feels really healthy, and the smell of it. Have you ever read a poem that said 'the smell of happiness is freshly mowed grass'? My happiness smells of the sea - like coastal smells. A lot of people get freaked out staying in Kawhia by the sound of the sea, that lapping, but I find it calming. It's great. You're practically sleeping in the water. It's like a lullaby to me".

ATAWHAI

Atawhai is a 26 year-old female of Ngāpuhi descent. She originates from Kaitaia in the Far North but now resides Hamilton. She is currently a third year student studying psychology at the University of Waikato. For her interview, Atawhai brought five photographs to symbolise her happiness, stating that she chose to portray this through a representation of how she *perceives* happiness, rather than *what* makes her happy. This is her story.

Atawhai has a solid grasp on what she perceives happiness to entail and has put a lot of conscious thought into understanding her own experiences. *“Happiness is more than just having things or people in your life to rely on for your own happiness, but instead I think it is more a state of being or a feeling within one’s self. I think lots of things can make you happy, you know, your family, your friends, getting an ‘A’ in an assignment, but I don’t necessarily know if being happy about something is the same as experiencing happiness. It’s kind of like, you know, loving something or someone, you can love your cat or your car, but it’s not the same as being ‘in’ love”*. She is adamant that ‘being happy’ and ‘experiencing happiness’ are different phenomena, and that in order to experience true happiness one must; maintain balance and stability, build meaningful relationships, believe in yourself, think positively, and always be moving forward. Each of her photographs gravitated around these five notions, stating *“they’re all connected. I don’t think that one can function without the other. To experience true happiness. Like true true happiness, you need to have the full package”*.

Atawhai believes ensuring balance and stability in all aspects of life is central to happiness. *“There needs to be a balance... a balance between your home life, your social life, your culture, spiritual, emotional and mental well-being etc, and I think you also need to have a level of stability in all of those parts of your life, so that you can be completely calm and kind of at peace, so that you can stop long enough to appreciate what’s right in front of you... A range of things that influence your life in a positive way... [so that] you don’t let the wrong aspects*

become your priority". Atawhai makes a conscious effort to incorporate balance into her life; though recognises the difficulty involved in doing so. She sees it as a mental process which requires awareness, love and values to be achievable. "I try really hard to make sure that I have that balance - which has actually been quite difficult to me, as I tend to just put my all into one part of my life and get a bit carried away and neglect other parts of my life. That's what I've been focusing on a lot lately and I feel that I'm a lot happier for it... People can't just expect to have balance in their lives. It's something that you need to be consciously aware of and working towards every day of your life. It comes back to having strong values, and living and breathing your values, and I think if you can do that you will experience true happiness... I've really just had a tendency to get quite immersed into things, like my work or my relationships of whatever, and neglect other aspects of my life... I don't necessarily think that it means that you shouldn't love someone so much and give them your everything, I think it just means that love is infinite and never-ending, there's always enough love to give, so by all means, love someone irrationally with all your being, but also make sure that you dedicate your love to other aspects of your life – there is always enough to go around. Your friends, whānau, your pets, your career or your education, your hobbies and your interests, your culture, your beliefs, your spirituality, yourself. Most importantly yourself". Living away from home, Atawhai was struggling to maintain her culture. To remedy this, she joined the Māori student group on campus. "The culture is used as a platform of support for Māori students studying away from home so you always feel like you have a whānau, you always feel like you're supported, there's always someone to turn to for everything. It's just awesome... I hardly ever go back home so I hadn't realised that I was really missing that cultural aspect as well. It's real cool too, you meet so many awesome like-minded Māori. It's like a whānau and that's something else that I was really missing here in [Hamilton]... [it] was actually a much bigger blessing than I expected". Stability within each of these aspects is also key to the way that Atawhai perceives happiness. "I think that each of those parts of your life needs to be very stable... they all work in unison and that if one is out they'll all be out... Not only do you need to be stable mentally and emotionally, you need to make sure that your family life and your friend life is stable. I know you don't really

have control over other people's actions but you do have control over your own decisions and the way you react to and deal with certain situations... Like sometimes life throws you a curveball and it can put your life out of whack but I think it's the way we deal with things that shows true character, or the way we choose to perceive things."

Atawhai also believes that establishing meaningful relationships with others is vital to experiencing true happiness. *"You need to have some really meaningful relationships in your life, with your friends, your whānau, your animals, and you need to try and surround yourself with people you love and people who love you. I don't think that happiness means anything unless you are sharing it with people you love".* In order for these relationships to be meaningful, however, both parties need to be vested into it for the right reasons. *"You need to make sure that your relationships with other people are more than just superficial relationships. That they are satisfying and reciprocal. That you're not just associating yourself with people who suck all the life out of you and never give back, but people who want to share their love and their life with you... You need to associate and surround yourself with positive people so that it can help you to be more positive.... People who know what they want from life and want to support you in what you do... You need to associate yourself with positive, driven people, so that you can see life from different perspectives".* In particular, to Atawhai, whānau and the support of her whānau are main contributors to her happiness. *"It's all about relationships and whānau. Whānau is number one. And that doesn't just mean blood whānau, but also your friends and your pets, all of those people that you love unconditionally and have influenced your life for the better. I don't think you can ever experience true happiness without having the love and support of your whānau... Having whānau around you to be there to guide and support you in the good and hold your hand in the bad".* Now that Atawhai is more aware of the need to maintain balance in her life, she has started putting more effort into her relationships. This has assisted in making the relationship that she holds with her mum and her best friend even more meaningful. *"Number one is my mum. She's always been there for me from the very start, always supports me in everything that I do... We were always close, but now I make more time to get to know her*

and what's happening in her life... I make more effort to visit now. It's just a closer bond... [With my best friend], we'd always been good friends, but now our friendship has just extended to a whole other level. I didn't realise how little effort I was actually putting into the friendship... [We do] everything and nothing [together]. She's Māori too so I just go and set up camp at her place a lot of the time and the whānau are all good with that. We go out together, go to drinks and town, go shopping, just chill and talk about everything and anything... She's very open, very in touch with herself, sure of her values... When you finally make the decision to pull your own head out of your ass it's amazing how much you realise you were missing out on because you were too caught up in yourself... When you try and influence other peoples lives for the better, when you give them aroha and support, they give it back. And that definately definately makes my happiness all that more intense”.

Believing in yourself, being the best person possible and learning to appreciate what you have in life, are all part of Atawhai's perceptions on happiness. *“To be truly happy you need to be happy with the person that you are and the decisions that you've made in your life. You know, reaching for the stars. I think that true happiness starts with you, with being happy with what you've got and achieving the most that you can out of life. At the moment I'm really happy with my life. It's not perfect, by any means, but even the mistakes that I've made and all of the negative experiences have contributed to the person that I am today... It's about believing in yourself and trying your best in everything that you do. It's not only about success, but just being a good person in general. Being humble, being friendly, appreciating others for what they have to offer... If you are the best person that you can be, and you know that you are putting your all into being the best person that you can be, then you can be truly happy with yourself and who you are”.* Atawhai's current focus is on being the best person she can be through her education but also acknowledges that this is just one of the many roles that she plays in life. *“Bettering myself through education... But education isn't necessarily through gaining a degree... [It's about] all of the lessons that I've learned during my time at uni. Everything I've learned about myself, all of the skills and experiences I've gained... Being the best person you can be is not*

specific to one aspect of your life, but being the best person you can be in all areas. Being aware of the roles that you play in people's lives... It really depends on your situation, being the best person you can be to other people might be being the best mother or wife, or the best friend... Being the best student, being the best daughter, being the best sister, being the best friend, being the best owner, just always trying your hardest to be the best you can be in everything". Ultimately, Atawhai believes that it comes back to ensuring you adhere to your values. *"I really just think that being the best person comes down to your values. To having really strong core values. Even if you have to establish these values for yourself. Like whānau has always been a priority in my whānau. Whānau, being open-minded, not judgmental, that kind of thing. Living through your values. And these values also come back to culture. Although I didn't really know it, the deep-rooted positive Māori values still exist in my family underneath it all – focusing on others, sharing, generosity, just being whānau-oriented... Culture is a part of my life in terms of the values associated with the Māori culture, and for me that is enough. I don't get into kapa haka, I don't speak te reo, I don't visit my marae that often unless I have to like for tangis and stuff. I'm away from it all down here so it is more difficult to maintain your culture, so that's where I think values come in. Even if you are away from your roots, even if you were on the other side of the world, as long as you incorporate your values into every aspect of your life, and you know who you are, then I think that's enough".*

Atawhai also believes that in order to experience true happiness, one must practice the art of positive thinking. *"True happiness comes from remaining and thinking positively, focusing on the good in life and believing in yourself... I chose this photo (see Figure Three) because when I think of something positive I think of the sun. You know, something bright and warm, something that sheds light on everything and gives life. I liked the clouds, and how the sun is shining brightly through the clouds, even though the clouds are quite dark and heavy. I think it kind of represents seeing the positive in things, seeing the bright side of things, the good in life, even amongst all the negative or bad things... [The girl is] the positive thinker. She sees the light. She's showing that when you think positively, when you see the good in life, you're always moving forward, into the sun. And*

FIGURE THREE: Atawhai's Photograph



she's on a bike too, so she's having fun. I think that's important too. Having fun. Laughing. Having interests and hobbies... There will always be things that happen in life that could bring you down, there's always gonna be something that's gonna happen that can turn your entire world upside down, no matter how large or small it is, I just think the key to not letting it affect your overall happiness is learning to see the good in things, learning to see the bright side, learning to determine what you can learn from this situation and how you can move on from it... Applying positive thinking to everyday life... Instead of thinking, 'oh it's so cold and miserable, I hate the rain', you might think, 'oh look it's raining, It's a good day to stay inside and get some work done, or watch DVDs or read in front of the fire or something'". While remaining positive can be a difficult task, the pay-off is worth it. "You have to try at it every single day. It's not easy. I think negatively all the time, but positive thinking comes with practice. It's only over the last few years that I've really started to take this on board so I'm still new to this. It takes time and dedication, but you can start to become really happy with just the smallest things in life... It sounds quite spiritual and new ageist, but when

you think about it logically, you know, if you think positively and have positive thoughts then of course that's gonna result in happier experiences."

Moving forward in life is also central to Atawhai's understanding of happiness. *"Knowing your goals, knowing where you're heading and learning from your mistakes. Learning from the past... Happiness comes from moving and looking forward in life. To seeing that there's always a way forward. To setting goals and striving for them, just kind of basically, knowing that there's always a light at the end of the tunnel... I really reckon that everything happens for a reason, and that every experience is to be learned from and to be moved on from... It comes from your perceptions on life. Your life is what you make it and what you perceive it to be. If you want to live a full complete life with never-ending happiness then you will, because you'll perceive your life in such a way that you'll pay more attention to the positive than the negative"*.

Overall, it is clear that, to Atawhai, happiness begins with the self. It is something that is experienced internally, and can be controlled through heightened awareness and conscious effort; happiness stems from within. *"To properly experience happiness you need to be able to embrace it... I don't necessarily think that happiness comes from things in your life, like your friends, family, your home, your pets... It can make you smile, or make you happy for a while, like short-term, but I think that real long term true happiness comes from your willingness to embrace and see the happiness in your everyday life, in everything you do. I think you need to be happy with every little aspect of your life and the decisions that you have made for yourself, the path you have chosen... When you try put an effort into appreciating what's right in front of you, the simple things in life, then you can experience happiness in everything. Happiness doesn't just become a feeling but a way of life, it becomes the norm"*. As an internal process, happiness also comes back to having strong values and incorporating these into all aspects of life. *"I think it also comes back to priorities. In today's society, our priorities are completely out of whack. Like people value education, but for all the wrong reasons. They want to get an education because they want to get a degree and then get a job to make lots of money. That's not what it should be about. I don't*

reckon anyway. Getting an education should be about bettering yourself and then getting a job to give back to your family. It shouldn't be about money and things, it should be about whānau. You don't need to be a millionaire to give back to your whānau... People put too much focus into their work and neglect their whānau and their cultural and spiritual side, and themselves because of it. That's not true happiness. They may be highly successful in their career but they will never be truly happy until they bring their life back into balance. I bet you anything that the happiest person in the world is just your simple, everyday person, like a mother or something, someone who has perfected that balance and who has good priorities and values. It won't be someone with tons of money, with a fancy job and a Porsche... Sure moneys great and by all means have money, but just make sure that money doesn't take priority, that it doesn't become more important than people". While Atawhai herself likes to have money and to shop, she ensures that her values also guide this behaviour. "I love to shop. I love nice things and I like to look good, but if it came down to owning the hottest new handbag out or giving back to my family, then it would be a no-brainer. Family first. Kind of the same thing comes from your work, you're better off to work less hours and have less money so that you have more time to spend with your family – especially if you have children. I'm young free and single now, but when I do have my own family, everything will be based on these values... People these days get too caught up in money, in things, in the materialistic nature of society today and lose sight of what is truly important – whānau and love".

HEMI

Hemi is a 23 year-old male of Whakatōhea descent. His first language is Te Reo Māori. Hemi is currently completing his final year at university and works part-time as a Māori Mentor and an Economics tutor at the Waikato Management School. The eldest of six, Hemi lives with his partner and four year-old son in Hamilton, but calls Opotiki home. For his interview, Hemi brought thirty-six photographs to symbolise his happiness, all of which *he* categorised under the six headings of; food, friends and whānau, Māori succeeding/culture, socialising, looking good, and places and weather. This is his story of happiness.

For Hemi, friends and whānau are central to his happiness. “[*They’re*] *number one... way up the top. Way above everything else*”. He feels happiest when he is spending time with and interacting with friends and whānau. “*I’m always happy to see friends and whānau, particularly those that I haven’t seen in a while... Playing games, dancing, music, clubbing... The social aspect of playing games is cool. Doing it with others, with friends and family. Just good company and people*”. In particular, he enjoys ‘hanging with the boys’. “*Walking around town, going to the supplement shop with the boys... We go [to the gym together] five to six times a week, have drinks, watch games, watch rugby league... We go to one of the boys places, sit around on the couches. If we’re not watching the game, we play drinking games and chat about the gym... Just having a good time with the boys. It’s good getting away from the house... I like concerts; Rhythm and Vines, went there for New Years with the boys. I usually [spend it with family] so it was the first time I got to do my own thing*”. Hemi views socialising as a form of entertainment where he is able to partake in experiences and activities with like-minded people. It is also an escape from the routines of daily life.

Having been raised in a Māori environment, Hemi was surrounded by the presence of Māori waiata. He also views this as a social activity where he is able to share and connect with his whānau. “*It makes me happy singing Māori songs. [It’s] mostly [with] whānau because my friends here in Hamilton are not really Māori Māori, they don’t really do that type of thing... [It’s] mainly when I go*

around to cousins – whānau, people who have a guitar... Usually when we're drinking or at the marae after speeches, or when one of the cousins has a guitar and starts off a song. I hate it when I don't know the song, it really gets me... When they bring out the guitar, that's the highlight of the night for me. I just stand there and sing away... It reminds me of being back home amongst other Māori. My first lot of friends at school, that's what we did. It makes me miss home... I miss those Māori Māori kind of styles... I miss singing Māori songs, bringing out the guitar, and kind of cracking Māori jokes that only Māori will understand".

For Hemi, his happiness stems from the associations that he makes with Māori waiata. It invokes a feeling of unity, not only with his whānau, but also with his culture. It brings back positive memories of home, of which he fondly refers to as more of a 'Māori Māori' setting. It is clear that Hemi views Māori waiata as a key part of his cultural identity. He refers to his friends in Hamilton as "Māori by blood but not by actions" and states that "that's what happens when you come to a place like this, when you're away from your roots". Hemi views Māori waiata as a means through which he can continue to maintain his cultural identity while living in an urban environment. He views kapa haka similarly, though his pride tends to hold him back, "I really love kapa haka. But I haven't been involved for a while. I'd like to be but it's kind of my own insecurities, self confidence, that's holding me back... I don't mind wearing the piupiu and that, but nowadays they make them wear g-strings... I actually love doing the haka... [My brother's] really into kapa haka. He tutors it to boys and girls. Coaches it for the regional's coming up... He's a real kapa haka freak actually. And the rest of them – my brothers and sisters, they're more so than I am. They watch kapa haka all day everyday on repeat. I miss it actually... I'm just lazy and shame because of the things they're wearing these days".

Hemi also feels happy when he reflects back on the values that have inspired him, and the support that his whānau have offered him throughout his life. "It definitely comes back to having those values and support. It was my grandmother, she was the only one from her whānau, her siblings to pursue education. She lay the path for us. For her children and her grandchildren to follow in her footsteps. To carry on to higher education and beyond... If it wasn't for her, things could be different.

She instilled those values into my mum... That's how my mum is, she instilled in us that we have to go to university. We can choose what we want to do, as long as we go to uni... My mum definitely values education – she's a principal". He credits these values for making him the person that he is today, though believes that, as a young father, it would not have been possible without the hands-on support of his whānau. *"I kind of wanted to get my career underway before I had kids. That was in an ideal world. It didn't happen that way but it hasn't affected me in my career. A big contributing factor to that is whānau support. If I hadn't have had that whānau support it would have been a whole different story. Babysitting. When we need a break we can rely on [our whānau] because they're always happy to take him, and we're appreciative of that. It allows us to have a social life as well as do what everyone else does."* Due to the support from his whānau, this has meant that having a whānau of his own has in no way inhibited Hemi from pursuing his own dreams. In fact, Hemi is already planning for the next addition to his family. *"We're actually working on a little friend for him now – a little brother or sister. I think he's a bit lonely... I think he needs someone to play with".* Rather than hindering his happiness, having a child has meant that Hemi now experiences happiness in more ways than he did before. *"Seeing him happy and smiling always makes me happy. Seeing him grow and progress and learn".* Hemi's happiness has transformed in such a way that his own happiness is now also experienced through the happiness of his son.

Hemi identified 'home' as the second most important aspect that contributes to his happiness. *"It's nice being back home. I go there to chill out and slow down from the city pace. It's so much more chilled at home. I prefer that pace, for a while but not long term, just for a holiday. I go back to chill out and lie on the tramp and sleep... [I feel] free. Lack of stress... Almost every day I go to the beach for a swim".* Regardless of where he is living at the time, Hemi will always view Opotiki as home, stating, *"that's where I was brought up, that's where my mum stays".* To Hemi, home is a place that he can always come back to in order to escape the rat race of the city. It is also a place where he can go to be with his whānau. *"I go back and stay with my mum and the kids... Seeing the whānau... I always go and see my grandfather, he's played a huge role in my life. I've kind of*

been brought up with him as my father figure. He helped raise me and taught me a lot... Home is nothing without whānau. I go home for the place but also for the people". While the landmarks of home are important, happiness is also experienced through the feelings of peace and contentedness that home invokes. Hemi has positive perceptions of his marae. *"The band Three Houses Down played at my marae... They were there to film their clip. They wanted to do it at our marae because it's 'mean'. It's overlooking the water. It's right up on the mountain and has the 'meanest' views... I may be bias but that is definitely the best marae I have ever been to. Its view set it apart. The ocean...When we go there it's usually a good occasion. Our whānau meets and has a 'mean' feed. Christmas, New Years, we all meet up at the marae. I just really like my marae... It's somewhere else where I can chill out. Be at home".*

Another way in which Hemi experiences happiness is through the success of other Māori. *"Māori succeeding in what they do. Maisey Rika, I went to school with her. She was two or three years older. There's Stan Walker. He's still a Māori and he's successful, even though he's in [Australia]. Māori artist Derek Lardelli, he did my tā moko actually. He runs a Māori arts course in Gisborne. And Benji Marshall, a top player. Wayne Tainui, he's a partner at PWC, and Selwyn Hayes of Ernst & Young. So, just seeing Māori doing well with a high profile makes me feel proud... It's really good to see that Māori can and do have the ability to do well. They just need people to look up to. It makes me proud and inspired to see these types of people. It makes me want to attain a higher level in whatever I pursue. In terms of a management position, to aim for partner. It's even more inspiring when Māori succeed through the Māori culture, like tā moko and waiata... Doing well and utilising our culture at the same time is an extra bonus. And I hope it will inspire young or other Māori to realise that Māori, our culture and the language, can be used to support you in your future or progress".* Hemi feels happy, inspired and extremely proud when he sees other Māori experiencing success in their careers and creating a name for themselves in New Zealand or overseas. Although, at this stage of his life Hemi does view success as progression in ones chosen career path, he also believes that success for all Māori is through cultural identity. *"For Māori, a huge success is knowing who you are, your*

identity and where you come from. That's the foundation or the base to help Māori succeed. It's a necessity to success. Once that initial basis is there, once they're secure in themselves and their cultural identity, then the world is their oyster". Success through career and identity is highly important to Hemi as he believes that Māori are largely underrepresented in areas of success. *"A big thing with that is that there are a lot of Māori that are not doing so well and dominating all of the negative statistics... It does sadden me... It's always a bloody Māori doing the robberies and stuff."* He believes that for these Māori, this negative behaviour stems from their upbringing. *"They don't have those kind of values in their whānau, which is quite sad as they don't have control over how they're brought up. They don't have any opportunities around them, and they just don't have that support. Which is really sad"*. As Hemi's own success can be credited to the values and support of his whānau, he strives to offer this same support to others through his tutoring and mentoring roles. *"I really like helping people, especially when they're Māori. I like to see them succeed... when I help them, through mentoring and tutoring, it makes me feel good"*.

Hemi also feels happy when he sees non-Māori acknowledging and embracing the Māori culture. *"The mayor of Gisborne, Meng Foon... he's non-Māori and he speaks fluent Māori... It makes me happy to see non-Māori partaking in Māori culture, learning the language – willingly. So that's awesome. It makes me proud of those people. The old principal of a school in Gisborne was Pākehā and he spoke fluent Māori. It's cool when they try to embrace the culture... They give it a go and accept it"*. Speaking fluent te reo Māori himself, Hemi highly values the Māori language. His happiness stems through the growing acceptance that many non-Māori have for the Māori culture and language, in the hope that this will lead to more of a widespread revitalisation of the culture.

Food, particularly Māori food, also makes Hemi feel happy. While taste does play a role, it is also about the social interactions that he gains through dining with others. *"As a Māori, we love our food. Boil-up and hangi especially because it's such a rare occasion. It brings a smile to my face. It makes me think of special occasions – like for hangi, I think of Christmas. I associate it with whānau, where*

we usually sit down as a whānau... The only time I have it is around whānau, cousins I haven't seen in ages – we kind of come together. When we have it at the marae it's always with people you know and can relate to well. But it's because it tastes good too... And the same for boil-up. When we have boil-up it's usually with [my partner's] mum. That aspect plays a role in why it's so good. The scenery, the atmosphere, the whole social aspect... It makes me hungry and happy and want to eat good food.” The idea of food invokes positive feelings and memories for Hemi. Hemi also enjoys the process involved in making hangi. *“When preparing the hangi, I really like the hard work – I'm quite a labourer. I'd hate to peel potatoes, but I don't mind digging the hole, getting the rocks, getting the wood. The more boy stuff. Physical stuff. Preparing the meat, killing the pig, but not peeling the spuds.”*

Hemi also feels happy when he goes to the gym. In particular, he likes the *“results that come with it”*. As such, Hemi, himself, classified this area of his happiness under the heading of ‘looking good’ and represented this with photographs of well-defined musclemen. *“Looking good, relieving stress from uni work or a hard day, tests, stresses from home. It's kind of my escape, to go out and unleash on the weights, and kind of all the stress is gone. [It's] a social thing as well because of the boys. We can catch up on what's going on or what we've done throughout the day, what's going on at uni, at work, at home. That's a good side of it... I like the whole pump you get when you're pumping weights. Your blood just flows. Adrenalin pumping, you get a bit of a high. It's a drug to me; an addiction. I get withdraws when I don't go”*. His physical appearance in terms of muscle development is very important, yet it is evident that the gym experience encompasses much more than merely just ‘looking good’. Similar to his perceptions of socialising, the gym is Hemi's escape from the pressures of daily life.

Finally, Hemi also experiences happiness through good weather. *“I think a sunny day can make everyone happy, it can enhance your mood... The weather affects my mood. In winter I'm just depressed all the time, especially here in Hamilton where it just always rains. It's just so depressing... [When it's sunny] it makes me*

want to go outside. Go to the park or the beach. Rain can be good when you want to chill out and watch movies, but I'm not a fan. Sunny, spring, summer equals happiness". Hemi always feels happiest on a bright, sunny day where is able to take advantage of the outdoors and the activities that go along with it.

HOHEPA

Hohepa is a 21 year-old male of Ngāti Paoa and Ngāti Maniapoto descent. He is currently a fourth year honours student at the Waikato Management School. Hohepa grew up in Kirita, along the Thames-Coromandel Coast, but his Māori bloodlines stem from Te Kopua, Te Kuiti, Waiheke Island and Auckland. He currently resides in Tokoroa. For his interview, Hohepa brought thirty-nine photographs to symbolise his happiness; however, due to time restrictions he was unable to discuss them all. As such, he chose to focus on the fourteen photographs that he perceived to be most significant. All of these were based upon the themes of; culture and relationships, whānau, home and Māori success. This is his story of happiness.

Hohepa feels happy when he is able to share in events that showcase Māori culture. In particular, he speaks of his high school kapa haka group performance at PolyFest. *“I joined [the kapa haka group] to get in touch with my culture I suppose... When you look at kapa haka, it’s a way that portrays and displays our culture, so, it just makes me happy that many Māori people are invigorated to display their culture on stage and be proud of what they’ve done. I was proud of what we’d done... I see my relationships with my class mates and this represents whakawhanaungatanga, this feeling of family, togetherness... We’ve all come for a common purpose and that’s to display our culture and to be proud of what we’ve done and show other people what we’ve achieved... I think you’ll find in most Māori events they always have a kaupapa of whakawhanaungatanga”*. He also spoke of Manu Kōrero, a Māori speech competition for secondary schools. *“The Auckland regionals Manu Kōrero... Usually I speak at Manu Kōrero but not this year... Being involved; you always get the feeling of achieving something... When I did Manu Kōrero I always did it on topics that were personally significant to me, so I just enjoyed having the chance to express my opinion on a matter... The part that makes me the happiest is being there with the rest of the crew, not just our school, but the other Māori schools that have come together. So just being with other Māori and being together and enjoying the speeches. I’m not necessarily concerned with who wins. It’s not about the competition although*

good on those ones who won, they deserved it... This portrays the whole thing of Māori sticking together and having a good time at the event itself... How it brings all the Māori people together to celebrate the oratory skills of our people". While the display of Māori culture is important to Hohepa's happiness, he also enjoys the collective nature of these events and the way that they bring Māori together to celebrate and be proud of their culture.

Being involved in the Rangatahi Business Competition, a Māori business event previously held by the Waikato Management School, was also significant to Hohepa's happiness. *"This competition was another turning point in my life. This is what introduced me to the BMS degree... We kind of did a crash course through the founding concepts of the BMS degree, so we learnt the SWOT analysis, the STEPP analysis, the marketing mix... We particularly looked at Māori business, so we were randomly assigned a Māori business in our area, and that's the one that we analysed. And we also got to have a one hour interview with the actual business owner... [We] had to put it all together and write a report and do a presentation... We won for the Auckland region. I got a scholarship out of it too which was pretty mean".* Hohepa particularly enjoyed the social aspect of this event. *"Doing work and playing games. We did team building exercises and competitions to see who had to do the dishes etc. A lot of fun, a lot of bonding. I made some good friends out of that... It was just enjoyable hanging out with so many like-minded people I suppose... When it comes to me and Māori people in general, relationships are important".* Events such as these that are based around the Māori culture are vital contributors to Hohepa's happiness as a Māori individual. He sees it as a turning point through which the Māori culture can begin to be more highly recognised and accepted. *"It's just enjoyable and happy to me because it's a display of our culture to the world... It's just the fact that we've been given the opportunity to display it and that it's recognised and well-established... I think that recognising culture is one step towards retaining it and revitalising it. A lot of Indigenous cultures face the issue of retaining and revitalising their culture, or dying cultures. Events like this, especially a language event, help to recognise it".*

It is clear that Hohepa's culture is vital to the way that he experiences happiness. This was not always the case, however, as he speaks of the significant moment in his life when he chose to get in touch with his culture. *"I grew up on the Thames-Coromandel Coast, in a small town. The school I went to had, at most, 50 students, predominantly Pākehā students. So I made friends with basically everyone because the school's so small, so that made me act and think like a Pākehā person... Basically I thought I was Pākehā without even knowing about it... In 2003, I went straight from Thames-Coromandel coast to boarding school. My parents weren't confident in the education system that Thames had to offer so they decided to send me to boarding school, which cost them an arm and a leg... It was a huge culture shock for me too. I didn't know very much about the Māori culture until I went to boarding school and met all of these different people who knew their own language... I wasn't exposed much to my culture. I had been to a few tangi and stuff... My dad could speak Māori but he never spoke Māori around us... I remember being with my extended family but they didn't use the Māori culture or speak Māori or anything even though most of them could. It's like you have to live on the marae or something if you really wanna get into it... All the Pacific Islanders could speak their own language and I got surprised by this. It made me want to learn my own language because I felt out of place, being someone who is Māori but not knowing my own language and my culture very well. So since then I got in touch with my culture a lot more... A lot of what I learned, a few of my close friends were fluent in te reo Māori, so they would speak Māori a lot and I would pick up on a lot. But in having said that, the Māori teacher was also my aunty, so she helped out a lot too... At the end of 2003 I did a mihi in Māori and that shocked my parents".* Since then, Hohepa's culture has assisted in shaping his identity. He now makes a conscious effort to get involved in all matters and events that assist in leveraging and revitalising the Māori culture.

Hohepa's home is also a key contributor to his happiness. *"One of the most important things is my home. I have a lot of photos for home. This is where I grew up most of my life, it's where I've had a lot of happy memories exploring the countryside when I was a kid... I guess home is where the heart is. I've always*

liked home and I've missed home". Being brought up in a rural, coastal community, Hohepa has always been drawn to nature. "[When I am home I feel] at peace. We've got a house up in the middle of the bush, so you get in touch with nature quite a lot. It's a good place to get away... [Go] fishing, nature walking, just relaxing, drinking... The whole vibe of nature, you've got the land and the sea. One way of thinking about it is back in Māori culture, we were in touch with the land and the sea. It was the source of our food. I just enjoy it because it's calm and peaceful. It's where I've grown up most of my life". It also invokes positive memories of spending time with whānau. "We hosted a lot of whānau, happy events here... They would all come up here for a holiday and get together, get their tents. Have Christmas or whatever the occasion is. When we have big extended family bonding, my parents have the perfect house and location for it so that's why everyone was always at our house. So, away from the world and in touch with nature... It is good. It keeps you away from the digital world when you come here". To Hohepa, the concept of home is a way in which he is able to feel more in touch with his roots and his ancestry. "I think that with where my dad's from, being able to see how my dad was brought up and where he's from makes me happy. And my marae... Having these different places that I can go back to reinforces who I am... All the different places I consider home. So it sort of aligns when you asked me where I'm from. It's not just where I was brought up, but all the places I consider home".

Hohepa's whānau and friends also plays a significant role on his happiness. "I try to be [close to my whānau]... I went to boarding school for half of my life so I missed out on a lot of family things from that". He speaks of an instance where he was asked to speak on behalf of his niece at a powhiri. "[It was] at Te Runanga o Kirikiriroa [with] my uncle and my niece who is older than me... What made me happy was being involved with my family, because they had a powhiri for my niece to induct her into our job, they have to do that with all of their new employees, so I spoke on her behalf, because she's female... I was living in Hamilton and they asked me to help out so I was happy to. It was a happy occasion too. And it was good to get together and catch up... This is just one instance where my family, well, my extended family have got together, most of the

time, the only time we get together is at funerals". He also speaks of the importance that his younger nieces and nephews play in his life. *"Seeing your nieces and nephews growing up and being able to contribute to their lives makes me happy... Everyone knows that saying, 'they're the leaders of our future'. Well, that's what everyone told me and I feel like I need to tell them"*. Hohepa feels a need to serve as a role model to his nieces and nephews and guide them along the right path.

Hohepa has developed some close friendships over the course of his life and has essentially begun to view many of his friends as members of his whānau. *"When you make friends, if you get close enough to them you consider them your whānau"*. In particular, he speaks of the first group of friends from university and their common love of music. *"In first year we got together quite a lot. We played music quite a lot... Had a few drunken nights but it was just enjoyable getting together and playing music. It's something I miss. We haven't done it very much since my first year of uni... Māori just tend to gravitate together, especially in those sort of settings when you don't really know much people... [We were drawn together through] music... I play the ukulele... So that's how we created that first bond, through a love of music... We found all these people that could play instruments and decided that we could make some fun out of it to kill some time and not do studies. It's more fun than work in your first year... We'd go to [the steps outside the Academy of] Performing Arts, get drunk, and I only found out this year that you're not allowed doing that anymore... We would use it as an escape or a procrastination excuse, as most students do. It was fun, but even in high school I had friends who played music and we would get together and sing some Māori songs and play along, so this was just bridging off from that, it felt the same, but there was less focus on Māori songs and more focus on, a couple of old school songs and a lot of Islander songs"*. As a group, Hohepa and his friends were able to escape the stresses of daily life through their music whilst enjoying each other's company. With very little time to partake in music nowadays, these memories invoke positive feelings.

Hohepa also feels happy when he sees Māori succeed. *“Seeing Māori in positions of academic success or success in general. It just makes you happy when you see Māori achieving things... Just because they’re Māori. It’s nice to know that people of my own culture are doing well. I try to be optimistic, that’s why I thoroughly enjoy seeing people who are succeeding. I suppose that’s intensified even more when it’s your own family”*. He shares his sister’s success through a photograph of the day that she graduated with a degree in early childhood teaching. *“Māori in general doing well just makes me happy, but it makes me happy that my sister is the first one in my immediate family to graduate with an actual degree. Other ones have certificates. It’s a big achievement for her and the immediate family”*.

ISABELLA

Isabella is a 25 year-old female originally from Gisborne who grew up in Napier. She now resides in Hamilton, where she is completing a masters degree in management. She is from a family of four girls. For her interview, Isabella brought five photographs to symbolise her happiness, all of which captured different members of her whānau. This is her story.

The birth of Isabella's three month old nephew has shaped her happiness immensely. *"He's the newest thing, he's the turning point in our lives... I think that this represents the exact start of our new life, for all of us"*. For Isabella, her nephew contributes to her happiness through the bonds that he has formed within her whānau and the future prospects that he represents. *"[He] brings us all together and strengthens our relationship... He brings something different to the family now. It's starting off like a whole new era for us which is exciting. It makes me happy because it's thrilling to know what life will be like now. Like the way we used to perceive our futures is totally different now we have somebody else in the mix... It's not all about us now, not just looking out for each other but someone else now too. I think all our focus will go into [him] now. Not so much each other and ourselves... It's definitely going to affect our futures but in a good way... I think I need to step up more. I'm not just a sister and a daughter and a friend. I'm an aunty and a mentor... I think I need to be wary about my actions and what I do from now on. Because we're such a close family whatever I do will impact on everyone including [him]... Spiritually I feel like I'm on a different level now. I feel like I can't just be all about myself and my sisters, who I know will take care of themselves"*. Isabella's nephew has played a significant role in shaping her perspective on life and her role within the whānau. She realises that her behaviour can contribute to the happiness and unhappiness of the rest of her whānau and, as such, tries to be more aware of her actions.

For Isabella, it is evident that whānau is central to her happiness. *"It comes down to whānau in the end. As long as they're happy, I'm happy"*. When discussing her nephew she describes the happiness that she feels in knowing that he is making

the rest of her whānau happy. *“He is the first grandchild, first moko and first male, so that to us is huge because we’ve always wanted a male in the family. We’ve just had females for so long, even our cousins... He comes in with this whole male side... My parents have been dying to not only have another male in the family, but to have a grandchild... He makes me happy because my parents have a grandchild. They’re the type that like to look after people... And seeing as we’re all older and basically moved out of home, it’s good for them to have someone there for them too”*. While she is happy to be an aunty for the first time, her happiness, instead, stems from the happiness of her parents. *“[Being an aunty] is really cool, but that’s not what it’s about. That is what makes me happy, because they’re happy... It’s definitely indirect, but that for me is the way I like it. And I think my family would feel the same too if something really cool happened in my life that made me happy too”*.

The relationships in Isabella’s life have played a key role in shaping who she is and what she values. She enjoys spending time with and engaging in meaningful experiences with her whānau. She speaks of her recent trip to America that she undertook with her younger sister and her cousin (who she lovingly refers to as her older sister). *“It’s always been an ultimate dream of mine to go to Disneyworld and Disneyland... to America... [Going on this trip] just represents me living out my childhood dream”*. Isabella has always been obsessed with the American culture and was eager to experience it first-hand. *“I don’t know what [it is], perhaps watching all of these American movies when I was younger... I’ve always been obsessed with the culture... The food, the accent, their lifestyle and what they perceive that living life is. What their values are... just the culture in general”*. While she did enjoy being immersed in the culture, she also felt that it was too image driven and materialistic. *“They’re so materialistic. It’s just not the person I am. I like that sort of stuff, I do, but I don’t want it to be the be-all and end-all... I did enjoy the culture but that culture will never make me happy... I see that that’s what they think makes them happy – whether it does or not, I’m not sure. But that’s not me... I see their culture differently now... I don’t want to stereotype but... I feel that they put too much value in materialism. I think they neglect their spiritual side. They put too much value in this crap that isn’t even*

important in the end. At the end of the day, they're not really getting a lot out of it. It's an in-the-moment culture, based on fads and trends and whatever else is going at that time. I feel like they're being a bit ripped off, they're not experiencing true life and happiness". Being immersed in the American culture has enabled Isabella to reassess her priorities and determine what is really important.

While the trip was based upon Isabella fulfilling her dreams, it was also representative of whānau, love and generosity. This was due to the fact that her older sister paid for a portion of Isabella's and her younger sister's travels. *"My older sister, she made our dreams come true, she really did... If you voice your wishes, she'll make it happen. She's just a wizard... July of last year she rang us up out of the blue and asked if we wanted to go to Miami. And we said that we are keen but based on our budget we can't go... And then she said 'I will pay for one of you to go over', and we were like, oh my god, this is huge... As much as we wanted to decline the offer, because it was just embarrassing for us to take all her money and sponge off her for the two and a half weeks... she was sure that she wanted to do this for us".* For Isabella, she was completely astounded and humbled by her older sister's gesture. It was even more meaningful when knowing that she was doing it entirely out of love and possessed no ulterior motives. *"We were really gobsmacked by her generosity and just her aroha for us I guess. We couldn't believe that, we didn't see the relationship like that and yet she did, which was really humbling for us... We were just humbled really, that we meant enough to her to not only help us fulfil our dream but give us that opportunity to travel. Well not only to travel but to travel with her family which was really cool. Like she wanted to share her experiences with us. I guess it all comes back to whānau in the end. It was amazing, just really amazing. Even to this day, we feel really humbled. In debt to her, but also humbled... She just wanted us to enjoy ourselves. That's why I think that it only came from a place of love. She had no ulterior motives. She just wanted to show her love for us".*

For Isabella, through experiencing her childhood dream in the presence of whānau and the presence of love, she really feels as though she has fulfilled the ultimate

dream. She has also been able to understand happiness in a new light. *“[It] is really about seeing love from a different angle. For me I’m always seeing happiness through others happiness. That’s where my greatest happiness is. For her, the tables had turned... She took our role for a change... [It was] her being happy from us being happy. And I think, it was just amazing to see it like that. To see what motivates others to be happy... It was just weird to be on the receiving end.... We can see the bigger picture. We weren’t just fulfilling that one part of the dream, we fulfilled the whole thing. We never thought that it would encompass whānau and love and determination, discipline, we thought it would just be one small part and that we would be happy for it. I’m sure we would have been happy had we done it that way, but it just makes it so much more amazing that the whole dream was fulfilled, all aspects of it... Seeing not only myself fulfilling my dream but everyone else as well. That’s where the true happiness comes in. It was definitely a wakeup call. It comes back to true happiness. It does involve all of these aspects. If I had worked for and paid for this trip myself I would have been happy but I wouldn’t have experienced true happiness. If it weren’t for my sisters being there, for the way we made it there. All of these amazing things came of it. And I realised for me what is true happiness. I don’t think you really know what true happiness is until you experience it. It’s just a different kind of feeling, and it’s not a short term thing. I wasn’t just happy for that moment, I will always be happy because of it and I will be aware now of what makes me happy because I’ve experienced it... If you can go to America and encompass a range of aspects and love and be loved and share love, and experience with your loved ones, then damn, you’ve really fulfilled the ultimate dream”.*

Isabella’s friends also play a key role in shaping her happiness *“[My] four best friends who will probably be my best friends for life. The funny thing is I met them all individually. I met them all at different times throughout my uni life, my early adult life, but they all knew each other, separately as well. They had all met each other separately, and so it happened that we all got along so well together, so well that, everyone had their own separate relationship with everyone”.* This friendship has shaped Isabella’s happiness significantly and she now views each of her best friends as members of her whānau. Ultimately, she attributes this close

bond to sharing common values. *“We were hanging out not only as mates, we were hanging out as best mates, which was really cool. I’ve had a couple of really close mates in my life, but nothing to the extent that I had with these guys. They were just amazing. They took it to a whole new level. They took it to sisterhood – whānau... You never really expect any more than what you get out of a friendship. But I think for them, all being Māori, they all knew the value of whānau, whether you’re blood or not. The one thing we all have in common is that we all value whānau, if anything it’s at the top of the list for all of us. And to have that one commonality, I guess, that’s what made us so tight and so aroha towards each other, and I’ve just never had that feeling before with so many different personalities. Besides my sisters, you think you’ll never find it again, and I did... I never thought that I would find people exactly like me that have the same values”.*

For Isabella, her happiness stems from the support that she gains from these friendships. *“It is more about having that support and having people to relate to and who will be there for you. If you go down, they’ll go down with you. They’ll choose to, not because you’ll pull them down, but they want to go down if you go down, they’ll never leave you, any of them, and that’s really cool”.* Isabella’s best friends are also greatly in touch with their spiritual side; a trait which is very important to her. *“They can feel things, they can feel how you feel without you having to express yourself in a physical way. I can’t explain it, all I can say is that it’s a spiritual thing, it’s a feeling, it’s a connection... They’re just very in tune with their heart and sharing it, they’re very spiritual and open people. I may not even say that I’m happy or sad or whatever but they’ll feel it. Which is cool because why should you have to justify yourself all the time? Why should you have to say what you feel? Why do you have to actually physically do something or be a certain way for them to get the point? They can just feel it, and that’s what’s cool. It’s really really cool”.* For Isabella, this friendship knows no bounds. It is a type of love that cannot be altered by distance or time. This is why she classes them as whānau. *“We may not see each other for months, years, and yet we’ll still be as tight as we were. And not even hanging around with each other, we’ve all got our own group of friends but it doesn’t mean that we can’t be tight, it’s not like all of our love is given to one group or one person... We’re always willing to*

give all of our love to all areas. There's so much love to share around, it's not like you have to dedicate it to one person, there's no maximum, your love [can go] to everyone. They also represent a whānau within a whānau, they're not blood related, it's just a whānau and a different way of being a whānau. You don't always have to be related. I love it how the people you haven't grown up with or haven't been with for years can share that same love in return. Give that love back... It is a different kind of love but it's still love. It's a different kind of whānau, but it's still whānau. I love them no less than I love my actual whānau".

Isabella feels happy when she is in the presence of her fifteen year-old cousin and her cat. *"[It] reminds me of pure love... These are the two people (her cousin and her cat) that I feel have this amazing love for themselves, for others and for each other. They're best mates. Their love will still be strong even if they don't see each other. They are two of the most generous people, the most aroha people – people/cats, whatever, that I have ever met in my entire life. For them, love, whānau, other people is all it's about".* Isabella's cousin is very spiritual and this allows her to leave a lasting impression on the lives of others. *"[My cousin] is just like a god. She's all about giving. She's all about other people... I've just never met someone who is so spiritually in touch... Of us grandchildren, she's the one that's taken after my poppa the most. He was very selfless, he was all about others. He's left a legacy for his whānau and those who knew him just by being that way. I think she's on that same track. I wouldn't be surprised if she turned out to be like Deepak the philosopher. Without even trying. Just because you feel the love when you're around her".* She speaks of all the small things that her cousin does that contributes to her happiness. *"She'll come up to Hamilton, and [my sister] and I are fighting like hell in front of her, we're supposed to be nice around her because she's only here for a week, but we go hard... She sees the bigger picture. She can see passed all of that. She always tries to break it up and make peace - usually by buying us food. She just knows how to make us happy and she always does it. She doesn't do it to buy our love, she doesn't need to do that, she does it to just be loving... not because she feels she has to. That's just her as a person, that's where her values lie. She will always try to make peace with people, and in the sweetest ways that you don't see it for what it is, that she's genuine.*

I've just never ever come across a person like that... She [also] sends us letters from boarding school. Separate letters in separate envelopes, so it's more personal... and it's always got personal things that are always for us. Like she'll ask me how the cats are and how's Humane going... I never met a sweeter more angel-like person in my life".

When Isabella sees her cousin and her cat together she is reminded of purity and love. While she has been witness to the spiritual side of her cousin, Isabella thinks similarly in terms of her cat. *"They're two of the most powerful people I have ever come across spiritually... They're spiritual, it's not about the physical. I can feel it. [The cat] doesn't have to talk for you to feel it. Like through the way he looks at us. You know when you feel upset sometimes and the kitties can feel it, and they know the exact right time, they know exactly what to do, they know how long to spend with you until you're ok... That's what they mean to me. Just purity. I've never met anyone so pure".* Isabella feels humbled and inspired when she is in their presence. *"[I feel] at my happiest because I know that I can learn from both of them and I know that they've got my back. It's so weird, they never put it out there, like, 'you can learn something from me', and I never go in there thinking I can learn something from them, it just happens, and that's just through being so genuine and pure and loving... And I love that neither of them judge. They've seen me in my most tragic moments, emotionally, mentally, physically, and you just know that they've got all the love for you. Animals don't judge but humans do, and that's where her amazingness comes in... It makes you realise that angels come in all shapes and forms... And that's what humbles you more, and makes you realise what love and happiness truly is. Because love is happiness".*

Isabella's older cousin also contributes to her happiness. *"Another cousin but down the line, so not first, second or third... She's always been amazing".* Isabella currently resides with her cousin and her cousin's whānau in their family home in Hamilton. She feels happy and inspired to constantly be in their presence. *"They are a very staunch Māori family. They are very aware of their values, their culture, of what is important to them... Highly academic. Successful professionally and personally... I've always had love for them, but it's becoming clearer even*

more so now that they've let me live with them... And that's because they're just generous people. I've been living with them for the past month or so. I'm expected to pay rent and yet they don't want me to pay rent, they insist that I don't... I don't want them to have to worry about me, I wanna be able to pay my way and give back as much as I can... They want me to feel like I'm part of the family. They want to support me. They're quite selfless. They're here to support me in every way possible". To Isabella, it is her cousin's strong values that have assisted in shaping the kind and supportive person that she is. "They're Māori. Very true to their values and their culture. They're all about giving, they're all about whānau and support... Nothing's complicated with them. And I really like that. It's very stable. It's very Māori. I love it. They're not phased about me living with them". Isabella's cousin always makes her feel welcome and at home. "I'm treated like royalty in this house. I literally come out at dinner time. How rude is that! You know. They're just sweet as. I try to pull my weight in other ways. They want me to embrace whānau. They don't force me to be a part of it. I come and go and do whatever I please. I don't have to change my life for them. But they make it clear that they're here for me, whenever, however... It's amazing that they allowed me to come into their life, and their family, and just allow me to be the way I want to be right from the beginning and support me in whatever I do. They're always there for me and my life in general. They always try and accommodate, they're very accommodating".

Overall, it is clear that whānau is central to Isabella's happiness. Having such inspirational figures in her life, Isabella is grateful to be surrounded by such strong, positive and supportive people. *"Because of that I'm happy, really happy. I think it's cool because, it's taken a lot of time to get to this point, to be so aware about it all... That's number one for me, it's always about whānau, about supporting one another and supporting yourself. Be there for yourself and look after yourself so that you can look after others".*

JACK

Jack is a 24 year-old male who descends from Ngāti Porou and Te Whānau a Tuwhakairiora. He is from Hicks Bay but was brought up in Hamilton, Hawkes Bay and Poverty Bay. He has two brothers and two sisters, and speaks fluent te reo Māori. Jack is currently completing his sixth year at the University of Waikato studying both law and business. In 2010, he served as the Vice-President Māori for the Waikato Student Union. For his interview, Jack brought four photographs to symbolise his happiness, all of which were based around the themes of; whānau, achievement, escape, and home. This is his story.

Jack's girlfriend is an important contributor to his happiness. *"I'm pretty stoked with my relationship at the moment... We've been together three years soon... I'm happy because we're on the same page. We're real honest. We talk about marriage and kids. I'm pretty straight up. I think if you're investing your time you're either all in or don't go there... I just feel comfortable... My happiness is I'm stoked that I found her now and that I'm not still tryna find a partner. I reckon that I'm so fortunate that I didn't have to go through any huge breakups or even like a full on relationship, have kids and then find someone else that you actually love. Or even you like each other but you make compromises hard out. We're on the same page... What do we do together? We chill, straight up. Watch movies... We just do fun stuff. I like it. It's been cool"*. To symbolise his relationship, Jack brought a photograph of a Pandora charm bracelet that he gifted to his girlfriend. *"I got my girlfriend a Pandora bracelet and I chose the charms. I knew she'd like it and she does... It was for her birthday but... she graduated last year and got admitted to the bar this year and I hadn't got her anything so I got her a charm for that. And also, she's working at a big corporation in Auckland and they work them pretty hard. I wanted to get her something that helped her get through her day. The whole thing about the charms is that its stuff to make her feel happy... Well I thought that being at your desk working and you're in an unfamiliar environment. It's a straight up concrete jungle she's in. It's just so far from home. She's from the coast... I just thought it would be cool"*. He feels happy in

knowing that he is able to contribute to her happiness as much as she contributes to his.

FIGURE FOUR: Jack's Photograph



Jack put a great deal of thought into each of the charms. *“I chose things that I liked the look of but also whether they linked into what I was on about.... I’ll tell you the charms (see Figure Four). The two glass ones, her high school colour which is blue. That’s sort of her friends and the coast as well. On the other side, it looks white but it’s got a tinge of blue. That was, the white and blue is Auckland uni and also living in Auckland and her mates especially. The two smaller charms on the side. That’s like a motorbike wheel. She’s got a niece and a nephew. Her nephew... he’s awesome man. She gets happy when she talks about her niece and nephew. And the other smaller one, her niece, she’s quite a rough girl. She’ll make her younger brother cry but she’s quite a pretty girl too, so I thought this was quite rough and pretty. And then her mum is a gardener, that was the closest I could find to a garden; flowers. And then the teddy bear, her dad’s a honey bee keeper... My whole thing was people who make her feel happy. I didn’t get me a charm, you don’t do that”*. The Pandora bracelet symbolises the success of their

relationship and the deep connection that they have with one another. *“I didn’t want just a photo of her, but this is my wāhine, my girlfriend”*.

Jack also experiences happiness through a sense of achievement. In particular, he speaks of the moment when he was awarded the Ngarimu VC Māori Battalion Scholarship at Parliament in Wellington. *“They give four undergraduate, one masters, one doctorate and one manukura. I was pretty lucky to get it... I wanted something to be like a milestone. Being a student, you work hard, I’ve been at uni for ages and I haven’t graduated yet so I haven’t really had anything... That day was pretty cool... It was awesome because my whole family came. My two sisters and my parents and my girlfriend got time off work and came down as well. I just felt pretty cool. It was a day, my day. I haven’t had that feeling since my 21st. All the recipients were given flowers. The kete held the flowers with the cheque, then you got a plaque. It wasn’t a massive ceremony, it was just a welcome, speeches, but there were some flash people there, it was quite humbling”*. Jack felt happy to be recognised for his hard work and to have his whānau there for support. *“The whole happiness thing is about putting yourself in a stressful environment, I’ve been under pressure tryna get through uni and I suppose when I saw it I thought milestone. It’s not quite graduating but that’s the closest I have at the moment. Happiness through achievement. I suppose having happiness through getting something back from hard work and being able to celebrate it with loved ones. That’s what I think. It’s pretty hard to ask what makes you happy but I felt really good that day... It’s the memory more so”*. Using his prize money, Jack was able to reward himself with a new laptop and camera. *“I needed the laptop and I wanted the camera. I was like, I’ll treat myself and buy a mean camera... I got a SLR, I got a proper one”*.

Jack also feels happy when he engages in his personal hobbies and interests. He views this as a means to escape the pressures of daily life. Thanks to the money from his scholarship, he has recently been able to pursue photography. *“That gave me the opportunity to get into something else. I always wanted to get into photography... I haven’t got any kids and don’t have very much to take photos of, but I got into a bit of art when I was at school. I appreciate good photos... Having*

a good camera you have the potential to have better photos. If you learn how to use it it's pretty cool... I might do a course but my main focus is getting through this degree year. I've only got one more year". Rugby is also a favourite pastime of Jack's. "[I] played under-21s here at uni... I really enjoyed it then.... I played two years there and then I stopped... This year I just wanted to get back into it. I suppose. There was that whole thing about, I felt like I was getting dictated to, that you have to tick all these boxes to get a job. So, get involved in this or that... Just going to rugby is awesome, it's quite relaxing... It's cool because you'll take a hit and it's choice. I like that feeling of being sore too, like you've done something... When a guy especially does physical work you feel quite proud. If I mow the lawns I feel quite proud because I did something physical. But I don't really get the opportunity to do many things like that. Playing rugby is cool, you're like, yeah, I feel sore, got roughed up... I enjoyed what I got out of the team. It was heaps of fun. Keeping fit. Also having a scheduled time to get away from doing what you're doing". Jack gains pleasure from both photography and rugby as they allow him to undertake additional activities that are outside of the norm. "You have what you do and you have what you like doing. So I study and stuff and I want to get a job as a lawyer but I like doing other things as well. You don't want to feel that you're just being dictated to in how you're living your life. Like how people travel and stuff... Just something else".

Jack's home also contributes to his happiness in such a way that he is able to feel secure in himself and his identity. Although Jack has never lived in Hicks Bay, he still calls it home. *"Hicks Bay... It's not that big a place. On the most east point of the North Island is a place called Te Araroa and we're just on an inlet on the left. My hapū it's the same hapū from Hicks Bay and Te Araroa... But when you say, what makes you happy? It's weird. Being back there, it makes me feel good. I think for me, being Māori, where you are, the whole thing about tūrangawaewae, this is your own place. Everyone's got somewhere that they're from and you just feel comfortable and just relaxed. If anyone was to challenge you, if you say who you are and which whānau you're from... It's a special feeling. We used to get taken back all the time, we were very much brought up in the city but we went back at every opportunity... We always went back for tangi and for family*

reunions. And also my dad's a keen diver and so we'd go back in the summer, camp up on our block where my mum was brought up and just spend a week or a couple of weeks up there. It was cool... It's booming in the summer because everyone goes back. Even urban Māori they go back for reunions and there's pa wars... [When we go back] we pretty much chill. We always got to the urupā and see my mum's mum and my mum's nanny... If we're there for a holiday we'll go to the river and go for a swim". While Jack enjoys being at home, he admits that he doesn't go back as often as he would like. "We only went back two months ago and we don't know when we'll go back next... It's just too far to drive".

Jack's ultimate goal in life is to have a large whānau of his own. "Me and my girlfriend we're sort of on the same page with getting married and having kids and stuff. Because I want heaps so you've gotta get started earlier... I want maybe a dozen... but to be honest it will probably only be about eight kids... I think that having a kid is a big achievement. Having a big whānau and raising your whole whānau, I think that's one of the best things you can do... You know how people say, 'I wanna be CEO' or 'I wanna do this?' Well I wanna have a big whānau. That's what I want... I just think that it would be pretty cool to have a big whānau and it would be a bit of a challenge trying to have special relationships with all your kids. I just think that's an achievement. If they're all on the right track, I reckon that's pretty cool. That's what I want. My mate said, 'wait until you have one and see what you say'... It'll be hard but I want to try to find a way to make it happen. Work hard and try and make it happen. But then you think, what do you really wanna spend your money on anyway? What do you want to have?... That's one of the main reasons I want a mean job. If you want heaps of kids, you've gotta weigh it up. You've gotta be able to provide for your kids".

Jack wants to be able to move home to Hicks Bay and raise his children there. "I want to live there hard out. I'm talking about all my kids, a mean as house". While Jack, himself, is drawn to Hicks Bay, he also believes that it will be beneficial to shaping his children's identities. "I think that living on the coast, [my girlfriend] was brought up on the coast and she's way different as a person. She's real proud to be Māori and I had to discover that in other ways... I went to

boarding school which was hard out Māori and that's sort of how I found my Māoritanga... [Being brought up on the coast] normalises being a Māori. Being brought up as a Māori, not hard out in your own world but, for example they just know what to do, know their tikanga, know who they are". Jack believes that the lack of employment is what keeps people from his home. He wants to be able create a space that gives his whānau a direct link back to Hicks Bay. "All of my close whānau they all live in the cities now... Heaps of my cousins they say they wanna move back. But it's so difficult. The main thing is employment. There's no jobs and stuff. People are comfortable with the amenities of the city. Go to the shop and buy whatever they want... None of my family live on the coast... They find it hard enough just surviving in the cities so I want to be able to start, like there's no homestead there. Have somewhere, create something for our whānau and our wider whānau to have to have a link back to the coast or somewhere they can come back to... When I say I want to end up on the coast. I probably won't be living at the coast for a while, and then even thinking about my kids, half of them might not be brought up on the coast. I'll need to accumulate a bit of wealth first because there's nothing there. You can't just buy a house. There's some state houses that are there. Plus it defeats the purpose buying someone else's house I reckon. I might even have to wait until they're all a bit older. It just depends how it works out. The main point is just having a link back. It may take a long time but I'd like to be there at least by the age of 35/40. It's hard because I wanna be a lawyer and your work is in the city. So, it might be part time living on the coast. I might be working and then come back for a week or something. Or that helicopter idea man".

Jack values being close to his home and his whānau. Money is secondary to Jack who generally only views it as a means to an end, or a way to establish the lifestyle that he wants himself and his whānau to lead. He talks about the draw that many of his friends have had to Australia. "One of my mates he's working in the mines [in Australia], he's tryna make me go over for the money. I think he gets paid a couple of grand a week. He enjoys it because he says the lifestyle is awesome. Having money for him, it alleviates stress but he's just had a newborn as well so that might be part of the reason... I've just got to look a bit more long

term... I want to get married and have kids soon, within the next five years, and I want the kids to be close to my parents and my girlfriend's parents. I suppose you can go over there and earn some money and come home but you're back to where you are now. But it's up to what you want... I'm glad that I do what I do. I think you see how people, how they get into the rat race. They get money and they spend it. I don't like it how when people talk about what they want to do, everyone talks about going to Australia. It's almost like it's this utopia that if you get there you've achieved something. I just think, 'man, that's such a narrow focus'. Especially Māori... I hang around heaps of Māori, I just hear them saying that this is what they wanna do... I just think that it's awesome to have that as a goal but it shouldn't be based on getting there or getting money, it should be based on making a change for what you are doing now. It's hard to find a job in New Zealand and if you can make good money, go for it, but also make a plan. Are you gonna be happy after you get back? Do you wanna live in Australia forever?''.

Jack has thought long and hard about his future. To him, a close whānau and a connection to his home will invoke the deepest level of happiness. These values guide his decisions and enable him to determine his priorities in life.

JANE

Jane is a 34 year-old female of Ngaitai, Ngāti Porou and Ngāpuhi descent. She originates from Torere on the East Coast, but currently resides in Hamilton with her partner and two children. Jane has degrees in Māori, and politics and law, and a graduate certificate in business. She recently left her job at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, the Māori tertiary education institute, to become a full-time mother. For her interview, Jane brought five photographs to symbolise her happiness, all of which were based around; whānau, home, travelling, and the positive memories that she has of her youth. This is her story.

Jane's whānau, particularly her children, are central to the way that she experiences happiness. *"My family [are number one]. I guess that's your whole purpose in life, whānau. Support and love each other. And give your kids experiences so they can be the best they can be... I think I'd feel empty if I didn't have whānau... It makes your life a bit more fulfilling having whānau around and sharing stuff with your kids and with your partner. Sharing that all with someone. Allowing them to experience different stuff. It's cool"*. Jane enjoys spending as much time as possible with her children. *"We eat out a lot. Yum cha is one of our favourites... Last year, I had something on in Rotorua so [my partner] brought the kids over and we hung over at the hot pools. We used to do a lot of hot pools stuff... But just hang I guess. Go to the park"*. As Jane's parents live three doors down, she gains a lot of support from them in terms of looking after her children. *"Mum and dad are really involved in their lives. Last weekend they picked them up, took them both to the movies. [My son] got banned from the movies because he just ran all over the place then ran outside the movies. [My daughter] stayed the night. Quite often they'll have them in the weekends. If we're doing anything [the kids will] go and stay there... It's great that mum and dad are so close... They've been a huge part of their lives"*.

Jane values the importance of ensuring that her children are secure in themselves and their cultural identities. As such, both children attend total immersion Māori language schools. *"I'm really clear that the kids need to grow up knowing who*

they are and their own language, and then that's the spring board to everything else. Know who you are and your identity then you can take on the world... I think there's a responsibility for any kids, for you to allow your kids to know where they're from and being clear about their language and their identity, their whakapapa and what that means, tikanga and all that kind of stuff... [I always said that when] I have kids they're gonna know who they are and where they're from and be strong in that... because I guess I didn't have language growing up...It's just a good era at the moment... There's kohanga everywhere, there's kura [kaupapa]. They're not too hard to find. But that's only one little part of their whole education. The rest of it's up to you... I just think that sometimes this kura, they're a little bit urban. They don't do marae. So we always take the kids home, back to Torere, to the marae... And then we take the kids to tangi. Some parents are like, 'oh no'. But actually you learn a lot more at a tangi than you learn at school for the day. We take the kids to places like that, to hui and things because it's just important. Whether they take it in, who knows. But we do take them back [home] as much as we can... I have no qualms about kids taking time off school to go to hui or things like that with your parents. The learning experience is far more than you get at one day at school".

Recently, Jane made the decision to leave her job to stay at home and spend more time with her children. *"It was kind of a full on year last year because [my partner] was working over in Australia and I had a full on job as well... And so the kids were getting farmed off to some lady down the road, who was lovely. But she used to pick up [my son] and dad used to pick up [my daughter] and take her to ballet and basketball and netball. So I was kind of missing everything... [My] priorities kind of changed... I just thought, 'your kids only grow up once and you can't make them go and be young again'. So a six figure job, I'd had enough".* Although Jane was earning a high income, she was willing to throw it all in for the sake of her children. *"I'd come home at half past six. For starters I'd miss all of the afternoon with the kids. Dad would have fed [my daughter] and I would give [my son] a feed then he'd go to bed. I'd spend half an hour with them at night then I'd be on the laptop until midnight. And then the next day, do it all again. So it was just, what are you doing it for?... You don't need to work. For*

what? You have heaps of money, then what? Priorities I guess. Like I was coaching the netball team this year. Got to watch basketball. Even just walking to pick them up from school is cool because I never even had time to walk. Staying a couple of mornings at karakia, that sort of stuff is just cool... It will be good to pay [our] house off a bit quicker but oh well, that's the sacrifices you make. But then what? We both work for five years and pay the house off and then miss the kids growing up?... [I'm] totally happy [with my decision]. [Now] I couldn't see myself in a full time job until the kids probably leave home". Jane has no regrets in the decision that she has made. Initially a very hardworking and career focused person, she can now appreciate true happiness through sharing in her children's development and life experiences.

Jane's home of Torere is also a key contributor to her happiness. "[In the] long term I'm keen to move back to Torere... I'd love the kids to go to the school there... We've got a lot of whenua and it's on this beautiful sand beach... So you can build and have real awesome views... [To me, it's about] tūrangawaewae. I'm on their rūnanga, on the board for the iwi". Jane and her whānau regularly return to Torere to go camping. "Every summer for two weeks we camp there on our little whenua. So does all the other whānau, its really cool. We've got our own little camping ground... My uncle lives just up the track. My cousins have now built another bach just up another track and then another cousin up another track. There's still a big old house that people can stay at but that's falling down. So we just all stay, we call it the 'Picnic Area'. The most we've had is probably about forty tents there. So we have about 80 whānau. All of us related, the odd mate, but mainly whānau... It's a good catch up and we all just drink... We've had Christmas there on the beach. We just cooked us a ham and had ham sandwiches on the beach for Christmas. And always there for New Years. All of the whānau, if they're working or whatever, they usually get there for a few days over New Years. We can have up to 40/50 of us, everyone's gotta bring their fireworks. Do fireworks at midnight, bonfire on the beach. All ages and its great. I've had cousins I haven't caught up with so much over the years and they turn up. So that's me every night around the campfire... It's good to touch base and

just come back home... Everyone knows that if they're not doing anything, just come there. Everyone's got all the camping gear".

For Jane, going home not only allows her to catch up with her whānau, but it also provides her with an escape from the routines of daily life. *"It's just a whole different way of doing things. It's away from here, you've got the beach... [There's] no power... For fifty of us there's one long drop, so that can get interesting... We do a lot of dreaming, listening to the native birds, thinking about how we'd like to increase this shed space and put a floor in, just dream... We usually have a policy that you're not allowed to look at a clock. You eat when you're hungry, there's no cell phone coverage. That's the best. It's hard for Aucklanders. We still had the iPad with all the games on it. And we take our laptop and inverter that you plug into the car so we watch movies and stuff. Do the movie thing... But no internet, so no urgency... You have to have conversation... What's for dinner? What's for lunch? That's your biggest worry... It's cool because you're just focused on the here and the now, and the family".* This change of pace means that Jane and her whānau are able to appreciate everything that Torere has to offer. *"Diving. Fishing. It's all native bush so you can go off for little treks up the hill... [It's a] great place to learn how to surf and not be uncool because you're with families... [It's] great for kids, just safe. There's no dodgos running around... [It's] a huge part of our lives".*

For Jane, travelling also has a positive impact on her happiness. *"I love travelling. Travelling makes me happy. I lived overseas for a year in London and did a lot of travelling, so travels cool... [My partner] was in the army and he went to East Timor when I went overseas. He did his six months and then he came over to England and we went travelling for about five weeks over the summer... All we had booked was the train from London to Paris and then we knew we had to be in Athens five weeks later to get our flight back to London. So we started in Paris and went around France, then caught the night train to Madrid down in Spain, spent a couple of days there and went to Barcelona. I had an aunty living in South of Spain so we went there for a few days. Went back to France and went to Nice around the French Riviera, went into Italy, did Venice, Rome... Caught the plane*

to Athens. Then we went to an island... I went to Tahiti on the way over, went to Germany... Ireland, Egypt plus all the Europe ones, then went to Rarotonga on the way home". Travelling is something that is highly valued in Jane's whānau. "I went overseas when I was nine. Mum and dad took us out of school for four months and went around Europe then... My whole whānau on my father's side all travel. I've got about 30 odd cousins and you could count on one hand those who haven't done an OE... They just do it, so when I was in London I had eight first cousins and my brother, and an aunty in Spain and an uncle in Germany. And all Māori... I think when it's just normal everyone just does it, it's just expected that everyone will do it". For Jane, travelling exposes her to new experiences and allows her to gain new perspectives on the world. "You learn that there's more than just one way of looking at things. I think that's really important because New Zealand's so isolated. I just remember coming back from England and thinking, 'god, you guys have got such small minds'. They're worried about petrol going up 2 cents, there's bigger problems in the world! Yeah so from that perspective it's really good. It's just about perspective. You have a perspective when you live and grow up in New Zealand, and when you go somewhere else your perspective's still valid but there's other perspectives out there as well".

Jane prefers to travel with her whānau and believes it is important to involve her children in these experiences. "I remember when we went to Tonga, our [daughter] was about two and I remember thinking, 'oh I'll never take kids on holiday they just won't remember anything', but now I'm like, 'oh you've gotta take them'". Jane is determined to expose her children to a range of new experiences from a young age. "[My daughters] at a kura [kaupapa]. If you want to get a narrow focus on life, a kura kaupapa is pretty damn narrow. It's mean, she's safe in herself and knows who she is and where she's from and her language and all that... I think that's that side covered, but it's for us to give the kids perspective on other stuff that's out there. Other cultures because, she didn't even have any Pākehā mates. She doesn't even know any Pākehās... I just really think that you need to give them a whole set of experiences outside the kura or else they're just gonna grow up and just know one thing. That's all good to know, but know that and know other things as well". Jane aims to take her children overseas

at least once a year. *“Took the kids to Fiji last year... Fiji was really cool actually because [my partner] came from Brisbane from his work, I flew over with the kids and then we met in Fiji... It was just really good for both of us to spend time with the kids for two weeks 24/7... Went out to an island. Kids island, it’s got little kiddie things, a little kiddie pool. All the meals were paid for. [My daughter] thought it was awesome that everything was ‘free’, not really. And then we went back to a five star island, stayed in a four and a half star, man it was nice... Yip so that was the luxury thing but then [my daughter] started thinking that Fiji was all resorts and flash places. So we got a rental car and just went out and found some random town, a village, and it stunk, there were beggars, the toilets were paru. We’ll fix you, this is not what life’s all about, it’s not all flash resorts... She didn’t like going to the toilet. It was smelly, it was hot. There was like no shade. We went through a vege market that stunk. Just see the real Fiji to bring her back down to earth. And the year before we went to Brisbane, just did the theme parks and stuff. That was cool... Next month we’re off to Peru and Chile... [We’re] taking [our daughter] to Machu Picchu. We’ll leave the little one behind because he might jump out of a ruin or fall down a cliff... We always have a thing of going to a flash restaurant on the last night. Go somewhere nice for a nice dinner, we always do that. It’s not all gonna be fun parks, like Machu Picchu’s definitely not, you get tired walking up the mountain, but all good. She’s looking forward to it. She’s not looking forward to eating guinea pig. Apparently that’s their main dish. In Fiji she had to try something new every night. It might have just been a coconut, so same thing is South America, trying different stuff... Just seeing the looks on their faces when they do different things... Next year we’re going to Singapore, maybe Malaysia”. As a medium term goal, Jane would like to spend a year living overseas with her partner and children. *“We want to do something overseas, like Mongolia or something... Somewhere bizarre... That’s the emerging mining country, I was like man, I could do that... I’d rather go somewhere with a different language... It’ll be good for the kids... I think it’s good while they’re sponges to give them another language”*. Jane believes that this exposure to a new culture will give her children valuable experiences in life and will assist them in their personal growth.*

Although Jane's whānau and children are the main contributors to her happiness, she also has fond memories of her time at university; prior to having responsibility. *"My drinking days. Uni days. Christchurch mainly. I went down there as an 18 year old for uni. And just the best mates. The mates you make at uni end up being your life long mates. You don't talk to them for 10 years or whatever. Now I'm looking thinking, man we've been mates for years now. More so than my school mates, uni mates are the ones that will last forever"*. Jane completed her undergraduate degree then worked as a Māori Liaison Officer at Canterbury University for four years. *"It was a mean time. I loved it. So five years studying and they're just the best years of your life when you're eighteen and you're out flatting... Just a lot of drinking. Work hard, play hard. That was always my motto at uni. I used to work hard but play hard. So, I did alright at uni. I could have done better. I had a good balance. I was doing a lot of sports, netball, touch, different stuff back then. I was quite organised when I look back at it. But there was only me to organise. So that time it was just work hard, play hard... Just happy times. You look back on it now. It seems like everything was happy but I know there were full on times when we were studying... Wednesday was kapa haka night so I'd go out drinking... Free and easy times. It's all good. There's just phases in your life and that was the free and easy, worry about myself phase... Before you had kids, before you had responsibilities... It's a whole different time... I kind of think back on it sometimes... but then you have rose tinted glasses looking back so maybe it wasn't all happy happy. I'm sure it wasn't but just looking back"*. Jane is not necessarily envious of that lifestyle, but is, instead, happy that she has those positive memories that she can reflect back on and smile.

KYLIE

Kylie is a 28 year-old female of Ngāti Kahungunu descent. She lives in Wellington but is currently residing in Hamilton whilst on maternity leave. She has three sisters and has recently had her first child. Kylie holds an undergraduate degree in political science and Māori and Pacific development, and a masters degree in Māori and Pacific development. She is currently a policy analyst at Te Puni Kōkiri, the Ministry of Māori Development. For her interview, Kylie brought five photographs and a video to symbolise her happiness, all of which were centred around her whānau; particularly her son. This is her story.

Whānau is central to the way that Kylie experiences happiness. Her five month old son is especially influential in invoking positive feelings. *“Seeing [my son] happy makes me happy, he’s my number one focus and everything centres around him, he’s my drive... Kids are just so precious and the taonga, when I see him laugh it really just makes me happy”*. She speaks of how he has grown and progressed in such a short space of time. *“He just has a lot of sweet moments, when he laughs and when he smiles, the way he acts and responds to his aunties and his nanny it really just makes me happy... New milestones like the first time he rolled over by himself... We bought him a Jolly Jumper the other day. When we first put him in it he didn’t know how to bend his legs so he was all straight and rigid, looking around at everyone. But as he got into it, he was starting to figure it out... He really gets into it now. And he’s learning how to self-settle, so he can put himself to sleep now... He’s starting to roll, if you put him on his side he can roll over onto his tummy... Ever since he was a little baby he’s loved to stand up, so he can stand up when supported... He loves playing on his Exersaucer and just pulling on things, grabbing. He loves to grab [his aunties] hair. He loves grabbing my glasses... He loves going to Pak n Save and just seeing all the different things... He loves just one-on-one interaction with people. Talking with people. He’s very sociable... I’m just really proud of him. He’s just come so far since the beginning. But I just really love him, I’m really proud of him and I really love being his mum”*. Kylie enjoys watching him grow, and values the learning experiences that come with it. *“Being a first time mum it’s just a whole new*

learning curve, you're learning about breast pumps and different types of formulas, know what kind of pram to buy... Plus they grow up so quickly so you're constantly learning new things'.

Kylie's happiness has been shaped in such a way that she now primarily experiences happiness through the happiness of others. *"Seeing [my son] happy really makes me happy... Its made me really appreciative of those around me".* Prior to this, she used to have a very different opinion of happiness. *"[Before I had my son] happiness would mean making money, saving up to go overseas, saving up to buy your house, saving up to do something. Happiness would mean being a size 8 and getting all this stuff done to make you look good physically. Whereas now happiness means, seeing [my son] happy".* He has also altered the way that she sees her job. *"Now I view work totally different. I view work in terms of him. So its like, I go to work to make money to get things that I want for him. So save up for a holiday so I can take him somewhere, save up to get him a toy or something, it all centres around him. Its all based around him now... I'm not really in a hurry to go back to mahi full time and put my career first. The first three years is so important in a childs life, so I just want to make sure that he has a really strong foundation".* Kylie only wants the best for her son and is adamant that he will receive every opportunity that is possible. She intends to put him in kōhanga reo, a Māori language immersion preschool. *"I really want him to learn the reo and be fluent in both languages [English and Te Reo Māori]. I think it's really important he knows where he's from, his culture, his identity... I didn't learn it until I went to university... I really wanted to have been exposed to it a lot more when I was younger, so that's what I want for my son".* She also plans to take her son on overseas adventures. *"I want to take [him] for trips overseas... Just to Disneyland with his aunties. And just to, anywhere really, even to Aussie. Because I never got to do that when I was young and that's something that I want for my son, to have all of those opportunities. I just want to give my son every opportunity that I can possibly give him".*

The love and support that Kylie has received from her whānau, in terms of raising her son, has also greatly influenced her happiness. *"I'm just really appreciative of*

having my whānau around to help him”. Kylie chose to spend her maternity leave in Hamilton so that her whānau could play a key role in her son’s life. *“We had to make the decision to come up to Hamilton to be closer to whānau and given that it’s my first child, I just want him to be raised around my whānau... Primarily for the support and just so that he can be brought up around them... I want everyone else to raise him as well, not just me. If my sisters want to take him, if [his father] wants to take him, my mum, just because they love him just as much as I do. He makes them happy as well. When he’s happy, they’re happy and I’m happy”.* In particular, her son has a close connection with Kylie’s mum and youngest sister. These bonds make her feel happy as she knows that her son is happy and cared for. They also provide Kylie with as much support as possible, ensuring that bringing up a child is an enjoyable experience. *“My mum’s been there ever since I found out I was pregnant, mums been there from the get-go. Just having the first moko. She’s really awesome with [him] and babies in general. But they just have such a good rapport with one another, a really strong bond. They’re just always laughing. He’s always laughing looking around for her when she gets home... He really loves his nanny, they’re BFF’s, best friends forever. They’re always together. Mum always goes to work and tells all her friends at work about [him], he just makes her really happy. And just seeing him happy makes me happy... She talks to him and he really knows her voice. Mum calls him ‘sausage’ and talks like Elmo in a really high voice. That’s her nickname for him... [My son and his aunty have] got a really close bond too. [She’s] always dancing with him or just playing and talking to him. And he really responds positively to her from day one... [She] was there from the get-go and has been here right through. Whenever I need someone to look after him, need help, she’s always been there for me. [My son] really loves his aunty and, again, just seeing him happy makes me happy... It’s very reassuring to know that he’s in good hands”.*

Kylie’s whānau have been there to support her throughout the entire experience. She speaks of the difficulty she had during the birth, and the support that she received from her mum and sister. *“[My sister] came down when I was on maternity leave... She was just helping me out because I was sort of waddling towards the end... I had a really hard labour [and] had to have an emergency*

cesarean ... Mum was down in Wellington for a month afterwards just helping out. Just having mum there was really awesome, because basically I couldn't walk... And just help looking after a newborn baby as well... But just knowing that the key people were there when I needed them at that really hard time... I was just really appreciative of them". This support has also assisted Kylie and her whānau in forming a closer bond with one another. "It makes me have a different outlook on life and makes me really appreciate my family. Just what they've done for him... This just cements it, we're tight now. I didn't really appreciate my family before he came along. I didn't appreciate what they do for me, but now since I've had him it's just really brought us all closer together. And we have something to look forward to and talk about now... He's got a lot of people around him that really love and want to care for him... it just makes me happy and grateful. He loves being here".

While Kylie's immediate family have played a significant part in shaping her happiness, members of her extended whānau also invoke positive feelings. She speaks of a young cousin that her family helped raise as a baby. "*[He's] my mum's brother's son... When he was a baby we looked after him pretty much from birth for his whole first year... He was just a really beautiful baby. He reminds me a lot of [my son]. He was a real boy's boy... I think he was born about 2003. We looked after him when we were in Napier. I was studying up here [in Hamilton] at the time, but I always used to go back to Napier where mum was looking after him full time. He brought a lot of joy and pleasure to everyones life... We just enjoyed raising him as a family... And we used to always take him to the park and the library, to pet expos or for walks. He was just always around and always in our lives. He was just a really happy baby. Chirpy and content... I always used to have dreams about him because he just meant so much to us and made us so happy... The main part of why he made us happy is that the world is so boring just with adults. You need kids to bring a bit of excitement, get another perspective... Kids bring joy to everyones lives not just the parents. Its how it affects everyone".*

Kylie also holds positive childhood memories of her time spent staying with her aunty and uncle in Gisborne. "*I was raised with them pretty much the whole of my*

childhood. We always went back to Gisborne... [They] make me happy and just my cousins... They were always really loving and caring. Although they never really had a lot of money, we were always well fed and really happy and had a real fun upbringing in Gisborne... I just felt cared for and loved and protected and just always something to do... Very welcome. I just felt very safe... [They] always did a lot for me and had a big impact on my life... If I won lotto honestly I'd give a lot of my money to them because they did so much for us". Kylie enjoyed playing with her cousins; her aunty and uncle's children. "[We just did] child stuff, outdoors, playing with my cousins down at the park. Playing cricket down at the beach, going camping... Go to the pools, it was always hot in Gisborne, we were always outside. Go for bike rides. Just kid things. It was just a happy time. Hang out, go and play down the road, make your own fun... It's just an overall feeling of being happy with them and safe".

Although Kylie has not seen her aunty and uncle as much as she have liked to throughout her adult years, they still play a key role in her happiness. *"We haven't really come together in a few years... [but] it still brings back fond memories and there's still that close connection".* She has, however, maintained a close relationship with one of her cousins that she grew up with. *"My cousins always been there for me. You always need someone whose got your back and she's definitely been there for me. She's definitely helped me out through a lot of hard times. So she makes me happy. She's really funny... [Her] kids really make me happy [too] because kids are kids. They're so innocent and full of energy and always saying something crack up or doing something that's a crack up".* Kylie feels extremely comfortable around her cousin as she is able to just relax and be herself. *"[We] just hang out, catch up, laugh, eat... You know, you really feel comfortable with whānau. Just rock on up as is. You don't need to explain yourself or have anything ready for them. They just accept you the way you are. You don't need to put on a front or anything. That's how I feel around them".* Whānau is central to Kylie's happiness. Starting a whānau of her own has only just solidified the importance of having such loving, caring and supportive people in her life.

Although all of Kylie's photographs centred around her whānau, she did also acknowledge the happiness that she feels during the summer months. *“Summer makes me happy... Hawkes Bay summer, nothing can beat it... It's always dry down there. It's the best... I suppose it was in high school, it was always hot and we were always outside playing tennis or sitting outside. Going to the beach. Going to the pools, people's houses. Concerts, Christmas. Just being outside... I hate winter, just being couped up inside. [My son's] on his third cold already. I'm recovering from a cold. Someone's always coming over and they're snivelling or coughing. It's just depressing when its cold and you have to turn your heater on. It's raining and you can't go outside. Confined... I always have dreams about summer, just the warm weather, the heat and just getting outside, getting out and about, getting a tan. In Wellington its so awesome being down there in the summer... We used to live right on the water front and it was looking out at the beach. You can see people walking passed with their dogs and their kids, flying kites. Just getting outside. In Wellington they have a lot of fesitivals and carnivals and markets and I used to like going to those with [my partner]. Just the sense of being outside and being healthy, breathing fresh air and being well”.*

MICHAELA

Michaela is a 22 year-old female from Ngāti Kahunghunu and Rongowhakaata descent. The youngest of four girls, Michaela has recently graduated from the Waikato Management School. For her interview, she brought twelve photographs to symbolise her happiness, all of which were based around the aspects of; whānau, travelling and living out her dreams. This is her story.

For Michaela, whānau is central to the way she experiences happiness. *“It’s pretty much my family that makes me happy... Family is the most important part of my life”*. She enjoys spending time with her whānau, and regularly engages in whānau activities with her cousins and sisters. *“My two cousins, and [two of my sisters], we’re like the hang out group every weekend... Over the last three years we’ve gotten really into family. [My older sister] just got back from her OE, and me and [my other sister] live in the same house, you know, everyone’s just starting to grow up a bit more and appreciate the family, appreciate what you have... Our cousin is really whānau oriented, and she was like, ‘Oh I haven’t seen you in a while... Why don’t we go and do something fun together?’... We decided to do whānau things, every few months you go and do something... Some of the cool stuff that we’ve done is white water sledging, Snow Planet, sky diving. I think we’ve done water tubing in there”*. She speaks of their recent white water sledging experience. *“Sledging is pretty much just having a boogie board underneath you and going down some rapids. But like, none of us like swimming, we don’t even like the water. So the first time we jump in you’re like, you know, it’s probably just pleasantly going along the water. Don’t need to kick, don’t need to go against the water. But no, as soon as you jump in you get swept away by the current. You get told you have to do this roll, and everyone’s like, I’m drowning here, I’m drowning. And honestly I got out and all of my nails were ripped off. Not down to the end, but I was like, ‘oh my god that was life versus death’, but everyone had this look of life versus death, no one could help anyone else. It was funny though... It reminds me of the family and all the cool stuff that we’ve done”*.

Michaela also enjoys spending time with her fifteen year old cousin. *“So she’s my mum’s brother’s daughter... Usually we try and drag her along [to our whānau activities] but she’s down in Napier so that’s not always possible”*. Michaela and her cousin have a deep bond as Michaela views her as a younger sister. *“There’s a seven year age gap between me and her. When I lived in Napier I always used to hang out with her... She has the most beautiful soul ever... I wish she was my sister as well. It just makes sense... I just wish she could come and live with us... We treat her as our little sister. I wish I could bring her up”*. Michaela’s cousin often comes to Hamilton to visit during the school holidays. *“She always comes up every holidays... She loves just chilling out with the family, hanging out with us. And her dad asked her, ‘what do you do up in Hamilton?’ And she’s like, ‘umm, we actually do nothing’. We actually do nothing, just watch TV, go to town. We took her to Raglan this summer and she said she had a mean time. We got really sunburnt, black as. She’s like, ‘I love Raglan’ and with the cool township, she really liked that... But she’s so nice. We don’t even have to ask her, she always shouts dinner. And that’s out of her pocket, out of her own money, because she works. She’s like, ‘oh I don’t mind, I’ve got nothing else to spend it on’... She always comes on Facebook and chats to us, ‘what are you guys doing? I miss you so much’. She’s so cool and really mellow. She’s like a cat. She’s so cute”*. Michaela feels happy when she is in her presence as her cousin’s values and outlook on life transcends far beyond her years. *“She’s an old soul. She went to the social, I was like, ‘just go it will be fun’, and she’s like, ‘but its lame, it’s just girls hooking up in the corner. And it looks like rabbits’. I was cracking up laughing and I said, ‘that’s just the age’. She’s like, ‘I don’t like that’. She doesn’t like superficial, she’s not superficial at all”*.

Michaela’s parents are also key contributors to her happiness. *“My mum always makes me happy, that’s just a given... She’s really easy going. Quite a lot of our friends, when they come over [they’re] like, ‘man your mum’s such a mum’. She has that motherly nature about her. She’s like, ‘come and sit down dear and I’ll make you something to eat’ and she whips up a boil up or something. Then next minute your mates are crashed out on the couch because they’re so full. And mum’s like the go-to person to talk to if you’ve got life troubles. She just puts you*

in your place, she listens and she gives you good advice". Michaela also has favourable perceptions of her father. "Then there's dad. He's a crack up. He's the cat man. He's got fourteen cats but four of them have gone AWOL... He's a big cat man and he's such a gossip. I think because he's grown up with girls, we've influenced him. I was watching 'Keeping up with the Kardashians' on E!, and he not only knew all their names and their position in the family, he knew the storyline, I was like, 'dad, you shouldn't be knowing that'. That's what he does, he's a hard out gossip. He loves his Entertainment Weekly. You think if you were watching E! News that guys would just walk out of the room, but no, dad sits down and is like, 'oh is that what happened?'. He's really attentive. Its crack up".

Michaela's newborn nephew also plays a significant role in her life. As the first nephew, he has contributed to the happiness of Michaela's entire family. "*He's our first real nephew, and I was there for the birth... Our little boy... He's already spoilt, he's taking over the lounge. I got kicked out of my room, so yeah. He's the golden child at the moment... I don't want him to go... Every time I go away for a weekend I always get really homesick and think, 'oh I want to hold [him]'*... I help look after him. Well, me and his mum share the duties. She does morning and night and I do afternoon to the night, and then we wait for [my] mum to come back, because she loves him. She's just so overprotective... He always goes so quiet when he's around her. He's so cute. I just absolutely love him".

Michaela and her family also view the cats that they have had as members of their whānau. "*I love cats. I always have to have a cat or something to pat... We're a cat family... We're so weak with cats. Whenever they're meowing or they come near us we give them a feed, it's just like with a child... Our neighbours cat at our last house. I don't know how it started, he just all of a sudden came over. It was like our other cat invited him over. He's so cute. If he was a kid he would be the best baby ever. [My sister] would always pick him up like a kid and he'd put his head on her shoulder. And you say, 'come to bed' and he'll come. We were so sad to leave him. We had to do the quick chop. It was funny because his real family always had to come over and grab him. He was always there, for like the last eight months he was at our house... The thing with cats, we always give them a*

good character. He had a jumpsuit on. [Our other cat] was like a girly girl but liked to hang with the gangsters. And there was this other, he had a twin, an exact twin with a slimmer body, so mum called him 'The Phantom', because he kept on coming in at night and eating the biscuits”.

Michaela also enjoys the presence of babies in her life. Prior to the birth of her nephew, she always undertook babysitting duties with her sister. She speaks of the first baby that they ever looked after. *“The first time I saw him he was wrapped up in all of these cardigan knits. It looked like he was going to get christened. I said, ‘oh she’s so cute’, and [the mother] was like, ‘oh he’s a he’. But he was just such a cute baby, big blue eyes... It’s him as a baby [that makes me happy]. And he’s so cute and how we looked after him since he was a little baby. I wish he was my son and [my sister] says the same thing... They’re vegan/vegetarian so they had this huge vege patch out the back, and they grew little baby tomatoes. I’d go out and pick them, I’d have him on my hip. So I’d put them in the ice cream container, turn back and they’re all gone because he was eating them at the same time, and you’d see all these pips all over his bib. But he’s so cute... They’re definitely family, because every time she texts, she lives out of Hamilton, and we travel over from the other side of town to go and look after him just for two hours”.* Recently, Michaela began looking after her cousin’s children whose first language is Māori. *“We look after our cousins kids... Even though we don’t speak the same language... We have to get the [seven year-old] sister to translate [for the two year-old boy]... He speaks Māori and he doesn’t understand what we’re saying... That’s the only hard thing is that he can’t understand us, but she’s such a good girl. We’ll say, ‘he has to go and have a shower’, and she’ll say, ‘ok’ and she’ll take him in, he sits on her lap, she washes him, does his hair. She’s such a good girl... He understands some English words. It was funny the other night because I saw him running down the driveway, and I was like, ‘uh oh, I’ve gotta stop him’, so I yelled out, ‘moon!’ And he was like, what, and looked at the moon. So as soon as his mum comes home, ‘moon’, and she was like, ‘oh marama?’, ‘no, moon!’ I was like ‘uh oh, whose fault is that’. He’s so cute”.*

Travelling is also a big part of Michaela's life. She feels happy when she is able to gain new experiences and meet new people. *"I like travelling because I like getting out there and experiencing and seeing a different culture and lifestyle"*. She speaks of a trip to the Middle East that she undertook with two of her sisters. *"[That] is the first time I ever did like a really hard core travel. It was around the Middle East... [Before that] I'd been to Japan and Australia, but this was my first big trip, my first travel experience... I've always liked the pyramids. When you're a child and you see the pyramids on TV or else you have to do some sort of school project, so I really wanted to see the pyramids. It was also a dream of mine"*. Michaela and her sisters joined a tour group, allowing them to meet new people and make new friends. *"[My happiness comes from] the people... We met so many cool people on that trip... That's what I like about travel, meeting people who are in the same boat as you who want to understand the culture and aren't there to be a tourist... [Our tour group were] just really good friends... We always ended up playing cards. We had a country championship. Each country we were in we had a championship, when we were in Egypt for the last night we were like, 'shall we do it for the glory aye? For all of it'. Yeah, they're really cool people... Two of them, husband and wife, came to visit us afterwards which was cool. We always keep in touch, even though we don't text or email every week, we go out of our way to email twice a year or so, you know, what are you up to? I see you've got a new baby. And so the connections still there... We Facebook each other though. I like older people. There's no drama, everyone's done with that. So yeah, this trip just reminds me of all the good times we had overseas with our new friends. This was the first travel so it was meeting new people from different countries"*. As well as forming new friendships, this trip served as a means for Michaela and her sisters to form a deeper bond. *"This is pretty much when I started to get to know [my oldest sister]... because there's a nine year gap between us, so when I started maturing she was out at university or overseas or living in Auckland, so we didn't really get to know each other until we got to Turkey... She's my sister but there was no meaning or connection behind it and after the trip we felt like sisters... And me and [my other sister] have gotten really close over the last four years. We've got the closest bond... This trip brought us all together. It really did... From then on with, we were closer and have*

something to look back on. This is just the start of it... We have so many memories from the trip. Even the bad ones are funny now. And it's kind of put me in my place for travelling. Now that I've done this really hard travel, everything else seems so easy... I like travelling [with whānau] because at the end of the day, if you get in an argument, you still love each other, whereas with friends, you think, 'oh I didn't know this side of you'... No matter what, you can just chill".

Through her cousin's generosity, Michaela and her sister were also able to go to America. *"We went last year in late October. We went with our cousin but we call her 'Sis'. She's [my oldest sister's] mate. All of [my sister's] mates we end up clinging too... They're all whānau. She's got some really good mates... But yeah, every year she goes overseas to America or wherever. She told us, but I thought it was a joke, and she says 'man I wanna go to Miami', and I'm like, 'yeah let's go'. Literally two weeks later, she texts us and she's like, 'ok there's flights going', and we're like, 'woah we don't have any money'. And then next minute she rang us... Honestly, I didn't know how expensive America was gonna be but she paid for our flights, accommodation, transport... She paid for our Disney passes, our Universal passes. She even helped pay for our food. She helped pay for our entire trip. She's a Disney freak, she's been eight times. She knows the park inside out... [I'm so] appreciative of what [she] did for us. Throughout the whole thing I just thought, 'oh my gosh this must have cost a fortune!' But she was just so blasé about it. She didn't hold it against us... At the end of the whole trip, I felt so overwhelmed, I didn't know what to do. All I could say was thank you and give her a hug and a kiss".*

Going to Disneyland had always been a childhood dream of Michaela's. This trip to America meant that she was able to finally live out that dream. *"Disneyland; I loved it. This has always been our childhood dream to go there... When we were there, we were in our element. I was running. It was cute because I was collecting little bronze pennies. They've got Disney characters on the pennies. When you go around you find these juke boxes, you put your coin in and you get a penny. It was so cute. When I was eleven my mate went over to Disneyland and brought me back a penny. And I said, 'ok I'm gonna go back and get these pennies', so that*

was like a dream... Every time we went to Disneyland it was always hot, the sky was always blue, we were always happy... It's like the happiest place on earth, dreams come true". A long-time fan of the Harry Potter series, Michaela was also extremely excited to go to Hogwarts World at Universal Studios. "I love the books. I grew up with them... I found out that they had a Hogwarts World, so I had to see what it was like. It was exactly like the movies. It said that they worked alongside the producers of the movies to create it. A snap shot of Hogsmeade, it looks exactly the same. And I tasted the Butter Beer, it was so good. It tasted like Creme Soda with a vanilla milkshake froth... I went into the candy shop and they had the Bertie Blotts Every Flavour Beans... I bought a Chocolate Frog as well and they actually look like them on the movie. That was cool, that was such a novelty. The rides were actually thrilling, like the dragon ride. You sit on a seat and your feet just dangle, it was scary but really cool... But it's exactly what you want to see as a fan, you want to see the authenticity of it... You've grown up with the books, you've seen the movies, you want to experience the real wizard world. I almost cried, I got really teary eyed when I came in. I was like, 'oh my god this is so real'. I kept on wanting to go back to see all the effects, it looked like the movies, it really did".

Michaela's happiness also stemmed from experiencing America itself. "You watch so many American shows and you see all of the like, you think it's a novelty to see all those places... I don't want to stereotype, but I thought it would be quite a superficial atmosphere, and they are into their image, but Americans are such nice people, they just want to get to know you. I was standing on the subway and someone just started talking to me... But no the food was cool, it was another dream to go to a supermarket and grab all of the candy. Honestly it was crazy when we went in there, we each got a trolley and [my sister] was like, 'I'll see you later'. And we ran down each aisle, we had ten minutes because we had to catch our flight, and we were like crazy, it was like we were on drugs or something. I was grabbing everything I could. It was so cool to finally live out our dream. I've always wanted to go to a supermarket in America. I wanted to try the New York pizza, a corn dog, nachos... The pizza was so good. They look like the ones on TV. That whole trip lived up to my expectations and more. It was so good. Everyday

we'd get home and hit the mattress hard, I felt like I'd been running everyday... Even the cop cars, we were sitting in McDonalds in Miami and I saw this cop car that looked like it was off Cops. It did this U-turn and drove off. It was such a novelty to see that as well. And yellow cabs. I felt like a tourist". Michaela's happiness comes from living out her childhood dream. The fact that she was able to do so alongside her sister, and with the support of her cousin, made this experience even more meaningful.

OLIVIA

Olivia is a 23 year-old female from Otorohanga. Brought up in a family of seven, Olivia lives in Hamilton with her partner and her three year-old daughter. She is currently in her final year of a conjoint management and law degree at the University of Waikato. For her interview, Olivia brought six photographs to symbolise her happiness, all of which captured significant relationships and moments in time that had played a key role in her life. This is her story.

Olivia's happiness centres around her daughter. *"She's my centre and our relationship is what's important to me. It defines a whole lot of other things in my life. In the past and the present and the future. She's my connection to everything... She's my reason for doing everything. She's definitely my motivation"*. Olivia brought a photograph of herself and her daughter, where her daughter is nestled into her chest. *"[My daughter] and I were just having some fun in the kitchen, and I tried to take a nice photo of me actually and I ended up capturing a moment of her. I just like the way that she's settled on me and she looks like she's comfortable and secure, and that's what I like. I like for her to be comfortable and secure and happy with me"*. Olivia feels happy in knowing that her relationship with her daughter is built on comfort, love and support. *"Because a lot of people helped me with her upbringing and her development she doesn't necessarily like being home because it's boring. She'd rather be other places... My mum is probably like another mum. I've heard [my daughter] call her mum, and then she's like, 'oh, nanny'... She has just so many strong influences in her life that are like parents. That used to upset me because I'm her parent and I want her to see me as her parent – not everybody else. But I feel ok now because I'm pretty confident that she knows who her mum is and who her grounding is... When she's sick and when she really needs somebody she comes to me. And that's what I like and what makes me feel ok that she doesn't like to be at home so often. When she comes to me when she's sick or when she needs help that makes me feel good because I know that I'm doing my job because I'm her base, I'm her grounding. As a parent that's important to me because it makes me feel complete and she makes me feel complete in so many different ways it's hard to describe"*.

Olivia and her daughter love to spend as much time as possible together. *“We do heaps. We cook together, she loves cooking. We read. I’m teaching her how to read. She knows how to read basic words like, ‘I’ and ‘had’ and ‘can’. I read books to her all the time and I’ve been reading to her ever since I was carrying her... We sing and we dance. She does gymnastics at the moment... [We] go to the museum. If you ask her what’s at the museum, she’ll probably be able to tell you what’s there. The Hamilton museum, she’s probably been there over twenty times. She loves it because they’ve got a little garden, a knitted garden, you can go and get a basket and pull your strawberries out and put them in your basket. Get your shovel. It’s real cool. She loves it... She plays soccer... She can just run around and kick the ball and stuff. We have a blow up soccer goal at home and she’s got these little Puma soccer boots and knee pads...I want [her] to experience sports because I love sports. I don’t want her to be one of those kids that’s stuck at home on the Playstation... I want to get her into as many things as I can and she can. And then when she gets older she can filter out the things that she doesn’t like doing and keep on with the things that she does like doing”*. For Olivia, sharing in her daughter’s experiences provides her with a deep level of happiness and understanding. *“It’s so awesome seeing this little person doing all the things that she does. And I just love talking to her. She can be quite fluent in her ideas, because kids are so innocent and they don’t know how to articulate what they’re thinking. They’ll just say it, and you learn to appreciate it. And you learn to appreciate your own thoughts and actions”*.

Initially, Olivia believed that having a child would hinder her ability to fulfil her own dreams and aspirations. Her whānau helped her to put things into perspective. *“When I had her I was in my final year of management but only my second year of law. When I got pregnant... I thought that I would have to finish and it was pretty much the end of everything... I was only an aunty, I never saw myself having kids. I had all of these really big ideas, I’m gonna do my studies, and then go overseas and do this and this and this. It was all kind of planned. I just thought big, because I could do it. When I found out I was pregnant with her, my whole world just caved in for one part there because I thought that everything was ruined. I didn’t want to just be one of those mums on the benefit and just be*

pumping out kids. That's just never been me, I've always been very career focused... But my dad helped me see clearly, it's not the end of the world and you can still do what you want to do... So that's when I needed that family support and that's when my family came in". She speaks of the way that her daughter has changed her view on life. "Before I had her... I only knew how to care for myself... She changed my life. She gave it a 360... It was definitely her that taught me, she gave me grounding. I had to care for this little person and not only care for myself. So when it came to planning my future, a whole part of it was for her. It was good for me because it meant that I could still do what I wanted to do but it gave life more meaning. Probably what I was needing... It's so cliché when people say having a child is the best thing in the world. Don't get me wrong, it's hard, but what you get back in return is worth it and it isn't material. For me, it's definitely feeling and perspective and outlook... It's also helped me narrow things down a lot more about what I want for her and what I don't want for her... My plans for the future have changed. I still want to travel and I still will travel... Now it just has more boundaries". While Olivia's views on life have changed, she is adamant that she will still fulfil her own dreams. Instead of serving as an obstacle, having a child has given Olivia's life more meaning. She only wants the best for her daughter and is eager to pass on her own values. "Studying and career is really important for us. I like to think that I'm being a good role model for her because I'd like to see her go on to tertiary study and get a career, and to travel. I know a lot of people from where I'm from, they just have a narrow focus on things. It's just, go to school, finish, get a job, any job, and just stay in that one place... I appreciate [that] for some people, that's ok, but I want my kids to be able to experience the world and experience different people, and just have a bigger focus. Get a greater perspective on life".

The importance of whānau, education and career has stemmed from the values that were instilled in Olivia at a young age. She speaks of the positive impact that her dad and grandparents have had on her life. "My dad's like my rock. I go to him if I ever need help. My 'wise counsellor', that's what I call him, and my bank... He finished school when he was 14 and didn't go to uni until he was 35. He's a deputy principal now and he always told us that education was important

and that we need to stay in school. That if we want to get good jobs then we'll need to have an education to fall back on. I believe him and I'm really glad that he instilled that in us. Of all his brothers and sisters; there's nine of them, he's the only one that has graduated ... We've got a huge family focus, the values in our family are to always look after your babies, your kids. We always support one another, my nana's big on that. We are always there for one another. You don't have to have the flashiest stuff, just as long as you have your head in the right place and your heart in the right place. I think the career thing is from my dad and my grandparents have always been really good at education. I strived and did really well in schooling so that's something that they just jumped on and drilled into me. My dad's like, you don't wanna be working at the meat works and living in Otorohanga. I see how some people just have a focus where they go to school and just get a job. That's what the focus is in Otorohanga, you go to school and even leave when you're 15 and then just get a job at the meat works or the timber factory and that's it. Kids are having kids in their early teens. I don't think dad wanted that for us and I don't want that. I was fortunate enough to experience a whole lot of different things and I strive on that, I love it. I love meeting new people, I love hanging out with different people. I love bringing [my daughter] along and getting her to participate in what I'm doing". Olivia's whānau, particularly her dad and grandparents, have played a significant role in shaping the person that she is today. For this, Olivia is grateful, as she has now been able to pass these values on to her daughter.

Olivia's daughter's godparents; her brother and best friend, also contribute to her happiness. Both godparents have a special bond with her daughter that Olivia greatly appreciates. She believes it is important to foster these relationships and regularly takes her daughter to watch her brother's league games. *"My little brother, I named him godfather... He's always been there for me and he and I have always had a really close relationship... Every Saturday we try and go and watch him [play league] ... [My daughter's] been to all of his games... And it's good for her and him. I need to facilitate that relationship. She loves her uncle. We go and watch him and she runs up to the field and goes, 'go uncle, smash 'em!' She loves it but it doesn't last for very long, she wants to go and play.*

She loves winning. She always asks her uncle, 'did you win? Did you win?' And she always goes and passes him his drink bottle and things like that... She loves league. I say, 'come on, let's go to league', and she says, 'yay, are we winning?' She loves it heaps... She has a really close relationship with him.... Because he's so young, they give each other heaps. They get smart to one another. I just know that he'll work well with my best friend to look after her. And he always has her best interests at heart which is really important". Olivia also views her daughter's godmother just as favourably. *"My best friend is her godmother... She's amazing. You know how best friends are similar and you mirror each other and help each other through the hardest times? She has exactly the same values... She's amazing and she's always been there for me. One thing about her and I is that we hadn't seen each other or spoken to each other in two years but when we caught up it was just like nothing... So I named her the godmother and she's always there for [my daughter]... She's always there when she's sick... I just had a feeling in my heart. My best friend, she's already got two girls. But in saying that, to this day, it's been three years now, she probably has [my daughter] in line with her girls. She loves all of them in the same way even though she's not biologically hers. She always says to me, 'that's my goddaughter. That's my daughter too'".* Olivia's best friend enjoys spoiling her daughter and buying her extravagant gifts. *"She buys her outrageously huge things. And I'm tryna tell her, 'you ain't that rich'. But she always finds ways. She budgets so bad for her kids to get the best and that's what I like. Her values are intact and her heads in the right place... She bought [my daughter] a bouncy castle. A big one. And for her birthday she got her a twelve foot tramp with an enclosure. When she was one she bought her a Baby Alive... She brought her a life size kitchen. She just text me yesterday to say that she's already put [my daughter's] Christmas present on layby. And it's a life size doll house, like it's a mansion... It's huge. The little girls can be the doll. I saw it in the shop [before that] and thought that would be so cool, but it's way too dear. And then she text me yesterday to say that she was gonna buy it... She's in to buying hard out things, but really good stuff... So things that kids would really use or appreciate. And also for her Christmas present she bought her a little Vmotion, like a Playstation for under-5s. So they play games and learn. She also bought her a scooter".* Olivia feels happy in knowing that her daughter's

godparents love her daughter as if she were their own. They will always be there to protect and care for her.

Although Olivia's happiness centres around her daughter, her young niece also invokes positive feelings. "*[She's] our favourite niece... My brother's daughter... We try to have [her] whenever we can... We have a lot of time for her. If [her] mum needed us, we'd be there. We just love having her and spoiling her. She's real good... She makes us happy because she's so gorgeous. [My daughter] loves [her] like you wouldn't believe. She loves her like her own sister. And that's really good for us because [my daughter] is an only child and she's really spoilt, so she has those really spoilt tactics. But when [her baby cousin's] around, [she] is reminded that it's not just about her. She has to learn to share. And a younger girl. [My daughter] loves her and is so good with her. Just as long as you include her and say, 'can you go get [the] wipes? Or, can you go get a spoon or a drink?' She loves being included in caring for [her]. And I love that*". Olivia aims to spend as much time as possible with her niece and enjoys spoiling her with gifts. "*We mainly just stay home, but we've had a few outings. We try and take the girls places. We take them to lunch or shopping or we go and watch league... [We take my niece] shopping all the time. Every time I go shopping I'm always on the lookout for new clothes. There's always specials and the little baby stuff is real cute. So we always spoil her like that. We buy her new shoes and send her home with that. I like buying little shoes and I like buying little baby labels, like kicks and that. I bought a Puma suit, an Adidas suit. I like that. She totally rocks them. Because we only have her every fortnight it means we can afford to spoil her every now and then. It makes us feel good*".

Olivia's partner is also a key contributor to her happiness. "*I met him about two and a half years ago now. He's amazing, he's a lovely man. He loves kids like you wouldn't believe. His head's in the right place. He's a family man. He loves me and he loves [my daughter] and that's what's important to me. He makes me happy... [Spending time together] is really important for our relationship... We try to do once a week, or once a fortnight just with us. But in saying that, it doesn't last long because he always ends up missing the kids. He's really really*

really family orientated. He's got that good grounding... We always go to dinner, just spending some time alone, getting out of the house... We go to the movies or go for a ride". She speaks of a time that they went out to dinner as a means to bring them closer as a family. "We went for Japanese... It was the day after we [got some bad news]... So we thought that we would just go out to dinner and remind ourselves that we're still a family and we have to be there for one another... We didn't want to dwell and that was really important to us because if we're gonna get through this, we need to be supporting one another. We can't both be down. If one of us is down the other person has to be there to pick the other person back up. But we don't want that to even happen, we want to be happy happy. That's the main thing. We just need to remember that things happen for a reason... [It] was a happy moment for me because I was just reminded that we're gonna be ok and that we're still a family. I love it when [my daughter] and [my partner] are just really happy and having fun. They were having fun on the street, they were being idiots. Running through puddles and chasing each other".

Olivia also feels happy when she is able to socialise and spend time with friends. *"My friends make me happy because with my friends I'm reminded that I have my own life as well, that I have something else going for me that's not just [my daughter], that's not about my partner, that's not centred around Otorohanga where we're from. It's nice to have something for yourself. I love my friends. I have really really close mates... I once got told in third form that the friends that you make at university are your friends for life. I completely agree. I just know that I'm always gonna be friends with a bunch of these people, that we're always gonna be there for each other. I love my friends... If they ask me to do something then I would do it. If I was going to define a friend, a friend would be somebody that I know, not just in passing, somebody that I'm willing to have a conversation with and somebody that I'm willing to do something for. Friends are really important to me. It makes me happy hanging out with my friends as well, because it reminds me that I'm a normal human being, and then you can unload some stresses and you just have a good time... Just the whole social buzz... Being so family focused can be hard out and can take its toll. It can get tiring and you can start to think, gee I need something for myself. That's where friends come into it*

for me. It's just a break for yourself and that makes me happy... My mates make me feel strong. It's hard to explain... I feel I get strength in myself, that I can deal [with anything] because I have people on my side supporting me, who I love like family and who love me like family. The good thing about having mates is that they all have different perspectives and opinions so when you're trying to reflect, they can regurgitate what you said back to you or put a different spin on it. Maybe see things a little bit differently". In general, Olivia views her friends as members of her own whānau. Not only do they allow her to have fun away from the home, they also provide her with a solid network of support.

Overall, it is clear that Olivia has given a great deal of thought to what happiness means to her. She speaks of the importance of balance and stability. *"When everything is in harmony then I'm happy, really happy. Happiness is a lot of things for me... Happiness runs deep. It's not just a few things. I have to feel it in my heart. Everything has to be in line with each other. There has to be just me, my partner and [my daughter], we have to be ok... That's one facet and another facet is uni. So I have to not be behind all the time and just up to date with everything. My friends come into it. Friends are important to me and I love being able to give my friends time to catch up and all that. And [my daughter], she has to be settled and she has to be happy. All of those facets have to be in line or working... [It needs to be] stable... If there's four things that need to be satisfied. Three things need to be satisfied for me to be happy. Not three things unhappy and only one thing that's going good... I try to live my life like a puzzle with so many different pieces. I'm happy when I know where all those pieces are and where they go. They don't actually have to be in the puzzle just as long as I know where they're going then I feel ok. If it's all just a mumble jumble, I'm out of kilter, I'm sad. I'm taking everything in and I'm personalising it and then throwing it back out again and it's coming back to me".* The process of reflecting on and understanding her own happiness is very important to Olivia. It allows her to see the bigger picture in life, and determine what is important. *"This is something that I always have to do, I always have to reflect so that I know where I'm going. On what's important. You have to just live in the now, this is your reality. What is important to you and what's not important to you, and you just filter those out".*

Olivia has a number of strategies that she utilises when she needs to bring about her own happiness. When she is feeling down, she thinks of her daughter, and this immediately makes her feel happier. *“[My daughter’s] at the very core of my happiness. I could give you an example. Yesterday I got really really upset... I walked into [my daughter’s] room and I just sat down... I grabbed one of her teddy bears and just held it to my chest and thought of her. I didn’t even try to think of her, I just closed my eyes and took a breather because I wasn’t feeling too flash. I didn’t even know that I was doing it but I was just reflecting on things that make me happy and it was things like being with [her] and just really missing her presence and she just, she made me feel heaps better... She just reminded me that everything’s going to be ok. She makes me feel complete and not alone. A lot of the reason that people feel sad is because they feel alone, I think. Even if something goes wrong for them they’re still upset because they’re still the one that has to deal with it. That’s how I felt. People don’t like being alone”*. While her daughter gives her the greatest joy, Olivia also reads a passage from the book ‘The Alchemist’ when she is feeling upset. *“It’s only two pages (see Appendix Two) that just explains everything that I feel, whenever I’m down or when I need to be reminded of all this stuff I read these two pages. All the time. It talks exactly about happiness. It’s by Paulo Coelho and it’s just in the introduction bit, it talks about the four things to happiness, it’s kind of like the secret to life. I read it to [my partner] once when he was down. It picked him up and I think it helped him to see things a little bit better. I always refer to it when I need a bit of oomph... I take it with me all the time when I’m sad. It just summarises everything. I love it, it’s my favourite book”*.

PAORA

Paora is a 31 year-old male descending from Te Arawa in Rotorua. He was brought up in Christchurch for the first half of his life. Paora is currently a PhD student at the Waikato Management School completing a doctoral thesis on Māori values and competitive advantage. Paora is a former president of both the Waikato Student Union President and the New Zealand Union of Students' Association. For his interview, Paora brought eleven photographs to symbolise his happiness, all of which were based around the themes of; a sense of belonging, overcoming adversity, integrating culture into work and learning, supporting and empowering others, and freedom. This is his story.

Paora feels happy when his thoughts are settled and at peace. *“I’m more happy when I can think through things and come to a logical conclusion, and I’m less happy and unsettled when I cannot do that”*. Having been brought up in a Pākehā environment, Paora often felt unsettled and unfulfilled. *“Through my life I’ve been having to think a lot in terms of general direction and sort of historical background, growing up with a Pākehā mother and no father to be seen. So obviously having a lovely brown complexion that I do and having your own parental unit being white kind of starts you on a journey of self discovery and thinking... If you take that from a macro level of my life, some of the things I was going through before the age of 16 before I moved up was because some of those things and thoughts in my head were unsettled and unanswered... It’s a natural need for identity. I think growing up in a very Pākehā city like Christchurch which in those days was not as ethnically diverse, you just had a natural instinct that you need to know”*. In his late teens, Paora reconnected with his Māori roots, enabling him to discover the sense of belonging that he had been yearning for. This resulted in a profound level of happiness. *“[It was] kind of a bit of a bumbling discovery. I went on a school trip to Rotorua and I kind of, we had a vague idea that my father came from the Rotorua district, so I then subsequently went on a school tour and a friend of a friend, someone I met in the South Island, was able to connect me to this group which were actually genealogically related to me. And so, subsequent to that, six months later I went up for a holiday and never went*

back to the South Island. I stayed and was kind of adopted by my biological grandfather's nephew... Subsequent to that, we met all of that side of the family and, in fact, had contact with my half brothers and sisters". Paora had limited knowledge of his culture prior to this move. Now, he is secure in his identity and also speaks te reo Māori fluently. "[I didn't know much about my cultural background], not really. A lot of it was just learnt from school and stuff like that. But once I moved to Rotorua it was very much living the concepts and living the knowledge... My koroua taught me from about the age of 16 through to the age of 23 when he died. It was very intensive because you would go with him to tangi every weekend. He was deputy chairman of the Arawa Trust Board and everything was a learning exercise, and you were tested about which stuff you retained... I was learning stuff like whakapapa and all of that".

As well as connecting with his culture, the move to the North Island meant that Paora was also able to reconnect with Rotorua as his home. *"Realistically one of the main things that made me connect with actually being home and having that sense of accomplishment in finding myself in terms of my Māori side was with some of the geographical landmarks. As Māori, we talk about our maunga, our awa, our moana, [but] actually there's a way different feeling to being able to say this is my mountain, this is my river and then the ability to actually stand upon your mountain and swim in your river and actually, that sense of connecting with those geographical landmarks to say you're finally home. There'll be so many Māori out there who haven't been able to do that. You may get taught this is your mountain, I do believe that it wasn't until I actually went there, saw the geographical landmarks and heard the stories and retained that history and understood the importance of those different landmarks for both the present tense and the future".* Paora speaks of a collection of geysers in Rotorua that are significant to his people. *"This is what they call Geyser Flat (see Figure Five) and there's Kereru, and then on the right hand side we have Nga Mahanga or the twins, the two geysers [that] play simultaneously. And then the two big ones are called the Prince of Wales Feathers Geyser which is a historical one and Pohutu which is the big one and then Waikite's at the back. This valley is called the Whakarewarewa Valley and primarily our people utilised it. So when you look*

down the holes and the boiling strips and the boiling pools beside the streams it's much more than a tourist attraction because its where our people utilised the geothermal springs, its where our people cooked. To me the geographical landmarks that people point to when they see the big tourism icons of this country, a lot of them are actually historically significant to me and my people. So to be able to go there, touch them and understand really helps solidify my sense of belonging... I actually ended up working there for about five years as a tour guide. So every day I got to live my history”.

FIGURE FIVE: Paora's Photograph



Having triumphed over his own hardships, Paora feels happy when he sees other Māori overcome adversity also. He is always there to support others on their own journey for success. *“I'm surrounded by... a number of Māori people who have overcome different aspects of adversity to rise to the top in wherever they may be and I tend to naturally affiliate myself with people like that... I try to support people in their achievements and so a large part of myself going through university and why maybe it's taken so long is that I'm not only just, and I don't know whether this is a cultural thing, but I'm not only just interested in my own*

success but I feel that the success of others around me helps me on my journey as well. So if one fails, you take a little bit of you because you've helped or tried to help them". Paora is aware that adversity comes in all shapes and forms. He does believe, however, that Māori are naturally better equipped to deal with this than non-Māori are. "There's all different aspects of adversity in different people's lives; [being a] mother to a couple of kids and still being able to successfully do education... There's different ends of the spectrum. I looked Māori but very much have some Pākehā in me. There are all types of adversity [that] I've encountered and you just naturally align to them. You don't go, 'oh did your life suck? We can be friends'. It's just natural... [There was] talk eight years ago about a warrior gene and some people don't subscribe to the notion that we were warriors. I think there's that natural force in us to succeed if you've been through adversity, being able to triumph. You're drawn to one another... [There are] people who were told at school that they were never gonna succeed, I know I was. Some of that stuff can break you or make you stronger... Everyone has a story. It's quite freaky that everyone has a story but you don't necessarily ask that story before they become a friend. It's only when you get to know them that you understand that they have a story. But there's some natural alignments. And I think one thing that being Māori really teaches you, particularly in my generation and before, is that adversity is a natural thing in that you always start with a perceptual negative. Which is people kind of, 'oh you're Māori so you must be stereotypically this'. And unfortunately because of the stereotypes, and the only reason that you have stereotypes is that there is consistently something to base it on, that you're always feeling that you have to do better'. In overcoming his own form of adversity, Paora was exposed to a new reality that enabled him to become the person that he is today. "I suppose that one of the changes when I went from the South Island to the North Island was that there was a change in expectation upon me. So I went from an environment where no one I knew ever went to university through to, everyone went to university, that's just what you done and that's the expectation upon you... I behaved a lot more disciplined. If I had stayed in the South Island I would not be at university". Through establishing this link to his Māori heritage, Paora is happy in knowing that his life has now taken a more positive path. "I suppose the sense of self achievement comparative to the opportunity cost of where I could have

been. The opportunity cost of where I could have been when I was 16 comparative to now is the main thing but that only happened because of that strong link to identity”.

Paora’s happiness also stems from the ability of himself and others to integrate culture into both the academic and corporate world. He speaks of Te Ranga Ngaku, a student led organisation that supports the journey through university by providing a cultural platform to students’. *“Integrating culture with learning I suppose... The really good thing is that I can... say that pretty much the majority of [previous Te Ranga Ngaku members] I know to be quite successful... I would say about half of them have actually gone overseas... [To me] it just symbolises the fact that I’ve tried to include culture in the different stuff that I do because I naturally fit now”.* Paora has also been able to utilise his culture within the corporate world. *“If I come from a place in knowing my identity, I can move forward to being able to project that identity to the world and in doing so just take a natural element of comfortableness... A good example is last year we had to meet with the NZVCC, so this is a group of eight men who control two billion dollars of the national economy in terms of the eight universities that run. And subsequent to that, we had the highest paid public servant in the room and the others weren’t far from it. Now these were all middle-class white men in a sterile environment, but because I was able to open with a little bit of a mihi and the fact that I was comfortable with who I was and I knew from a knowledge base of both who I was as a person and a knowledge base of the stuff that we were talking about, I was really comfortable relative to my friend who was a Chinese New Zealander and was absolutely petrified and couldn’t process the fact that actually we come from a level of equality... For me, these people were nothing more as scary than going to a marae meeting at home because it’s just a different manifestation of a hierarchical structure. I think that being able to take your culture helps you feel less at risk”.*

Paora’s desire to help others has also steered the decisions he’s made in seeking employment. *“Going for national [student body] president for me was about making a difference in the world and I was doing it on others behalf... I didn’t*

know the names of peoples' lives that I was going to affect but I knew I had something to offer... So doing that for the betterment and not one's self... You do gain things from it but primarily it's not about you... I mean, if you wanted to be capitalist and get ahead in life, then this job which paid \$40,000 in Wellington is not what you're doing it for". Although Paora's motives for taking the position were primarily for the betterment of others; as a natural leader, the progression towards a respected leadership role was inevitable. "At a natural stage in my development I moved from kind of leading small groups through to being the president of the university students and then the national students. Generally, it's kind of a link into fighting for the rights of the little man... It was an interesting role. Met the Prime Minister once or twice, met various other people, learnt professionally how to deal with media. A giant large amount of skills that have now been able to be skills for future use". Paora feels happy when he is able to provide leadership and empowerment to others. "I'm happy when I'm leading others and I'm getting outputs... I'm not leading very well if they're not being empowered in their own growth and development. For example, this year and sometimes it's been frustrating because I've come back to university and everybody's sitting in places I've been and it's more a matter of showing them what to do without doing it, but trying to empower them so that they learn so that next time they can do it. It's a natural thing, I didn't just learn the things that I learnt, I was also taught. It's that reciprocity of giving back and although you're not giving back to the person, you're giving forward to the others".

Paora has led numerous other groups, and is often humbled by this experience. He speaks of a kapa haka performance that he led at Te Huinga Tauira, the annual conference of Māori student associations. *"Took a bunch of the lads down to Christchurch for Huinga Tauira... We represented Waikato uni for this and [everyone else] had prepared items but we made ours up in an hour. We were like the crowd winners because we were so funny. A mix of humour with seriousness... I led [the performance]... [but] if you have a look, all of those boys have leadership qualities in themselves in different ways but they chose me to lead and coordinate them". Paora has held many similar positions in the past, and feels happy when these positions allow him to share Māori culture with others. "I used*

to be quite involved in kapa haka and I also was a tutor for Māori weaponry for fourteen years so I know how to smack some people up with sticks... I taught from 9 [years old] upwards and my primary stuff that we done was a lot of the physical training. Training up the hill, down the hill, swimming out to a rock, coming back, putting the two weapons, their weapon and your weapon, on the shoulder and doing squats. Hundreds of press ups at a time. But that taught me a lot of discipline in life and kind of that was the cross over thing that I done. I did it in the South Island and I moved it through to the North. I stopped when I started coming to university". While Paora primarily taught young Māori youth, non-Māori were also attracted to the course. "It was for people looking to add another treasure to their chest, but just all different walks of life and that was good because you got to experience those different perspectives. We got into higher stuff, we started doing the prison programme where you'd go and teach prisoners for a week. I went to some interesting places. It's all about the art form, at no time did I not feel safe. I knew in the kaupapa that we were doing, and that also gave me the ability not only to lead but also to understand the drivers behind people". Holding such positions has enabled Paora to develop and perfect his leadership abilities. He speaks of what he believes defines a good leader. "The leader is always kind of naturally moved towards leadership and so, obviously leadership comes from a number of different sources. Knowledge is one of them, having respect... and just being able to analyse people. What types of people they are. Being able to now transcend that lifestyle into something that [emerges as] positive leadership".

As Paora generally leads a complex and demanding life, he is often left with very little time for himself. As such, Paora feels happy when he is able to unwind and spend time with others. "I'm happy when I'm interacting with people and of course I feel happy when I'm relaxing with friends... I like to participate in sport... Play golf, watch TV... Do a bit of exercise when I can. Hang out with mates... It [brings out] a more freer side of me. It's completely different and to be fair, I'm always busy all the time and being busy all the time means that when you do get moments of freedom you appreciate them. They are such small components of time at present in my life that they're so, the fun activities are almost extreme

activities in themselves so you just go hard out. Just free time... You just feel that sense of freedom". Having to dedicate his time to working up to 80 hours per week, such free time is rare. "[I feel] pretty good [when given the chance to relax]. But I always feel left wanting more. I suppose you choose the life you lead [and] I prefer to be doing something". Paora does, however, acknowledge the sacrifices that come with leading such a busy lifestyle. "There's an interesting correlation in the ability to do that and not having children... Depends on which day I wake up, sometimes there's a sad opportunity cost. I get really annoyed when people go, 'oh you've come so far, look, all I've got to show is that I'm a single mum with two kids', and I'm like, 'well you obviously don't value life in the same way that you perceive I value education as'... I definitely [want children] because if I can't have children then how can I then share with them that beautiful rock face and the various other things and then teach them. And then the question becomes, who do I pass it on to?"

RAWIRI

Rawiri is a 32 year-old male of Ngāti Kahungunu, Rongomaiwahine o Mahia and Ngāti Pahauwera descent. He currently resides in Hamilton, but calls Mahia home. Having begun his career in the Royal New Zealand Navy, Rawiri has a background in both electrical and mechanical engineering. He is currently undertaking a double PhD in law and science where he will be conducting a comparative Indigenous study between New Zealand and Canada. Rawiri is the oldest of six siblings and has two children of his own. For his interview, he brought seven photographs to symbolise his happiness, all of which were based around his children, his home, his studies and his personal interests. This is his story.

For Rawiri, his children are the main contributors to his happiness. *“I’ve got two children, I’ve got a girl, she’s ten, and [a boy], he’s six... They’ve been a huge part of my happiness... They live with their mother [but] I see them every day”*. Rawiri’s children ensure that he maintains a balance in life and enable him to remember his priorities. *“What they do for me is keep me grounded. It’s hard sometimes. When you’re so locked up in an academic world focused on your studies to just forget about it. To just say, ok, I’m dad now... I can’t be too busy... When they [call for me] I just switch off. A balance. It’s very important to have that. Very important... Because you can’t just keep going. You can’t... It’s sort of allowed me to say, ok this is important and this is not so important, so to prioritise things”*. He enjoys spending time with his children and does so whenever possible. He often takes his children out to places such as Parana Park, and on trips back home to Mahia. Rawiri also enjoys being involved in their personal development. *“I’m on their board of trustees for their school. They’re in the bilingual unit so I’m involved in their education. And I coach my son’s rugby team. I play a lot of instruments so I teach [my daughter] piano and [my son] the drums. They’ve got all those instruments too”*. Rawiri hopes to motivate and inspire his children through his own achievements and success. *“For my children firstly [I hope to] give them something to aspire to and to one day think, wow my dad did it, I can do it too”*.

FIGURE SIX: Rawiri's Photograph



Rawiri's home is also central to his happiness. *"Where my grandparents live and where I was brought up, Mahia is a little peninsula that sticks out on the North Island between Gisborne and Napier... A small isolated community, coastal, very beautiful"*. Rawiri enjoys going home to relax and partake in activities on the ocean. *"I just chill out... The beach is at the front... I do a lot of fishing, hunting. I've got my own boat... You can dive and surf around here... You can ride up and down here on a horse or a bike. And go fishing, I just love it back there... It's got a lot of memories"*. Behind Rawiri's family house is a waterfall that cascades down into a swimming hole. He shares a story of his ancestors that watch over this waterfall. *"It's kind of hard to see but [in the rock formation] that's one of my ancestors and that's my other ancestor (see Figure Six). Tapuwae and Te Mahaki. Tapuwae was the male, Te Mahaki is the female. They loved each other so much that they used to hide because they were from two different tribes. They used to hide and one of my ancestors was a tohunga. He came over on the waka. His name was Ruawharo and he condemned their relationship and basically turned them to stone because that's where they were found under the waterfall... That's why we swim there because we're safe. We feel like we're safe by our ancestors."*

It's been an awesome place to go, we've got our own little picnic table and barbeque".

Rawiri holds a significant role within his whānau. *"When I grew up as a child I was whāngaied by my grandparents. That's a customary thing over on the coast where the oldest of the family is brought up by the grandparents... [The purpose is] to carry on our whānau knowledge. Our hapū knowledge. In Kahungunu, their way of transferring ancient knowledge is through teaching the oldest of the family. And it's a bit of an added responsibility I guess on top of being the oldest. Whenever we have anything that needs sorting out in terms of our land or anything like that they'll come to me and ask me. I just guide them, I don't tell them what to do but help them along their journey... The main type of knowledge that I've learned through my upbringing is knowledge of the environment because my koro, my pop was a tohunga, a specialist or an expert in the environment, mainly the moana or the sea. Anything to do with fisheries grounds, seasonal fisheries or any practices like that. Just traditional practices... There's knowledge about whakapapa. That's one of the most important ones. There's knowledge about how different families connect to your family. So for instance, you might have a nephew that's courting a girl that might actually be our cousin, so you have to be aware of where those ties are... Knowledge isn't written it's passed down verbally. The thing with that type of knowledge too, it's not always freely given because it's protected".*

This responsibility has meant that Rawiri is often committed to resolving any issues that may affect his people. *"I always have been helping them. I'm always involved in iwi issues or hapū issues, whether it be treaty negotiations. I've drafted up an awa management plan. It will be similar to the Waikato River management plan, but for our own which is the Mohaka River. It's a big river on the East Coast. It's one of the most important rivers. To be able to draft up a document that protects that has been a highlight... When the Waitangi Tribunal put a case through for the crown for our settlement, my uncle was the person that led the tribunal case and when he died my family just naturally put it on me to carry on. It's taken twelve years but over that time it's been gathering momentum*

and it finally finished last year with our settlement. Our hapū's Ngāti Pahauwera and we've got 3,500 people on our register and our settlement came out to just under \$80,000,000... We're quite a wealthy little hapū. But post treaty settlement we're looking at investing in different technologies, so being involved in that process too is quite interesting". Rawiri recently travelled overseas to look at new technologies for investment. "I spent a week in Tahiti and then I spent another week in Raro... There's a project in Tahiti at a place called Huahine. It's a little village right on the end of the main island and its right next to a [surf] break called Teapu which is mega humungous. It was about water reticulation and how local villages can reticulate their water from salt water. So in areas where it's hard to get fresh water you can actually take salt water and turn it into fresh water... What we're looking at is investing in aquaculture. And being able to reticulate that salt water and turn it into fresh water is good for different processes... [It's] for our iwi. That's the main driver, just to protect things for our future generations. Not for economic gain or anything like that".

This commitment to preserving and protecting the natural environment was a key driver as to why Rawiri made the decision to return to university. *"In 2004, the government proposed the Foreshore and Seabed Act which at that time was quite an important issue for Māori. Because my grandparents own quite a bit of land on the coast and its coastal land, they were concerned about how or what the government were doing at that time and how it would affect my family. I'm the only one in my family that's academic in any way... My Nan said, 'look boy, what degrees do you have?' I said, 'oh Nan I've got an engineering degree', and she said 'those are nice degrees but what are they gonna do for us here?'... And she said, 'why don't you study law?' I was like, 'wow no way, law. I would never ever be a lawyer'".* These words had a deep impact on Rawiri and he began to question his motives for remaining on his chosen career path. *"The one thing that my Nan instilled in me was that if you go to work every day and you feel like you're making a change then that's a good job. But I was going to work every day, I was rolling in it money-wise and I was only like 23/24. A car, a fuel card, I lived out at Raglan so that was the life. I had my surfing and diving and fishing. But what she said really played on my mind, it really got to me because, what changed my mind*

was that I felt like I was getting up, going to work and making money for these overseas investors, people who don't care about what happens where I was brought up. They couldn't care a hoot if the government took our land, and the state of our people back home. That got to me and I felt like I was going to work and I wasn't being satisfied for what I was doing. All the material things, yip that was fine, but it was the feelings inside of me. And I'd go home and see things getting worse, our social problems... I made a decision and I said, 'yeah Nan, I don't really feel happy here. I want to come home and protect what we've got for the whānau. That was the reason I was brought up by you'. All of those values and morals started coming into play. So that was it, I came to the open day here and signed up and here I am now". Rawiri was able to reassess his priorities and pursue a career that satisfied him intrinsically. "When I left the Navy and came to work for Genesis I was on \$95,000 and then I threw that all away and now I'm on \$20,000 tops. So that was a real shock to do that but it was for a purpose".

This motivation and drive has encouraged Rawiri to pursue a research topic that he hopes will ultimately help his people. *"It's going to be a PhD that's going to come out and change things... The Resource Management Act is their overriding act in New Zealand that has control over our natural resources and in that act there are only small sections that apply and have Māori kaitiakitanga and treaty. There's only little bits that are attached to that legal framework. And what I'm wanting to develop is a framework. Get rid of the legislation and have mātauranga Māori as the framework and have the legislation tagged in the outside. So it's turning it inside and saying get rid of the act and have mātauranga Māori which is tikanga as the framework... It will take resources and personify them. It will make it more personable about why you're doing it and how you're doing. At the moment its more, what are we gonna get out of it? How much is this gonna cost? It's more cost-benefit analysis... The way we approached the Waikato River settlement as well is a really good example of how mātauranga Māori can steer protection and the well-being of the river in a positive way. For 140 odd years the crown has been supposedly protecting the river and they've been using their own management techniques which haven't worked. And then they just threw their hands in the air in 2009 and said, 'look we can't fix this what*

can we do about it?’ Then Tainui stepped in and they said, ‘make the river a tupuna, make it an ancestor. Look at it how we do, and would you feed your grandmother or grandfather poison? No. Well that’s how we treat things around where we’re from’... The power is with the river, not with the people. That’s kind of like shifting the dynamics of power and the relationship with resources”.

Through framing his qualifications towards a natural resources model, not only is he able to assist his own people, but he can also aid Indigenous populations from all over the world. He is currently conducting his PhD under the guidance of both the University of Waikato and the University of British Columbia. *“I’m really lucky in that respect and I think it really is because of my double degree. If I focused just on law then I think those opportunities would have been harder to get. But because I can apply a scientific perspective and an engineering and a cultural”.* Rawiri will alternate between each country in six month blocks. He is excited to be spending time with the people. *“I love the people over there, they’re so friendly. They really touched me close in Vancouver, especially the Indigenous people”.*

The opportunity to study in Canada emerged from an Indigenous based research trip that he conducted through the University of Waikato in 2010. To Rawiri, this excursion was also central to his happiness. *“So there was six law students and six management students... And we all had different topics, we all had different research questions and my role on that was helping them formulate a research project. So that was my portfolio was the research part of it. I made sure that when everyone got over there, they knew which person to see and so on. I took my job seriously because I like research. And I love helping people to do research themselves so that they can get right into it, and sometimes you learn off what they’re researching. It’s really interesting... I like learning about Indigenous cultures and the way they are similar to we are. And how their impacts and their responses to Westernised frameworks of law and how it impacts on them and how they respond to it... For me it was exciting to actually be on that trip but also to look around and see different things from New Zealand”.* Rawiri was also given the honour of presenting his masters research at the 2010 Global Ecological

Integrity Group Conference in Vancouver. *“I presented at the conference as well, that would have been up there in terms of the highlight because in my presentation I was using quotes and references from people who were sitting in the front row... I was so happy that everyone enjoyed the presentation”*. Although Canada proved to hold ample opportunities for Rawiri, he felt happiest in the fact that he was able to share this experience with the rest of the group. *“Probably getting to know everybody. The highlight was how we all came together and we all didn’t even know each other before that and now we’re all really close. And there’s a lot of respect there. We all respect each other in what we’re doing. Whether we’re here at university or out there in life, we’ll still be tight and that was the main thing for me, how it changed everyone and we all grew from that experience... I just loved that day. It was a mean day and I think it just personifies us really. We’re thousands of miles away but we’re all there in unity. I thought it just gave us a real close, whanaungatanga. Even though we’re all from different iwi and tribes, when we’re over there we’re all Māori, we’re all the same. And we were proud”*.

Leading a relatively busy life, Rawiri’s personal interests contribute to his happiness as they provide him with a sense of freedom. Rawiri has always been passionate about aeroplanes. *“I was excited to see all the different types of aeroplanes... That’s my engineering background... I always used to sneak into pop’s shed. Pull the lawn mower apart and put it back together, pulled it out and it wouldn’t start. I was always interested in how things work. Pulled things apart and 99% of the time never put them back properly... I’ve always wanted to fly planes. I’ve got a helicopter license but I’ve never flown a fixed wing aircraft before... I love flying. If I’m not surfing, I’d rather be flying... I just like the versatility of a helicopter. But I like the feeling of being up there and being free. You don’t have anything else around you just what you’re sitting on and what you’re in control of. It’s an addiction... Once you’ve done it once you just wanna keep doing it. You dream about it at night. When you fly over a beautiful country, over the sea and the coast line, there’s nothing better than doing that”*. Surfing is also an important part of Rawiri’s life. *“I love my sport and surfing... Surfing for me is about adventure and being free and exploring and going places and seeing*

things that only people that surf would get to actually see or experience... Being brought up where I was, apart from getting into trouble and into gangs and drinking and parties and stuff, the only other thing you could do is surf. So I just naturally gravitated towards surfing... It allowed me to have a passion for the ocean and it also made me go into the Navy. Because I knew that in the Navy they had surfers and you travelled around the world, in the water. And it was just natural... I wanted to surf different places around the world... [I've surfed] all of the Pacific Islands, Bali, Hawaii, France, Spain, Portugal, Ireland, most places where there were waves”.

Overall, Rawiri’s life has been shaped in such a way that he now holds the following views on happiness. *“As a child growing up and in my teens, I was just happy to be surfing and to not have so much responsibility and to have mum and dad and my uncles and aunties to sort out any problems. It was so much simpler. But once you become an adult and you move away and you basically fend for yourself, happiness is what you make it and not everything is happy. And sometimes you can control it and sometimes you can’t. For me it’s about turning a negative situation into a positive and that’s important in how you’re able to deal with pressure and other things like that”.*

TRACEY

Tracey is a 31 year-old female who lives in Napier. She is currently a student studying wine and viticulture at the Eastern Institute of Technology. Tracey is the eldest of four sisters. For her interview, she brought five photographs to symbolise her happiness, all of which were based around the themes of; whānau, travelling, and travelling with whānau. This is her story.

Tracey's happiness centres around her whānau. *"If I didn't have my whānau it would be sad... I feel happy when I'm with them. It's so hard to be happy these days and I found out what makes me happy – whānau"*. Each of her photographs depicted a different person or group of people that played an important role in her life. In particular, she speaks of the close bond that she has with her sisters. *"[I'm happiest] mainly with whānau. Whānau first, wherever that is, whether that's on a couch or in a lounge, or travelling... We just hang out. And that takes up all of our time... [Hanging out at home], that's where we are the happiest. We don't like new environments, we don't like talking to people... That's why I come here to Hamilton often as well. I love it. You don't have to talk. Get in arguments... We like arguing with each other... It's taken me until I'm older as well. That's when I first appreciated my whānau. Being away from home. I never hung out with them [before]"*. Her sister's newborn son; Tracey's nephew, has also shaped the way she experiences happiness. *"He's the best thing to happen to us. First nephew... He's so good and [my sister's] a good mum too... But he's the best thing. I never used to text her until this year. Now I text her every day... He's definitely [brought us closer together] ... [I'm] better friends with [my sister] I'd say, which is quite a big thing. And she's had a good year as well so that makes us all happy, that she's happy"*. Not only has Tracey's nephew brought her sisters closer together, he has also enabled Tracey to experience happiness through the happiness of others.

Tracey's long-time friend that she refers to as her 'older sister' also makes her happy. *"We met at uni... She's really really awesome. Hyperintelligent as, but really humble. She doesn't like talking about things at all. Whenever she goes out people always go, so what do you do? And she hates talking about it. She's like*

'oh, I just own a business and all that'. I went to live with her for about five years off and on... She'll do anything for us... So we don't really call her a friend, it's sister... She loves us so much she's got our whānau [name] tattooed on her foot". Tracey and her older sister often enjoy going out together. "[We] used to go to concerts together as well. She loves concerts because she thinks she's in a dancing video... We went to Jay-Z and U2 last year... We didn't like U2. But Jay-Z was awesome. We went for Jay-Z and then left half way through U2. It's just not our buzz. It's not our crowd... We were bumping to Jay-Z and then as soon as U2 came on we were like, oh we've gotta stay for it. Then we walked out half way through so we could go to McDonalds. But we had a good time". Tracey also enjoys doing her own thing alongside her older sister and her older sister's family. They are able to undertake their own activities, but still return together at the end of the day; like a true whānau. "We don't talk that much but you know that's just like whānau. When I go to their house, we've all got our rooms that we go to, [her son's] got games, I'm TV, she's working and [her partner's] out playing sports. And at the end of the day we all come together". Tracey greatly appreciates and admires her older sister's strong whānau-oriented values. "I asked her, 'if you could be anything in the world what could you be?' And she always says, 'the best mother in the world'. With her brains she could have gone anywhere and been a millionaire, definitely worked overseas. But from get-go she's always about whānau. Just got with her partner young, maybe 18/19 and he always wanted to live in Te Kuiti so she always wanted to live in Te Kuiti as well. She wanted to stay at home because she loves whānau. So for [her partner]. But she could have easily gone the other way, gone overseas, gone working. She's just taken a different path. That's it. I remember when she got pregnant as well. I think she was finishing off her masters but everything was planned". These values have meant that Tracey and her older sister were able to bond through their common love for whānau.

Tracey's cousin and her cousin's whānau also play a key role in her happiness. *"[She's] the other one we call our sister, she's our cousin and she lives in [Auckland]. We always go up there for New Years. She loves her whānau aye... A big whānau person... She rings us up all the time and always sends us texts and*

updates on how the kids are going... They're awesome, when I used to live up in Auckland I always used to go and stay with them... She's a mean rager. Just the life of the party. Someone who can tell a mean story but her stories go on forever. And her husband is just an awesome guy. If you want him to do anything for you he'll do it. Just go out of his way. So I love going up there and staying with them".

Tracey also has a connection with her cousin's three young children. *"I babysat them for a week this summer. When the parents went over to Gold Coast for a holiday. I love them as well... [We] watched TV. And it was hot so we went to the pools. Went to a concert. I was up there for Waitangi Day and took them. Katchafire were playing, 1814, Kora as well. So we just had a rage to them because those kids love raging. Their parents are hard out into music... We stayed there the whole day which is quite big for the kids".*

Tracey's happiness is also shaped by her long-time friend and her friend's whānau. *"They're my whānau as well... really awesome. I met her through work... I think we used to work in the same team together... Then when I came to Hamilton I had my own office and then I moved myself into her office. I'm sort of messy. And so my office would get too messy and instead of piling it up, I moved to another office. I had three offices for a bit. I moved myself into her office and we used to just play games all day. Bad employees. We used to do the work though but just lots of games. And then you just become friends... Real good friends. They're just such good people. Real whānau. So I'd go over to their mothers for the birthday celebrations, awesome feed. [She] is just whānau. Sit down and do whatever. Enough so that I come back [to Hamilton] for the summer and don't live at [my] mother's place, I live here. They've got good kids. They've got ears. They look after one another. They're the best kids I know. I just love it here".*

Tracey also has a special relationship with her friend's daughter. *"I always ring up [her daughter] every couple of days down in Napier. Just me and her talk. She tells me everything. But we mainly talk about food. What did you have? And school stuff... We call each other BFFs - [best friends forever]. I make her like what I like as well. I go, 'what's your favourite colour? Green aye?' And she goes, 'yeah green'. We get on really well but she's a good kid... She helps with her brother. She listens. Got a bit of common sense. Just the parents [have raised*

them well]. It's the parents... And they love their kids, they'd do anything for [their] kids".

Overall, the key people in her life have played a significant role in shaping her happiness. While this includes her blood whānau, it also includes close friends that she has come to know as whānau. *"If your friends are good enough you make them whānau".* As her friends and whānau generally live in the Waikato region, she enjoys coming up to Hamilton as often as possible. *"In Napier I don't have that many friends, I've got acquaintances. It's nice to come back up. I don't want to say it but I get on better with Māori people and it's mainly Pākehās down there. They've just got different values than what we've got. My three closest mates down there. Māori, Korean and Indian. The minorities. We always gravitate towards each other".*

Tracey also feels happy when she is travelling. So far she has travelled through *"South East Asia, Thailand, Laos, Middle East, Southern Africa, Morocco, England [and] Europe".* Tracey prefers to travel to more *"adventurous countries like South East Asia and Middle East".* On her to-do list include such countries as *"Cambodia, Ethiopia and Montenegro... and Ghana".* She also wants to travel to *"Central America and Southern America but that will take a long time".* Tracey enjoys meeting new people on her travels. *"Some travellers that we met on our tour [through the Middle East]... They were really cool. You know how when you're all together you can just bond? That was one of the best times of the trip... Really good people and we sort of keep in touch with them. Facebook and all that. They're always like, 'yeah come on over'".* She also speaks of her experiences in travelling alone through Southern Africa. *"[I went] all around Southern Africa. I lived in South Africa, in Cape Town. Started off there and then went to Namibia, Zambia, Malawi, Mozambique, came up through Swazi[land] and finished in South Africa... [I] started out and then just met up with people along the way. And that's why it's good to go by yourself because you're made to go out and meet people... It's only sometimes that you're stuck in the middle of nowhere by yourself and you're just like, damn. But it was good and I always met someone... It's awesome, I like adventure".* Although Tracey did meet up with other

travellers, it was the local people that contributed to a more meaningful experience. *“I like the Africans. I think they’re my people... They’ve just got big hearts. And they’re always happy. They’re like the Thai people, big hearts and happy... [I] like third world countries because the people are better. Poor people have got bigger hearts. I shouldn’t generalise but they appreciate things a bit more”*. Through Tracey’s travels, not only has she gained new experiences, but she has also been able to see the world from new perspectives.

While travelling does make Tracey happy, she prefers to do so with whānau. She speaks of travelling to the Middle East with two of her sisters. *“It was when my sisters came to visit me when I was living overseas and it just encapsulates whānau firstly and the travelling as well... We were over in Turkey. But that’s when we were the most happiest, being with my sisters as well, we get stressed out and we have the arguments. But it’s also fun and exciting... I was just so happy when I saw them. I think it was a month, month and a half or something. It was the first time I’d really hung out with my sisters. I’m a bit older than them so I was outta home by the time they were in their teens. So I was like, yes, I love you guys... I was living in Germany [at the time] and hadn’t seen them in a while. I was like, ‘come over, I need to see whānau’. Because I had work colleagues over there but they were just colleagues they weren’t friends. And I was just like, ‘man I need someone’ and they were like, ‘yip, ok’. They came over pretty much in a couple of months and when I saw them I was like, ‘yes, thank goodness’. I was gonna stay over for longer working over there but then I was like, neh, home sick now”*. As whānau is the main contributor to Tracey’s happiness, having whānau accompany her on her travels assists in making her experiences more meaningful and enjoyable.

TALES FROM THE AUTHOR

I don’t know what I could possibly say here that could make this chapter any more complete. I am in awe. I am inspired. I have learned so much from my participants; not about literature, but about life. With so many different stories and perspectives, I feel I am able to reassess my own life and my own priorities.

The importance of whānau, of children, of new experiences, of being comfortable in your own skin, I already knew all of this, but I had never comprehended it on such a deep level. Every single one of my participants has an incredible story to tell. I feel humbled to even be surrounded by such amazing people, and even more so that they were willing to share their experiences with me. Writing these stories has actually been quite a hard process for me. I feel like the information that they have given me is a gift and I placed a lot of pressure on myself to represent it in the most accurate light possible. I have the utmost respect for every single one of them. They are all such amazing and inspirational people who are in control of their own destinies. I don't doubt that they will be highly successful in whatever they choose to pursue. If this is what it means to be Māori; that you can unintentionally inspire people by just being yourself, then man, I'm so proud to be Māori!

CHAPTER SIX: THE HAPPINESS OF MĀORI AND THE ROLE OF CONSUMPTION

*“You promised me Lord, that if I followed you, you would walk with me always.
But I have noticed that during the most trying periods of my life
there has only been one set of footprints in the sand.
Why, when I needed you most, have you not been there for me?”
The Lord replied, “The years when you have seen only one set of footprints,
my child, is when I carried you.”*

- Mary Stevenson

The five key themes of; sense of belonging, whānau and relationships, spirituality, achievement and success, and sense of freedom, emerged from the participants’ stories. These themes are multifaceted, each hosting several dimensions and sub-themes. They also interrelate with one-another, illustrating the complexity of experiences of happiness. This chapter explores these five themes and captures the essence of happiness as it is experienced by Māori. Links to the participants’ stories and relevant academic literature are made. The role of consumption on the happiness of Māori is also discussed.

1. SENSE OF BELONGING

Sense of belonging refers to a feeling of being connected to one’s whānau, culture and ancestral lands. As a basic human need, sense of belonging is generally associated with greater levels of happiness (Hagerty, Williams, Coyne & Early, 1996; Hill, 2006; Maslow, 1970). For these Māori individuals, happiness stems from the comfort and security of knowing who they are, where they belong, and where they fit in. In this case, the essence of sense of belonging is captured through the sub-themes of; connectedness to the land, connectedness to others, and cultural identity.

CONNECTEDNESS TO THE LAND

The Māori concept of tūrangawaewae is most applicable here. Translated as ‘a place to stand’, “tūrangawaewae are places where we feel especially empowered

and connected. They are our foundation, our place in the world, our home” (Te Ara, 2011, p.5). This connection to home and the environment was discussed by over half of the participants. Rawiri is deeply connected to his home and serves as a *tohunga* (expert) for his people. He represents his *iwi* in tribal matters, and has drafted up an *awa* management plan to protect his river. Rawiri has chosen to dedicate his professional career to guarding our natural resources. For Paora, connecting with the geographical landmarks of his *iwi*; standing upon his mountain and swimming within his river, has allowed him to connect with being home. Having been disconnected from his home for sixteen years, Paora’s happiness comes from finally having a place to which he belongs. Aroha is proud to be from New Zealand. Descending from coastal *iwi*, she feels happy when she is near the ocean. Aroha states that her happiness “smells of the sea”, and finds the lapping sounds of the waves to be calming. Jane serves on the *rūnanga* for her *iwi*. She returns home to Torere to camp on the beach each year, and hopes to move back home in the long-term. Hohepa feels at peace when he is at home. He has many happy memories exploring nature, and enjoys being able to see how his dad was brought up. Hohepa calls several different places ‘home’ and feels as though this reinforces who he is. Similarly, Jack gets a “special feeling” when he returns home to Hicks Bay. He feels comfortable, safe and relaxed.

Māori refer to themselves as *tangata whenua* or people of the land. This ideology holds that the land does not belong to people; people belong to the land. Traditionally, *kaitiakitanga* or guardianship of the land, guided Māori behaviour as they viewed their relationship with the environment as one that was sacred (Te Ara, 2011). They treated the land with great reverence, appreciating the life force that it possessed. This natural affiliation to the land still holds true for these young Māori individuals today. Their happiness stems from a connectedness to their ancestral lands and the sense of belonging that this invokes. For Paora, he was unhappy and unfulfilled when he was disconnected from his home, but experienced a deeper level of happiness when he re-established this connection. This is supported by Panelli & Tipa (2001) who assert that “the identification and acknowledgement of tribal territory provide[s] a clear sense of place” (p. 456).

Interestingly, few of the participants currently reside in the place that they call home. Some acknowledge their desire to move home, but state that such things as lack of employment and inadequate housing creates barriers. Most participants descend from small coastal communities but have been forced to move to the city to seek education and employment. The notion of *tūrangawaewae* is highly important in this situation as those who know where they are from and are comfortable in themselves are more likely to feel secure in new environments (Te Ara, 2011). For these individuals, living in the city means that they appreciate the change of pace that their home has to offer. A majority of them see home as a place where they can return to “chill out” and relax. As some of their homes are isolated from the digital world of cell phone reception and broadband, being at home brings peace and allows them to live in the “here and the now”. They are also able to engage in more meaningful activities such as going to the beach, drinking, fishing, swimming, surfing, diving, and bush walking.

Both Te Puni Kokiri’s Indicators of Well-Being and the Statistics New Zealand Māori Statistics Framework acknowledge the importance of the environment to Māori well-being. Te Puni Kokiri (2007) incorporates the indicator of ‘Environmental Sustainability’ into their frame, while Statistics New Zealand (2002) describes the significance of ‘The Māori Asset Base’. These indicators refer to the importance of owning, maintaining and developing Māori land and natural resources (Statistics New Zealand, 2002; Te Puni Kokiri, 2007). This is more applicable at the aggregate level. For this investigation, we are instead able to understand how the environment shapes the happiness of Māori at the individual level. The sense of belonging and connectedness that the environment invokes, illustrates *why* the land is so important to the happiness of Māori.

CONNECTEDNESS TO OTHERS

For Māori, happiness also comes from a feeling of connectedness to *whānau*, social and community groups. Being aware of how one fits into the social structure invokes a sense of belonging. Aroha feels a strong connection to her high school. Winning the *Manu Kōrero Māori* speech competition, she is grateful

for the values that her school inspired in her. Hemi enjoys singing Māori waiata with his friends and whānau. He sings mainly with his cousins and feels a sense of unity with other Māori when he does so. Hohepa made a close group of friends in his first year of university. They were all Māori and tended to gravitate towards each other due to their culture and common love for music. Isabella's newborn nephew has made her more aware of her role within her whānau and how her actions can affect others. Her happiness stems from the positive impacts that her nephew has had in the lives of the rest of her whānau. Olivia has a group of friends at university that she believes will be her friends for life. They support her in all that she does and make her feel stronger in herself. Kylie has recently had her first child. He has shaped her life in such a way that her happiness now stems from the happiness that he invokes in the lives of others. Atawhai has recently joined the Māori student group on campus. Living away from her home and her whānau, this provides her with the social and cultural support that she needed.

Traditionally, Māori society was based upon collectivism and interdependence (Panelli & Tipa, 2001; Te Ara, 2011). Each individual belonged to an iwi, hapū, and whānau which coexisted as a whole. These bonds enhanced the quality of life as such things as child rearing, hunting, and the gathering of food was a collective effort. Behaviour was guided by reciprocity, and individuals were aware of how their thoughts and actions could affect others (Te Ara, 2011). Most of the participants had a feeling of connectedness to whānau, friends and institutions. These relationships are mutually beneficial and individuals are able to derive support, love, strength and happiness from them. These connections ensure that individuals do not feel alone as this sense of belonging can transcend time and space. Many participants also experience happiness through the happiness of others. Kylie, Olivia, Hemi, Jane and Aroha feel happy when their children are happy. Isabella feels happy through the happiness that her nephew brings to others. This illustrates how closely intertwined their happiness is with those who surround them. Ultimately, they are working towards a common goal. If one is happy, everyone is happy. If one is upset, they are all upset. This notion is supported through the construct of 'Kotahitanga' within Te Puni Kokiri's Indicators of Māori Well-Being. This asserts that happiness stems from the

collective effort to achieve our goals as a group, rather than as individuals (Te Puni Kokiri, 2007). In the present study, this sub-theme is directly related to the theme of 'Whānau and Relationships'.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

A sense of belonging with both other people and the natural environment allows Māori to solidify their cultural identity. As Māori typically define themselves through their affiliation to their iwi, hapū, whānau, maunga, and awa, knowledge of their whakapapa makes them more secure in who they are (Panelli & Tipa, 2001). Many of the participants acknowledged the importance of cultural identity to happiness. Hemi states that identity is the foundation for success for Māori. He believes that when an individual is secure in themselves and their cultural identity, then the world is their oyster. Kylie had limited exposure to her culture and language growing up. As such, she wants her son to be comfortable in knowing his identity, his culture and his language. Paora asserts that Māori have a natural need for identity. His happiness stems from reconnecting with his heritage, and becoming more secure in who he is. Jane believes that when Māori know who they are, then they can take on the world. Both of her children have learned te reo Māori as their first language and are comfortable in who they are and where they are from.

Due to colonisation and the acculturation of Māori into a more Western way of life, the loss of identity has been a widespread occurrence. Today, many Māori have been disconnected from their tribal lands and their cultural roots (Panelli & Tipa, 2001). The participants in this study have recognised the importance of re-establishing this connection. They believe that this brings a deeper level of happiness as it fulfils a deeply embedded desire to belong. Understanding this interconnection with people and the environment gives Māori more knowledge of the self (Hill, 2006). On top of this, having a secure identity can also make Māori feel safer and less at risk. Paora acknowledged that through feeling secure in himself and his culture, he was able to feel comfortable in a high pressure business meeting.

Research shows that for modern Māori, a lack of identity is associated with higher rates of suicide and depression (Coupe, 2005; Johnston, 2006). Such individuals lack a sense of belonging and are less secure in themselves (Coupe, 2005). Furthermore, a disconnection with their iwi, hapū and whānau, results in a lack of connectedness to others and, therefore, a lack of accountability for their actions. Many of the participants in this study were not brought up immersed in their culture and had to discover it in other ways. Jack was raised in the city and has never resided in the place he calls home. He learned about Māoritanga through his boarding school. Similarly, growing up, Hohepa believed himself to be Pākehā. He discovered his Māori roots through engaging in kapa haka and learning te reo Māori at his boarding school. Paora actively sought his Māori whānau and his ancestral land. He then absorbed himself in learning about his whakapapa in order to gain a greater understanding of himself. Atawhai incorporates her Māori values into all that she undertakes. She acknowledges that she does not speak te reo, does not partake in kapa haka, and very rarely visits her marae. She believes that living through her values enables her to remain tied to her culture. These stories acknowledge that finding ones cultural identity has been a difficult task for these individuals from the Millennial generation. Intergenerational impacts have meant that many of them come from whānau that have been disconnected from their roots. Jack believes that being raised in your home town normalises being Māori. He discusses how his girlfriend was “brought up as a Māori” on the coast, and how this has resulted in greater cultural pride and knowledge. Overall, this shows that several different realities exist for Māori dependent upon their upbringing. As cultural identity has a profound influence on happiness, many Māori have had to discover other ways through which they can achieve this. Jane acknowledges that with the growing number of kura kaupapa available today, this is a lot easier in her generation than it was for her parents.

Te Puni Kokiri’s Indicators of Well-Being incorporate the indicator of ‘Culture and Cultural Identity’. Similar to this investigation, they have recognised the importance of cultural identity to the happiness of Māori. They assert that a secure identity can be determined through the four aspects of; te reo Māori, knowledge of whakapapa, use of marae, and practice of Māori values (Te Puni Kokiri, 2007).

While this is effective in prescribing how identity may be measured for the collective, it does not capture the essential meaning of cultural identity for the individual. In this sense, this investigation shows that cultural identity contributes to happiness through providing Māori with a sense of belonging.

THE ROLE OF CONSUMPTION

For Māori, sense of belonging and connectedness holds a deeper meaning that stems from the inner self. It is something that is felt and not something that can be fabricated through goods, services or experiences. While consumption cannot create these feelings, it can instead assist in facilitating relationships with culture and the environment.

Many of the participants asserted that they were forced to discover their culture through means other than their upbringing. Both Jack and Hohepa found this within their boarding schools. In this case, consuming education within an authentic Māori environment has allowed them to connect with their culture and identity. Aroha also speaks of the Māoritanga that she learned through her wharekura, while Atawhai reflects on the cultural platform that the Māori student group at university gave her. For some of these individuals, cultural identity was not necessarily inbuilt, but was facilitated through experiences within an educational environment. Hartoonian (1997) criticises the notion that education is a form of consumption and, instead, believes that students are producers of education rather than consumers. In this case, however, identity and sense of belonging was not established through formal education itself, but through the informal environment that these learning institutions facilitated.

Māori based events such as Manu Kōrero, Matatini and PolyFest also help to draw such connections. Hohepa speaks of connecting to and portraying his culture at PolyFest and Manu Kōrero. Aroha also has fond memories of winning Manu Kōrero and partaking in Matatini. In consuming these experiences, Māori become more closely linked to their culture through kapa haka and te reo Māori. These events also facilitate relationship building with others, through which they can establish a sense of unity with both their culture and other Māori. For both Māori-

based events and learning institutions to properly foster a sense of belonging and connectedness to culture, they need to be authentic. This implies that these experiences of consumption need to be built on Māori values and tikanga. They must also be based on a kaupapa of whakawhanaungatanga so that feelings of connectedness to others can be established.

Due to a deep connection with the environment, many of the participants enjoyed partaking in outdoor experiences that utilised the land or sea. These experiences do not *create* a sense of belonging, but do aid in reaffirming these connections. Aroha goes to the sea every holiday. She enjoys having fish and chips and eating a Choc Bar or a Fruju on the beach. These products make her feel more connected to New Zealand due to their general associations with the beach and summer. Aroha also enjoys engaging in such coastal activities as waka ama, waka surfing and diving. Rawiri enjoys surfing, hunting, fishing and diving. Paora worked as a tour guide for the Rotorua geysers, allowing others to experience his lands. In consuming these activities, these Māori individuals are able to establish a closer bond to the land and their ancestors. These activities are not only enjoyable, but also help to facilitate a sense of belonging. Hemi and Kylie also acknowledge that their happiness stems from the warmer summer months as they are able to spend more time engaging in such outdoor activities.

2. WHĀNAU AND RELATIONSHIPS

Whānau and relationships is an important contributor to the happiness of Māori. Whānau not only refers to family and extended family, but also to close bonds established through friendships (Māori Dictionary, 2011). These connections foster deep and mutually satisfying relationships based on love, comfort, enjoyment, support and empowerment. The importance of close relationships with family and friends was identified by many scholars as playing a key role in happiness (Buss, 2000; Costley et al., 2011; Csikszentmihalyi, 1999; Durning, 1993; Grieves, 2006; Ingersoll-Dayton et al, 2004; Lane, 1993; Lu & Shih, 1997; Myers, 2000; Myers & Diener, 1995; Panelli & Tipa, 2001; Ryff, 1989; Schwartz et al., 2006; Suhail and Chaudhry, 2004; Tkach & Lyubomirsky, 2006). Lane (2003) also noted that friendships and family connections do not suffer the effects

of the hedonic treadmill. For this investigation, the essence of whānau and relationships can be understood through the sub-themes of; meaningful relationships, and support and inspiration.

MEANINGFUL RELATIONSHIPS

For Māori, happiness stems from the deep connections that they have with others. These relationships hold closer bonds than do those with work colleagues and acquaintances. These relationships are ‘meaningful’ as they are based on reciprocity, comfort, enjoyment and love. All thirteen participants from this study brought photographs to symbolise the significance of the meaningful relationships within their lives. Aroha has a close connection to her cousin. She refers to her cousin as her ‘sister’ and named her daughter after her. Aroha states that they are “two halves of a whole”. Michaela enjoys engaging in whānau activities with her cousins and sisters. She also enjoys spending time with her parents, nephew, cats and the children she babysits. Jack is happy with his relationship with his girlfriend. They have common values and want the same things out of life. Kylie feels comfortable when she spends time with her cousin. She feels as though she can be herself as whānau “just accept you the way you are”. Isabella has a close connection with her best friends. They are able to feel when she is happy or sad, and she likes not having to justify herself.

Māori hold deep connections with their family and extended family. When Māori form close relationships with friends, however, they ultimately begin to see them more as members of their own whānau. Tracey refers to her close friend as her ‘sister’. Tracey and her sister can be in the same house, yet do not need to talk much; “just like whānau”. Isabella views her best friends as her sisters. Their relationship is built on love, respect and sharing common values. Hohepa refers to all of his close friends as his whānau. He has made many deep bonds through connections at high school and university. These meaningful relationships can also transcend the bounds of time and space. Olivia and her best friend had not spoken to one-another in two years. When they reconnected they were able to just pick up where they left off. Isabella and her best friends may not speak for months or years. When they do meet again they can still continue to be as close as they

were. For meaningful relationships such as these, no amount of time or distance can damage these bonds; they are life-long connections. This is why Māori refer to these friends as 'whānau'. On top of this, these relationships tend to be with other Māori as their common values draw them together. Atawhai's best friend is Māori. Isabella's best friends are Māori. Tracey's friends are Māori. Jack's girlfriend is Māori. Tracey admits that she is drawn to Māori people rather than Pākehā, stating "they've just got different values than what we've got". Hohepa also believes that Māori naturally gravitate towards each other, as did his first group of friends at university.

For those participants who are parents, their happiness revolves around the close relationships that they have with their children. Olivia's daughter is her centre and her motivation in life. She feels happy when her daughter is secure in their relationship and enjoys spending as much time with her as possible. Aroha's daughter is her motivation to succeed. She gains happiness through the small things that her daughter does. When she smiles, Aroha "could be happy for eternity". Kylie's happiness centres around her son. She feels happy when he is happy. The bonds that her son has made with her sister and mother also make her happy. Kylie enjoys seeing her son grow and develop, and takes pleasure in the learning experiences that she has had as a mother. Jane feels happy when her children undertake new experiences and gain new perspectives on life. Jane quit her six-figure job in order to become a full-time mother. Jane's children are the main contributors to her happiness, and she has enjoyed spending more time with them and seeing them grow. Rawiri's children provide him with a balance in life and allow him to refocus on his priorities. Rawiri feels happy when he is actively involved in their lives and hopes to inspire his children through his own success. Hemi enjoys seeing his son progress and learn. His happiness stems from his sons happiness as he feels happy when he sees his son smile. For all of these Māori individuals, their children have made their lives more meaningful. Their lives have been shaped in such a way that their children are key contributors to the way they experience happiness. Jack also acknowledges that although he does not have children yet, he knows that his children will be central to his happiness. He wants to have at least eight children and believes that having a large whānau is the

greatest achievement. Jack asserts, “You know how people say, ‘I wanna be CEO’ or ‘I wanna do this’? Well I wanna have a big whānau. That’s what I want”.

SUPPORT AND INSPIRATION

For Māori, happiness also stems from the support and inspiration that can be derived from whānau relationships. Through this, Māori are able to feel empowered by others, fulfil their dreams and learn new perspectives. Hemi’s whānau have supported him in such a way that he has been able to pursue his career, have a social life, and also look after his whānau. Isabella’s friends support her in all that she undertakes. She feels strong in knowing that they will always be there for her stating: “If you go down, they’ll go down with you. They’ll choose to, not because you’ll pull them down, but they want to go down if you go down, they’ll never leave you”. Kylie has gained support from her sister and her mother in both giving birth to and raising her son. This has solidified the bonds within her whānau as she appreciates everything that they have done for her. Aroha and her whānau have supported and helped one another throughout the course of their lives. This has meant that all of her siblings have been able to successfully complete tertiary education while raising children. Isabella and Michaela were able to fulfil their childhood dream of going to Disneyland in America due to the support of their ‘older sister’. This financial and emotional support only came from a place of love. Through this, both Isabella and Michaela were able to live out their dream, experience the American culture, and form a deeper connection with their older sister. Olivia’s friends have also supported her through being there whenever she has needed them. Olivia states: “I feel I get strength in myself, that I can deal [with anything] because I have people on my side supporting me, who I love like family and who love me like family”. Support from whānau is a key contributor to happiness as it allows Māori to overcome any obstacles in life.

For the participants in this study, the inspiration that they gain from others makes them happy. Aroha’s mother is her role model. She aspires to be just like her, as she believes her mother has “done it all”. Her mother has had eight children, travelled, been rich, and is now completing her PhD. Aroha is also inspired by her two best friends; one is a world karate champion, while the other is a great

mother. Hemi is inspired through the success of other Māori such as Maisey Rika, Wayne Tainui and Selwyn Hayes. He looks up to these individuals and they make him want to attain a higher level in whatever he pursues. Isabella is inspired by her fifteen year-old cousin. She asserts that her cousin is “just like a god. She’s all about giving. She’s all about other people... I’ve just never met someone who is so spiritually in touch”. Isabella admires her cousin’s generosity, selflessness and love. Tracey is inspired by her best friend’s values. Her friend is “hyperintelligent” and owns a business, yet her ultimate goal in life is to be the best mother she can be. Tracey admires her friend’s whānau-oriented values. Paora has been inspired by many individuals within his life, including his koroua. Paora is now at the stage, however, where he is eager to empower and inspire others through passing on his own knowledge.

IN SUMMARY

The two sub-themes within ‘whānau and relationships’ are interdependent. In this sense, happiness comes from meaningful relationships with others that are also based on support and inspiration. This theme also illustrates that happiness is a shared experience for Māori. It is something that is derived from close relationships but also is given back to others. As whānau groups hold close bonds with one another, the happiness of one individual can enhance the happiness of the entire group. For example, the happiness that Kylie feels in having a new-born son is also experienced by her three sisters; Isabella, Michaela and Tracey. This stems from the collective nature of Māori society. As Māori traditionally co-existed within tribal groups, this level of interconnectedness is an inherent part of Māori culture (Panelli & Tipa, 2001). Whānaungatanga (or relationships and togetherness) was, and still is, a common Māori value (Harmsworth, 2004; Mead, 2003). In the present study, this has become even more evident through the constant use of the pronouns ‘we’, ‘us’ and ‘our’, that participants used when describing their happiness. Many would subconsciously allude to the way in which certain experiences ‘make *us* happy’ or ‘contribute to *our* happiness’.

All three frameworks of Māori well-being mentioned in Chapter Two describe the importance of whānau and relationships. Statistics New Zealand’s Māori Statistics

Framework refers to ‘Social Capability’, Te Puni Kokiri’s Indicators of Well-Being acknowledge ‘Whānau Well-Being’, while Te Whare Tapa Wha recognises ‘Social Well-Being’. All of these indicators state that the happiness of Māori stems from deep relationships with others. They also acknowledge that happiness of the collective and support from whānau contributes to the happiness of the individual (Durie, 2008; Statistics New Zealand, 2002; Te Puni Kokiri, 2002). These findings are in line with those that have been identified through this investigation.

THE ROLE OF CONSUMPTION

While consumption cannot create these relationships, shared consumption experiences can facilitate them and make them stronger. Atawhai and her best friend enjoy drinking, going clubbing and shopping together. Hemi feels happy when he is playing games, dancing, listening to music, clubbing, going to the gym, and going to concerts with others. He also enjoys sharing Māori food such as hangi and boil-up with his whānau. Michaela has enjoyed going sky diving, sledging, to Snow Planet, water tubing, and going out to dinner with her whānau. Hohepa is happy when he is drinking and playing music with friends. Jane enjoys eating out, swimming at the hot pools and going to the park with her children. She is also happy when she is camping, drinking and sharing food with her whānau. Kylie has fond memories of playing cricket, going to the beach and camping with her cousins. Olivia enjoys cooking, reading, going out to dinner, going to the museum and watching rugby league with her daughter. She is also happy when she is drinking and eating with friends. Paora is happy when he is playing golf, going to the gym or watching television with friends. Rawiri enjoys surfing, fishing and diving with others. He is also happy when he is taking his children to the park and teaching them how to play musical instruments. Tracey has happy memories of going to concerts with her ‘older sister’. In each of these cases, consumption has facilitated situations where the participants are able to gain meaningful social experiences with others. The act of socialising means that they are able to spend more time creating deeper bonds with others whilst gaining positive memories to associate with these relationships. This is supported by Tkach and Lyubomirsky (2006) who assert that social activities lead to higher

levels of happiness. For many of these participants, these memories have been subject to more positive re-interpretation over time (Nicolao et al., 2009; Van Boven, 2005).

Consuming travel experiences with others can also assist in strengthening these bonds. For Jane, travelling is an activity that is valued within her whānau. She enjoys travelling with her children and partner having been to such places as Tonga, Fiji and Brisbane. Jane feels happy that she is able to spend time with her children “for two weeks, 24/7”. She also enjoys seeing her children undertake new experiences, learn new things and meet new people. Isabella, Tracey and Michaela went on a tour of the Middle East together. In spending a long period of time with one another they solidified their relationship as sisters. They were able to meet new people, make mutual friends, and gain shared experiences. Isabella and Michaela also travelled to America with assistance from their ‘older sister’. This experience brought them all closer together and armed them with positive memories. Michaela was also excited to visit Hogwarts World at Universal Studios where she experienced Butter Beer, Chocolate Frogs and Bertie Blotts Every Flavour Beans. Kylie also wants to be able to take her son on holidays to such places as Disneyland and Australia so that he can gain new experiences.

The act of gift giving also relates to happy experiences. Jack bought his girlfriend a Pandora charm bracelet. Each charm symbolised a different member of her whānau. Jack hoped that while working at a large corporation in Auckland, his girlfriend would not feel alone as she is able to reflect on these relationships through this bracelet. This gift acted as a means to facilitate Jack’s relationship. Jack also experienced happiness through the happiness that his girlfriend gained through receiving the gift. Olivia feels happy when buying gifts for her daughter and her young niece. In particular, she enjoys buying them clothing and shoes from such brands as Puma and Adidas. These findings extend those of Costley et al (2011) who assert that the giving and receiving of gifts assists young women in building and maintaining relationships.

Consumption can also be negatively related to whānau and relationships. In particular, an increase in income can result in a decrease in happiness. This is because an increase in income is generally associated with an increase in hours worked (Leuthold, 1968), which results in less time to spend with whānau. Jane discovered this the hard way through the limited time that she had with her children due to work commitments. Jane reassessed her priorities and was happy to for-go her work and income. She is now able to maintain the relationships with her children and, as such, her experiences of happiness are more meaningful. Jane states, “It will be good to pay [our] house off a bit quicker but oh well, that’s the sacrifices you make. But then what? We both work for five years and pay the house off and then miss the kids growing up?... [I’m] totally happy [with my decision]. [Now] I couldn’t see myself in a full time job until the kids probably leave home”. Kylie also has similar views. She is aware that her son is her priority and only intends to return to work part time. She also views work differently now. To Kylie, the purpose of earning more money is so that she can use it to give her son new experiences such as holidays and travel.

3. SPIRITUALITY

Spirituality is also an important contributor to the happiness of Māori. It is defined as; inner consciousness, a deeper meaning and purpose, a heightened sense of awareness, and the reliance on ones feelings, senses and intuition (Barnett, Krell & Sendry; Dehler & Welsh, 1994; Delbecq, 1999; Karakas, 2009). While spirituality does imply a connection to a higher power, it is not based on religion (Karakas, 2009). Within the academic literature, scholars have identified that spirituality is related to a deeper level of happiness (Emmon, 1999; Grieves, 2006; Karakas, 2009; Reave, 2005; Ryff, 1989). For this investigation, spirituality can be understood through the sub-themes of; sense of purpose and meaning, and values and morals.

SENSE OF PURPOSE AND MEANING

For Māori, happiness comes from attaining a deeper meaning in life. This implies that one is living life based on the feelings of the heart and soul (Karakas, 2009). Jane chose to leave her job to spend more time with her children. She realised that

she was living life based on priorities that did not give her meaning. She chose to think with her heart and is now much happier for it. Similarly, Rawiri quit his full-time job to become a university student. He wanted to be in a career that makes a change and gives back to his people and his land. Rawiri is now much more satisfied with the life he has chosen to lead. Jack values living in New Zealand to be closer to whānau. He believes that those who are drawn to Australia for the higher income are not moving for the right reasons. Atawhai believes that happiness is a feeling within one's self. To her, true happiness comes from thinking positively, being the best person possible, believing in yourself, and knowing where you're heading. She lives her life based on these beliefs. Olivia found a sense of purpose and meaning through her daughter. She states: "It's so cliché when people say having a child is the best thing in the world. Don't get me wrong, it's hard, but what you get back in return is worth it and it isn't material. For me, it's definitely feeling and perspective and outlook". Olivia's life is now more complete.

VALUES AND MORALS

Happiness for Māori also stems from the values and morals that guide behaviour. Aroha feels happy when she reflects on the values of humility and respect that her high school instilled in her. All of her actions are guided by these values. Tracey is drawn to the whānau-oriented values of her friends. She also believes that the Africans are 'her people' as she feels as though have bigger hearts and are more appreciative of what they have in life. Hemi feels happy when he reflects on the values of education that his grandmother instilled in his whānau. Atawhai values being a good person and feels that friendliness, humility and an appreciation of others are important to happiness. She also values education as a means to give back to her family. Jack's actions are guided by his value of whānau. He wants to have a large whānau of his own, but also wants to be able to establish a direct link to his home (such as a homestead) so that his whānau and extended whānau have somewhere to come back to. Isabella also values whānau. Her happiness stems from giving and receiving support, and believes that you need to look after yourself so that you can look after others. She also admires the values of her friends and whānau who are generous, aware of their priorities, and whānau-

oriented. Overall, there is no prescribed set of values and morals that is necessary to achieve happiness. These vary dependent on the inner self. The key to gaining happiness through such values, however, is to ensure that one is living life with their heart and not with their head (Karakas, 2009).

IN SUMMARY

The realm of spirituality is complex and often difficult to comprehend. It is not based on logic and cannot be rationalised. It is, instead, based on feelings and can only be understood with the heart (Karakas, 2009). For this investigation, the two sub-themes within ‘Spirituality’ overlap. By living through your values and morals one may also attain a deeper purpose and meaning in life (Lips-Wiersma, 2002). This theme illustrates that happiness is entrenched deep within the soul.

Traditionally, Māori lived within a society where actions were guided by feelings, senses and beliefs. All things, both animate and inanimate, possessed a physical and a spiritual dimension (Rochford, 2004). They felt connected to others and to the land through a *mauri* (a life force) that flowed within every being (Rochford, 2004). As guardians of the land, Māori strongly believed that life held a higher purpose. Today, it is clear that Māori still hold a close bond with their spirit. They are aware that life holds a greater meaning and, as such, try to live life through their feelings, priorities and values. Te Whare Tapa Wha supports the notion that spirituality is a key contributor to the happiness of Māori. It uses the dimension of ‘Spiritual Well-Being’, which is often viewed by Māori as one of the most essential themes of happiness. This asserts that the spiritual essence of a person emphasises who we are, where we have come from, and where we are going (Durie, 2008).

THE ROLE OF CONSUMPTION

Consumption is generally perceived as a superficial Western paradigm that conflicts with the spiritual realm (Karakas, 2009). In terms of happiness, consumption generally has a negative impact on spirituality. For Jane, she was earning a six-figure income yet did not feel as though she had a sense of meaning and purpose in life. She eventually found this through quitting her job to spend

more time with her children. Rawiri also had a well-paid job. He was “rolling in it money-wise”, had a company car, and a fuel card, yet did not feel satisfied by what he was doing. Rawiri states: “All the material things, yip that was fine, but it was the feelings inside of me [that were unfulfilled]”. He then decided to return to university as a means to protect the natural resources of his people. Although he is now earning less than a quarter of his previous income, Rawiri’s life now has a deeper meaning. In both of these cases, Jane and Rawiri discovered that earning a higher income came at the expense of spiritual fulfilment. Tracey also felt as though the African people were happier, more loving and had better priorities than Western society regardless of the fact that they had less income. This notion is supported by the literature which states that, in terms of spirituality, people desire much more than just wealth (Cash & Gray, 2000; Csikszentmihalyi, 1999; Gull & Doh, 2004).

For those with spiritual values, materialism may also conflict with their happiness. Isabella became aware of this during her holiday to America. She states: “I feel that [Americans] put too much value in materialism. I think they neglect their spiritual side... It’s an in-the-moment culture, based on fads and trends and whatever else is going at that time. I feel like they’re being a bit ripped off, they’re not experiencing true life and happiness”. Atawhai also holds similar views on materialism. She believes that the happiest person in the world is someone who has “balance and who has good priorities and values. It won’t be someone with tons of money, with a fancy job and a Porsche”. For Māori, excess consumption can lead to increased goal conflict where individuals may struggle to balance their material and spiritual worlds (Burroughs & Rindfleisch, 2002). As these two values fundamentally oppose one another, attempting to consume within a spiritual world can result in psychological tension (Burroughs & Rindfleisch, 2002). Materialism can also harbour such undesirable traits as greed, non-generosity and self-centeredness that occur at the expense of spirituality (La Barbera & Gurhan, 1997; O’Shaughnessy & O’Shaughnessy, 2002; Richins & Dawson, 1992). In order for consumption to positively relate to happiness, it needs to be in harmony with an individual’s purpose and goals (Myers & Diener, 1995). For example, Atawhai enjoys shopping, spending money and having nice

things. In saying this, however, she will always put whānau before her consumption needs. Atawhai states: “If it came down to owning the hottest new handbag out or giving back to my family, then it would be a no-brainer. Family first”. This shows that while consumption is negatively linked to spirituality, one can lessen these negative effects through ensuring that it does not conflict with their spiritual values. In this case, one needs to reject the notion of excess consumption and realise that ‘too much of a good thing’ can come at the expense of their spiritual self.

4. ACHIEVEMENT AND SUCCESS

For Māori, happiness also comes from achievement and success. This is attained through realising one’s goals, dreams and desires. In this case, it can stem from hard work, recognition and acceptance both at the individual and the collective level. Scholars have previously recognised the importance of achievement and work satisfaction as a key contributor to happiness (Ahuvia, 2001; Durning, 1993; Lane, 1993; Panelli & Tipa, 2001; Schwartz et al, 2006; Suhail and Chaudhry, 2004). For this investigation, the essence of achievement and success can be understood through the two sub-themes of; sense of achievement, and success of Te Ao Māori.

SENSE OF ACHIEVEMENT

Happiness for Māori stems from a sense of achievement. This is attained through recognition for hard work and the fulfilment of one’s personal goals. Jack felt happy when he was awarded the Ngarimu VC Māori Battalion Scholarship. This was an important milestone throughout his academic career as it acknowledged the hard work and dedication that he had put into his studies. Jack also enjoyed being able to share in and celebrate this moment with his whānau. Both Isabella and Michaela gained happiness through achieving their childhood dream to go to Disneyland. Here they were able to appreciate the novelty of Disneyland and America. Their happiness was enhanced, however, through their ability to share in this experience with their ‘older sister’ who assisted them in their travels. Aroha felt happy in winning Manu Kōrero, qualifying for the Waka Ama World Championship, and gaining recognition for the academic success of her whānau.

She also felt a sense of achievement when she gave birth to her daughter. In each of these situations, Aroha attributed her achievements to her values and the support of others.

It is evident that, for Māori, sense of achievement is experienced as a shared phenomenon. While the participants in this study did acknowledge their own personal feelings of achievement, the happiness gained from these experiences was enhanced through sharing in them with others. This illustrates the collective nature of the Māori culture. This also becomes evident through the happiness that Māori gain from other's achievements. Hemi gains happiness through seeing other Māori succeed. He enjoys aiding in this success through offering tutoring and mentoring support to Māori students. Aroha gained happiness from her friend's achievements in kyokushin karate and motherhood. She also acknowledged her mother's achievement in raising eight children yet continuing to be successful in her professional career. For Hohepa, he felt happy when he was able to see his sister graduate. He was proud that she was the first person in his whānau to graduate from university. Paora gains happiness from the success of others. He enjoys supporting them on their journey, stating: "I didn't just learn the things that I learnt, I was also taught. It's that reciprocity of giving back and although you're not giving back to the person, you're giving forward to others". Overall, the happiness gained from a sense of achievement stems much deeper than what can be perceived from the outset.

SUCCESS OF TE AO MĀORI

For Māori, happiness also comes from the success of Te Ao Māori (The Māori World). In this sense, Māori gain happiness through the strength, revitalisation and acceptance of the Māori culture. Hemi feels proud when he sees Māori succeeding in their chosen field. He feels as though this gives inspiration to other Māori to strive for success. Hemi also enjoys seeing non-Māori adopt the Māori culture and language. Hohepa gains happiness from such Māori-based events as Manu Kōrero, PolyFest and the Rangatahi Business Competition. He enjoys the fact that these events enable a display of the Māori culture. He believes that this recognition is the first step towards retaining and revitalising the culture. Paora

gains happiness from seeing Māori overcome adversity. Due to negative stereotypes, he believes that Māori naturally feel as though they always need to do better. He feels happy when he sees Māori triumph over their misfortunes and gain success in their chosen area. Paora also experiences happiness when Māori culture is incorporated into both the academic and the corporate world. He believes that through integrating culture into all areas of life, Māori can feel more comfortable and less at risk in any situation.

Colonisation and acculturation had traumatic effects on the Māori culture (Panelli & Tipa, 2001). For many iwi, hapū and whānau, this resulted in the loss of the Māori way of life. More recently, there has been a steady movement toward a greater acceptance of Māori culture in New Zealand. This has stemmed from the recognition of te reo Māori, tikanga and a Māori worldview. For these participants, the revitalisation and success of the Māori culture is a key contributor to their happiness. They feel happy in knowing that their culture is not only being accepted and utilised, but also celebrated by Māori and non-Māori alike. This will have positive impacts for future generations of Māori who are born into a society that is more culturally aware. For these individuals, happiness is gained through the collective goal of cultural revitalisation. Statistics New Zealand (2002) supports these findings with the indicator of 'Sustainability of Te Ao Māori'. This implies that the happiness of Māori is drawn from the maintenance of Māori culture, values, customs and beliefs.

THE ROLE OF CONSUMPTION

Consumption can have a direct link to sense of achievement when goals are directly linked to consumer goods or experiences. For example, Isabella and Michaela's childhood dream was to go to Disneyland. They consumed the experiences of Disneyland in order to achieve this goal. This is supported by O'Cass and McEwen (2004) who state that consumption can have positive effects in enhancing a sense of achievement. In contrast, Jack's achievement came from his desire for recognition of his hard work, Hemi's happiness stemmed from the success of other Māori, while Hohepa's came from his sister's academic

achievement. In these situations, consumption does not play a role as these achievements are based on intrinsic rather than material goals.

Consumption can, however, aid in the success of Te Ao Māori. For Aroha and Hohepa, happiness comes from cultural events, such as Manu Kōrero and PolyFest, which allow the display of Māori culture. These consumption experiences provide an environment through which Māori are able to witness this revitalisation first-hand. This invokes feelings of achievement and success at the collective level. It is important to note, however, that success of Te Ao Māori can come from a range of different means that do not need to be based on consumption. While such cultural events make these individuals happy, they are not essential to the success of Te Ao Māori. For example, the widespread use of te reo Māori or the implementation of mātauranga Māori into legislation, would make them just as happy.

5. SENSE OF FREEDOM

Sense of freedom also contributes to the happiness of Māori. This refers to a lack of psychological restriction and freedom from the pressures of daily life. This theme was also identified by Schwartz et al (2006) as a key element of happiness. For the participants in this study, Hemi enjoys socialising with friends and going to the gym. He also feels relaxed when he is spending time at home lying on the tramp and sleeping. Paora feels happy when he is playing golf, watching television and spending time with friends. Rawiri enjoys surfing, diving, fishing and flying helicopters. Jack feels relaxed when he is playing rugby and partaking in photography. Jane feels happy when she is camping at home and removed from digital technology. Hohepa enjoys being immersed in nature or playing music with his friends. Olivia is happy when she is spending time with her friends. For each of these individuals, these activities are seen as ways through which they can escape reality. In these situations, they feel free from the confines of work or study. They are also able to relax, live in the moment and be relieved from stress. This notion is similar to Csikszentmihalyi (1999)'s concept of 'flow'. This holds that when an activity is seen as meaningful and enjoyable to an individual, an internal feeling gives them the sense of having stepped into a different reality.

This can result in a higher level of self awareness and inner calmness (Canter, 2003). As the participants in this study all lead busy lifestyles, free time is a rare occurrence. Due to this, they highly appreciate moments in which they are able to relax. This sense of freedom results in happiness.

THE ROLE OF CONSUMPTION

Consumption can have a direct link to sense of freedom. Many of the participants from this study consumed to create a sense of freedom. Consumption experiences such as going to the gym, playing golf, surfing or playing music facilitated an environment in which they were able to enjoy themselves and relieve stress. The means of consumption varied between individual interests yet still achieved a similar purpose. In this sense, consumption was linked positively to happiness. For others, however, sense of freedom was attained through spending time with friends and whānau. Consumption was indirectly linked to these situations. While it did not aid in creating a sense of freedom, it did facilitate an environment through which these feelings could be gained from others. For example, Olivia would party or go out for meals to relax with friends.

THE FIVE THEMES OF HAPPINESS FOR MĀORI

This study shows that happiness for these Māori participants is experienced through the five themes of; sense of belonging, whānau and relationships, spirituality, achievement and success, and sense of freedom. The aspects of belonging, relationships, achievement and freedom have been identified by numerous scholars as key contributors to happiness (Ahuvia, 2001; Buss, 2000; Costley et al., 2011; Csikszentmihalyi, 1999; Durning, 1993; Grieves, 2006; Hagerty, Williams, Coyne & Early, 1996; Hill, 2006; Ingersoll-Dayton et al, 2004; Lane, 1993; Lu & Shih, 1997; Maslow, 1970; Myers, 2000; Myers & Diener, 1995; Panelli & Tipa, 2001; Ryff, 1989; Schwartz et al., 2006; Suhail and Chaudhry, 2004; Tkach & Lyubomirsky, 2006). This shows that these themes are not necessarily specific to the experiences of Māori. The key difference, however, is that, for Māori, happiness is a collective phenomenon. It is experienced through connections to other people, the culture, and the environment.

FIGURE SEVEN: Happiness of Māori

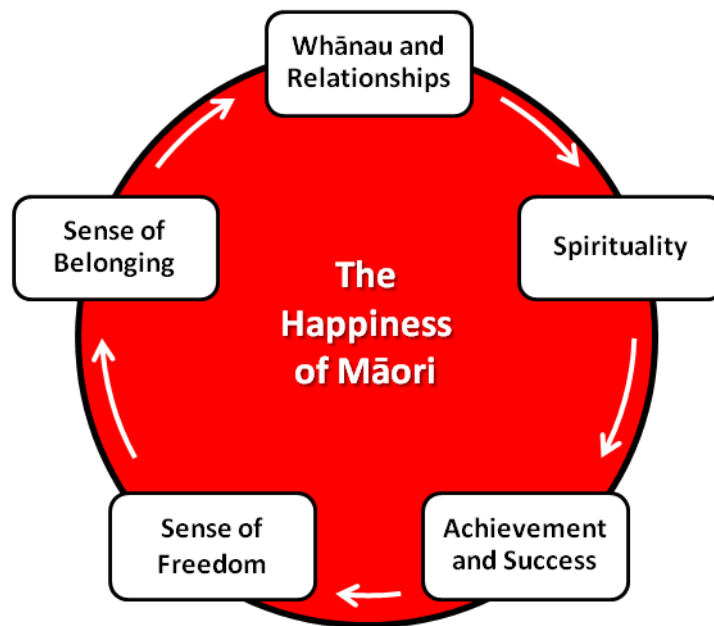


Figure Seven depicts the Five Themes of Happiness for Māori within a circle. This is symbolic of the fact that these themes coexist within a mutually dependent whole. As Fontaine (2000) states, the circle represents the cycles of life: “No beginning, no end, and no time element... It is a symbol of infinity and interconnectedness... When people come together in a circle, there is a spirit of oneness and a sense of sacredness” (p. 95). In this case, the circle represents the collective nature of happiness and the importance of others. In comparison, the Western paradigm is more intrapersonal in nature as it asserts that happiness occurs within the individual self (Ingersoll-Dayton et al., 2004; Weiner, 2000). It is perceived as something that is based on internal evaluation and contentment (Ingersoll-Dayton et al., 2004). For Māori, individual happiness is often directly linked to the happiness of the group. The collective nature of happiness also means that the five themes of happiness often interrelate. Sense of belonging is experienced through connections to whānau and relationships, achievement and success is experienced through the success of others and the culture as a whole, sense of freedom is enhanced through whānau and relationships, while spirituality can also be guided by the importance of whānau and relationships. Ultimately, happiness is experienced through, with and alongside others.

Similar to the Te Whare Tapa Wha framework, in order for the Five Themes of Happiness to coexist within a mutually dependent circle they must all be in balance. In this sense, true happiness for Māori comes from experiencing all five themes of happiness as a whole. Balance can be achieved through reflecting on one's decisions in order to determine one's priorities (Hecht & McCarthy, 2010). In doing this, an individual is able to reassess the various roles that they play in life and understand how each role contributes to their happiness. This will then enable them to put conscious effort into achieving each element of happiness. The idea of balance was identified by a number of the participants in this study as essential to their happiness. As such, some discussed specific strategies that they utilised in order to bring about this balance. For example, when Olivia is feeling upset she thinks of her daughter or reads an extract from the book 'The Alchemist' (see Appendix Two). Similarly, Rawiri spends time with his children, while Atawhai reflects upon her core values. In each of these situations, these actions enable these individuals to reassess their priorities, determine what is important, and work towards achieving balance.

Grievies (2006) and Izquierdo (2005) assert that the aspects of connectedness to the land, and spirituality can be seen as specific to the happiness of Indigenous cultures such as Māori. In traditional Māori society, common beliefs acknowledged the sacredness of the environment and the life force within all physical beings (Panelli & Tipa, 2001). It is evident from this study that these notions are still prevalent today. Rice and Steele (2004) state that aspects of culture that influence happiness can be passed down from people who lived centuries ago to their contemporary descendants, regardless of space and time. This shows that modern Māori have inherited such beliefs through intrinsic connections with their ancestors.

When assessing the Five Themes of Happiness for Māori, the theme of sense of freedom appears to be the 'outsider'. A lack of psychological restriction is not something that was valued by traditional society or the Māori culture in general. While the other four themes are collective by nature, sense of freedom is based on

individual pursuits. It is possible that this theme has emerged due to the acculturation of Māori into a more Western way of life. Although many cultural traits have been adopted and maintained, sense of freedom may be based on Western influences. This supports the notion of *Te Ao Hou* or The New World, which implies that the contemporary Māori reality has been created through the syncretism of traditional values and beliefs, with Pākehā behaviours (Harmswoth, 2004; McNeill, 2009).

THE DYNAMICS OF HAPPINESS AND CONSUMPTION

The positive relationship between experiential consumption and happiness is a key finding within the academic literature (Csikszentmihalyi, 2000; Lane, 1993; Nicolao et al., 2009; Van Boven, 2005; Van Boven & Gilovich, 2003). This study supports this notion as it shows that these Māori participants gain happiness more through experiential rather than material purchases. Only on two occasions did participants discuss the role of consumer goods on their happiness. Jack gifted his girlfriend a Pandora charm bracelet that had different charms to symbolise each member of her whānau. This made him happy as it represented the strength of their relationship. For Aroha, such consumables as fish and chips, Choc Bars and Frujus gave her a sense of belonging. They allowed her to identify with New Zealand as they reminded her of her summer holidays at the beach. The majority of participants, however, were more likely to discuss activities, events or experiences that related to their happiness. In these situations, these experiences facilitated social relationships and invoked positive long-lasting memories. Within this investigation, consumption relates to the happiness of Māori in three key ways. It can have a direct connection, an indirect connection, or a negative connection.

1. DIRECT CONNECTION

A direct connection implies that individuals can utilise consumption as a means to invoke feelings that result in happiness. Consumption can have a direct connection to the happiness of Māori when goals are directly linked to consumption. The achievement of these goals will bring about happiness. As was seen in this study, Isabella and Michaela both felt a sense of achievement when

they fulfilled their childhood dream of going to Disneyland. This sense of achievement was experienced as happiness. Consumption can also have a direct connection when it is used to escape the pressures of daily life. In this study, Rawiri enjoyed surfing, Paora was happy when playing golf, Jack enjoyed photography and Hemi was happy when going to the gym. These consumption experiences contributed to happiness as they allowed these individuals to establish a sense of freedom. Overall, while the participants in this study did not consume to create happiness; they did consume to attain freedom and achievement, which resulted in happiness. This shows that consumption can have a direct connection to the happiness of Māori. In these situations, however, happiness can be enhanced through the presence of others.

2. INDIRECT CONNECTION

An indirect connection implies that consumption can be used to facilitate, maintain or enhance happiness; however, individuals would still feel happy without these consumption experiences. Firstly, shared consumption experiences can assist in creating deeper bonds with whānau and friends. Isabella, Tracey, Jane and Michaela enjoyed travelling with whānau, Hemi was happy when clubbing with friends, Olivia enjoyed going out to dinner with others, while Hohepa was happy when playing music with friends. These consumption experiences were not essential to creating these relationships, but did assist in facilitating them and making them stronger. These shared experiences resulted in positive memories and increased happiness. Consumption can also have an indirect connection with an individual's sense of belonging. As was seen in this study, Jack, Hohepa and Atawhai were happy when immersed in authentic Māori based educational environments, while Aroha and Hohepa gained happiness through cultural events. These experiences assisted in fostering a stronger cultural identity, leading to increased levels of happiness. On top of this, consumption can also aid in reaffirming ones connectedness to the land. Rawiri enjoyed fishing and surfing, Paora was happy when working as a tour guide, and Aroha enjoyed waka ama and diving. These outdoor experiences resulted in happiness as they allowed these participants to feel closer to their ancestors. Finally, consumption can also indirectly foster feelings of achievement and success. In terms of the success of

Te Ao Māori, Hohepa and Aroha gained happiness from the cultural events that allow the display of Māori culture. Consumption enhanced, but was not essential to gaining these feelings. Within this study, participants were more likely to indirectly experience happiness through consumption.

3. NEGATIVE CONNECTION

A negative connection implies that consumption is detrimental to an individual's happiness. As was seen in this study, an increase in income can be negatively linked to relationships with whānau and friends. Jane discovered that although she was earning a six-figure income, the increase in hours worked meant that she had less time to spend with her children. This made her unhappy as she was unable to see them grow and develop. Income was also negatively linked to Jane's spirituality as she felt as though she had no meaning and purpose in life. She experienced greater happiness when she left her job to spend more time with her children. Rawiri experienced similar feelings as he did not find his well-paid job to be intrinsically satisfying. By quitting his job to return to university he gained a deeper meaning in life. The academic literature holds that an increase in income has no link to happiness as reported levels of happiness tend to remain the same (Csikszentmihalyi, 2000; Durning, 1993). These findings show, however, that an increase in income results in a decrease in happiness for these participants as it conflicts with their spirituality and their whānau-oriented values. Materialism was also seen to be negatively linked to spirituality. Isabella believed that Americans put too much value into materialism, while Atawhai asserted that those who focused on material possessions did not have good balance or priorities. In both of these cases, they believed that this material focus came at the expense of spirituality. This is supported by the findings of Burroughs and Rindfleisch (2002) who state that excess consumption can bring psychological tension to those with spiritual values. Overall, this shows that income and materialism are negatively linked to the happiness of Māori. For the participants within this study, true happiness comes from 'feeling' rather than 'having'.

TO CONCLUDE

Findings show that happiness for these Māori participants is complex and multi-faceted. Although it varies between individuals, happiness can be captured through the five themes of; sense of belonging, whānau and relationships, spirituality, achievement and success, and sense of freedom. These themes coexist within a mutually dependent whole and are underpinned by the collective values of the Māori culture. This study provides a more up-to-date framework to assist in understanding the happiness of Māori at the individual level. In terms of consumption, this investigation supports the findings of Costley et al (2011) who state that people do not consume to be happy. Although the act of consumption did not create happiness for these Māori individuals, it did facilitate it. In particular, experiential consumption was shown to play a key role on happiness. These experiences provided a means through which participants were able to enhance meaningful relationships, relax and gain positive memories. Although consumption was also shown to have a negative connection, this study challenges the literature as it shows that consumption can positively relate to happiness after basic needs have been met.

TALES FROM THE AUTHOR

My grandmother on my Māori side grew up in a world where Māori were inferior to Pākehā. She resented being Māori and wanted to be white. She tried twice as hard to be just as good as the Pākehā next door. After my grandfather died she meet a Pākehā man and lived in a Pākehā world. I only know this because my mother told me; my grandmother died when I was four. She passed these values on to my father, where he met my mother; a Pākehā woman. He wanted to live in her Pākehā world. Once again, I only know this because my mother told me; my father died when I was eight. To me, this is the exact moment that I lost my sense of belonging and my connection to whānau. As my father and grandmother had disconnected themselves from our cultural roots, I feel as though I had lost my last link to my Māori world. Instead, I was whisked away in the protective arms of my mother to be brought up in my own Pākehā world. I have since only had contact with my Māori whānau on one occasion over the past 15 years. I have not sought them, but nor have they sought me.

I am happy with the way I was raised and I owe the person that I have become all to my mother. She is my world but I have still always felt as though something is missing. I have a gap in my soul. I have tried to find myself and my Māori roots in other ways over recent years. This has been OK, but it hasn't been enough. These feelings cannot be manufactured in a test tube. I think this is the real reason that I undertook this study; I just didn't know it until now. I do still think that I wanted to give back, but it was also a journey of self discovery.

Writing this chapter was one of the hardest things that I have done for a very long time. Internally I struggled, as I realised that my happiness could not actually relate to these themes. I was suggesting that these five themes were the key to happiness, yet I could not practice what I preach. Subconsciously, I have always known that these gaps existed, but when you are forced to take a closer look at yourself, you may not always be happy with what you find. I have no sense of belonging, I have no cultural identity, and I have no Māori whānau. It's a harsh truth to learn. I had met a mental block, so instead of writing, I went to bed and cried.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE END OF ONE JOURNEY AND THE BEGINNING OF ANOTHER

*“And when I leave you to walk among the stars and join our ancestors
you must still live on for I am still with you,
in the same space behind the veil of heaven, you must have faith.
Live your life to the fullest and if you need me just whisper for me in your heart,
I will be there for you always...”*

- Kelly Te Heuheu

Whilst in Canada, I pondered the idea that happiness for Indigenous populations surely consists of much more than just the constructs of; education, labour force, income and housing. Although Canada’s Community Well-Being Index claims that these indicators are sufficient to measuring the quality of life for First Nation and Inuit communities (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2010), I was sure that happiness was much more complex. As such, I undertook this investigation with a vested interest in ensuring that Māori are accurately represented in government frameworks, statistics, and public policies that aim to understand the happiness of Māori. Through exploring the nature of happiness as it is experienced by Māori individuals, we can begin to understand how we may go about measuring it, recognising it and increasing it. This study contributes to the literature through providing a framework of happiness that can guide government policies and decisions relating to Māori.

This investigation explored the nature of happiness for Māori through use of qualitative research methods. This brought a Māori voice to the literature and ensured that it was reflective of a Māori reality. As most standardised indicators of happiness have been based on Western conceptions (Oishi, Diener, Lucas & Smith, 1999), this study provides a framework that is specific to the culture, views and values of Māori. On top of this, although previous research has looked at the indicators of happiness for Māori at the aggregate level, there is limited research on understanding the essence of happiness at the individual level. Although Te Whare Tapa Wha effectively captures individual happiness, this framework was

crafted nearly three decades ago. This study adds to the literature through providing a more up-to-date exploration of the happiness of Māori as it is experienced by the individual. From this, the essence of happiness was captured through the five themes of; sense of belonging, whānau and relationships, spirituality, achievement and success, and sense of freedom.

Sense of belonging encompasses the sub-themes of; connectedness to the land, connectedness to others, and cultural identity. For these Māori individuals, happiness stems from the feeling of belonging. They feel happy when they are connected to the 'home' in which their ancestors resided, when they are connected to their whānau and extended whānau, and also when they are secure and comfortable with their cultural identity. The theme of sense of belonging appears to be specific to the Māori culture. Although Friend, Costley & Travis (2010) have also recognised the importance of 'happiness as home', for the individuals in this study sense of belonging is defined through its cultural and spiritual connections; notions which are specific to Māori. Happiness can also be gained from whānau and relationships. For these individuals, they feel happy through meaningful relationships with others that are based support and inspiration. The theme of spirituality was also a key contributor to the happiness of these Māori. This was based upon the sub-themes of; sense of meaning and purpose, and morals and values. This theme also appears to be specific to the Māori culture as Māori are typically more spiritual in nature than non-Māori. Happiness also stems from achievement and success. This is made up of the sub-themes of; sense of achievement, and success of Te Ao Māori. For these Māori individuals, happiness not only comes from the attainment of one's goals, dreams and desires, but also from seeing others achieve their goals too. They also feel happy when the Māori culture is subject to revitalisation and acceptance. Finally, the participants in this study gained happiness through a sense of freedom. This came from activities that relieved the pressures of daily life. This theme was assumed to be influenced by the Western paradigm of happiness. Overall, happiness for these Māori individuals is multi-faceted and complex. The five themes coexist within a mutually dependent whole as they are underpinned by the collective nature of the Māori culture. In this sense, happiness is a shared phenomenon that is based upon

one's connectedness to others. This investigation adds to this body of research as it shows that the happiness of Māori differs from the happiness of non-Māori. As the literature typically has a bias towards understanding happiness within an individualistic perspective, this study also offers support for the way in which happiness is experienced by those who have a collective culture, yet are forced to live within an individualistic society.

This investigation also explored the role that consumption plays on the happiness of Māori. Although the participants in this study did not necessarily consume to create happiness, consumption did aid in facilitating happiness. In support of the academic literature, this investigation shows that these Māori individuals are more likely to gain happiness through experiential rather than material consumption. The participants in this study utilised consumption as a means to facilitate relationships, gain a sense of achievement, reaffirm their connections with the land, maintain their cultural identity, celebrate in the success of Te Ao Māori, and establish a sense of freedom. In terms of the supporting role that consumption plays, it can have a direct or an indirect connection. More specifically, consumption can either invoke feelings that result in happiness, or it can be used to facilitate happiness. This adds to the literature through exploring the positive role of consumption on happiness. In contrast, consumption can also have a negative connection to happiness. As was shown in this study an increase in income is negatively linked to whānau and relationships, and spirituality. This is because an increase in the number of hours worked means that one's work takes priority in life. This contradicts the literature which states that an increase in income has no effect on happiness. On top of this, materialism is also negatively linked to spirituality. As both aspects host conflicting values, trying to balance the two relates to increased psychological tension. Overall, this study shows that the most common outcome that consumption can have on the happiness of Māori is one that is indirect. These findings add to the academic literature as they show that consumption can continue to positively relate to happiness after basic needs have been met.

WHAT CAN WE LEARN FROM THE MILLENNIAL GENERATION?

Harmsworth (2004) discusses the notion of a ‘new wave’ of Māori who are focused upon Māori education, development, advancement, and the retention and enhancement of Māori culture and identity. All of the participants from this study fit within this category. They are all young educated individuals who have been raised in an era where the Māori culture is undergoing a great deal of revitalisation and acceptance. They all have inherent cultural values that have been passed down from their ancestors, yet still affect the way that they experience happiness. This study shows that although urban Māori have been immersed in an individualistic way of life, they still have strong collective values. These values relate to the way that they experience happiness. Only in one instance did the influence of the Western culture become clear. A sense of freedom is seen as an individual pursuit which contradicts the collective nature of Māori society. In this case, one could assume that this element of happiness has been shaped through Western influences.

The Millennial generation has been raised in an era where consumerism is a socially accepted norm. This study shows that although these particular individuals have no issues with engaging in consumption, they are more likely to undertake experiential rather than material purchases as this means that they are able to share in them with others. This also shows that the way in which they consume is shaped through their collective values. Although the participants in this study all reside within an urban society, their cultural norms have been able to prevail in such a material driven world.

Finally, this investigation also acknowledges that many different realities exist for these specific individuals from the Millennial generation dependent upon their upbringing. Finding one’s cultural identity can be a difficult task as many have come from whānau that have been disconnected from their cultural roots. Due to the fact that cultural identity has a profound influence on happiness, many of these young Māori individuals have had to discover other ways through which they can reconnect with their culture. In some situations, consumption has aided in achieving this goal.

PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

As most standardised indicators of happiness are based on Western conceptions, this study serves as a starting point to developing a comprehensive framework of happiness that is specific to the culture, views and values of Māori. This will assist Māori by ensuring that they are accurately represented in policies, frameworks and statistics. Through this, Māori can gain confidence in knowing that decisions pertaining to their well-being are made using information that is reflective of their reality. On top of this, this study has shown that consumption can continue to be positively to happiness even after basic needs have been met. With this in mind, this study also assists through proposing five guidelines for Māori which suggest how they can maximise happiness through consumption. These guidelines are as follows:

1. Engage in outdoor activities to reaffirm ones connection to the land.
2. Engage in shared consumption experiences with friends and family.
3. Avoid excess consumption. Be aware of one's priorities and only consume as a means to support ones purpose and goals.
4. Engage in cultural activities that assist in revitalising Maori culture and identity.
5. Consume as a means to relax, live in the moment and alleviate the pressures of daily life.

As well as the above, this study assists marketers through providing a closer look into what leads us to consume. Humankind is currently consuming at a rate far above that which we can sustain. As Csikszentmihalyi (2000) state, if we are to continue consuming at this rate, we will need two additional planets to also exploit. This study assists through outlining the ways in which Māori consume, and how this contributes to their happiness. Mishra (2010) asserts that the Millennial generation have the ability to influence the purchase decisions of others, invoke change in the consumption habits of society, and potentially serve as loyal customers both now and in the future. As these individuals from this generation were more motivated by experiential consumption, marketers can use

this information to offer consumption experiences that appeal to Māori. Cultural-based events, shared social activities, and experiences that incorporate the land are a good place to start. This may also prove to be more beneficial for the environment as there is less need to produce material goods. In understanding how Māori experience happiness and consumption, this gives marketers the opportunity to assist consumers in achieving happiness. In this sense, marketers and consumers can work together to increase the happiness of Māori.

RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS

These findings provide a framework through which policy makers and researchers can attempt to understand the happiness of Māori at the individual level. Through this, we are then able to put motions in place to enhance the happiness of Māori. As Māori have collective values, increasing happiness at the individual level will also aid in increasing happiness at the aggregate level. On top of this, as this investigation only focuses on the experiences of a few Māori within the Millennial generation, there is a need for more research that captures the experiences of all demographics. Gaining a complete understanding of the experiences of Māori can equip policy makers, researchers and practitioners with more information on how to enhance happiness. Finally, the academic literature has also acknowledged that the methodology used to understand one's experiences of happiness can produce different results (Diener, 2000). In this sense, non-self-reporting methods are said to be more accurate than self-reporting methods when exploring the happiness of collective cultures (Sandvik, Diener, Seidlitz, 1993). This is due to the fact that those with collective values are more likely to undersell themselves, but can instead provide more accurate reflections of others. With this in mind, this calls for future research that incorporates a non-self-reporting method to understand these experiences. For example, Māori individuals could potentially be drawn upon to explore their perceptions of the happiness of their friends and whānau, instead of themselves.

TALES OF THE AUTHOR

In the first chapter of this thesis I introduced myself through stating my whakapapa. Going back to read through it I was actually tempted to delete it. I

only left it because I suppose it shows how far I have come. Through completing this investigation, the main thing it has taught me is that cultural identity stems from more than just being able to recite your whakapapa. You've also got to be able to feel it. I'm ashamed to admit that I'm not even sure if the whakapapa I recited is even accurate – I have no way to confirm this.

It's actually quite funny. I always knew that there was something big missing when it came to my happiness but I thought it was just this idea of 'homelessness'. My mother no longer resides in the house I grew up in and I was constantly moving from flat to flat as a student. I actually thought that getting myself a house to call home would make everything better. I achieved that this year, but still those niggling feelings wouldn't go away. This has been a great learning curve for me as I am finally aware of what is missing. What a sad life to lead, to be Māori, yet be so disconnected from it all. I do not feel sorry for myself, all Māori live in different realities and this is mine. I have been inspired by the journeys of all of my participants. Many of them have faced similar situations, and they have all overcome it. This has given me the strength to move forward. I am now actually quite excited to see where this journey is going to take me. I know that this will be a difficult and emotional experience, but it is something that I must do for myself.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE: Participant Information Sheet

Participant Information Sheet

Waikato Management School

Te Raupapa



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

A Study on Understanding the Happiness of Māori

Thank you for expressing your interest in assisting with this interview.
Please read the following information sheet carefully.

Purpose of Interview

The purpose of this interview is to understand what happiness means for Māori and how Māori experience happiness. Through understanding Māori happiness and the ways in which Māori culture and values shapes our happiness, we can begin to make sure that the needs of Māori are properly understood by individuals and policy makers. This interview is being used in a study to complete a Masters Degree at the University of Waikato.

Researchers Details

The researcher is: **Ebony de Thierry**, under the supervision of **Lorraine Friend and Carolyn Costley**.

They can be contacted on:

Ebony de Thierry: esd3@students.waikato.ac.nz or 02102971877
Lorraine Friend: lfriend@waikato.ac.nz
Carolyn Costley: ccostley@waikato.ac.nz

If you need more information on this interview please do not hesitate to contact **Ebony** using the details above.

Your Role as a Participant

- As a participant in this interview you are asked to take photographs that represent or symbolize your happiness. You will need to own or be able to borrow a digital camera.
- You will need to bring these photographs in a digital version to the interview to share with the researcher.
- There are no limits to what may make up these images and can be absolutely anything that represents or symbolises your happiness including people, places and objects or representations of feelings, emotions and significant life experiences. If you are unable to take photographs that symbolise all of these aspects you may bring other visual images such as drawings or objects.

Participant Information Sheet

When deciding which pictures/images to bring, please consider the following questions:

- **How do you experience happiness?**
- **When are you happy?**
- **What role does happiness play in your life?**
- **How do you feel when you are happy?**
- **Where do you feel happiest?**
- **What makes you or others similar to you unhappy?**

Please appreciate that your photographs are very important to us and our study. When taking your photographs, keep in mind that some or all of them may be used in a report or publication. Try to take photographs in such a way that you will not mind sharing them. For example, if you do not want to share a photograph of your child's face, you could take a photograph of their body/foot/hand etc.

- Feel free to bring as many photographs and images as you want.
- Please, do not discuss your photographs with the researcher or other participants prior to the interview.
- You will be asked to attend a 1½ to 2 hour interview at an agreed upon date, time and place where you will discuss your photographs with the researcher. This interview will be audio-taped.
- At any stage during the interview you have the right to refuse to answer any particular questions. You also have the right to withhold certain photographs or quotes from publication. This will be discussed with you during the interview.
- Keep in mind that there are no wrong or right answers.
- Photos should be specific to your happiness as a person, and do not have to be related to Māori culture, values etc

Use of Information from the Interview

The information you provide in the interview will be analysed and written up in a report format to be submitted for marking. It is possible that presentations or future publications will also come out of this study. Keep in mind that some or all of your photographs may be used unless you request otherwise. As long as you cannot be identified in photos used in the report, your identity will remain confidential.

Opting Out of the Interview

If you wish to opt out of this interview you can do so by contacting Ebony on the details above no later than 24 hours prior to the interview. If there are photographs or quotes that you wish to withhold from being published, you must say so no later than 48 hours after the interview.

APPENDIX TWO: Extract from 'The Alchemist' by Paulo Coelho

“... All I know is that, like Santiago the shepherd boy, we all need to be aware of our personal calling. What is a personal calling? It is God’s blessing, it is the path that God chose for you here on Earth. Whenever we do something that fills us with enthusiasm, we are following our legend. However, we don’t all have the courage to confront our own dream.

Why?

There are four obstacles. First: we are told from childhood onwards that everything we want to do is impossible. We grow up with this idea, and as the years accumulate, so too do the layers of prejudice, fear, and guilt. There comes a time when our personal calling is so deeply buried in our soul as to be invisible. But it’s still there.

If we have the courage to disinter dream, we are then faced by the second obstacle: love. We know what we want to do, but are afraid of hurting those around us by abandoning everything in order to pursue our dream. We do not realize that love is just a further impetus, not something that will prevent us going forward. We do not realize that those who genuinely wish us well want us to be happy and are prepared to accompany us on that journey.

Once we have accepted that love is a stimulus, we come up against the third obstacle: fear of the defeats we will meet on the path. We who fight for our dream suffer far more when it doesn’t work out, because we cannot fall back on the old excuse: “Oh, well, I didn’t really want it anyway.” We do want it and know that we have staked everything on it and that the path of the personal calling is no easier than any other path, except that our whole heart is in the journey. Then, we warriors of light must be prepared to have patience in difficult times and to know that the Universe is conspiring in our favor, even though we may not understand how.

I ask myself: are defeats necessary?

Well, necessary or not, they happen. When we first begin fighting for our dream, we have no experience and make many mistakes. The secret of life, though, is to fall seven times and to get up eight times.

So, why is it so important to live our personal calling if we are only going to suffer more than other people?

Because, once we have overcome the defeats – and we always do – we are filled by a greater sense of euphoria and confidence. In the silence of our hearts, we know that we are proving ourselves worthy of the miracle of life. Each day, each hour, is part of the good fight. We start to live with enthusiasm and pleasure. Intense, unexpected suffering passes more quickly than suffering that is apparently bearable: the latter goes on for years and, without our noticing, eats away at our soul, until, one day, we are no longer able to free ourselves from the bitterness and it stays with us for the rest of our lives.

Having disinterred our dream, having used the power of love to nurture it and spent many years living with the scars, we always suddenly notice that what we always wanted is there, waiting for us, perhaps the very next day. Then comes the fourth obstacle: the fear of realizing the dream for which we fought all our lives.

Oscar Wilde said: “Each man kills the thing he loves.” And it’s true. There mere possibility of getting what we want fills the soul of the ordinary person with guilt. We

look around at all those who have failed to get what they want and feel that we do not deserve to get what we want either. We forget about all the obstacles we overcame, all the suffering we endured, all the things we had to give up in order to get this far. I have known a lot of people, who, when their personal calling was within their grasp, went on to commit a series of stupid mistakes and never reached their goal – when it was only a step away.

This is the most dangerous of the obstacles because it has kind of a saintly aura about it: renouncing joy and conquest. But if you believe yourself worthy of the thing you fought so hard to get, then you become an instrument of God, you help the Soul of the World, and you understand why you are here.”

(Coelho, 2002, v - viii)